



# *Crop*



SPECIAL EDITION

**EMERGING VIEWS  
ON TRANSLATION HISTORY IN BRAZIL**

GUEST EDITOR

**JOHN MILTON**

PCD

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ON TRANSLATION HISTORY IN BRAZIL**

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## Introduction

John Milton\*

*Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil* is based on papers presented in the Translation Section of the 7th Brazilian Translators Forum and the 1st Brazilian International Translators Forum, held in São Paulo in September 1998, which demonstrated the growing popularity of the area of historical translation studies in Brazil.

*Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil* contains nine representative papers. Lia Wyler contributes two papers; one a panoramic view of the history translation in Brazil, which opens the volume, and the other focussing on translation for the theatre in Brazil. Tania Brandão's article on translations for the theatre in Brazil emphasizes that the theatre in Brazil was seldom considered high culture, and has almost been ignored by critics of so-called "serious" literature. This concept is summed up in her title: "Translations and ellipses : Notes on the 19th Century Brazilian Theatre", taken from a quotation by Machado de Assis: theatre translation in Brazil just the remainder, the leftovers, and is unworthy of serious consideration.

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Tupi scholar Eduardo Navarro develops the point made by Lia Wyler, that, until 1758, the language spoken by the great majority of the population in Brazil was Tupi, the Indian language spoken right along the coast of Brazil. The Portuguese colonization was one of mixing and miscegenation with the native Indians and learning their language. Navarro emphasizes the influence of Tupi on present day Brazilian Portuguese, especially in the lexicon but also on syntax and morphology. Even those who know no Portuguese and who have never visited Brazil will have heard of Ipanema beach and Tijuca National Park in Rio de Janeiro, and the Maracanã and Morumbí football stadiums in Rio and São Paulo respectively. All these names come from Tupi, as do about 50% of all place names in Brazil. Navarro also describes the difficulties Padre José Anchieta had in translating the Catechism into Portuguese, and the solutions he found, often having to adapt Christian ideas to Tupi concepts.

Probably the most important figure in publishing in Brazil in the 20th century was Monteiro Lobato. Adriana Vieira describes the technique of adaptation Lobato used in his translations of children's literature, concentrating on that of Peter Pan, which is retold orally by Dona Benta, with interruptions from the children and dolls at the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo (The Farm of the Yellow Woodpecker). Lobato, dissatisfied with the high style of the little literature for children which was available for him to read to his own children, began to write children's literature in Portuguese and translate and adapt foreign literature.

Lobato was also a great popularizer of the book, and in the publishing company he owned, Monteiro Lobato e Cia. and then that which he partly owned, Companhia Editora Nacional, he tried to spread the habit of reading to beyond the traditional frenchified

upper-middle class by making books more attractive, paying especially attention to covers and presentation, by making books more widely available, for example, in grocer's and chemist's, and by writing in a style which would be easy to read. The creation of a demand for books, particularly novels, amongst those who had no knowledge of foreign languages, would create a need for translations, which, as from the 1930s, were increasingly made from English.

Adriana Pagano's comparative study of publishers' collections in Argentina and Brazil stresses Lobato's role in developing the book market in Brazil. She also emphasizes the importance of collections in the catalogues of Argentine and Brazilian publishing houses. They would help to map the knowledge of the world for the reader, but, of course, at the same time, would shape the reader's vision of the world.

The Clube do Livro, the first ever Brazilian book club, the subject of my study, dates from the same period. It was founded in 1943, and became enormously popular, with a print run of up to 50,000, an enormous figure in Brazil, where the print run for a novel is seldom more than 3,000. My study examines many of the alterations that were made in the translated texts in order to make them "suitable" for the target readers, from the lower-middle classes, with limited education and no habit of buying books. The translated texts were homogenized into standardized Portuguese; stylistic niceties were cut; and the text was supported by a series of footnotes which explained difficult words and which gave advice on healthy eating and drinking. I also analyze the Clube do Livro prefaces, which demonstrate this strong element of paternalism and which show the belief of the editors that books were the worldwide panacea, able to bring peace, prosperity and enlightenment to the whole world.

Irene Hirsch studies the history of the translations of the work of Herman Melville into Portuguese in Brazil. Following André Lefevere's concept of refraction, Hirsch analyzes the various refractions of Melville's works, especially *Moby-Dick*, into Portuguese in Brazil. She pays close attention to the visual elements in the portrayals of Captain Ahab, which have been dominated by Gregory Peck ever since John Houston's 1956 Hollywood film.

Maria Cristina Batalha's study is based on the Polysystem theories of Itamar Even-Zohar and relates Brazilian literature to other literatures, particularly that of France. The relationship has always been one-sided: France was, until the Second World War, a model of Brazilian society, whereas France has always seen Brazil through a lens of exoticism, exemplified by Blaise Cendrars' translations, which glamourize and exoticize Brazil. But translation is always enriching and translations from Portuguese introduce a number of terms into the French language such as *sertão* (backlands), *samba*, and *favela* (shanty). The Brazilian writer can never ignore this relationship with the dominant French culture, but does the Brazilian author always need to be in such a subaltern receiving position? She also looks at the concept of appropriation in Machado de Assis' translation of *The Raven*, and the need for Brazilian writers to assert their own identity to escape from the cultural domination of Paris.

The nine articles are complemented by three reviews of important books in the area: *Memes of Translation* by Andrew Chesterman; *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, by Maria Tymoczko; and *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation*, by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere; and an interview with translation scholar Anthony Pym.

We can pinpoint a number of general themes which run through the various studies. Firstly, the dominance of France in

Brazilian literature and arts and culture in general up until the Second War. The literary relations between Brazil and France have been well-documented by scholars in Brazil, through little of this work has dealt with translation as such. Studies, mainly made from a Comparative Literature perspective, have examined the enormous influence of French culture and literature on Brazilian writers and the reception of Brazilian writers in France<sup>1</sup>.

Secondly, the papers are very definitely located within a postcolonial translation context. Lia Wyler, Tânia Brandão and Maria Cristina Batalha emphasize the French domination of Brazilian letters. Brazil was a colony of Portugal until 1822, but the colonizer itself was dominated by French cultural mores. As

<sup>1</sup> For example, Perrone-Moisés, Leyla (org.). *Relações Culturais França-Brasil: Influências e Convergências* (Cultural Relations Brazil-France: Influences and Convergences). São Paulo: Instituto de Estudos Avançados - USP, novembro de 1991. Coleção Documentos, série Estudos França-Brasil-1.

Nitrini, Sandra (org.). *Aquém e Além Mar: Relações Culturais: Brasil e França* (Before and After the Sea: Cultural Relations: Brazil and France). São Paulo: Hucitec, 2000. Both of these collections look at specific influences, mostly of France on Brazil.

Rivas, Pierre. *Encontro entre Literaturas França-Brasil-Portugal* (Meeting between Literatures: France-Brazil-Portugal), translation from the French coordinated by Durval Artico and Maria Leticia Guedes Alcolorado. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1995. This work catalogues the presence of Brazil in French literary magazines from 1880 to 1930.

Staut, Lea Mara Valezi. "A recepção da obra Machadiana na França: um estudo crítico-estilístico das traduções de quatro romances" ("The Reception of the Work of Machado de Assis in France: a Critical and Stylistic Analysis of Four Novels"). Ph. D. thesis. Universidade do Estado de São Paulo (UNESP), Assis, Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, 1991.

Staut, Lea Mara Valezi. "Machado de Assis e a Literatura Brasileira na França" ("Machado de Assis and Brazilian Literature in France"). ("Livro Docência" thesis). Universidade do Estado de São Paulo (UNESP), Assis, Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, 1991.

Brandão points out, French culture reached the Brazilian theatre in two ways, both directly from France and filtered through Portugal. Portugal was hardly keen on developing Brazilian culture, literacy and education. Wyler mentions that the first legal printing press in Brazil was only permitted in 1808. Law, Medicine and Engineering schools were only set up in Brazil as from 1827, and the oldest university in Brazil, the University of São Paulo, was only established in 1934. The oldest university in Argentina is that of Córdoba, 1613, and that in Lima, San Marcos, dates from 1551. Thus much of 20th century translation in Brazil can be looked at as postcolonial translation, the ex-colony asserting its sense of independence after Portuguese political, French cultural and English economic domination.

It may come as a surprise to learn that the Indian language Tupi was the most widely spoken language in Brazil up until the Marquis de Pombal ordered that Portuguese should be the language of education throughout Brazil in 1758. Indeed, the contact and translation between Portuguese, Spanish, Latin and Tupi is very much a hidden area: we have few accounts, and few studies have been made. And Translation Studies has yet to spawn a generation of scholars to study translation between Spanish and/or Portuguese and Indian languages.

In addition, translation scholars in Brazil have little contact with those in other South American countries. It is difficult to envisage a South American equivalent of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST), for example. Contact with other peripheral members of the world's community normally goes through the central countries. Here in Brazil academic contact with Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Chile, for example, is very limited. With Europe and North America there is much more contact. It is

thus very pleasing to see the emphasis Adriana Pagano gives to the parallels between translation in Brazil and Argentina. I am sure similar studies could be made which would include other South American countries.

A further area which *Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil* looks at is the translation of mass literature. Tânia Brandão examines the translations of popular plays, and Adriana Pagano, Adriana Vieira, Irene Hirsch and myself all examine aspects of the development of the Brazilian book market as from the 1930s. Publishing strategies; the marketing of translations; condensations and adaptation; and the readers' reception of translations are all virtually unexplored areas in the sphere of translation studies.

A very important point is that, in publicizing some of the work being carried out in Brazil in historiographical translation studies, we hope that it will be possible to redress the balance to a certain extent, and show that translation research in Brazil is not dominated by the concepts of anthropophagy<sup>2</sup>, deconstruction<sup>3</sup> and poetic recreation<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See Vieira Ribeiro Pires, Else. "A Postmodern Translational Aesthetics in Brazil", in *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline*, ed. Mary Snell-Hornby, Franz Pöchhacker and Klaus Kaindl. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994, pp. 65-72. In this article Vieira quotes Augusto de Campos adaptation of the concept of anthropophagy to translation: "My way of loving them is translating them. Or devouring them, according to [Brazilian modernist] Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagic law". Thus cannibalism is seen as a metaphor for the predicament of the Brazilian postcolonial writer. It is impossible just to ignore influences from the metropolis, but these influences, rather than just being "digested", should be "regurgitated" to become available in a differentiated form. These ideas were taken up by Edwin Gentzler, in *Contemporary Translation Theories* (1993), London: Routledge, 1993, and Susan

So *Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil* is just a beginning. I hope that this volume can raise awareness and further interest in these almost virgin forests, or maybe jungles, of research.

Bassnett, in *Comparative Literature* (1993), Oxford, Blackwell, 1993, both of which reached a much wider readership than the original.

- Rosemary Arrojo's work, especially:
- Arrojo, Rosemary. "A que são fiéis tradutores e críticos de tradução? Paulo Vizioli e Nelson Ascher discutem John Donne" ("What are Translators and Critics of Translation Faithful to? Paulo Vizioli and Nelson Ascher discuss John Donne"), in *Tradução, Desconstrução e Psicanálise*. Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 1993, pp. 15-26.
- Arrojo, Rosemary. "Laplanche Traduz o Pai da Psicanálise: As Principais Cenas de um Romance Familiar" ("Laplanche Translates the Father of Psychoanalysis: The Principal Scenes of a Family Romance"), in *Tradução, Desconstrução e Psicanálise*. Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 1993, pp. 35-50.
- Arrojo, Rosemary. "Feminist 'Orgasmic' Theories of Translation and their Contradictions", in *TradTerm*, FFLCH, Universidade de São Paulo, II, 1995, pp. 67-75.
- Especially in the work of brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, who continue to receive growing publicity outside Brazil. See, for example, the recent issue of *TTR*, which contains two articles on Haroldo: Oseki-Depré, Inês. "Lecture finie du texte infini: Galaxies de Haroldo de Campos", pp.131-154, and "Salut Haroldo! Linéaments de synchronicités pour un mandala à l'écrivain", pp.155-166, in *TTR (Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction)*, Vol. XII, no. 1, 1<sup>o</sup> semestre 1999, "Poésie, Cognition, Traduction I", dir.: Annie Brisset. Université McGill, Montréal: Association Canadienne de Traductologie.

## Why and How to Write Translation Histories ?

Lieven D'hulst \*

When we reconsider the history of the place that has been given to historical elements within translational reflection in a larger sense, including "modern" as well as "early" types of conceptualizing translational phenomena, it can be seen that these matters have rarely become major topics of full research programmes. In spite of repeated attempts to impart a more solid basis to historical research (during the last 30 years or so), it can also be clearly seen that there is no point in comparing historical research with other types of translation research. James Holmes' famous triadic model of descriptive translation studies (product-oriented, process-oriented, function-oriented) fits history both into product-oriented and function-oriented DTS, as an offshoot of both (Holmes 1998). Moreover, while theory is closely connected with description and application, history does not seem to benefit from theorizing nor does it lead to applications. It would lead us too far to compare the fate of translation history with that of historical research in adjacent disciplines.

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Still, since the extraordinary expansion of the discipline in academia has led to greater autonomy and thus to new possibilities of establishing priorities, it cannot be ignored that translation studies have recently returned to history. Why? One could think of several reasons to explain this return to history. Suffice is to list them here (see also D'hulst 1994).

- *History is a practical eye-opener for translation studies.*
- *Insight into history gives the scholar the intellectual flexibility which he or she needs when regularly adapting his or her ideas to new viewpoints.*
- *Insight in history prevents the scholar from blind adherence to one single theory.*
- *Insight into history is maybe the only way to understand the structure of the discipline, by showing the underlying relationships between divergent approaches and practices.*
- *Insight into history helps to develop a "culture of translation"*
- *Insight into history may inspire translators in search of problem-solving techniques.*

What does this amount to? One could easily think of a number of other reasons to explain the relative success of approaches that re-centre history; not at least, maybe, new research interests imported from young or emerging disciplines (postcolonial studies, gender studies, cognitive studies, etc.).

\* \* \*

Be it as it may, let us now turn towards historical research itself. To start with, how should one understand "history"? In fact, many different types and methods of historiography coexist more or less peacefully in most disciplines. The traditional definitions used by historians somewhat bluntly oppose "history" as the totality of scientific activities aiming at the discovery, inventory and analysis of historical facts, and "historiography" as the historical analysis of the writing of history. Practically speaking, this distinction is far from precise: there is always some kind of awareness of the way one writes history. Nevertheless, the concept of historiography has been promoted in several disciplines as an approach that is strongly and explicitly based on the levels of epistemology and methodology. Quite naturally, the urge was strong to understand how and why every period generated its own representations of past events, theories, ideologies, such an understanding supposing the establishment and use of specific methods.

The same does not hold for translation studies, however, a discipline which rarely, up to now, has been interested in its proper history, at least less than in the discovery and inventory and analysis of historical facts: and even these facts, the *res gestae*, have remained until recently, in comparison with other cultural practices, relatively unexplored themselves. One could say that both the ignorance of the past (and of a past that did *not* necessarily ignore its own past), and the small theoretical basis on which historical research was (and still is) carried out, are largely responsible for what one could call a "delay" in comparison with neighbouring disciplines, from which translation studies tried to break free (and never fully succeeded, nowadays claiming an official status of interdisciplinarity). Of course, this situation in itself, I mean, the apparently "poor" status of historiography is an interesting object

from a historical viewpoint, which in return could show also that in a larger, extended concept, historiography is a multi-layered discipline, in the sense that any step is encompassed by some larger one, which is still historical in nature: historiography is like one of those Russian puppets, containing smaller copies of itself: the practice of research is based on a theory and methodology of research, which is itself based on an epistemology of research.

To say what the concept means is something other than to say what exactly is to be expected from the discipline, in concrete terms, in the daily practice, so to speak. Many different *methods* of historiography are possible. But more basically, as far as the *object* is concerned, the number of possible categories of historical facts is almost overwhelming: anything in fact is a candidate, not everything is a relevant candidate *a priori* either. But the array still is larger than traditional historiography rooted in the history of ideas or comparative literature might let us think. To be short, let me refer to what good old classical rhetorics listed as the necessary items the orator had to take care of when preparing his discourse (it will remind the reader also of modern functional theories of translation, taking into account as many parameters as possible while studying translational communication).

What follows is a way of suggesting, somewhat sketchily, some possible areas of historical research, simply using the same list of items (but of course changing its scope).

#### Quis?

The translator's intellectual biography (backgrounds in training, family, socio-economic, ideological and cultural profile), his/her translation concepts, explicit and implicit poetics, gender, etc. is breaking loose from the positivistic

and anecdotal tradition. An interesting method of describing the figure of the translator in terms of socio-cognitive processes is developed by Bourdieu's habitus theory applied to translating: D. Simeoni (1998) tries to connect the study of norms (texts and systems) with the habitus as "the main locus precipitating mental, bodily, social and cultural forces" (p. 33). In other words, to combine the study of norms with these cultural forces determining the translating skills, down to the level of stylistic variation. Not only the single translator, but also groups (or schools) of translators can be approached from the latter viewpoint as well: the Pléiade in France, German romantic translation, etc. (see e.g. J. Delisle ed. 1999). Of course, a similar approach is to be advocated for a historical study of translation scholars. To such type of questions adheres the contribution in this volume by Adriana Silene Vieira on Monteiro Lobato.

#### Quid?

What has been translated? And what not? In other terms: what have been the selection procedures used (and also according to what underlying criteria?) To answer such questions, the establishment is needed of bibliographies of translations, and eventually of what could have been translated, but was not. Which parameters will be used (generic, linguistic, temporal and how to periodize, etc.)? What is covered by such a bibliography: only printed material? Only in book form, etc.? This point is also commented upon at large by A. Pym (1998). Two contributions in this volume deal with theater translation.

What has been written on translation? Which genres or modes of translation thinking does a culture generate: prefaces,

criticism, treatises, historical work, theories, etc. How are these ranked? Even for cultures that have already been studied thoroughly from several angles, it has recently been possible to discover new and important material. There is for instance ample evidence that there were rather rich and complex efforts towards theorizing in France in the early 19th century: e.g. two Ph.D. studies, which have remained unknown up to now, showed there was a profound and quite refined interest in translation from several angles (and not only applied ones; see D'hulst 1997). By the way, this may help us to take past translation thinking more seriously (the current idea among contemporary scholars is that there has been so little valuable thinking for modern purposes that we may simply ignore it). Let us imagine what a disaster such a statement would imply for the viewpoint of an archeologist.

### *Ubi?*

Where have translations been written, printed, published, distributed? And by whom (by specific editors, within specific series, etc.)? In the same centres of printing and publishing like original writing (for France: Paris, e.g.), or at the periphery (for instance: translations of religious texts and of children's literature were often produced in Tours, Avignon, also in Belgium in the late 19th century)? The contributions by Adriana Silvina Pagano and John Milton to this volume deal quite explicitly with these questions. By the way, translations are not always limited in their *distribution* to one linguistic or cultural community. In late 18th and early 19th century Europe, for example, France possessed, during the continental discovery of Shakespearean theatre, a mediating function:

both the selection of texts and the translation concepts and techniques were borrowed from French models of drama translation (Ducis, Letourneur). In many cases there was even more at stake: (1) at the time French translations were read and put on in Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal), and even in Eastern and Northern Europe (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia), and (2) these translations were retranslated into the vernaculars (see D. Delabastita & L. D'hulst eds. 1993). Another question: where did the translators live and work? For some scholars (A. Pym, e.g.), this question may point to the existence of an intermediate geographical space between national cultures, in which translators happen to function more intensively. For example, translation from German in 19th century France was for a large part concentrated in the Alsace region (capital Strasbourg), but also outside the limits of France, in the southern part of Belgium (Liège, Namur, to Brussels).

Where do translation scholars/students work? We know how, from the 16th century on, grammars and models for language learning (e.g. the Jesuit type known under the name of *Ratio studiorum*), spread in Europe, but also over the colonies in South-America and Asia, and probably helped to establish basic concepts of translation in these cultures. We all know how in the 17th century translation thinking spread from France to neighbouring countries. By the same token, one may see how the discipline is organized nowadays taking into consideration geo-cultural features: where did such and such research traditions first appear: descriptive translation studies in the Low Countries and Israel, Skopos theory in Germany, empirical research in Northern Europe, postcolonial studies

in the Americas, etc. One may also interpret the question from a more abstract viewpoint: in which educational and research structures are translation studies embedded: in universities (and in which departments of the university: Comparative Literature, language departments, which ones: English? French? German? Spanish? Portuguese), in training institutes? And what is the effect of all these parameters on the auto- and hetero-image of the discipline?

#### *Quibus auxiliis?*

With whose help/support did translators carry out their job? This question may refer to patronage and other control mechanisms on translators, including censorship (cf. A. Lefevere 1992), and even to the large surrounding contexts: social and political beliefs. A large amount of research has recently been done on power relations in translation (esp. in the framework of postcolonial translation studies). The contribution by Irene Hirsch follows this path.

Much less studied are the effects of the same type of relations on the thinking about translation, scholarship included. This seems a much more tricky matter, since researchers tend to believe (and make believe) that they are, so to speak, working in an free, unbound sphere, which seems to be the best condition to formulate objective claims about truth, or at least about scientific validity.

#### *Cur?*

Why do translations occur? Why do translations behave the way they do (types of relationships with their source-texts,

stylistic features, etc.). Of course, these questions also touch upon the complex issues of interpretation in general terms, and seem truly to be the ultimate questions of translation research. Should they be dismissed, though, for being utopian? I, for one, believe in the heuristic value of hypothetic explanatory statements (in terms of translation laws, for instance, or causal laws, such as developed by A. Chesterman 1998): they should not be taken at face-value, as finalized statements, but as statements that have the function of showing how things could be understood, and therefore point to possible directions for further research. In a similar way, the first contribution by Lia Wyler tries to hypothetically answer a set of basic questions.

#### *Quomodo?*

How were translations processed, granted we are able to reconstruct the process *a posteriori*, i.e. starting from the final result? Another question: how do translational norms change in time and space? An interesting position to study their evolution from is that taken by G. Toury (1995: 54, 62-63).

What about the making of translation theories or of other forms of conceptualization? What are their discursive properties: the nature and structure of arguments, axioms, definitions, etc.? Very few studies have tried to answer this question (one recent example deals with the evolution of the concept of equivalence: cf. S. Halverson 1997).

#### *Quando?*

Very generally: when in history does translation take place? According to systems theory, almost always, since cultures



are (almost) never in non-contact, and since contacts generally imply (as has been demonstrated by the history of grammars, and in this volume by Eduardo de Almeida Navarro) forms of translation (bilingual lists of terms to start with, etc.). Translations may vary in frequency and purpose (e.g. new and norm-breaking behaviour during cultural turns, in young or defective systems). Bibliographies may help to unveil patterns of frequency for shorter or longer periods, with refined distributional criteria (genres, authors, etc.). The question also concerns periodization: how can translations be structured along temporal parameters: into epochs, centuries, generations, or via content parameters (internal ones: "belles infidèles", i.e. more or less 40 years, 1620-1660; or borrowed from other disciplines: romantic, postmodern, etc.). The same questions can be made about translation reflection: when and where did it emerge, spread, decline, under which circumstances, etc.?

#### *Cui bono?*

What is the effect of translation, its function, its use in society? Comparative literature has collected a enormous amount of information on the reception and use of translation, though not always underpinned by a clear vision of what these concepts mean: "influence" is often very close to naive causality, etc. Systems theory has provided alternatives, as is shown in this volume by Maria Cristina Batalha.

This list of questions does not constitute a research programme, neither does it want to be exhaustive; it wants to *show* what can/should be covered by a historiography of translation and translation studies. In practice, there are very few examples of in-depth research projects capable of coping with many (or even several) of these questions applied to translation practice and/or translation reflection of the past (not to say modern translation research as such). The current case – eventually regretful, but that is inevitably the way many will have also to proceed in the future – is the case of the scholar working alone or within a small group, and trying to get some answers for a small number of specific questions from a corpus that is very often still unexplored.

Still, historiography should keep its ambition; simply speaking, it should aim at the best possible reconstruction of the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist" [how it really was], taking into account the largest possible number of parameters. I am hopeful that this goal remains within our reach. And this volume not only is an important step forward; it shows evidence that we are working in the right direction...

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## Translating Brazil

Lia Wyler\*

*Abstract: This brief outline of translation history in Brazil is part of a larger study, where the production of translations is examined in its social, political and economic context. The article emphasizes the different uses given to translation in Brazil, as compared to those registered in major European countries, how they evolved throughout time, and what major effects they have had on Brazilian language and literature.*

### 1. Introduction

Translation Studies have recently experienced an expansion unknown in previous centuries, both in scope and depth. Whereas formerly scholars concentrated mostly on the transparency or opacity of translations, now researchers in Europe, North-America, Israel and other parts of the world are also devoting some attention to questions such as who did what translation, how, where, for whom, with what effect. This change of focus is beginning to privilege translators in

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countries outside Europe, whose translation histories have not yet been written.

The notion that foreign texts were translated by medieval monks, then by aristocrats and finally by an emerging middle-class, for a growing printing trade, presupposes Christian countries, ruled by the nobility, where the Industrial Revolution made reading accessible to ever wider sectors of the population. These conditions and categories may have applied at one time or another to many European countries, but if the field of inquiry is expanded to include Europe's Others, i.e., Eastern European, African, Asian and American countries, possible similarities are outweighed by the many differences encountered, especially with respect to the uses given to translations and their effect.

A brief outline of the history of translation in Brazil may be useful to highlight some of the differences referred to above.

## 2. Translation for conquest and trade

Brazil is a South-American country of 180 million inhabitants with an *official* illiteracy rate of 25% (1996). A locally translated book remained a rare object in Brazil until 1930, though the last ten years have registered an average of 2.94 translations per day (Cat.Bras.Publ., 1987).

Unlike many countries on the European continent, Brazil did not evolve from a tribe to a conglomerate of tribes, from a conglomerate of tribes to a nation, with all the cultural implications that such an evolution results in. At one point in time, April 1500, the various tribes that occupied the territory now known as Brazil began to be

dominated and were united into one single colony by Portugal. Their various cultures were slowly exterminated or superseded by a single French dominated culture, that of Portugal.

The indigenous populations of the 16th century are estimated by scholars at 9-10 million, and it has been established that they spoke 103 different unwritten languages belonging to three different linguistic branches - Tupi, Macro-gê and Arawak - and at least two *linguae francae*, Abanhenga and Cariri (Houaiss, 1988).

The European discoverers spoke Portuguese, a language that at the time neither had an official grammar nor was taught in schools. The first Portuguese grammar appeared in 1540, and education became public in Portugal, even though if deficient and fragmentary, in 1759. The Portuguese elite spoke Spanish, French, Portuguese and/or Latin, and the people, though at least partially bilingual, were thoroughly illiterate. Printing activities were incipient and burdened by a triple censorship exercised by the Crown, the Roman Catholic Holy Office and the Roman Catholic local bishop, a condition which drastically restricted the publication of books (Saraiva, 1976).

The Portuguese colonial project for Brazil was to establish profitable lumber and farming posts, manned by enslaved Indians, but also included turning the Indians into tame, Christian, Portuguese-speaking subjects. The "rebellious" nature of the natives, however, forced the colonizers, as early as 1504, to import more docile African slaves, an action which had among other consequences the addition of two other *linguae francae* - Yoruba and Bantu - to the Brazilian Babel.

In parallel, the Portuguese claim to the newly discovered land was simultaneously challenged by the English, French, Dutch and

Spanish crowns, who encouraged piracy and/or the setting up of trading posts along the Brazilian coast, which extended for more than 7,000km, which the Portuguese had no means of patrolling.

So the arrival of Europeans in *Terrae Brasiliae* produced a clash of 110 languages and cultures that could only be resolved by much interpreting and language learning. And, as all parties involved either spoke unwritten languages or could not write the languages they spoke, written translation had no ground to prosper. Besides the prevailing illiteracy, it had against its development the prohibitions on opening local universities and printing shops, travelling and trading by land, and trading with unauthorized foreigners, and another 400 activities. All these setbacks made oral translation not only the possible form, but the adopted form of translation for the next three centuries.

So, until the end of the 18th century, interpreters were in constant demand for exploratory expeditions inland, and for administrative, military, judiciary and religious services; Europeans and natives alike were hired by commercial and maritime courts of justice. But despite this high demand, the first "Sworn Translator and Interpreter of the Nation", Eugenio Gildmester, was appointed and granted the right to charge one thousand and one hundred *réis* for half a page of translation, only in 1808. Fifty years later (1851), however, Brazilian sworn translators were subordinated to the Commercial Tribunal (a situation which is still in effect for sworn translators) and had their profession and fees regulated by imperial law.

### 3. Translation for teaching and evangelization

The task of taming the natives and turning them into loyal Portuguese-speaking subjects fell to the Jesuits, who arrived in Brazil in 1554 and brought about an unexpected linguistic revolution. To

solve their communication problem they prepared a grammatical version (in the beginning hand-copied, then printed in Coimbra in 1595) of the *lingua franca* most widely spoken by coastal tribes. The new language was so rapidly and efficiently taught throughout the colony that it became more widespread than Portuguese. For 300 years, Tupi, and not Portuguese, was spoken by natives and Europeans alike, for all purposes and on all occasions, in spite of official efforts to stifle it. Even students who were being prepared to continue their studies in Europe, spoke Tupi in private, Portuguese at school on Sundays and other civil and religious holidays, and Latin at school on all other days (Leite, 1938).

The Jesuits were expelled from Brazil in 1759, and their schools and libraries dismantled. But Tupi continued to flourish, as illustrated by Guimarães Rosa's successful attempt to register in prose its current use in the interior of the state of Minas Gerais, and also by the large number of Tupi words assimilated into the Brazilian Portuguese, numerous place names throughout the country and by an important historical fact. In 1823 the members of Brazil's first Constituent Assembly finally chose Portuguese as their country's language, though early discussions included the adoption of either Tupi or French (Rodrigues, 1985)

So multilingualism<sup>1</sup> and translation were inseparable abilities taught at Jesuit schools from the early days of colonization. Translation exercises in prose, verse and drama were a fundamental aid to multilingualism in schools where the the curriculum included

<sup>1</sup> Multilingualism is understood as (a) symmetrical: the individual has equal knowledge of both languages; and (b) asymmetrical: (1) receptive or passive: the individual understands a second language but does not speak it; (2) non-receptive: the individual speaks a second language but understands it poorly; 3) the

Six further translations were released by other publishers during the 18th century on religion and morals, naturally enough, but also on science, the arts, philosophy, and biography. Notable among them is a feminist translation of Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* by Teresa Margarida da Silva Orta to which she added her own ideas (and in consequence was imprisoned by the Crown). It was published in Portugal in 1753 and twice reprinted.

Friar Veloso's shop was short-lived (1799-1801) but the idea behind it continued to bear fruit. Upon the transfer of the Portuguese Crown to Brazil, in 1808, the bans on printing shops, universities, inland communication and foreign trade were lifted and the colony had its first legal printing house.

*Impressão Régia*, a government-owned company, was granted the monopoly both to print government documents and text books. The latter, locally translated from French, English and German, were needed for the new medical and law schools, and the recently founded military and scientific institutions.

Translators were recruited from the Portuguese émigrés and the local élite who also held teaching and administrative posts in the government. The shop's first translation was Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, carried out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis of Aguiar. *Impressão Régia* also printed author's editions and reprinted a number of French novels translated in Portugal, which were the fashion of the day.

Whether these translators were paid or how they were paid is still obscure, but there is documentary proof that many books were dedicated to H.R.H. the Prince Regent. The fact that they were

translated by civil servants may indicate that they were not paid for their work, and were content just to attract the Crown's attention to their other qualifications, as happened in Lisbon.

The prices charged by *Impressão Régia*, however, were very steep, so that as soon as the Napoleonic Wars were over, booksellers, particularly the French, who had dominated the Brazilian book market since 1808, turned once again to smuggling and importing their stock from Europe.

It should be noted at this point that all attempts at producing paper in Brazil before 1888 proved non-competitive (as compared to Europe) due to the scarcity of qualified workers and the high cost of imported equipment and raw materials. In addition, the advent of the rotary press around the 1830s put an end to the alternative of using the idle time of newspaper printing presses to print books at a lower cost. Faster steamboats brought cheaper and better made French books, newspapers and magazines to the Brazilian public within fifteen days of their release in France. And in certain periods (1815-36; 1844-60) as a result of international agreements, imported paper and pulp were taxed at 60% more than imported books.

As a result, major Brazilian authors such as Machado de Assis and José de Alencar had their works printed in Lisbon, Paris and London. Seizing the opportunity, French publishers also opened an equally profitable sideline of exporting translations to Brazil. In Paris, Bossange et Aillaud, for example, hired a Brazilian translator, Caetano Lopes de Moura, who reputedly earned 20 francs for 30 thousand words in 1838 (Hallewell, 1985: 161).

### 5. Translation for entertainment

Translation found expression in several forms other than that of the book, which prospered enormously in Brazil during the 19th century: the press and the theatre. A considerable number of newspapers were founded in Rio de Janeiro, as well as in other provinces of the colony, and as domestic communications were deficient and news agencies non-existent, editors had to resort to translated news, articles and serial novels to fill up the pages of their newspapers. Some newspapers even hired "translators", although anyone who was bilingual might be given the job as it was assumed that anyone who could speak a foreign language could translate it, particularly with the dominance of the grammar-translation method of language teaching in all Western countries. This was the argument used by the government news organ, the *Diário Oficial*, for instance, when it cut two positions for translators and instead hired two multilingual journalists.

At the foot of the first page, newspapers published segments of translated serial novels, or French *feuilletons*, just after their publication in Paris and with the same aim. *Feuilletons* helped to sell newspapers, but they also provided translators with the newly discovered pleasure of translating novels which would be widely read. Before the advent of this new medium, novels were translated to be read among friends.

The theatre was another format in which translation became very important as from 1808, the beginning of a period of theatre building all over Brazil. Due to the small size of the population, however, just a few performances were given, so this soon raised a serious problem as the number of writers was equally small and insufficient to continually supply new plays. To try to solve the problem, both visiting and local companies began to commission translations and adaptations of French, Italian and Spanish plays or to

do them themselves. This practice became more frequent after the country's independence in 1822, when plays by Portuguese dramatists were considered politically undesirable.

*Feuilletons* and plays were translated by every aspiring writer in the country, from the Emperors to government employees and politicians and to bohemian printers and actors. Advertisements published in newspapers of the time show that there were also books translated and printed by public subscription, which we may assume also paid for the translator's work.

Though most translators earned their money from various other jobs, they became so active as dramatists that by 1917 they had founded an efficient and exclusive copyright association for their own protection: the Brazilian Society of Dramatists (SBAT - Sociedade Brasileira de Autores Teatrais).

While translated *feuilletons* and plays prospered, locally translated books, and even Brazilian originals, had to wait until the first quarter of the 20th century to be printed in Brazil.

### 6. Translation for nation building

Three circumstances helped to tip the scales in favour of local printing: World War I, which made importing books from Europe a very risky venture; Brazilian paper production which finally began to increase - a pre-requisite for competitive book printing; and the growing wave of nationalism then entering a more practical phase (Hobsbawm 1991).

Many publishing houses opened, closed and changed hands while attempting to substitute the importation of translated and original

books. Some even managed to become solid concerns by 1930, when the book industry received a strong boost from Getúlio Vargas's nationalist government (1930-1945).

One such concern was Editora Globo, whose development can be considered paradigmatic for Brazilian publishing houses in the first half of our century. It opened in 1883 as a store for office supplies in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state in Brazil. By 1922 it had published two highly successful text books, pirated translations from French, Italian and Spanish sources, and launched a magazine to publicize the ideas of local intellectuals and politicians who soon were to acquire nationwide fame. Fifteen years later Globo had become a leading publisher of reference books and translations: from Nobel Prize winners and classics to detective and adventure novels.

Globo's prosperity reflected favourably on working conditions for their translators, who resided or took up residence in Porto Alegre. They were given permanent work, a comfortable in-house office, payment by production and freedom to establish their own schedule. Additional benefits included a reference library, a typewriter and a chance to sub-edit other's translations.

Like José Olympio, an important publishing house in Rio de Janeiro, Globo also commissioned translations from both upcoming and well-established writers like poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade, novelist Rachel de Queiroz, publisher, translator and writer of children books Monteiro Lobato, literary critic Agripino Grieco, and novelist Lucio Cardoso, reflecting a preoccupation with quality and the consolidation of Brazilian Portuguese.

The volume of translated works published between 1930 and 1947 was so high that for two years the literary supplement of the

country's largest newspaper, *Diário de Notícias* (*Daily News*), carried a column to comment on them. For publishers translations were a means to circumvent the severe restrictions and censorship imposed by the Vargas dictatorship and at the same time acquaint Brazilian readers with new literary currents and cultures where political problems were freely discussed.

From 1936 to 1948, the number of Brazilian publishing houses grew by 91%, and the backbone of their growth were text books and/or translated novels. But following Vargas's fall, in 1946, changes in economic policies resulted in the number of publishing houses falling by 50%. However, the industry was saved from complete ruin by the initiative of foreign publishers to buy up or associate with their Brazilian counterparts.

The opportunity was taken up by the United States to dislodge France from the prominent position it had maintained for over a century in the Brazilian ideas market. A survey conducted by USIS in 1987 shows that the United States government financed the translation and publication of 9,849 American works between 1960 and 1987, a rate which has not stopped growing since, and by 1995 had reached 2.94 translations a day (Baltar, 1987).

The American example was followed by other governments. France, Italy and Germany began to finance translations, assuring a slow and varied flow of translated works other than American, comparable to the situation which had been enjoyed by European countries for centuries.

One of the consequences of expansion of the translation market promoted by the United States government, as from the sixties, was the opening of undergraduate courses in translation all over Brazil,

which nowadays total over 30. Despite their number, they continue to be insufficient to cope with the fast growing needs of new mass media like commercial and cable TV and the ever-growing importation of text books and manuals.

### 7. Conclusions

From this brief outline it is apparent that the initial development of translation in Brazil privileged oral translation, or interpreting, while ascribing to written translation the role of a mere teaching aid, as the seven books translated in the first 300 years of Brazilian history demonstrate.

And as before the invention of batteries and recording machines, oral translation was an individual, self-contained, process, no doubt it contributed significantly to the accumulation of knowledge about the inhabitants and the riches of the land, but not to the formation of a national literature.

Even the Jesuits' effort to normatize and to give written expression to a native *lingua franca* yielded, as far as we know, only eleven religious plays in four languages. For neither literature nor the translation of old manuscripts was their main concern, but rather the civilization of the "savages", a task so enormous that they abandoned it 30 years later to concentrate only on saving their souls (Tobias, 1986).

It is very difficult to evaluate the "real" contribution of translation to Brazilian literature until the 19th century, because adverse conditions for printing (prohibition), writing (triple censorship), reading (high book prices, high illiteracy rates) prevented the production and distribution of books. It is true that there are accounts of illegally hand-copied and printed books being confiscated and shops dismantled

(Moraes, 1979), but this has only began to receive the attention of scholars in the 1920s.

As from the beginning of the 19th century, however, translated French drama and *feuilletons* exerted such a radical impact on literature, and on culture as a whole, that, even while it was taking place, many intellectuals were calling it "the French influenza", or epidemic. (The extent of this epidemic has been thoroughly discussed in *Cultures Croisées*) (Carelli, 1993). Machado de Assis, for one, expressed his deep concern for the paths that remained open to Brazilian literature under this impact.

Today his concern seems totally justified, for even if we consider the episodic attempts at producing a Brazilian theatre, this genre has remained predominantly a translated genre, where situations and dialogues have been adapted to suit a public captivated by the French sitcoms, commercial TV, and now by cable TV.

The translated French *feuilletons* were replaced in the 20th century by translated American best-sellers, which have been so thoroughly assimilated by the public that Brazilian literature may now produce the strangeness commonly produced in Europe, for instance, by foreign literature.

But while the existence of highbrow literature is threatened by American bestsellers, another translated model has provided an outlet for Brazilian creativity. A direct offspring of French *feuilletons*, the soap opera, became, in the late 20th, *the* Brazilian popular literature. One of the reasons for its success is that it neither depends on printing nor on literacy but on TV, which reaches every corner of the country and every segment of society.



The transfer of scientific and technological information initiated by Friar Veloso in the late 18th century did not produce the intended effects, because the translations printed by Arco do Cego in Portugal, never reached Brazil (Moraes, 1979). Unaided by the Crown, however, another 86 translations appeared in Brazil, showing that besides religion and philosophy, poetry, music, drama, chemistry and medicine attracted the interest of colonials.

Another official initiative occurred when the Crown founded schools and ordered translations to be made for the newly founded school and scientific institutions from 1810 on. Though more successful than Veloso's, this new effort was also short-lived. Paper importation restrictions and production policies once again sent the decisions on what books to translate and print back to Portugal, France and England, despite the fact that Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822.

The desired transfer began to take place in the 20th century, after World War I, and predominantly from the United States. Together with American bestsellers, this transfer had an even more overpowering impact than that exerted by France during the four centuries of Portuguese colonization. Though it is early to evaluate all its effects on Brazilian culture, one can hypothesize that the entry of the United States into the Brazilian cultural market occurred too suddenly and in too short a period for a country where there were not enough translators to cope with the change.

The newness of the information which was being transferred and the newness of the English language made them privilege literal translation, and frequently mimic English structures, especially where English prepositions are concerned, to the point that it has visibly affected the production of texts in Portuguese.

These are some of the striking differences that I have found between the development of translation in major European countries, which should make local researchers think carefully about which factors and parameters should be included in a Brazilian translation history.

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## The Translation of the First Texts to Tupi, the Classical Indian Language in Brazil

*Eduardo de Almeida Navarro\**

*Abstract: This article describes the influence of Tupi Indian language on the formation of the Brazilian culture, especially on Brazilian Portuguese, Brazilian literature and the geographical names of Brazil. It also shows how the first texts in Tupi were produced, how these texts dealt with cultural diversity, allowing the Indian culture to be absorbed into the European culture, and the semantic displacements which took place.*

### 1. Introduction

When the Portuguese settlers arrived in Brazil, in around 1500, hundreds, or possibly thousands, of Indian languages were spoken in Brazil. Nevertheless, right along the coastline of Brazil, just one language was spoken, and as the colonization of Brazil began on the coast, it was this Indian language that the Portuguese learnt in order to colonize Brazil, which had a Indian higher population at the time than the population of Portugal, a million inhabitants. This language spoken along the Brazilian coastline in the 16th

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century was called the *Lingua Brasílica*, and in the 19th century Tupi. It is now known as *Ancient Tupi* or *Tupinambá*.

Ancient Tupi was thus a fundamental part of the formation of the Brazilian culture as it was learnt by the Portuguese in order to dominate the newly discovered land. It is the classical Indian language of Brazil, a central part of the spiritual and cultural development of Brazil and occupies a similar position to Quechua in Peru and Bolivia, Nahuatl in Mexico and Guarani in Paraguay, which have all been vital for the development of modern states.

In few American countries was an Indian language so widespread as Ancient Tupi was in Brazil. For a number of centuries it was the language of the majority of the members of the colonial administration, the Indians, Africans and Europeans, and played an important role in unifying Brazil. It gave thousands of terms to Brazilian Portuguese, naming thousands of places (after Portuguese it is the language which has produced most geographical names in Brazil); it was important for the literatures of the Colonial, Romantic and Modernist periods; and has been a central feature of affirmations of a Brazilian cultural identity.

As it was spoken in the catechism and by the backwoodsmen, it was an instrument of the spiritual and territorial conquests of our history, and knowledge of Tupi, however superficial it may have been, has been part of our national culture (Lemos Barbosa, 1956)<sup>1</sup>.

Brazil would be a bilingual country today, as Paraguay is, where Guarani is spoken alongside Spanish by just about all the

<sup>1</sup> "Palada na catequese e nas bandeiras, instrumento das conquistas espirituais e territoriais da nossa história, o seu conhecimento, sequer superficial, faz parte da cultura nacional".

population, even in the cities, if the teaching of Tupi had not been forbidden by the Portuguese government in 1758, through the powerful Minister of King Dom José of Portugal, the Marquis de Pombal, who decreed Portuguese as the national language of Brazil, thus weakening the power of the Catholic Church, especially that of the Jesuits, whom he expelled from Brazil in 1759.

The first grammarian of Tupi was Father José de Anchieta, who arrived in Brazil in 1553 and died in Brazil in 1597. He was the author of *Arte de Gramática da Língua mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* (*The Art of the Grammar of the Most Commonly Used Language Along the Coast of Brazil*). He arrived in Brazil with the fleet of Duarte da Costa, the second Governor General, and spent his first years in São Paulo de Piratininga, today, São Paulo, the largest city in Brazil, where he learnt Tupi and made a rough version of its grammar in 1555, though the final version was only published near the end of his life.

Tupi was spoken right along the Brazilian coastline, from the Amazon Basin to around the 27th parallel south, with a number of variants of dialect. Thus the grammar was made of a language which had a considerable geographical extension. The high costs of printing a grammar at a time when the press was still at a primitive stage, would only be justified if the language described was spoken by a large enough number of people, and the publication of a grammar would help to convert a considerable number of souls.

Tupi is thus the most important non-European influence on Brazilian Portuguese. According to Lemos Barbosa (1956) there are nearly ten thousand words which come from Tupi in Brazilian Portuguese. The influence has mainly been lexical, but can also be seen in syntax and phonology.

Tupi has mostly supplied terms in the semantic areas of flora and fauna, fish, hunting and food. It was almost impossible for the colonizer to dominate the new territory without learning the native language in which animals, plants, cultivated foods, and hunting and fishing instruments were named.

In order to know the Brazilian fauna we must become familiar with the vocabulary of Ancient Tupi: names like *jaguara* (the name of the well-known car *Jaguar* comes from Tupi), *jacaré* (alligator), *tatu* (anteater), *piranha*, *coati* (agouti), *perereca* (toad), *mocó* (guinea pig), *burigui* (sand fly), *guará* (ibis), *piripiri* (vulturine parrot) are common. The same goes for the flora: *caju* (cashew), *indaiá* (a type of palm), *pindoba* (pindova palm), *gravatá* (bromelia), *taquara* (type of small bamboo), are just a few of the thousands of names of plants in Brazil.

There are numerous expressions which include Tupi terms: everyday examples are *ficar com nbenhen nhen* (to create difficulties, problems); *ficar jururu* (to be sad); *ir para a cucuia* (to be finished, used up); *chorar as pitangas* (to complain, moan), which all come from the colonial period, when Tupi was spoken by the majority of Brazilians.

In the Brazilian cuisine, a large number of terms have been taken from Tupi: *pipoca* (popcorn), *pirão* (fish mush), *pururuca* (hominy) and *mandioca* (manioc).

In the same way that Arabic is necessary in order to further one's knowledge of Castilian Spanish or the Portuguese of Portugal, which both received thousands of terms from Arabic, a basic knowledge of Ancient Tupi is necessary in order to fully understand the Portuguese of Brazil.

Many people believe that the influence of Tupi can be found not just in the lexicon but also but also in the syntax of Brazilian Portuguese. For example, in placing the indirect personal pronoun *me* before the verb in Brazilian Portuguese as in *me dá um livro* (Give me a book) instead of *dá-me um livro*, as is spoken in Portugal. Brazilian Portuguese here copies the position of the first and second person personal pronouns in Tupi. It is also possible that Tupi has influenced the phonology of Brazilian Portuguese, as in the number of nasalized syllables occurring in Brazil that is greater than in Portugal.

When attempting to impose new patterns of spatial organization on Brazil, the Portuguese came across Indian societies that had been established in Brazil for many thousands of years, and the lands they "discovered" already had Indian names. The majority of Indian names are from Tupi, which was spoken by all Indian groups such as the Tupinambá, the Temiminó, the Tupinikin, the Tamoio, the Potiguar and the Tupi, which lived in the coastal areas.

Why are there so many Tupi place names in Brazil? As already mentioned, one hypothesis is that Tupi was spoken in the 16th century right along the Brazilian coast, and as the Indians were nomads, when the Portuguese colonization advanced, they began to move into the interior of Brazil and thus brought Tupi names to new areas. However, this point is contested by Sampaio (1987), who says that the majority of the place names were the result of "civilization", coming from missions and backwoodsmen, and not from the Indians themselves.

## 2. The grammarian missionaries and their importance for the knowledge of the languages of America

The publication of Father José de Anchieta's *Arte de Gramática da Língua mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* in 1595 in Portugal was not an

isolated fact but part of a much wider context as the 16th and 17th centuries can be called "The Period of the Grammars". Until then, little importance had been given to the study and grammars of languages, and in the Middle Ages when the scholastic theologian and not the polyglot philologist provided the model for the cultivated man.

At the same time as the scholars were studying ancient texts and drinking at the sources of Western culture, the new European nation states were appearing. Now language becomes a "companion of the Empire" as the Spanish humanist Nebrija said.

The discovery of new continents in the 16th century resulted in the Europeans making contact with the most varied cultural and linguistic realities, from the cultivated and refined Chinese society of the Ming dynasty to the Indian societies of South America, and the discovery of non-European languages of peoples who inhabited previously unknown regions and continents.

So, almost at the same time as the first grammars of French, Spanish, Portuguese were written, grammars of Amerindian, Asiatic and African languages were also published, which, decades previously, had been completely unknown to the Europeans. The first western grammars of Japanese, Vietnamese, Arabic, Geez (Ethiopia), Tamil, Guarani, Tupi, Nahuatl, Aymara (Bolivia and Peru), Quechua and many others date from this period. Certain grammars of Amerindian languages were even published before the first grammars of English, the first being that of Bullokar, in 1586, while *Arte en Lengua de Michoacan (The Art of the Language of Michoacan)*, by Frei Maturino Gilberti, had been published 28 years previously, in 1558.

If the grammaticalization of native languages and the renewal of grammars of the ancient languages were very much part of the Renaissance, the grammaticalization of American, Asiatic and African languages was the result of missionary activity, part of the Counter Reformation, which refused to accept the basic theories of the Renaissance. It was also at this time that religion in the West began to sever its links with philosophy and politics, contrary to what took place in the Islamic world.

The missionaries were thus the first grammarians of the American, African and Asiatic languages. For Inácio de Loyola, learning the languages of the peoples to be evangelized was the first obligation of a Jesuit missionary. In countries like Japan, India, Vietnam, Mexico, Peru and Paraguay, these missionaries produced monumental philological works, the first grammars of languages which are spoken today by millions of people.

### 3. The literature of catechism, the first literature in Amerindian languages

The Counter Reformation in the 16th century, which produced structural changes in the Catholic Church, in order to confront the Protestant threat in Europe and which was affecting the newly-discovered lands, banned the translation of the Bible into living European languages and into Amerindian, African and Asiatic languages.

Martin Luther, who translated the Bible into German, believed that the Scriptures should be accessible to ordinary people, and this principle, associated with that of the free interpretation of the Bible, led to the fragmentation of Protestantism into different branches and subdivisions. This did not take place with Catholicism, which has kept a formal unity right until today.

Thus the Council of Trent, which finished in 1564, confirmed the text of the Bible known as the *Vulgata* as the official Church text for the Latin ritual. Translating the Bible to living languages would be an enormous heresy, an indication of Lutherism and a sin which could be severely punished.

However, in Renaissance Europe, Latin could be read by a large number of people as the majority of European languages derive from Latin or are strongly influenced by it. But how could the people from overseas, the distant peoples of Africa, Asia and America, receive the Christian doctrine if the Latin culture and Latin itself were unknown and incomprehensible to them, if Latin had no relation with the languages which were spoken there? Likewise, in Europe, many people had no access to the Latin text of the Bible due to the high illiteracy rates in medieval Europe. How could the doctrines of Catholicism be brought to these people?

The Council of Trent, which was sensitive to the requirements of the new times, which had seen the expansion of the geographical, cultural and linguistic limits of the world and the emergence of cultures as diverse as those of the Indians and the Incas, allowed a corpus of doctrines in living languages which contained the fundamental truths of the Christian faith, prayers, the instructions on sacraments and the most important extracts of the gospels to be compiled. It was called the Roman Catechism.

The Catechism could actually be translated into any languages in the world and was the basis of education throughout the Catholic world after the Council of Trent. Admittance to the sacraments of the Eucharist and Penitence should be preceded by an initiation into the Catholic doctrine summarised in the texts of the Catechism.

In linguistic terms, the importance of the Christian doctrines and the Roman Catechism is in the fact that they are, in many cases, the first texts which were translated into American, Asiatic and African languages. These translations were often made in the 16th century and are the oldest literature we have of many of the world's languages.

Three kinds of works were published by the religious orders in Latin America: lists of vocabulary, grammars and, most importantly, catechisms. Such catechismal literature in Latin American, included:

- The Roman Catechism (containing the Christian doctrine), which translated into Indian languages, included;
- Sermons and homilies
- Primers followed by prayers, for the teaching of Indian languages to children together with the teaching of religion (e.g., the *Cartilla para los niños en lengua Tarasca* (*The Primer for Children in the Tarasco Language*), by Frei Maturino Gilberti, México, 1559)
- Confessionals
- Prayers for saints
- Daily spiritual exercises
- Christian psalmodies and religious songs
- A Translation of the Epistles and the Gospels
- A Translation of Papal bulls to Indian languages
- A biography of pious Indians
- Parish manuals (Missals)
- The biographies of saints
- Works on the life of Jesus Christ
- A manual of the sacraments
- Didactic plays (autos) and religious poems

However, the missionaries did not always have to deal with languages which had a purely oral tradition. In the 16th century Europeans also found complex societies which had written forms and which already had age-old written literature. This was the case of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians, who also had religious books which were as old as or older than the Bible, as in the case of Rg Veda and Tao Te King. In this case, the requirements of the linguistic study by the missionaries was much more than the mere production of catechismal texts. The work of the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci illustrates the situation which missionaries in Asia faced. He arrived in Macau in 1582 and produced non-catechismal literature in Chinese, with the explicit aim of attracting the attention of China to his culture, and by doing so, would attempt to guide readers into taking an interest in God.

#### 4. Anchieta's *Brasílico Catechism*

The first religious texts in Ancient Tupi were written soon after 1548, the year in which the first Jesuits arrived in Brazil. But it was only after 1553, with the arrival of José de Anchieta, that all the Roman Catechism was translated into Tupi.

Born in 1534 in the Canary Isles, Anchieta went to Portugal in 1548 to study at the famous Renaissance school, the *Colégio das Artes*, one of the so-called "colleges of three languages", Latin, Greek and Hebrew. At this time, such colleges were spreading all over Europe, forming the intellectual elite of the Renaissance. Anchieta lived in Coimbra during one of its most hectic periods, also one of the richest of intellectual life in Portugal. His gained most of his humanistic education at the *Colégio das Artes* before he entered the Company of Jesus in 1551 and before *Colégio* was handed over to the Company of Jesus in 1555.

Anchieta came to Brazil to teach Latin in the settlement of São Paulo. There he learnt and mastered Tupi, the reason why the Indians called him *nbe'engyara* (*he who dominated the language, the lord of speech*).

Anchieta remained in São Paulo from 1554 (the year of its foundation) until 1562. In these eight years he translated the Roman Catechism to Tupi, but this text was only published in 1621, after his death, and was altered and enlarged by another Jesuit, Antônio de Araújo, who gave it the title *Catecismo na Língua Brasileira*.

#### 4.1. Semantic Dislocations

According to Alfredo Bosi (1992),

The project of transposing the Catholic message to the speech of the Indians required a great effort in order to penetrate the imaginary of the Other, and this was the task of the first apostle (i.e., Anchieta). In the passage from one symbolic sphere to another, Anchieta found obstacles which at times could not be solved. How could the Tupis be told about the word *in* if they had no such notion, at least according to what was registered throughout the Middle Ages in Europe. Anchieta, in this and other extreme cases, preferred to graft Portuguese vocabulary on to the trunk of the native language; and he does the same, and with good reasons, with the word *mass*, and the invocation to *Our Lady*:

- 2 "O projeto de transpor para a fala do índio a mensagem católica demandava um esforço de penetrar no imaginário do outro, e este foi o empenho do primeiro apóstolo (i.e., Anchieta). Na passagem de uma esfera simbólica para a outra, Anchieta encontrou óbices por vezes incontornáveis. Como dizer aos tupis, por exemplo, a palavra pecado, se eles careciam até mesmo da sua noção, ao menos no registro que esta assumira ao longo da Idade Média europeia? Anchieta, neste e em outros casos extremos, prefere enxertar o vocábulo português no tronco do idioma nativo; o mesmo faz, e com mais fortes razões, com a palavra missa e com a invocação a Nossa Senhora."

*Ejorí, Santa Maria,  
xe anama rausnbá!  
Vem, Santa Maria,  
Para se compadecer de minba família*

*(Ejorí, Santa Maria,  
xe anama rausnbá!  
Come, Santa Maria,  
To take pity on my family)*

Anchieta translated The Lord's Prayer as follows:

Oré r-ub, ybak-y-pe t-ekó-ar,  
Nosso Pai, o que está no céu,  
*Our Father, who art in Heaven*  
I moeté-pyr-amo nde r-era t'o-ikó.  
Como o que é honrado teu nome esteja.  
*Hallowed be thy name*  
T'o-ur nde Reino!  
Que venha teu Reino!  
*Thy kingdom come!*  
T'o-nhe-monhang nde r-emi-motara  
Que se faça tua vontade  
*Thine will be done!*  
yby-pe  
na terra,  
*On earth,*  
Ybak-y-pe i nhe-monhanga íabé!  
Como o fazer-se dela no céu!  
*As it is in Heaven!*

Oré r-emi-'u, 'ara-íabi'ô-ndûara,  
Nossa comida, a que é de cada dia  
*Our food of every day*  
E-í-me'eng kori orébe.  
Dá hoje para nós.  
*Give us today*  
Nde nhyrô oré angaípaba r-esé orébe,  
Perdoa tu nossos pecados a nós,  
*Forgive us our sins,*  
Oré r-erekó-memûã-sara supé  
Como aos que nos tratam mal  
*As those who treat us badly*  
Oré nhyrô íabé.  
Nós perdoamos.  
*We forgive.*  
Oré mo'ar-ukar ume) íepé tentação pupé,  
Não nos deixes tu fazer cair em tentação,  
*Lead us not into temptation,*  
Oré pysyrô-te íepé mba'e-aiba sui.  
Mas livra-nos tu das coisas más.  
*But deliver us from bad things.*

It can be seen that the terms *Reino* (kingdom) and *tentação* (temptation) were not translated into Tupi, and Anchieta used the Portuguese terms. According to Bosi (op. cit.), "such cases are atypical. He most often looks for some corresponding element in the two languages with unequal results"<sup>3</sup>. Let us now look at some

<sup>3</sup> "tais casos são atípicos. O mais comum é a busca de alguma homologia entre as duas línguas com resultados de valor desigual".



of the ways in which terms which designated important concepts of the Christian religion were translated:

**God** – The term used by Anchieta in the Indian language to designate the Christian God was Tupã, the name of a cosmic force identified with the thunder, which was a destructive power. Tupã beraba, *the brilliance of Tupã*, was the lightning which destroyed the forest. How can it be identified with the God of the Gospels? How would the Indians have accepted such a transplant of concepts? According to Helène Clastres (1978), the religion of the Indians along the coastline of Brazil and that of the Guaranis contained the idea of the end of the world and of all order of things. In addition, they believed in an earthly paradise, *the Land with nothing bad* (Yby Marã-e'yma), which had a definite location and where they would find their dead ancestors. It was thus easy for the missionaries to identify Tupã with the Christian god as the former was a destructive god (the thunder). It was only after all order was destroyed that a supernatural order would be established, where man would be free from all bad things. This was an idea which the missionaries assimilated to that of the Christian paradise. As a symbol of destruction, thunder can thus be identified with God.

**Paradise** – As just seen, the Indians along the Brazilian coast believed in the notion of a paradise which had both a definite time and place. It was called Yby-Marã-e'yma, *the Land with nothing bad*, where they would find their ancestors and where they would dance and drink with them for ever. This idea seemed to be pagan to the missionaries, and this is the reason why the Christian paradise was not called by this name but rather Tupã rorypaba (*the place of the happiness of Tupã*).

**Angel** – In order to designate the angels, Anchieta created the term karai-bebé, which means *sanctity which flies*. Karaiba was the name of an Indian prophet who travelled from village to village to announce the Land with nothing bad, the Indian paradise. He was highly respected and lived in isolation fasting and keeping silent for long periods. *Karaiba* also designated all that was sacred for the Indians, their religious objects, and everything that was linked to their rituals.

**Sin** – The Indians along the coast of Brazil did not share our concept of sin. Anchieta used the Tupi term tekó-aiba, tekó-poxy or tekó-angaipaba, which meant *the bad life, or the bad culture of a people*. Tekó-poxy was opposed to tekó-katu (good culture), which was the Christian life, Christian virtue. Anchieta directly attacked traditional elements of the Indian culture such as anthropophagy and communication with the dead, in addition to the practices of witch doctors and trances, which he believed to be diabolical. In his didactic religious play, the auto *Na Aldeia de Guaraparim* (*In the Village of Guaraparim*), he placed in the mouth of the Devil a series of practices which he saw as diabolical:

*Moraseia é i katu  
Jeguaka, isompiranga  
Samongy, tetymanguanga,  
Iemoína, petymbu,  
Karai-wonbamronhanga...  
Iemcyrô, morapiti,  
io'u, tapuia rara,  
aguasá, moropotara,  
manhana, ryguaraiy:  
naipotari abá seiara.*

*A dança é que é boa,  
adornar-se, tingir-se de vermelho,  
matar as penas, tingir-se de urucu as pernas,  
tingir-se de preto, fumar,  
ficar fazendo feitiçaria,  
enfurecer-se, matar gente,  
comer um ao outro, apauhar tapuias,  
mancebia, desejo sensual,  
espiar, prostituir-se.  
Não quero que o homem deixe (tais coisas).*

*The dance is good,  
You adorn yourself, you paint yourself red,  
You dance the feathers, you dye your legs with urucu,  
You paint yourself black, smoke,  
You carry out spells,  
You grow furious and kill people,  
You eat each other, you catch enemy Indians,  
You take concubines, give yourselves to sensual desire,  
You spy, prostitute yourselves.  
I don't want anyone to stop (doing such things)*

In other words, in order to become Christians, the Indians must stop being Indians.

**The Devil** – The Indians were deeply religious, with all their social lives based around religion. The primitive Indians along the Brazilian coast believed that there existed malignant entities which inhabited the forests and the beaches: *Anbanga, Juruparim, Mbatatá,*

*Curupira*, etc. Anchieta chose the term *Anbanga* to designate the biblical term.

**Inferno** – The Christian inferno was a strange idea for the Indians, who had no conception of a state of eternal suffering. Anchieta called this in Tupi *Anbanga ratá*, the fire of *Anbanga*. The malignant spirit, who lived in the forests, thus moved to the depths of the earth and kept alight the fire where sinners would be eternally punished.

**Soul** – In order to designate this term, Anchieta used the Tupi term *'anga*, which also designated *shadon*. It is not known whether this term was used by the Indians in this sense as the essence of their religion was the communication with the souls of the dead.

**Church** – The term *Tupã-oka*, house of *Tupã*, was used to designate the Christian temple.

**Purity** – This term was very abstract to be translated into Tupi, a language which expressed concrete things with few abstractions and thus had problems to express a mythical way of thinking. This concept was designated by the term *moro-potar-e'yma*, *not to desire people sensually*, which is hardly the same thing as *purity*.

**Miracle** – Another concept which did not exist among the Indians along the coast of Brazil. Mythical thinking is impregnated with the supernatural and is full of miracles and prodigies. The logic of mythical thought is not the same as that of literate societies, and there was no term to designate *miracle*. Anchieta translated it as *"to make easy that which is difficult"*.

#### 4.2. Indian culture in the Tupi catechism

When transposing the Christian message to the Indian language, Anchieta made adaptations which forced him to distance himself from Catholic orthodoxy and put Indian elements into Catholicism. A good example of this is the way in which doctrinaire messages which originated in the Indian culture are inserted in the *Catecismo Brasilico*. Here are some examples:

##### 4.2.1. The legend of Sumé and Saint Tomé

In the 16th and 17th centuries the legend spread among whites that the apostle Saint Tomé had come to evangelize America. Sumé, "great witch doctor and caraíba Indian", is the father of the brothers Tamendonare and Ariconte, who, among other things, were responsible for the flood, which the primitive Indians of the Brazilian coast believed had destroyed the whole of humanity in the past. Sumé is the civilizing hero to whom the Tupis attribute their knowledge of agriculture and their social organization. At another time he taught men the arts of civilization: certain footprints printed in rocks show the Tupis the visible proof of his presence. Near the bay of Rio de Janeiro, there was a long five foot wide stone on which there were some marks of a stick and human footprints. These were thought to have belonged to the great Caraíba, who gave them knowledge, the use of fire and information on planting root crops. The similarity between the names of *Sumé* and *Tomé*, the faith in the Scriptures which affirmed that the word of the apostles would spread throughout the world were all that was necessary for the legend to gain strength. "Thanks to this, the Indian world was seen to be coherent: it was possible to attribute those parts of the truth which could be identified in certain places in the Indian discourse to the sermons of the apostles"<sup>4</sup>. (Clastres, op. cit.)

<sup>4</sup> "Graças a isso, a percepção do mundo índio se tornará coerente: será possível atribuir à pregação do apóstolo as parcelas de verdade que se crê identificar cá e lá no discurso indígena".

In Araújo's 1621 catechism, probably based on an older text of Anchieta, we can find the following on São Tomé:

*"Kó santo supé hyá our kó xe jby supá rimba'e i 'éu. Anbe serã iatepiak iaby i py-pora 'iaba. Ké sú i asab-i Índia tapyitinga retame.*

*Dizem, sobre este santo, que veio para visitar esta minha terra. O que se diz é que se vêem as marcas de seus pés. Daqui passou para a Índia, terra dos hindus".*

*They say, about this saint, that he came to visit my country. What is said is that the marks of his feet can be found. From here he went to India, the land of the Hindus.*

The catechism produced for the Indians thus included texts which did not appear in catechisms in other languages, let alone in the *Catechismus Romanum*. What is found is a hybrid text: it is not part of the Indian culture, as they spoke of *Sumé* and not *São Tomé*, nor is it part of orthodox Catholic culture, which didn't contain this legend.

##### 4.2.2. Aspects of the affective and sexual lives of the Indians

Anchieta's Catechism also shows us important data on the sexual life of the Indians in terms of the marriage sacrament or the Sixth Commandment, that of chastity. Of all the commandments which the Catechism mentions, the text on the Sixth Commandment, which reflects the strong sexual repression of the Catholic Counter Reformation, is the longest of all. Anchieta teaches the marriage sacrament according to the medieval form of teaching by questions and answers:

"-S-ygyrãpe kunhã o mena reséne?  
-Sygyrhone, amoáé kunhã resé sekopotare'yma.

Terá a mulher ciúmes de seu marido?  
Terá ciúmes, para ele não querer viver com outra mu-  
lher."

"Will the woman be jealous of her husband?  
Yes, so he will not want to live with another woman."

But Anchieta did not ask men the same question: he did not say that they should be jealous of their wives so that they do not want other men. This is a clear reference to the polygamy of the coastal Indians. In this warrior society, the man found himself totally involved in the practice and the maintenance of warfare, and the woman would look after the crops, harvest, prepare and cook food, make drinks (the ingredients of religious ceremonies), obtain water, firewood and keep the fire alight, take care of the male companion and children and transport the hammocks and food that were required on long journeys (even those whose aim was war). As a result, the man needed the woman to "look after him" both when he was present as when he was absent.

The work may well have been too hard for just one wife, and so the husband would look for other companions; the wife herself would often take the initiative to look for these concubines to help her in the daily tasks. The chroniclers of the period say that wives were not jealous of their husbands and that they even asked their husbands to have more wives to help them. It is for this reason that Anchieta states in his catechism that the wife should be jealous of

her husband. Such a statement would be unthinkable in a European catechism, where the idea of jealousy is negative: a desire to possess the beloved. Among the Brazilian Indians jealousy was seen as positive, an element which would preserve the monogamous marriage.

## 5. Conclusions

Anchieta's *Catecismo Brasilico*, one of the first texts translated in Brazil, is an archaeology of the cultural formation of Brazil, the meeting of the European and Indian worlds.

Anchieta did not see the Indian as the *Other*, but rather as the *Same*. The Indian's culture needed to be destroyed so that he could be turned into a Christian. In 16th century anthropology there was no concept of cultural relativism.

According to Bosi (op. cit.),

The new representation of the sacred which was produced in this way was neither Christian theology nor Tupi belief but rather a third symbolical sphere, a kind of parallel mythology was made possible by the colonial situation<sup>5</sup>.

Translated from the Portuguese by John Milton

<sup>5</sup> "A nova representação do sagrado assim produzida já não era nem a teologia cristã nem a crença tupi, mas uma terceira esfera simbólica, uma espécie de mitologia paralela que só a situação colonial tornara possível."

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## Theatre, Translation and Colonization

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*Abstract: The article proposes to show the dominance of foreign and translated plays in Brazil as from the time the theatre was introduced by European colonizers, and how this has affected Brazilian playwriting throughout the centuries, moulding the work of writers and the preferences of their public. It also reveals the dilemma faced by researchers when writing their histories to determine what is translation and what is original in the development of theatre in Brazil.*

### I. Introduction

When reading Brazilian literary history, it becomes clear that drama has never been a flourishing literary genre in our country, despite the fact that building theatres and going to plays have had an important role in the formation of our culture.

This apparent paradox is easily understood when one realizes that our theatre has basically fed on foreign plays, both original and translated, since the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, around the middle of the 16th century.

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This information can be easily found in the chronicles and travel journals written by Europeans who visited Brazil during colonial times, in articles and essays by 19th century dramatists and critics, and in the work of contemporary theatre historians. Though the latter do not deal with translations, here and there they give the researcher clues as to where to look for information of performances given both in Portuguese and in other languages, at different times and places.

When the bits and pieces of evidence from all sources are put together, it becomes clear that ours has always been a translated theatre, whether authors resorted to translations of foreign originals to keep theatres and dramatic groups going, or to foreign originals as sources of inspiration. The literature they looked up to has changed according to cultural dominance: most of the time, new genres and movements have reached us through France, though there has been considerable Spanish, French Italian, and, in the 20th century, American, influence.

## 2. Multilingualism vs. translation<sup>1</sup>

Theatre was not an art form known to the indigenous populations that inhabited Brazil in 1500, when Europeans officially arrived.

Introduced by Jesuit missionaries as an aid to their work, early multilingual Brazilian drama followed the medieval tradition of miracle and morality plays, *autos* as they were called, but with significant additions. Inspired by the work of Gil Vicente (c.1465-

<sup>1</sup> For the role that theatre played in the development of translation in Brazil see "Translating Brazil", also by Lia Wyler, in this volume.

c.1537), an Iberian bilingual dramatist, their dramatic core was introduced by Tupi elements taken from the ceremonies to welcome illustrious visitors and followed by Tupi, Spanish and Portuguese songs and dances, thereby integrating all cultures concerned (Cardoso, 1977). The idea behind these changes in the structure of *autos* was to "localize" the Catholic doctrine, to make it pleasantly familiar to native converts.

The first of fourteen plays written in Tupi,<sup>2</sup> Latin, Portuguese and/or Spanish was called by their author, Jesuit priest Father José de Anchieta, *Auto da Pregação Universal* (*Auto of the Universal Prayer*), alluding to the fact that it could be understood by everyone involved.

But he was not the only dramatist at work. Sousa (1960) credits the 16th century with a total of twenty one plays (*autos*, dialogues, eclogues and tragedies – mostly bilingual), including seven by Anchieta. In his history there are four references to the languages they were written in, and for one of them he reproduces a remark made by a Jesuit chronicler, Father Serafim Leite:

"It (the play) must have been written in Portuguese, otherwise one could not explain the resounding conversions made nor the enjoyment of the audience." (my translation)<sup>3</sup>

Given the linguistic multiplicity found in the colony, it seems more likely that either the play was written in Tupi, which would

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the position of Tupi in colonial Brazil, see "The Translation of the First Texts to Tupi, the Classical Indian Language in Brazil", Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Sousa, J. Galante de. *O teatro no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC/INL, 1960, p. 98. "Deve ter sido escrito em português, porque de outra forma, lembra ainda o Pe. Serafim Leite, não se explicariam as conversões retumbantes, que produziu, e o agrado geral".

explain so many conversions and so much enjoyment, or the good father was understandably exaggerating.

Less understandable is the lusocentric bias shown by most literary historians who omit or minimize the importance of both multilingualism and translation for the enjoyment of plays performed in colonial Brazil.

They affirm that following the decline of religious theatre there was a great gap in theatrical activities, which extended from the 17th century through the 18th century. For this, Sousa (1960) offers two alternative explanations, which in my view exclude each other, for if we are to believe that the colony was busy fighting off French and Dutch invasions, and keeping down rebellious Indians, Negroes and colonials, then it follows that there were no performances.

On the other hand, if we are to believe that chroniclers remained silent about performances as part of a strategy to avoid Papal reprimands on the immoderate use of theatre in the colony, then it follows that there were performances.

In support of the second alternative, *Auto da Pregação Universal* was written by Anchieta to commission with a view "to stop the abuse of performing profane plays in churches." Anchieta was a Jesuit and his order played a central role in the spread of the new Catholicism as defined by the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which ruled out all cultural manifestations suspected of heterodoxy, including those previously tolerated, such as the performance of profane plays in monasteries and churches.

So profane plays, whether translated or original, must have been sufficiently numerous to require action from the Jesuits, who

were not only the guardians of Faith but were given the monopoly of both the education and the evangelization of colonials and natives.

Historians mention as exceptions various plays in French and Spanish which were staged during the alleged "gap". The number of exceptions is so large that they should be analyzed as actual manifestations of a multilingual culture flourishing in colonial Brazil.

These manifestations include performances given in schools, churches and monasteries, as well as in the open air, both to welcome visiting authorities and celebrate civil and religious holidays: plays by Calderón de La Barca, Juan Perez Montalván and Augustin Moreto, which were performed both in Spanish and in translation, revealing the marked influence of Spanish drama in the colony until the end of the 17th century. This can also be seen in the fact that our first dramatist, Manuel Botelho de Oliveira (1673-1711), wrote in Spanish after Spanish models, as did his counterparts in Portugal.

At a given point in his history of Brazilian theatre, Sabato Magaldi (1962) states that if he were to compile a list of (translated) plays staged during the 17th century he would come out with a long and arid list of places, titles of plays, names of actors and dates – but always incomplete – that would add very little to his work.

Another piece of information that reveals the extent of theatrical activities in a language different from Portuguese is the decline of Spanish drama, mentioned by all historians – which *per se* implies that until then Spanish drama had been on the rise. This decline was a direct consequence of the Portuguese reaction to Spanish cultural and political domination which in the theatre meant boycotting Spanish drama and substituting it with French and Italian plays.

Colonial chroniclers abound in references which attest to this turn-about. Chronicler José Arouche de Toledo Rendon, describing



festivities held in Cuiabá, in 1790, mentions the performance of six plays by Metastasio, two by Molière and one by Voltaire.

And finally, there is also a document mentioned by all historians, the Royal Decree, dated 17 July 1771, which can be understood not only as a measure inspired by the Enlightenment, but also as an acknowledgement that, for some time, there had been a regular public for Opera Houses or Comedy Houses – as theatres were then called. The decree recommended the

"establishment of well-regulated public theatres, because they bring to all nations splendour and utility, since they are the school where the people learn the sound lessons of politics, morals, love for one's country, and valour, zeal and loyalty in their service to the crown, and for which they are not only permitted, but necessary." (my translation)<sup>4</sup>

Though modest, theatres began to be built in the cities of Recife and Salvador in the Northeast; Porto Alegre in the South; Rio de Janeiro, Itaboraí, Campos, São Paulo and Diamantina in the Southeast; but foreign plays continued to be performed, either translated or in the original, following the tradition of previous centuries.

Their translators were often well-known personalities, and many were involved in political activities: Alvarenga Peixoto, translator of *Merope* by Maffei, took part in a major rebellion to free

<sup>4</sup> Sousa, J. Galante de. *O teatro no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC/INL, 1960, tomo 1, p.109. "O alvará de 17 de julho aconselhava 'o estabelecimento dos teatros públicos bem regulados, pois deles resulta a todas as nações grande esplendor e utilidade, visto serem a escola, onde os povos aprendem as máximas sãs da política, da moral, do amor da pátria, do valor, do zelo e da fidelidade com que devem servir aos soberanos, e por isso não só são permitidos, mas necessários'."

the country from colonial rule, in 1788. So did Claudio Manuel da Costa, translator of seven plays by Metastasio, who in turn dedicated a cantata and a lyrical drama to Peixoto (Sousa, 1960).

There were also less well-known translators who even had a more regular production. For instance, the oldest repertory theatre group in Brazil, organized by Viceroy Luís de Vasconcelos, in Rio de Janeiro, between 1770 and 1790, had a translator of their own, Antonio Nascentes Pinto, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia and Customs Officer.

So it appears from all data available that the last quarter of the 18th century marked a decisive effort to develop theatrical activities in Brazil. But in spite of this evidence, Sousa (1960), argues that one cannot speak of a Brazilian theatre before 1838, as previous performances lacked the three elements that make up a real theatre: a regular public, actors and authors. Maybe he is being too strict for some seventy years before 1838 there were theatres and a regular public for whatever plays were staged. True enough actors were not professionals, but there were plenty of Brazilian translators who successfully adapted foreign plays to local demands, whom we can call authors. At a time when authors' rights did not exist, what should they be called? Should their considerable contribution to the development of a national literature be ignored by historians?

And Brazilian translations were not confined to the colony, where printing was forbidden until 1808. Among others, poet Domingos Caldas Barbosa (1738-1800), also co-founder of the Academy of Letters in Lisbon, Portugal, published various translations there, including the one-act Italian drama *A escola dos ciãos* (*The School of the Envious*), original title unknown, dated 1795.

### 3. What national theatre?

Once again it was a Royal Decree, dated 28 May 1810, that stimulated the first serious demand for Brazilian drama. The Prince Regent Dom João considered it absolutely necessary to build a decent (European) theatre in Rio de Janeiro, suitable for the population and the importance the city had acquired through his residence there and, in consequence, the presence of foreigners and other people who came from Portugal's extensive provinces.

And though Magaldi (1962) states that Brazil's cosmopolitan bourgeoisie remained indifferent to nationalist aspirations as well as to artistic ideals, the Real Theatro São João (São João Royal Theatre) opened in Rio de Janeiro in 1813, thanks to private funding, and in its wake 23 theatres were built in other provinces that were quick to emulate the capital's new mores.

Portuguese, French and Italian companies came for part of the season to these new theatres, to which, in the second half of the century, another 17 were added. The rest of the time had to be filled in by local companies, and local plays could not be produced quickly enough to cope with the task of launching a new play every fortnight.

This rapid turnover soon began to detract from the quality of both performances and plays, calling for immediate remedies such as finding ways to create new plays overnight. Thus the operas, operettas, vaudevilles, tragedies, comedies, parodies "in imitation of", "freely translated from", "a parody of", "inspired by", "adapted to the Brazilian stage", as pointed out by Rocha (1982) in his article about the legal aspects of translation in Brazil.

This freedom to recreate foreign originals existed in all Western countries in the 19th century. Authorial rights were a

conquest of French Romanticism and were only adopted by Brazil and included in the Civil Code in 1916.

Thus began the long sequence of French and frenchified plays on the Brazilian stage, some adapted from works by famous dramatists like Molière, Corneille, Racine, Musset, Hugo, Dumas, d'Ennery, Bourgeois, Feuillet, Feydeau, but mostly comedies and vaudevilles.

Other non-French authors were known to the Brazilian public through excerpts of their works translated from French and Spanish into the Portuguese of Portugal, until the first quarter of the 20th century. The first translation of Shakespeare into Brazilian Portuguese appeared in 1933, made by writer and poet Tristão da Cunha. However, the Germans Schiller, Goethe; the Spaniards Echegaray, Espronceda; and the Italians Metastasio and Ciconi were translated from their original languages.

Translators were men – never women – active in the civil service, literature, journalism, politics and the theatre itself – such as actor-manager João Caetano, to whom the decisive step of freeing our stage from Portuguese rule is often attributed. Actually, this important step would have to wait another hundred years.

Seen as the personification of Othello (as adapted by Ducis), João Caetano specialized in French melodramas. Magaldi (1962) suggests that his choice was justified by the scarcity of good Brazilian originals and the fact that tragic roles were better suited to the actor's interpretative qualities.

Another director, Joaquim Heliodoro Gomes dos Santos, privileged realistic French plays of a more recent vintage; Dumas

Filho, Scribe, Augier, Sardou, which were enormous successes between 1855 and 1884.

Most attempts to change the *status quo* failed and even The Imperial Academy of Music and National Opera, founded in 1857, to train actors and to present new concerts, had in its repertory few Brazilian plays among dozens of translations. Historians disagree as to which play opened the activities of the Academy, but most agree that it was a translation: either a Spanish *zarzuela*, *The Début of an Artist*, performed on 17 July 1857, and translated by José Feliciano de Castilho, or *The Return of Columela*, performed on 23 November 1857, an opera translated by Vicente de Simoni.

The predominance of translations on the stage led Machado de Assis, Brazil's most important 19th century writer, to express his regret that Brazilian theatre should thrive on translations. This was a fact that discouraged dramatic poets and encouraged, in turn,

the appearance of another creature: the drama translator, a sort of menial who passes dishes of a strange cuisine from one room to another.<sup>5</sup>

Artur Azevedo, a minor dramatist but excellent translator/adapter of French comedies, vaudevilles and parodies, was publicly accused of contributing to stifle Brazilian drama. In his defence, he argued that parody was already an established genre before his arrival on the scene, and that his plays were disputed by producers and much applauded by the public.

<sup>5</sup> Machado de Assis, "Crítica/Idéias sobre o teatro". In: *Obra Completa*. Rio de Janeiro: 1959, p. 807. "Daqui o nascimento de uma entidade: o tradutor dramático, espécie de criado de servir que passa, de uma sala a outra, os pratos de uma cozinha estranha" (my translation).

The works of Martins Pena himself, a much fêted Brazilian dramatist, leave no doubt that their source of inspiration was the Luso-French comic theatre.

Contemporary theatre historians, however, believe that translations were not all detrimental to the development of Brazilian drama. Sousa states that translations, parodies, adaptations, inspired by foreign authors, signalled the nationalization of Brazilian theatre. To illustrate his argument, he says that Joaquim Norberto, who introduced vaudeville into Brazil, began by writing imitations and ended up by writing wholly original shows.

From a contemporary point of view, it can also be said that the parodies of French plays revealed a national Other and gave translators a chance to criticize both the habits of the people and the government, encouraging authors and audience to use the theatre as a space for political protest.

On the eve of the Declaration of Independence (22 September 1822) and the Abdication of Dom Pedro I (7 April 1831), the political protests of theatregoers were severely criticized by journalists and visiting foreigners. Carl Seidler, a German army officer who was in Brazil between 1825 and 1835, comments that German and French plays were terribly translated and full of allusions to the Abdication. Nowadays these allusions would be viewed as mechanisms of domestication and illustrations of the ideological role played by the theatre.

Behind the scenes of this "nationalized" theatre, acted the Brazilian Dramatic Conservatory (1843-1871), whose main objectives were to encourage Brazilian talent for drama and similar arts, to

correct the vices of the Brazilian stage by intervening in national and foreign plays that had or would be staged; and to orient theatre performances by pointing out defects and recommending solutions.

The Conservatory was also concerned with establishing linguistic norms for translated and original texts at a time Brazilian writers were consciously striving to consolidate Brazilian Portuguese. So when reading the recommendations of the Conservatory, one should bear in mind that Brazilians had chosen to speak Portuguese (and not French or Tupi) only twenty years before, at the First Constituent Assembly, in 1823, which incidentally was the first public event where all Brazilians spoke Portuguese (Rodrigues, undated).

#### 4. A Brazilian translated theatre

The 20th century brought little change in the public's preference for translated foreign plays, especially for realistic situation comedies. Even theatres which aimed at publicizing Brazilian originals ended up by alternating them with translations. Such were the cases of Teatro da Exposição Nacional, (National Exhibition Theatre) which opened in 1908, in Rio de Janeiro; of the Teatro Municipal (Municipal Theatre), which opened the following year and of the Teatro da Natureza (Theatre of Nature), built after its namesake in Nîmes, France, specializing in classical Greek plays, translated by Coelho de Carvalho and writer, poet and journalist Carlos Maul.

On the day that the Brazilian Society of Dramatists (SBAT), which would defend author's rights, was founded, 27 September 1917, of the eight theatres open in Rio de Janeiro, only two were performing plays by Brazilian dramatists (Rocha, 1953).

The outbreak of World War I seems to have given Brazilian authors and actors an unexpected chance to develop as it interrupted the periodical visits of important French, Italian and Portuguese companies that lent glitter to Brazilian theatrical seasons, forcing producers to find suitable national substitutes.

Local writers then turned to Brazilian themes, blending the structure of the situation comedy, which the public had learned to love and applaud, with a statement of national values (Magaldi, 1962). During the first three decades of the century, the theatre was dominated by vaudevilles and satires on peculiar traits of our society, especially the exaggerated pride in the country's physical and spiritual qualities, which came to be known as "ufanismo".

But following the tradition established by foreign companies, whose main attractions for the public were their prestigious actors, texts were seen more as a means to show off their own talent than that of the author. This is a bias that helps to explain why drama was strangely absent from the preoccupations of the Brazilian Modernist Movement launched in 1922, a turning point for all other arts.

The turn of drama came some fifteen years later, encouraged by Vargas's 1930 nationalist revolution. New theatre groups were founded, guided by new concepts in drama, and new Brazilian authors, such as Nelson Rodrigues and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri, began to exercise their talent.

But even during this period of concentrated effort to develop something that could be called a national drama, the repertory of most theatres and companies had to alternate artistic and commercial, national and translated plays, in order to attract a public nourished by French situation comedies and vaudevilles.

Their artistic repertory included national as well as foreign plays written by Audiberti, Axelrod, Benevente, Betti, Brecht, Claude Magnier, Delaney, Goldoni, Gorki, Jan Hartog, Hochwalder, Ionesco, O'Neill, John Gay, Keselring, Miller, Montherlant, Noble, Pirandello, Strindberg, Tennessee Williams, Verneuil and Oscar Wilde.

In the beginning, these were presented to the Brazilian public in their original languages or in French, by foreign companies that came to Brazil subsidized by their governments, for example, the Comédie Française, the Madelaine Renaud-Jean-Louis Barrault company, the Jean Vilar French popular National Theatre, the Piccolo Teatro de Milano, the Belgian National Theatre, among others. Some of these plays were also later translated and incorporated into the repertory of national groups.

Then television introduced a third variable in our drama equation, which resulted in a marked decline in theatre productions and public. Now in the 2000s we have returned, once more, to parodies, light comedies and localizations of foreign plays or adaptations, which of late have included adaptations of Hollywood films.

Vaudeville has disappeared from our stage and the situation comedy has become the most popular genre in the country. And on looking at the theatre section in newspapers and magazines any day of the year, it becomes obvious that there are far more translations and adaptations than local originals.

So one may conclude, as did Magaldi (1962), that the history of Brazilian theatre has been a dialectic play between brief periods of nationalist reaffirmation and long periods of translated drama.

In the case of Brazil, as in the case of many other ex-colonies, the problem seems to lie in what name to give nationalized foreign drama as, due to its omnipresence, it seems to constitute a category *per se*, or whether one should keep European categories, where literary works are either foreign or national, in countries where they are neither or both.

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## Translations and Ellipses: Notes on the 19th century Brazilian Theatre

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*Abstract: A statement by 19th century Brazilian novelist Machado de Assis is a suitable way of thinking about the role played by translations in the 19th century Brazilian theatre: "The theatre in this country has always lived from translations, which does not mean that Brazilian works are not accepted when they appear". Although this field of study is still new - its limits and aims have not been clearly established, and there has been no exhaustive inventory of procedures and productions, a number of points can be made. One is that Brazilian Theatre was simply a translation in itself, whether there were translated texts being performed, the dominant practice, or whether the national texts were local transpositions of movements and texts in fashion on the European stage. As a result, the repercussion of the theatre on Brazilian culture was superficial, reduced to a line of ellipses, according to another statement by Machado de Assis. From Classicism and Romanticism to the cancan at the end of the century, Brazilian theatre was involved in a curious search for identity, an eagerness to see our own face overseas and speaking French, certainly not to face our tropical mestiço slaveholding society.*

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"Theatre in this country has always lived from translations, but this doesn't mean that Brazilian works are not accepted when they appear." This statement, made by 19th century writer Machado de Assis, is a suitable instrument with which to approach the role played by translation in the 19th century Brazilian theatre. This field of studies is still very new: its aims and limits have yet to be clearly established, and there is still no exhaustive inventory of the procedures used and the dramatic history of the period. However, a number of points can be made. No injustice would be done if we were to say that the Brazilian theatre of the period was simply a translation: translated texts were performed on the Brazilian stage, and texts produced in Brazil were local transpositions of the movements and texts in fashion in Europe.

For most of the century, there was a curious relationship with the dominant cultural powers. The strongest influence was that of Portugal, but there was no clear identity in Portuguese theatre, and no autonomous Portuguese culture due to the enormous French cultural influence there. The Brazilian situation was somewhat peculiar as the French domination was doubled, either coming directly from France or through the French-influenced Portuguese dramatic companies which frequently performed in Brazil.

When we examine translation in the 19th century Brazilian theatre, we can see that there was no cultural project which would represent a break with the colonial world. Brazil "discovered" the theatre late, basically in the 18th century, where it was a kind of social meeting place, as a result of the process of the urban expansion which accompanied the mining cycle. This theatre was courtly and laudatory, celebrating state occasions and paying homage to the authorities. From the fragmentary information we have from

travellers, students and the Portuguese companies which came here as from the end of the 18th century, it can be seen that Brazilian theatre tried to copy what was supposed to be European theatre. Thus, the initial stylistic choice was to reproduce French neoclassicism. Even the traditional clothes of the doublet and the hoop petticoat were adopted, not to mention the diction with its regular beats and rhymes.

The 19th century therefore began under the paradigm of neoclassicism. The transfer of the Royal Family from Portugal failed to alter subject matter, merely bringing what was taking place in Portugal and France much nearer, although the theatre only had a semi-official court status.

Two basic examples, which have been collected by Galante de Sousa (1960:108-109), illustrate the situation. The first was the change in the attitude of the Portuguese state towards the theatre. Although at the beginning of the 18th century, the state, under pressure from the Church, warned against theatrical practices, a 1711 warrant recommended the setting up of public theatres, which would be "the school, where people would learn the sane maxims of politics, morals, love of the motherland, and of the value, zeal, and faithfulness with which they should serve their sovereigns"<sup>1</sup>.

This change in attitude, however, did not result in the State taking on any direct responsibility for the theatre. Even when the Portuguese Royal Family moved to Rio de Janeiro, which now became the capital of the Portuguese Empire, little changed in

<sup>1</sup> In Pernambuco, in 1726, Bishop Dom José Fialho banned, in a pastoral letter, theatrical spectacles in churches, and in 1734 in all other places, in spite of the royal decree.

relation to the theatre, except for a decree in which Dom João, the Portuguese Prince Regent in exile after Napoleon's invasion of Portugal, established that it was absolutely necessary to build a decent theatre in the capital, which would be suitable for the population and the high status which Rio de Janeiro had, due to the fact he lived there. The Police Superintendent, Paulo Fernandes Viana, was placed in charge of the construction, and as a result, the Royal Theatre of São João, today called Teatro João Caetano, which did not belong to the state, and which was only partially supported by public entities, was built.

Neither did the Independence of Brazil, which was declared in 1822, significantly alter Brazilian theatre. The interest of the new government would only be seen indirectly, and the European model of the theatre as a public institution, which could be seen in a number of countries, was never followed. However, the imperial government did act as a kind of moderator: the Emperor would interfere in conflicts between groups, to solve crises, or to respond to insistent requests for help made by actors. It was common to allow to proceeds of lotteries to be awarded to a theatre, company or actor. The Teatro João Caetano ended up in the hands of the State much more because of the periodic bankruptcies of the Banco do Brasil and its clients, which, on a number of occasions, received the building as a mortgage for loans, rather than because of a clear cultural policy.

The accounts of various travellers show us what the theatre of the time was like, and what kind of theatre they thought would be necessary in order to transform the tropical society they were describing. John Luccock (1975:61) observed that the plays which were staged ridiculed the manners, vices, dialect and other

peculiarities of the colony, and the tastes of the public had matured to such an extent that they would even applaud when they appreciated something but were not yet confident enough to show that they disliked something. Luccock registers the enthusiasm for the theatre, though the building and the actors, in this case the small Manoel Luís Theatre, next to the central square, the Paço, now Praça XV de Novembro, were, in his European eyes, a sad spectacle to see, as their standards were far below those of the theatre which they intended to copy.

The theatre, now a social meeting place in a society where there were few diversions, soon became an important shop window for the social events of the time, and was even influenced by political movements. Soon after the Abdication of the Emperor in 1831, it was affected by political events and its repertory underwent significant alterations: the Italian operas and old Portuguese plays were replaced by French or German plays, according to another traveller, Carl Seidler (1976:46-48). These were, in his opinion, horribly translated and filled with ridiculous allusions to the 7th of April, the date of the Abdication. He mentioned a performance of *William Tell*, by Schiller, which was transformed into a Portuguese comedy, with the protagonist wearing red clothes, a three-cornered hat, and an outfit full of gold braid and other baubles. Seidler also cruelly observed: "the mischievous round yellow monkey-like face, which seemed to be a deathly desire for life under the three-cornered hat, completed the ridicule. [...] It was really difficult to laugh at this apish comedy."

Seidler also stated that a private French theatre existed in Rio de Janeiro. It probably existed between 1825 and 1836, with actors recruited from among the French sales clerks, overseers and



dressmakers who lived in Ouvidor Street and who would perform, with skill and expertise, the most recent French dramatic productions, especially comedies and vaudevilles, in a small theatre which was only open to members. Seidler frequently emphasized a quality which many other travellers saw as being characteristic of Brazil: the sensuality, the liking for jests and a choice of vocabulary which was not always worried about decorum and the higher conceptions of life<sup>2</sup>.

Another traveller, Teodoro Bösche, cited by Galante de Sousa (1960, p.148), also writing about Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the 19th century, somewhat mercilessly stated that: "True art and the true artist can only be found here in a very limited circle of connoisseurs [...] Only light and showy plays, which dazzle the eye, please the sensual inhabitants. Those which are elevated and profound, which occupy both the mind and the heart, providing the initiated with greater pleasures, will not be accepted here." He then describes those plays which have been successful: "the spirits of Hamlet and Wallenstein would obtain no applause here; light things, simulacra of operas, accompanied by the artifices of the theatre, are wildly successful."

Spix and Von Martius, as commented on by Bösche, mentioned the same superficial tastes in Bahia. Their explanation is that the climate was too hot for tragic subjects and that the inhabitants preferred to entertain themselves with light, amusing

<sup>2</sup> The German traveller, brought up in a very different tradition, observed that the role of the theatre in Brazil was that of reinforcing power, even despotism. According to his account, when the Royal Family was present, all the spectators were obliged to turn their heads in their direction until the curtain went up both before the play started and during the intervals (p.46).

and carefree spectacles, and that the solution was to perform modern French and Spanish dramas, and then a pantomime.

The various travellers and also authors like Martins Pena made a number of comments about the theatre public. Martins Pena said that people went to the theatre not so much to admire the plays but rather to observe what was happening in the boxes. For the society of Rio de Janeiro, it was almost a lack of decorum to go to the theatre to look at what was taking place on the stage. In addition, the public area remained illuminated until 1848, the stage illumination was fragile, and this, added to the smoke of cigars, made it difficult to see what was happening on stage, even if one tried. It was thus coherent to see a night at the theatre as a social evening, when one could have contact with the many novelties of *civilization*, from the translated text to the costumes, the cancan dances, the acting styles and even the local news. The play which would be successful was one which was rigorously up-to-date and coloured by the new and sensational<sup>3</sup>.

John Luccock (1975:61) mentions that during his first stay in Rio he was able to see a catastrophic tragedy: the heroine, wearing white muslin, should have been dead, with her head separated from her body by the curtain lowered. This would have been the end of her part in any theatre other than in Brazil. But the curtain was then raised to reveal to the public the decapitated body of the lady, sitting up in an armchair, with the blood bubbling out of her neck and running down her dress.

<sup>3</sup> Martins Pena (1965:142-148) was both an opera critic and a chronicler of Brazilian customs. He wrote on the masked balls which were then being introduced into Brazil, copying the European model.

There were two important theatrical movements in the 19th century, which had surprisingly limited effect on public taste and sensibility. Both movements were again inspired by France, which dominated the 19th century repertory of plays which were performed, though this influence was always mediated by the Portuguese theatre, as has already been mentioned.

The first movement was what one might call the *romantic revolution*, often believed to have given rise to the Brazilian theatre, although it continued to be more Portuguese and translated than Brazilian as the majority of the casts was made up of Portuguese actors, the language of the text was Portuguese from Portugal, the stage diction was that of Lisbon, and the stage conventions were those which were or had been practiced in Portugal. This *lusitanismo* continued until the 20th century, in spite of the anti-Portuguese feeling in the 19th century, the result of the Independence, the Abdication and of personalities such as actor-manager João Caetano (1808-1863). The various nationalist reactions against the Portuguese merely had a temporary impact, with the rules of the game not being deeply affected. This meant that the texts of the Brazilian repertory were to a great extent translated or "arranged": imported texts were adapted to local taste in order to create an emotional and sentimental impact.

Neither Independence or this initial change of style resulted in new cultural patterns, a revised understanding of Brazil or renewed practices. The changes which came about as a result of Romanticism were more those of detail than of methods. The movement was started in Brazil in 1838 by Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882), with the performance of the tragedy *Antônio José* or *O poeta e a Inquisição* (*The Poet and the Inquisition*), directed by João

Caetano. Its importance was that it was a *tragedy written by a Brazilian*, and, according to the author, on a *Brazilian subject*, if we can consider the struggle of Antônio José with the Inquisition in Lisbon to be Brazilian. However, this play is neo-classical as it is a tragedy in five acts, faithful to the ancient formulae, in which the author had been brought up and which were in direct conflict with the fashionable Romantic precepts, which he was attempting to follow.

Brazilian Martins Pena (1815-1848), one of the most original authors of the 19th century, innovated in the way he developed the standard contemporary practices and turned them to humour. His sources seem to have been both the Portuguese/French comic theatre, which was widely known at the beginning of the century, and the amusements at popular fairs, including puppet theatres. Like all other 19th century poets, Martins Pena was also a translator, and, like all Brazilian 19th century intellectuals, did not earn his living in the area of letters, but in business and then as a civil servant. He seems to have been the first author to ironize the Brazilian servility to foreign models, both in terms of products and ideas, especially the power of the Rua do Ouvidor. But because of the dominant theatrical conditions, Martins Pena did not find it easy to get his plays performed. The comic text was normally just a part of a theatrical programme, almost always a one-act play, one of the five acts which would constitute the whole evening's entertainment.

Romanticism in the Brazilian theatre was much more of a *literary* than a *scenic* movement. Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), considered to be the most talented of the Romantic school of Brazilian dramatists, was never performed while alive, despite his attempts to get his plays put on by João Caetano. And his most dense play, *Leonor de Mendonça*, was only performed in the 20th century.

This leads us to an examination of the most important figure on the Brazilian stage of the 19th century, actor-manager João Caetano. His biography is surrounded by the legend, which is quite true, that he seldom performed Brazilian authors but concentrated on translations, especially from the French and Spanish. A complete list of the plays he put on has still to be made, but the studies show that as he almost always preferred melodramas and tearjerkers, he had to depend on foreign texts as there were no Brazilian texts available in this area. In spite of this, Brazilian authors besieged João Caetano with their texts, of which he put on very few. This resulted in a conflict between writers and Caetano, which continued until his death in 1863.

The historical importance of Gonçalves de Magalhães should also be mentioned: together with João Caetano and Araújo Porto Alegre (1806-1879), he fought for the romantic reform of the Brazilian theatre. After the 1838 success with *Antônio José* or *O poeta e a Inquisição*, it would have been quite natural for João Caetano to stage Gonçalves de Magalhães' next play, *Olgiato*, in order to thank the author, who was, for a certain time, almost the official translator of his company, but he did not do so, and the break was inevitable, as happened with Martins Pena. João Caetano's company performed the first productions of Martins Pena's first two farces, *O juiz de paz na roça* (*The Justice of Peace in the Country*) and *A família e a festa na roça* (*The Family and the Party in the Country*), which were benefits for Estela Sezefreda (1810-1874), João Caetano's wife, in 1838 and 1840, but the collaboration did not continue, and the Martins Pena's latter plays, from 1842 to 1847, were put on by the rival company, the Portuguese company of the Teatro São Pedro. The existence of a conflict can be seen in the parodies made by Martins Pena of João Caetano. In *Judas em sábado de Aleluia* (*Judas on Easter Saturday*), Faustino

parodies a speech of Othello, which was always strongly spoken by João Caetano: "Porque lá nos desertos africanos, / Faustino não nasceu desconhecido!" ("Because there in the African deserts, / Faustino was not born unknown!"). The play *Os ciúmes de um pedestre* (*The Jealousy of a Pedestrian*) is believed to be an explicit allusion to João Caetano and was banned by the Dramatic Conservatory as it contained parodies of the *Otello* which he had put on.

19th century Brazilian theatre was very different to the theatre we know. Seasons were very short, seldom reaching half a dozen performances, which obliged companies to have a rapid turnover of plays for each season. There was a very short amount of time to rehearse each play, and the prompter played a major role in any performance as the play would only be presented for one or two days. In order to have a permanent supply of new texts it was necessary to have a translator who was always at hand. These translators could be anybody, from a famous poet to an anonymous actor, passing through available relations who were reasonably cultured, and the surviving accounts show that "translations" did not always dominate the language from which the play was translated. Brazil did not yet have a society of authors: the Brazilian Society of Dramatists (SBAT) was only created in the 20th century, and regulations and remuneration were unstable right through the 19th century.

When beginning as a critic, Machado de Assis (1839-1908) commented that the foreign was a mine and had resulted in "the birth of a being: the translator of drama, a type of servant who passes, from one room to another, the dishes of a foreign cuisine". Machado began his dramatic career in the short period of realism, but soon stopped writing for the stage. José de Alencar (1829-1877),

who was, on the other hand, familiar with the applause of the public for a short period, ended up by joining the discontented, supporting the general opinion that "our theatres despised Brazilian productions and preferred insipid translations, which are full of errors and gallicisms." Another young critic, Salvador de Mendonça, accused João Caetano of employing his own son-in-law, Lessa Paranhos, as the translator of his company, even though he had no knowledge of "the most simple rules of the ill-starred Portuguese grammar."

José de Alencar and Machado de Assis are representatives of the short realistic phase in Brazilian theatre, which was also directly inspired by Paris. This is the second period of Brazilian 19th century theatre in which translation was important. In 1855, perhaps because of personal reasons (a quarrel between the actress Maria Velutti and João Caetano), the financier Joaquim Heliodoro Gomes dos Santos decided to set up a dramatic company in the Teatro Gymnasio (formerly the São Francisco Theatre), with Emilio Doux as director and rehearsal, in charge of a fixed company of 17 actors. In opposition to João Caetano, the company decided to put on modern plays of the type which was most in fashion in Paris, which were called *dramas de casaca*, as they presented characters who wore contemporary clothes instead of period costume. This was a theatrical revolution, with the modern thesis-like play portraying less violent passions, truer and more natural characters than those of the old melodramatic school, using sets showing the interiors of contemporary homes and registering the latest fashions in decorations.

The most important figures in this artistic renewal, called the realistic school, were the actor Joaquim Augusto and the actress Gabriela de Vecchi. As a result of the Parisian success of the realistic dramas at the Gymnase Dramatique, the Rio de Janeiro theatre

which housed the movement was called Ginásio Dramático. The programme for reform emphasized dramatic interpretation, which should avoid the exaggerations of the old ultradramatic style. The emphatic declamatory style was substituted by the observation of more naturally drawn types as the aim was to focus on social and worldly affairs. The new school aroused the interest of new authors, basically the great literary names of the period, whose work was performed by the Ginásio with reasonable success. This very fruitful period lasted from 1855 to 1863, and here again texts were dominated by the translation of French originals.

Differently to the repertory of João Caetano, which was characterized by the use of a certain amount of Alexandre Dumas, and a lot of Anicet-Bourgeois, Arago, D'Ennery, Ducange, Bouchardy, and little Corneille, Voltaire, Hugo and Ducis, the Ginásio Dramático put on Dumas Filho, Scribe, Augier, Sardou and went down into history as the theatre which gave most prestige to Brazilian authors. The movement was popular with the public, and during this short period the theatre was of considerable importance.

It's interesting to see how the leading authors of this movement, important intellectuals of the period, portray the direct European inheritance, especially from France. An excerpt from Quintino Bocaiúva (1862: 48) in the play *Os mineiros da desgraça* (*The Unfortunate Inhabitants of Minas Gerais*), is revealing:

Maurício - [...] You must have heard how our theatre has been accused of being more French than Brazilian [...] And how could it be otherwise, as long as our society is French and our studies, habits, clothes, fashions, conversations and everything else is? Ah, my friend, if France gave us in spirit what it sends us in knick-knacks, we would be a great nation! But as we only get France's worst and most insignificant objects, which are also expensive,

they quite justly call us monkeys. Don't worry about this nickname.'

The importation of the knick-knacks, which were an active part of the Rua do Ouvidor, the object of the gibes of Martins Pena and which discomforted the generation of the realists, soon interested the theatre. The first text quoted in this article, by Machado de Assis (1986:808), written in 1873, registered Machado's opinion of the movement which followed the realistic school, which included the light operetta, the review and the *burlata*, a type of musical comedy, which were the Parisian fashions. In the same text Machado commented:

Today, now that the tastes of the public have become the final step on the ladder of decadence and perversion, there is no hope left that serious works of art will be written. Who ever will be there to receive them, if what dominates today is the burlesque or obscene ballad, the cancan, the showy magic, all that speaks to our senses and inferior instincts?<sup>4</sup>

Translation, which was now carried out more than ever, took on, at this time, an irreverent local colour, even a kind of authorial

<sup>4</sup> "Maurício - [...] Há de ter ouvido acusar o nosso teatro de ser mais francês do que nacional, não é exato? [...] E como não há de sê-lo, se francesa é a nossa sociedade, franceses os nossos vícios, franceses os nossos estudos, os nossos costumes, o traje, a modas, a conversação, enfim tudo? Ah, meu amigo, se a França nos desse em espírito o que nos manda em quinquilharias, éramos uma grande nação! Mas como só lhe romanos, e por bom preço, o que ela tem de mais insignificante, de pior, chamam-nos com razão, um povo de macacos. Não se incomode com o epíteto."

<sup>5</sup> [...] Hoje que o gosto do público tocou o último degrau da decadência e perversão, nenhuma esperança teria quem se sentisse com vocação para obras severas de arte. Quem lhas receberia, se o que domina é a cantiga burlesca ou obscena, o canção, a magia apartosa, tudo que fala aos sentidos e aos instintos inferiores?

cleverness, through the frequent appearance of parodies, tropicalized translations where the original successful play would be used a vehicle or pretext for the construction of a text with local colour. The parody of plays which were seen negatively, as they belonged to the theatre of the *boulevard*, was carried out both by actors such as Vasques (1839-1892), a comic disciple of João Caetano, or by Artur Azevedo (1855-1908). Machado criticized the academic writers for giving in to the charms of the translations of light texts, and their parodies, and their original texts, which were directed to a theatre which was not *serious* and which would explore the same models as the translated originals.

No other author has translated as many plays for the Brazilian stage as Artur Azevedo. He wrote translations, imitations, parodies, plays written to order, free versions, free translations and translations with parts added, plays which were adapted to the Brazilian setting, in addition to original works<sup>5</sup>. Those who criticized him said that he had demoralized dramatic art in Brazil as he had devoted his energies to "the pitiful genre, the tra-la-la and bare legs", according to a text by Cardoso da Mota mentioned by Galante de Sousa (1960:232). This embittered critic thought that Artur Azevedo had invented parody, an accusation which had no basis. Artur Azevedo, who wrote very quickly, replied forcefully, stating that this was the kind of theatre he found when he arrived in Rio de Janeiro. And the tra-la-la and the translations lived longer than their critics and dominated the Brazilian stage at the end of the century.

<sup>5</sup> The specific situation for the theatre, which is, to a great extent, very susceptible to the fashions of the times, due to its particular kind of enunciation, was briefly but lucidly discussed by Patrice Pavis (1996), who also recognized the category of adaptations.

The popularity of the so-called *textos de espírito*, witty middle-class comedies, whether they were translated, imitations or parodies, is somewhat strange as they fill our mestizo slave society with the values of a European bourgeois capitalist society, far from the reality of our society which was based on agricultural exports. Authors like Viala (1997) mention the need to recognize the theatre as an art of identity *par excellence* as the stage needed to be seen as a form of mimesis and should suppose an identification with society, and with the result that there would be no way of dissociating a scene from the social milieu in which we live.

We can summarize by saying that the Brazilian stage has itself been a translation, often translating merely the strongest and most sentimental of human emotions. It is perhaps because of this that the theatre has ended up by having a superficial effect on society, being reduced to "a line of ellipses", according Machado de Assis in the same text. Machado used this phrase to describe 19th century Brazilian theatre as a sea of the most varied kinds of translations, following the tastes of fashion. From Classicism and Romanticism to the cancan at the end of the century, we were continuously involved in a curious search for identity, wishing to see our own selves overseas, speaking French, in order not to face our mestizo slave reality, which we had never and did never wish to think about.

Translated from the Portuguese by John Milton

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## The Place of Foreign Literature in the Brazilian Literary System

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*Abstract: This study will examine the importance and role of translation in the formation of a national literature and will rethink the relations between the specific case of Brazilian literature and other literatures, in which translation is an essential part. A period can be studied, not only through its artistic production or by that which is selected as an object of study and the works it uses as a model but also by the works and languages it chooses to translate and incorporate as part of its cultural heritage. And in this case, we can understand that the way of translating and the idea that a translator has of the task he or she is carrying out also carry meaning within the context of the cultural production of a particular period in a country.*

The theory of the specificity of languages and the difficulty of transfer between them can be seen throughout history, and, even today, there are those who believe that poetry is untranslatable, especially the intrinsic link between form and meaning. When Romanticism proclaimed the importance of subjectivity and creativity, it was consolidating the text as the product of a single and unique imagination. Romanticism was thus at an opposite pole

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to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, whose traditions were those of the rewriting and imitation of texts which already existed. Following the Romantic vision of genius and individuality, Chateaubriand affirmed that "the more intimate, individual, national the talent, the more his mysteries escape the spirit which is not, so to say, *compatriotic*." (my emphasis)<sup>1</sup>. Céline, in his nationalist fervour, with its somewhat doubtful racist and chauvinist pre-Second World War proposals, also had no hesitation in declaring "there is only one language [...] just one valid language! Respectable! The imperial language of this world: ours! [...] the rest are no more than gibberish [...] they have not been shaped or polished, they are farces!! They are hoarse approximations to languages or meows for foreigners!"<sup>2</sup>.

Abandoning the Romantic belief in the original and intransferable language, we are left with the words of Octavio Paz, who places translation at the centre of literary activity, responsible for the advances of civilizations: "The history of the various civilizations is the history of its translations" (Paz apud Milton 1998:143). The truth is that the circulation of texts throughout history has taken place through translations, which, regardless of their quality, are an integral part of the literary archives we have in common, independent of the dominant national profile which may fail to consider foreign works as an integral part of the literary system.

Far from being useless operations, the domesticating or foreignizing strategies which take place during translation have a political meaning, as Henri Meschonnic emphasizes

<sup>1</sup> Godard, Henri. "Pode-se se traduzir Céline?" ("Can Celine be translated?"), in *Matraps*, n° 10, out/98, Instituto de Letras, UERJ, p.14.  
<sup>2</sup> Idem, *ibidem*.

The illusion of transparency belongs to the ideological system which is characterized by the linked concepts of the heterogeneity between thought and language, the peculiar characteristics of a language and the mystery of art. These notions are founded on a linguistics of the word and not of the system, on languages as particular realizations of a transcendental meaning (a philosophical projection of the Eurocentric, logocentric and colonialist primacy of Western thinking. These notions end up by opposing texts and translations, through a sacralization of literature. This sacralization is compensatory when compared to its political neutralization. This sacralization and neutralization define the social role of aesthetics. A metaphysical, unhistoricized notion of the untranslatable results from the play of the ideological opposition between text and translation<sup>3</sup>. (Meschonnic 1973:308-9).

Translation necessarily desacralizes the work as it is a privileged form of criticism, and critical essays, prefaces, explanatory notes which accompany a translated work are commonplace. It is also the result of the creative dismantling and reassembling of the original text. It is also necessary to recognize that there are works which belong as much to the translator as much as they do to the author, as in the case of Nerval translating Goethe; Baudelaire, Poe; and Proust, Ruskin, just to mention a few well-known examples.

<sup>3</sup> "L'illusion de la transparence appartient au système idéologique caractérisé par les notions liées d'hétérogénéité entre la pensée et le langage, de génie de la langue, du mystère de l'art - notions fondées sur une linguistique du mot et non du système, sur les langues comme actualisations particulières d'un signifié transcendantal (projection philosophique du primat eurocentrique, logocentrique, colonialiste de la pensée occidentale). Ces notions aboutissent à opposer textes et traductions, par une sacralisation de la littérature. Cette sacralisation est compensatoire par rapport à sa neutralisation politique. Cette sacralisation et cette compensation définissent le rôle social de l'esthétique. Il ressort du jeu de l'opposition idéologique entre texte et traduction une notion métaphysique, non historicisée, de l'intraduisible."



This is what one can see in the translation which Blaise Cendrars makes of the work of Ferreira de Castro, a Portuguese author from the end of the 19th century, who unsuccessfully attempted to make his fortune in Brazil. His *A selva / Forêt vierge* mixes the natural exuberance of Brazil with his disappointment, but Cendrars omitted much of this negative side. The transformations, additions and omissions Cendrars made point towards an ideal of transparency, through which the French reader, when examining the text, will feel "familiarized" with the cultural universe of the work as the translator will have made a selection of what interests this particular reader. The translation made by Cendrars thus corroborates the *clichés* of defining Brazil according to the vision of travellers. If this were not the case, as Adalberto de Oliveira Souza asks (1995:24), would the work have had the same success if the translator had made a more "faithful" translation, a translation which did not take away the side of *Selva* which describes the dangers and traps which the jungle has for travellers? What Adalberto de Oliveira Souza criticizes is the presence, in Cendrars' translation, of his own style, his ideas and world vision, which maintain a preconceived Eurocentric reading, privileging the universe of the target language, to the detriment of the source culture.

The history of translation intersects the history of literature and makes it possible to distinguish "canonical models" as the act of translation reveals choices, models and methods which are linked to the poetics of the translator and, as a consequence, to the dominant poetics, which are confirmed or rejected. It is in this sense that Jorge Wanderley believes that the "operational process of translation, when revealing its own poetics, contains its own ideological definition" (1995:11). For Haroldo de Campos (1970), what motivates the translator in his choice of the texts to be translated is linked to an "active tradition", which will reveal a personal poetics. For the poet

translator, translation is always renewing the literary system as it is a privileged form of critical reading. The comparative study of various translations of the same work may thus be of considerable importance for Comparative Literature. For example, studying the different receptions of a foreign text in a determined country, evaluating their impact and new texts which came about as a result of these readings, may help us to understand the literary production of a specific country at a specific time and the aesthetics of reception. Examined from this angle, the study of a foreign literature takes on the characteristics of a compared literature, especially when it examines a relationship involving countries with different levels of development, as Brazilian critic Silviano Santiago mentions:

The writer of a colonized country plays with the signs of another writer, another work. The words of the other have the special quality of being seen as objects which seduce his look, his fingers, and the writing of the second text is, in part, the story of a sensual experience with the foreign sign.<sup>4</sup>

When he analyzes the role of translated literature in the literary polysystem, Itamar Even-Zohar (1978) mentions the possibility that translated literature is responsible for various changes, renewals and airings of the literature of a nation. Translated literature may also, at a later stage, become distanced from the avant-garde and take on a conservative position, attempting to conserve the canon which it helped to build in the target literature. It was thanks to the translations of *Macbeth* by Deschamps and the *Morte de*

<sup>4</sup> "L'écrivain d'un pays colonisé joue avec les signes d'un autre écrivain, d'une autre oeuvre. Les mots de l'autre ont la particularité de se présenter en tant qu'objets qui séduisent son regard, ses doigts, et l'écriture du texte second est, en partie, l'histoire d'une expérience sensorielle avec le signe étranger." (1978: 23).

*Venise* by Alfred de Vigny, introducing new forms which broke with the Alexandrines of classical French theatre in the first half of the 19th century, that the Romantic theatre was able to spread in France in the first half of the 19th century, introducing its new aesthetics and dramatic canons (Lambert & Van Bragt, 1985).

Outside the restricted circle of those who know a foreign language, the work will only go beyond the boundaries of the culture of which it is part through translations. This is the way it will be incorporated into the target culture and become an important part of the literary polysystem through the resulting intertextuality. As this is the case, analyzing and making the system explicit, in addition to the importance of translation, which becomes part of the system, will reveal the ideology which surrounds all works and their relationship with the canon as literature is part of a relative system. In other words, every work is part of a system which may be substituted by another, enabling a new meaning to be given to the work. The work should thus be understood as an integral part of a literary system inside which there is a permanent struggle between recognition and adhesion to the canon on one hand, and resistance to it on the other. Put differently, there is a tension between peripheral and central models. Real renovation only exists when the models which have been excluded move to the centre and then impose a new canon. The translation of peripheral works and the emerging models of other cultures may help to unbalance the target system through the introduction of innovative tendencies in the literature of the target culture. Translation now plays a renewing and vernacularizing role. Mariza Veiga produced a repertory of 350 Brazilian words used by Blaise Cendrars throughout his work, especially names of flora and fauna, which enriched the French language. Words like "sertão" ("backlands"), "samba" and "favela" ("shanty") are today part of French vocabulary (1995:40).

This role which is attributed to translations is emphasized by the Brazilian writer and critic, Osman Lins:

The Brazilian writer, more than the French or Anglo-Saxon writer, needs to live with other literatures. This can happen through the knowledge of other languages. However, I think that the writer will produce better results when he has a large store of well-translated works. Not just due to the fact that the writer seldom dominates various languages but also because the contact with the translated text (and translation tends to exert a pressure on the renewal of the linguistic structures of the receiving country) allows the work to be enjoyed more quickly, with the advantage of keeping the enjoyer of the foreign work in contact with his own language (1979: 74)<sup>5</sup>.

However, as we have already seen, every translation presupposes a clear position before the original text and its relationship with the target culture. Therefore, when Sergio Bellei compares the translations by Fernando Pessoa and Machado de Assis of Poe's *The Raven*, stating that Pessoa's translation is superior in terms of "significance", he explains the reasons for the difference between the two translations:

Differently from Pessoa, Machado is the writer in the colony who suffers from a certain type of anxiety of influence, and he was particularly aware of the implications of this anxiety for the construction of a national literature (1987:61).

<sup>5</sup> "Necessita o escritor brasileiro, mais que os de expressão francesa ou saxônica, do convívio com outras literaturas. Tal convívio pode ocorrer mediante o conhecimento de outras línguas. Acho, entretanto, que produz melhores resultados quando o escritor dispõe de um número apreciável de obras bem traduzidas. Não apenas devido ao fato de que o escritor raramente domina vários idiomas, mas também porque o contato com o texto traduzido (e a tradução tende a exercer pressões renovadoras sobre as estruturas linguísticas do país receptor) permite uma fruição mais ágil, tendo ainda a vantagem de manter o fruitor de uma obra alienígena em contato com a sua própria língua."

Thus, aware of the homage that the young Brazilian literature should pay to European literature, Machado appropriated Poe's poem in order to legitimize the volume of poetry, *Occidentais*, which the translation of *The Raven* opened.

The relationship with the Other has always directed attempts to take account of that which is recognized as "Brazilian" literature, which is emblematically taken as "Brazilian culture". For a long time, the foreign standard was a reference point for Brazilian writers: the nearer we were to that which was produced abroad, the higher the prestige of the Brazilian writer. External standards thus set the basic elements of our internal literary production. As Antonio Candido (1959) points out, our Brazilian literature is situated between the poles of universalism and specificity. These two tendencies were never in conflict in the Romantic period and were only the object of critical questioning in the Modernist period. Until then, the contribution of Western culture seemed to our critics to be a "natural" fact, which was seen as intrinsic to the formation of Brazilian culture.

Colonized by a metropolis, Portugal, which was already culturally behind the canonical European models, we had the feeling that we inherited a language which in itself lacked prestige. Because of this, the "creolization", an expression coined by the Antilles writer Edouard Glissant, which we here made of the Portuguese language, took on the meaning of rupture and affirmation of our identity, "creolization", taken to extremes by the 1922 Modernist group.

Until 1822, French was seen as a subversive language by the colonizers, who were always attentive and vigilant, and who saw in the ideas which were coming from France undesirable material which would be used in Brazil as an instrument of liberation. After

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the Independence of Brazil in 1822, the desire to mark the difference in relation to Portugal led us, on one hand, to a distorted vision of Brazilian reality, which prevented critical thinking, and, on the other, to the rejection of the Portuguese metropolis, resulting in another form of dependence as we adopted the French model. We thus developed the feeling that the cultural colonizer, the result of our own choice, is necessarily superior to the "real colonizer", or, in other words, that which history had imposed on us. (Mello 1997:63). From being a threat which risked subverting the good behaviour of the educated inhabitants of the colony, and which was essential for the formation of our literary personality throughout the 19th century, France steadily became a harmful influence on the early Republic, an instrument of alienation which supplied the canons of fashions, arts and literature, followed to the letter by the elites who, economically, culturally and politically, dominated Brazil.

Up until the end of the 19th century, the majority of Brazilian authors were published in Portugal or France, as were the majority of translations available in Brazil. During the colonial period, Portugal prohibited the establishment of universities or printing presses in Brazil, attempting to keep any cultural initiative under strict censure and the absolute control of the metropolis, thereby preventing the circulation of "dangerous foreign ideas" as the following decree shows:

Let it be known to all those who see this Decree, that, due to the need for Police control, all the announcements and printed notices which are fixed up in public, on books and foreign works, and which are publicized, often without the approval of the authorities, to whom the Lord Prince Regent had confided this particular inspection; that from this day onwards, this freedom is taken away, as it has been used abusively, and that all who wish to give news of

foreign works and writings, whether they are printed or not, should first bring these notices or announcements to the Police Superintendent, so that they can be seen or examined, in order to obtain or not the necessary authorization. And those who do not do this, whether they are nationals or foreigners, will be put into the public prison and will pay a fine of two hundred thousand *reis*, which will be imposed on those who break public security; so that there will be an open enquiry, in which the transgressors will be made known and will admit the accusations in secret. Rio de Janeiro, 30 May 1809. (Paulo Fernandes Viana, p. 14)<sup>6</sup>.

The situation in Brazil reproduced that in Portugal: Brazil was economically dependent on Britain, and it was France which had cultural hegemony and which provided the norms of the social and prescriptive behaviour of the incipient Brazilian literature.

In defence of the importance of the role of French culture for the enrichment of Brazilian cultural life, Jean-Baptiste Debret states that it has helped to improve the cultural level of Brazilian women:

*"Faço saber aos que o presente Edital virem, que importando muito a vigilância da Polícia que cheguem ao seu conhecimento todos os avisos e notícias impressas, que se afixam ao público acerca de livros e obras estrangeiras, que se procuram divulgar, muitas vezes sem procurarem a aprovação das autoridades, a quem o Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor tem confiado esta particular inspeção; fica, de hoje em diante, proibida a liberdade, que se tem arrogado abusivamente os que fazem semelhantes publicações, e todos que tiverem de dar notícia de obras e escritos estrangeiros impressos ou não impressos, deverão primeiramente trazer estes avisos ou anúncios à Secretaria da Intendência Geral da Polícia, para nela serem vistos ou examinados, e, se lhes permitir esta liberdade e conhecer-se se tem ou não obtido a aprovação indispensavelmente necessária. E os que o contrário fizerem, ou sejam nacionais, ou estrangeiros, serão presos na cadeia pública e pagarão de pena duzentos mil reis além das mais, que se impõem aos que procuram quebrantar a Segurança Pública; para o que haverá inquirição aberta, em que se conheça dos transgressores e se admitirão denúncias em segredo."*

[...] education really began and the forms of teaching multiplied in such a way every year that, today, it is not uncommon to find a lady keeping up correspondence in various languages and appreciating reading, as in Europe.

French literature has, to a large extent, been responsible for this, through an attractive selection of our moral works translated to Portuguese. These works, which have become classics, are of interest for their novelty and decorate the spirit and shape the heart of the young Brazilian female students<sup>7</sup> (Debret *op. cit.* Lajolo & Zilberman, 1996: 242).

The majority of Brazilian authors and dramatists were able to get to know authors by whom they would be influenced before they were translated into Portuguese. French was certainly the favourite foreign language, as Joaquim Nabuco states at the end of the 19th century:

The Brazilian reads what France produces. He is, through his intelligence and spirit, a French citizen [...] he sees everything as a Parisian uprooted from France does<sup>8</sup> (*op. cit.* Paes 1990:10).

There was enormous French influence, especially in the Brazilian Romantic period, when poets like Lamartine, Musset and Victor Hugo were widely read and translated. Writers of other nationalities, such as Byron and Heine, arrived in Brazil through their French translations. And we know that, in the case of a second-

<sup>7</sup> "A literatura francesa contribuiu bastante para isso, mediante uma seleção agradável de nossas obras morais traduzidas para a língua portuguesa; esses livros, que se tornaram clássicos, interessam pela sua novidade, ornaram o espírito e formam o coração das jovens alunas brasileiras".

<sup>8</sup> O Brasileiro lê o que a França produz. Ele é, pela inteligência e pelo espírito, cidadão francês [...] vê tudo como pode ver um parisiense desterrado de Paris.

hand translation, the quality of the final product will depend on the quality of the translation which was an intermediary. In her study on the translations of Byron in Brazil, Onédia Barbosa (1975) shows that, until 1855, the majority of translations were made directly from English, but after 1855 almost all were made from French translations. The works of Oscar Wilde were also translated from their French versions which arrived in Brazil, which, emphasized Wilde's aesthetic side, to the detriment of his critique of contemporary society.

One of the names which must be mentioned in any study of the 19th century in Brazil is Ferdinand Denis, responsible for the Sainte Geneviève Library in Paris. Denis attempted to reconcile the image of a country which has been idealized by travellers with a proposal of "civilization" and "modernity". Based on these imaginative constructions, which were engendered by the reports of the traveller-chroniclers like André Thévet or Jean de Léry, the *homo sylvestris* of the European Middle Ages was incarnated in the skin of the American Indians.

The twelve cantos of the epic poem "The Confederation of the Tamoios", by Gonçalves de Magalhães, narrate the conflict between Indians and colonizers, and transform this episode of history into the founding moment of a new race, the fruit of the best of each of the parts: ingenuity and goodness on one side, complemented or "corrected" by the knowledge of the law brought by the Portuguese "civilization". This, then, is the path which Ferdinand Denis recommends, the recipe to be closely followed, both for internal and external consumption. What should be recognized as "national" was connected to a geographical space, with an idealized landscape and habits. It was in this way that Brazil "got to know itself" and, at the same time, "allowed itself to be known".

It therefore seems symptomatic that there were two translations of Magalhães' poem into Italian between 1882 and 1885. Italy was looking for a way to drain off the large number of unemployed peasants, and the New World seemed to be an exciting and convenient solution. "The Confederation of the Tamoios" thus served as propaganda to attract such emigrants: in it we have the image of a country which is growing and modernizing, which is associated with excess, exuberance and wealth – the perfect publicity for the dream of an idyllic country.

In the same way, inside Brazil, the madness of the quixotic hero Policarpo Quaresma is a result of the readings which he made and which gave him an excessively proud and distorted vision of Brazil. The canon of 19th century Brazilian historiography can be found emblematically in his library: "Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, Saint-Hilaire, Martius were all there, [...] also Darwin, Freycinet, Cook, Bougainville and even the famous Pigafetta, the chronicler of Magalhães' voyage, because all these latter travellers touched on Brazil, either briefly or at length" (Barreto, [1911], 1969:31).

Blaise Cendrars' volume of poetry *Feuilles de route* is a relation of the impressions of the trip he made to Brazil and the description of the route he followed. This work, from the beginning of the 20th century, emphasizes the exotic and the picturesque, similar to that of his chronicler-traveller predecessors. In an article for a French newspaper, before his translation of *A Selva*, by Ferreira de Castro, in 1924, he called Amazonia: "a world apart, unique, totally new when compared to other parts of the planet [...] the most exotic place where a group of tourists might risk travelling" (Souza, 1995:57). The vision of the traveller can thus be seen as a mediator

between the two cultures and as being responsible for the formation of the myth of the exoticism of the tropical country.

This exoticism is also behind the success of Jorge Amado in France today, to such an extent that Amado signs contracts for translation rights almost at the same time as his books are launched. This tropical image, with mysterious jungles and idyllic beaches, peopled by characters who come straight out of Jorge Amado's stories, illustrates tourist brochures and posters on dream holidays in the Gardens of Eden of tropical seas and beaches.

In a study on the translations and the repercussion of the work of Machado de Assis in France, Lea Mara V. Staut (1996:891-4) describes the low profile of Machado in France, especially in terms of "productive reception", the way in which Machado's work might contribute to the network of universal intertextuality and interculturality. The multiple literary resources which he uses and the talent and wealth of his universe have not managed to break through the barrier of the expectations which the French public has of Brazilian works.

If translations into Portuguese in Brazil have had only a relative influence on Brazilian literary production, as our writers have always read English and French, and many of them have worked as translators, the same cannot be said for the consumer public, which was nourished by translations, especially French romances, educating and shaping a taste which would be a parameter for the evaluation of the production of Brazilian authors. In the

\* [...] un monde à part, unique; inédit par rapport aux autres zones de la planète [...] le plus exotique où une croisière de touristes puisse se risquer".

majority of cases, serial romances and not the important novels were translated, following public demand.

Differently to the literary novels which were read in the originals, serial literature addressed a less literary public, and, as a consequence, it was necessary to be translated to be sold. While the public enjoyed serial romances, the small contingent of Brazilian intellectuals locked itself in academies, writing and dialoguing with each other, with no contact with the rest of society. There are a number of cases of these writers lamenting the fact they had to rush off serials for newspapers as a way of guaranteeing their survival, sacrificing what they called "high literature".

As José Paulo Paes says, the serial romance, introduced into Brazil on the initiative of João Pereira da Silva and Justiniano José da Rocha, rapidly became popular and brought two immediate consequences to our literary system. Firstly, Brazilian writers incorporated the techniques, themes and conceptions of life which are characteristic of the genre, as in a number of José de Alencar's romances such as *Luciola* and *Senhora*, which contain the characteristics of this kind of writing, with logic and procedures which respond to the demands of newspaper owners. However, these writers were unable to cope with the insatiable thirst of the reading public. And the speed of the newspapers to cope with the demand resulted in the poor quality of many translations. (Paes 1990:19-20).

The introduction of the French model of the serial into the Brazilian literary system brought immediate consequences for the formation of the taste of the reader, who, in turn, also supplied new parameters for Brazilian literary production.

The strong French influence did not escape the observation of the modernist Mário de Andrade, who shows us, in one of his poems in his collection *Losango Cáqui*, the taste for hidden reading which reading serialised fiction represented to him.

Meu pai com seu nariz judeu[...] (My father with his Jewish nose) /  
Eu vivia quase sem ruído (I lived almost noiselessly) / Dumas  
Terrail Zola escondidos (Dumas Terrail Zola hidden) / Se ele  
souber[...] Meu pai? Meu Deus? (If only he had known[...] My  
father? My God? / Duas pessoas num só terror (Two people in a  
single terror) / Meus quatorze anos sorrateiros (My fourteen sneaky  
years) / Leituras pobres, vícios feios (Poor reading, ugly vices) /  
Quanto passado sem valor! (How much of the past has no value!) /  
Eu não vivi no meu país (I didn't live in my country) / Zola Terrail  
Dumas franceses[...] (French Zola Terrail Dumas) / Que gramáti-  
cas portuguesas (What Portuguese grammars) / Pro miserável de  
Paris! (For the miserable from Paris) (86-7).

Taking into account our still precarious literary system, a concept which includes the production, publication and the reading public, the present situation of the Brazilian market is that 70% of books are translated and just 30% are by Brazilian authors<sup>10</sup>. The causes are many and well-known: the marginalization of the great majority of the population; the high price of the product; sections of the academy which still resist peripheral models, which are not recognized and legitimized. Indeed, marginalized social groups and alternative cultural production have only just begun to gain greater visibility. The literary institution, which up to now has been based on exclusion and the arbitrary, with its project of homogenization

<sup>10</sup> Boas, Luciana Villas. Statement made during the seminar "Tradução: via de acesso ao Universo" (Translation: a Means of Access to the Universe"), Banco do Brasil Cultural Centre, Rio de Janeiro, 3/12/1998.

and the construction of a national monolithic subject, is beginning to absorb these peripheral manifestations, not as an object of discourse but as the subject of its own aesthetics, thereby supplying new canons, with the translations of peripheral works of women, gays, Indians, etc., especially from English, playing an important role.

On the other hand, if we use 1994 as a base, there were only 14 requests for the translation rights of Portuguese or Brazilian works, while there were more than 3,000 for the translation rights of works in English and 60 for Spanish works. Fewer than 200 works originally written in Portuguese are available on the book market in France<sup>11</sup>.

However, the vision of the idealized exoticism of the chronicler-travellers who have given Brazilian literature a stereotyped image may be changing. If it is true that Brazilian literature has taken advantage of the popularity of Latin American literature written in Spanish, which has been successful commercially since the 1960s and 1970s, it should also be considered that, at least if we take into consideration the repercussion of Brazilian literature in the *Salon du Livre* in Paris in 1998, the prospects are encouraging. In fact, the articles and reviews published in the French press demonstrated the interest in the work of Machado de Assis and Mário de Andrade, in addition to contemporary authors. In spite of the obligatory presence of Jorge Amado and the millennium phenomenon of Paulo Coelho, critics emphasized the cosmopolitanism and universalism of certain works, as against the nationalist and regionalist currents which have marked a large number of our writers and which have contributed to the crystallization of Brazil in the tourist guides: "pays aux mille visages",

<sup>11</sup> *La Tribune Culture*, sexta-feira, 20/03/1998, p. 43.

"exotisme sauvage", which can be found abroad. The critics almost unanimously stressed the variety of contemporary literary creation, pointing towards the surpassing of the localism/cosmopolitanism antinomies and the possibility of reconciling regional roots and transnational openings. Let us now hope that this trend which the 18th Salon du Livre brought about will be consolidated in the future.

Translated from the Portuguese by John Milton

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## Translations of Herman Melville in Brazil

Irene Hirsch\*

*Abstract: Many different versions of the works of Herman Melville have been published in Brazil. His most popular book, Moby-Dick, or The Whale was translated for the first time by Monteiro Lobato in 1935. Various translations and adaptations were published in the next decades, especially after the launching of the John Huston film. The different readings of this work are the starting point for the discussion of aspects of the Brazilian translation of novels.*

Nobel Prize winner José Saramago rhetorically asks his reader, at the end of one of his fictions, why Moby Dick died in Lisbon. In a very brief account he retells and modifies Melville's narrative, transporting the whale into his hometown and killing him there. The description of Moby Dick's death at Lisbon in the end of the 20th century is quite depressing:

Moby Dick was losing his strength. The stream took him to the shore, to the embarrassment of a definitive bogging down, to the low waters polluted with the excrement of a million human beings. If the whale were not an obtuse animal with a short memory he would now remember the great and open seas where he navigated

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in stronger times. But the half drowned body was torn, the soaked skin cracked – and the overcast eyes barely distinguished the small boats which the tiny wave swayed and the curious people on them who shot their cameras against the first whale of their lives.<sup>1</sup>

Adaptations of Ahab's chase of the whale are not Saramago's prerogative. The number of refractions and products derived from the novels, after the Melville revival in the 1920s, is huge. His works have been repeatedly adapted to film, radio, television, records, comic books, and children's literature. And images and names drawn from his fiction are used in popular literature, games, toys, restaurant names, popular songs, advertisements and other commercial products.

This appeal of Melville's fiction is not restricted to the American public. According to Sanford Marovitz it has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, Icelandic, French, Spanish, Japanese, German and Russian (1986:742). There is even a translation being made into Esperanto. In Brazil, the number of translations of his work can measure Melville's popularity. Besides *Moby-Dick* other works like *Typee*, *Bartleby*, *Benito Cereno*, *Billy Budd*, *The Confidence-Man*, *The Lightning Rod Man*, *The Piazza* have been translated into Portuguese.

<sup>1</sup> Moby Dick ia perdendo as forças. Já a corrente a desviava para a margem, para a ignomínia do encalhe definitivo, para as águas baixas, poluídas dos dejectos de um milhão de seres humanos. Se a baleia não fosse um animal certamente obtuso e sem memória, viria agora à rede do estilo a lembrança dos grandes e abertos mares por onde navegara no tempo da sua robustez. Mas o corpo meio afundado desagregava-se, a pele estalava e embebia-se de água – ao passo que os olhos turvos mal distinguíam os barquinhos que a mareta sacudia e os curiosos que dentro deles disparavam as máquinas fotográficas contra a primeira baleia de sua vida (1996:73) (my translation)<sup>1</sup>.

There are two translations of *Typee*: José Maria Machado's adaptation for the Clube do Livro and Henrique de Araujo Mesquita's for L&PM Editores. *Bartleby*, which is one of Melville's most popular works, has been translated by five different translators, Therson Santos, Olivia Krähenbühl, Marcio Cotrim, Luís de Lima and A. B. Pinheiro de Lemos. *Benito Cereno* was translated by Octávio Mendes Cajado, Olivia Krähenbühl, and most recently by Daniel Piza. *Billy Budd* also had three translators in three different decades: Octávio Mendes Cajado, Eurico Dowens and Pedro Carreiro Ramires.

The publication of translated literature in Brazil, especially from English, thrived in the nineteen thirties and forties, when some of the big Brazilian publishers hired a number of well known Brazilian writers to translate classic works. By that time, Melville had already become a canonical author. After his revival in the twenties in the US, when the initial rejection of his work by his contemporaries was replaced by a complete acceptance, almost a glorification, especially after the publication of the biography written by Raymond Weaver, *Melville: Mariner and Mystic*, in 1921. The translations of his work in Brazil, after his recognition in the US, followed a similar path to those of other classic writers; his most famous book, *Moby-Dick*, received the largest number of translations and adaptations (14) while all the others have 16 rewritings between them. There is no edition of Melville's complete works, as not all of his works have been translated. In fact, a large number of his novels (*Omoo*, *Mardi*, *Redburn*, *Pierre*, *White Jacket* and *Israel Potter*), some of his prose pieces and almost all of his poetry remain untranslated.

The first Brazilian publishers responsible for Melville's *Moby-Dick* was Companhia Editora Nacional: the 1935 translation of Monteiro Lobato and Adalberto Rochsteiner was more of an

adaptation than a faithful translation of the complete text. The condensed text was the fourth volume of the *Paratodos* series, which had five editions (1935, 1946, 1954, 1957 and 1985). The *Coleção Terramar* (*Landseaandair*), *Série Negra* (*Black Series*), *Biblioteca das Moças* (*Library for Young Ladies*) and *Paratodos* (*Forall*) from the same publishers were quite successful (1985:278). The fourth edition of *Moby-Dick* (1957) had the largest print run, 15,027, probably as a consequence of John Houston's film. This was almost three times the first edition (5,915 copies). The influence of the film can also be seen in the cover of the book of the fourth edition, where the image of Captain Ahab looks like Gregory Peck (see illustration).

Although Monteiro Lobato was best known for writing children's literature and adapting the classics for children, in his translation of *Moby-Dick* there is no indication that this was not the complete text, and it is classified as a translation (1985:190). However, he and Adalberto Rochsteiner considerably reduced the work, simplified the syntax and vocabulary and standardized the paragraphs. As a consequence, the characters were also simplified, when not eliminated (like the consumptive usher in the Introduction, for example). Some characters were transformed and impoverished, as with the loss of the dramatic dimension of Ahab, while others were stereotyped with their exotic characteristics highlighted. Thus, Daggoo, the third harpooner, becomes a dignified black savage with big earrings, described as follows

O terceiro arpoador chamava-se Daggoo, um negralhão preto como pixe e de andar imponente. Trazia nas orelhas argolas de ouro de demarcadas dimensões. Muito moço ainda embarcara num navio baleeiro que fizera escala em sua terra natal - e nunca mais mudara de profissão. Daggoo conservava tôdas as características da selvageria primitiva, e era de vê-lo atravessar o convés com seus dois metros e cinco de altura - imponentíssimo.

Detalhe curioso: este negro agigantado fizera-se escudeiro do homem de menor estatura do Pequod - Flask, o qual, ao seu lado, lembrava um peão de xadrez rente ao rei (1935:61).

#### Back translation:

The third harpooner was called Daggoo, a Negro as black as pitch with an imposing step. He had two very large golden hoops on his ears. When he was very young he had embarked on a whaler which had called at his native land - and never again did he change profession. Daggoo retained all his barbaric virtues and to see him move about the deck with his six foot eight [sic] - was very imposing.

A curious detail: this gigantic black was the squire of the shortest man on the Pequod - Flask, who looked like a chess-man next to the king.

The comparison of the English back translation with Melville's original shows some of the procedures which are characteristic of adaptations. The division of one text in two paragraphs, the reduction of sentences, the suppression of metaphors and the use of adapted vocabulary and syntax can be seen:

Third among the harpooners was Daggoo, a gigantic, coal-black negro-savage, with a lion-like tread - an Ahasuerus to behold. Suspended from his ears were two golden hoops, so large that the sailors called them ring-bolts, and would talk of securing the top-sail halyards to them. In his youth Daggoo had voluntarily shipped on board of a whaler, lying in a lonely bay on his native coast. And never having been anywhere in the world but in Africa, Nantucket, and the pagan harbors most frequented by whalemens; and having now led for many years the bold life of the fishery in the ships of owners uncommonly heedful of what manner of men they shipped; Daggoo retained all his barbaric virtues, and erect as a giraffe, moved about the decks in all the pomp of six feet five in

his socks. There was a corporeal humility in looking up at him; and a white man standing before him seemed a white flag come to beg truce of a fortress. Curious to tell, this imperial negro, Ahasuerus Daggoo, was the Squire of little Flask, who looked like a chess-man beside him (1988:120).

Daggoo's description excludes his past and concentrates on physical characteristics such as his height, colour and wildness. The exoticization of Daggoo is an example of the reductive procedures of describing characters in condensations. The other harpooners, Tashtego and Queequeg, and the mates, Starbuck, Stubb and Flask, are also simplified and reduced to their most stereotypical visual characteristics.

Other editions of *Moby-Dick* followed: in October 1948, the first children's edition was published in Brazil by Editora Brasil-America, was a translation of the 1942 *Classic Comics*, illustrated by Louis Zansky. In 1950, Editora José Olympio hired Berenice Xavier to translate the book, no. 96 in the series *Fogos Cruzados (Crossed Fires)* with a preface by well-known novelist Rachel de Queiroz. This publication was aimed at an adult reading public. According to Laurence Hallewell, the interest of José Olympio in translating classics written in English represented an invasion of a market that had been almost a monopoly of Livraria Globo (1985:375).

After the release of the Hollywood film in 1956, more of Melville's works were published in Brazil. In 1957 alone the reading public could find three different versions of *Moby-Dick*: Monteiro Lobato's (fourth edition), José Maria Machado's (*Clube do Livro*) and a new edition of Berenice Xavier's translation. This edition was more luxurious than the 1950 one: with a hard cover, it presented the reader with the complete text and only contained minor errors. Its visual presentation was better: Editora José

Olympio bought the copyright of Rockwell Kent's illustrations, which had been published by Random House and Lakeside and Poty, Brazilian illustrator of the works of Guimarães Rosa, gave local colour to the book.

José Olympio then sold the rights of this translation to different publishers: in 1967, Editora Ediouro published it in paperback, followed by Editora Francisco Alves, and, most recently, Publifolha has also reprinted it. The Publifolha edition was the largest reprint: 24,000 copies in 1998, which were distributed with one of the major Brazilian newspapers, *Folha de São Paulo*. *Moby-Dick* was no. 13 in a series of 20 – *Biblioteca Folha: Clássicos da Literatura Universal (Folha Library: Classics of Universal Literature)*. The book was sold along with the newspaper at a promotional price (R\$3,50, less than US\$2).

The next translation of Melville's works was *Bartleby*. In 1961, Editora Caravela in Rio de Janeiro hired Therson Santos to translate Melville's second most famous work, which was published in *Os Mais Belos Contos Norte-Americanos (The Most Beautiful American Short Stories)*. The same story was also translated by Marcio Cotrim, and published by Editora Lidador in 1967. *Billy Budd* and *Benito Cereno* also had their turn in the sixties: Editora Ediouro published *Dramas do Mar (Sea dramas)*, containing the two novels translated by Octávio Mendes Cajado. In 1969, Olivia Krähenbühl translated the longest collection of Melville's works for Editora Cultrix: *The Lightning Rod Man, The Piazza, Bartleby and Benito Cereno*.

But *Moby-Dick* was still more popular, and new editions, adapted for children, came out: adaptations by both Maria Thereza Giacomo, from Edições Melhoramentos, and by Francisco da Silva Ramos, from Editora Record, were published in 1962.

A shift in the demand of the book consuming public in the sixties may have been responsible for the success of a new form of commercial distribution: the success of Editora Abril with the publication of installments of art magazines sold at newsstands was responsible for their investment in books. The success of the sale of the illustrated edition of the Bible in weekly parts, in the series called *A Bíblia Mais Bela do Mundo* (*The Most Beautiful Bible in the World*), the first venture of Editora Abril in the book market, in 1965, encouraged the publication of new series: *O Pequeno Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Ilustrado* (*The Little Illustrated Dictionary of Portuguese*), *Os Pensadores* (*The Thinkers*), *Gênios da Pintura* (*Masters of Painting*), *Os Imortais* (*The Immortals*) among others.<sup>2</sup> In 1972, Editora Abril published two different versions of *Moby-Dick* directed to different publics: the adaptation of Francisco Manoel da Rocha Filho, in the series *Clássicos da Literatura Juvenil*, for children, and the translation of Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, no. 43 in the series *Os Imortais da Literatura Universal*, for adults.

In 1972 Editora Abril renewed the cover of Francisco Manoel da Rocha's adaptation, first published by Editora Bruguera. Along with the text there were impressive illustrations made by pop artist Luis Trimano, whose black and white images stress not the linear adventure, but rather the epic dimension of the work, aiming at transposing Melville's complex narrative strategy.

Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos' translation is similar to Berenice Xavier's in many ways. Both are aimed at a more demanding adult reading public, and are complete and faithful

<sup>2</sup> According to Hallewell (1985:568) 18,000 Brazilian news-stands sold 150,000 volumes of *A Bíblia mais bela do mundo*. The expansion of themes was also impressive: the week installments of the philosophy collection *Os Pensadores* sold 100,000 copies per day in 1974.

translations of the text, with minor errors.

The first edition had a hard red cover, the title printed in gold letters, and was accompanied by a twenty-page illustrated pamphlet; for the new edition, released in 1980, the cover was changed and the book was printed in two volumes.

The seventies also brought a language update: Editora Ediouro employed well-known writer Carlos Heitor Cony to retell the story, and the result was a high quality text with few pictures in a cheap edition. Before beginning his version, Cony warns the reader that there are two different ways of reading *Moby-Dick*; one scholarly, the reading of the original, and another which he calls popular as it stresses the episodic aspect of the book. The twenty-six renamed chapters are written in a fluent text with simplified vocabulary. Says Cony in the introduction of the book:

In a very rigorous list of the ten greatest books of all times, one would include without hesitation the great novel of Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick*. It is a key work of universal literature and can be placed with *Gulliver*, *Tom Jones*, *D. Quixote* and other literary monuments.

Like the above mentioned, *Moby-Dick* allows for two readings: the scholarly, which does not dispense with the reading of the original; and the popular, which only uses its episodic aspect<sup>3</sup>. (1970:10) (my translation).

<sup>3</sup> Numa lista rigorosa dos dez maiores livros de todos os tempos, muitos críticos incluiriam sem hesitações o grande romance de Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*. Trata-se, portanto, de uma obra-chave da literatura universal. Situa-se em pé de igualdade com *Gulliver*, *Tom Jones*, *D. Quixote* e outros poucos monumentos literários. Tal como os citados, *Moby Dick* comporta duas penetrações: a erudita, que não prescinde da leitura do original; e a popular, que lhe aproveita apenas o lado episódico.

This was the second investment of the same publishers in the same work. Having bought the copyright of Berenice Xavier's *Moby-Dick* for the adult reading public, Editora Ediouro, following Editora Abril, published an almost simultaneous children's version.

A second comic strip was published in the seventies: Editora Hemus translated the fragmented text with speech bubbles in an edition where Captain Ahab resembles Gregory Peck. This adaptation was a translation from the Pendulum Press edition by Irwin Shapiro with a new cover by a Brazilian artist, Décio Guedes.

*Moby-Dick* received two new adaptations in the eighties: Werner Zotz's for Editora Scipione in 1985 and Yone Quartim's translation from a Spanish adaptation printed in Colombia, and distributed by Editora Tempo Cultural in 1989. *Bartleby* and *Typee* were translated twice. Editora Record hired A. B. Pinheiro de Lemos to translate *Bartleby* in 1982, and Editora Rocco published Luís de Lima's translation in 1986. *Typee* was adapted by José Maria Machado and Jacob Penteadó, from the Clube do Livro, in 1984, and in the same year it was translated by Henrique de Araujo Mesquita and published by L&PM.

In 1990, Editora Abril invested for the third time in *Moby-Dick*. After having published one version for adults (Péricles E. da Silva Ramos's translation) and one for children (Francisco M. da Rocha's translation) this time Abril decided on a cartoon version: a translation of the adaptation of *Classics Illustrated* by Bill Sienkiewicz and Dan Chichester, and it is the first book of a series with the same name, i. e., *Clássicos Ilustrados*.

The most recent Brazilian adaptation of *Moby-Dick* came out in 1998, and it is also a comic book. The fashionable Editora

Companhia das Letras used Carlos Süssekind to translate Will Eisner's adaptation, and presented the juvenile public with a third comic version of the story. The *Confidence Man* was translated for the first time in 1992 (by Eliana Sabino and published by Editora 34), and *Benito Cereno* for the third time in 1993 (by Daniel Piza and published by Imago).

The presence of Melville's work in Brazil is, nonetheless, not restricted to these works. Besides boosting the number of publications and the sales of Melville's works, the impact of John Houston's film (1956) has shaped the imagination of many readers. Although the most recent film version (1998), directed by Franc Rodda and produced by Francis Ford Coppola, with Patrick Stewart as Ahab and Gregory Peck as Father Mapple, did not have the same impact, it is available to the public at video stores and was distributed free with *Revista Caras*.

There have also been a significant number of recent stage adaptations in Brazil. In 1997, the Centro Cultural São Paulo put on an adaptation of *Moby-Dick* directed by Cintia Alves which was aimed at the teenage public. The script by Cintia Alves and Wagner Santana was awarded the Coca-Cola Prize for Plays for Young Audiences. It was a musical staged in a circus ring with ten actors interpreting the main characters: Ahab and Ishmael, the mates Starbuck, Stubb and Flask, the harpooners Queequeg, Tashtego and Daggoo, the cook Fleece and the prophet Elias. The adventure was the main thread of the narrative. Like in most of the adaptations already mentioned, the descriptive passages, philosophical reflections and different linguistic registers were omitted, and priority was given to the linear narrative. The play showed a sequence of musical scenes on the meeting of Ishmael and Queequeg, Elias' prophecies, the Captain's announcement, the promise of a reward, the chase of the

whale, the fights between the men, the destruction of the Pequod, and the survival of Ishmael.

Another Brazilian staging of *Moby-Dick* was the free adaptation of the group Circo Mínimo presented in 1999 at Centro Cultural São Paulo. The group, set up by Rodrigo Matheus in 1988, mixes circus techniques with dramatic language. Cristiane Paoli-Quito directed the play, which was awarded two prizes: the Shell Theatre Prize, for Rodrigo Matheus' set and Wagner Freire's illumination. It is a play for two actors in which Rodrigo Matheus and Eugênio La Salvia spend most of the time in the heights, hanging from ropes. They do not interpret a specific character but simulate tempests, fights, shipwrecks and hunts using the illumination and soundtrack as basic components of the script in a 50 to 60 minute spectacle.

Adaptations for the cinema have also appeared: in 1968, French director Serge Roulet shot *Benito Cereno* on the Brazilian coast, with Ruy Guerra (a well known Brazilian director) as leading actor, in a Franc-Italo-Brazilian co-production. Recently, Eduardo Goldenstein also adapted Melville's tales to the screen: in 1997 he adapted *Bartleby* in *O Copista*, and in 1998 *The Lightning Rod Man* in *O Homem do Para-raios*.

Other references, especially to *Moby-Dick*, can be found in Brazil in TV cartoons, in lyrics or even in films. *Moby-Dick* has become a consumer good and in the US it is also available in the form of paintings, sculptures, CD-ROMs, T-shirts, badges, etc. The number of products derived from the novel is so big that it is common knowledge that the Melville industry substituted whaling as the major Nantucket industry in the 20th century. Although the cultural industry has not produced such a huge variety of products in Brazil, quite a large number have appeared.

The translations and adaptations of Melville's work discussed in this paper are a sample of the path followed by a classic writer in Brazil in the 20th century. While part of his work has been totally ignored, some of his works has been adapted more than once, and by different media, to meet the demands of various publics.



Cover of Cia Ed. Nacional (1958) where captain Ahab looks like Gregory Peck.

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## Monteiro Lobato Translator

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*Abstract: This study concentrates on the adaptation of Peter Pan made by Monteiro Lobato, the most famous writer of children's literature in Brazil, describing Lobato's strategies of translation and adaptation and their importance for the spreading of the foreign literature in Brazil. Especially important is Lobato's strategy of the oral retelling of the original story.*

Monteiro Lobato is the most important writer of children's literature in Brazil. He published 23 works which of told the adventures of a group of six characters, who live in the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo (Farm of the Yellow Woodpecker). The group consists of two children, Pedrinho and Narizinho (Little Nose), Dona Benta, their grandmother, Aunt Nastácia, a black cook, Emília, a talking rag doll, and Visconde (The Count), a doll made from a corn shuck. The farm where they live is a magical space from where the characters are launched to other places and times, or to where they bring characters from outside to take part in their adventures.

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In addition to his well-known works for children, Monteiro Lobato also published various works for an adult public, creating a character called Jeca Tatu, who became famous as a typical yokel from the interior of the state of São Paulo.

Lobato was also a translator and a publisher of a large number of translations for his own publishing company, Monteiro Lobato e Cia., from 1919 to 1925, and then, after it went bankrupt, for the Companhia Editora Nacional, in which he was a partner, from 1925 to his death in 1948. He also wrote chronicles, and, as an art critic, took part in a famous quarrel with the Brazilian Modernist group for having criticized the work of painter Anita Malfatti, who was influenced by European expressionism.

His work as a publisher is of enormous importance for the development of literature in Brazil, as, in addition to having launched a large number of works of known and unknown authors, he also introduced the idea of distributing books through the post and various commercial establishments throughout Brazil<sup>1</sup>. Lobato was also the Brazilian commercial attaché in the United States, living in New York from 1927 to 1931. He became very enthusiastic about American industrialization and tried to take to Brazil many of the ideas which he found there. However, the oil prospecting company which he founded in Brazil was a complete failure. Lobato was interested both in international and nationalist ideas, and was always concerned with the valuing of Brazilian culture and the development of Brazil. His interest in foreign culture, especially that of the Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> This is mentioned by Adriana Silvina Pagano in "An item called books: translations and publishers collections in the editorial booms in Brazil and Argentina from 1930 to 1950" in this volume.

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Saxon world, can be seen in a number of his letters from 1907, and from 1909 he translated articles from the London *Weekly Times* for a number of Brazilian newspapers.<sup>2</sup>

The translations he made were motivated by the lack of interesting texts for his own and all Brazilian children. In a 1916 letter, he complained that there were not enough foreign texts for the requirements of the Brazilian market:

The Portuguese fables that I know, which in general are translations of La Fontaine, are small thickets of berries in the forest - which is prickly and impenetrable. What can our children read? I can't see anything. Such fables would be the start of the literature which we need [...] Our children's literature is so poor and stupid that I can't find anything to get my children reading...<sup>3</sup>

Here we can see the beginnings of Lobato's plan for the production of a children's literature in Brazil, and, in 1921, he published his first book, *A menina do narizinho arrebitado* (*The Girl with the Turned-up Nose*).

Elsewhere in his correspondence, he refers to the foreign texts he admired:

<sup>2</sup> Zaccheta, V. *Monteiro Lobato, Furacão da Botocidinha*, p. 92

<sup>3</sup> "As fábulas em português que conheço, em geral traduções de La Fontaine, são pequenas moitas de amora do mato - espinhentas e impenetráveis. Que é que nossas crianças podem ler? Não vejo nada. Fábulas assim seriam um começo da literatura que nos falta [...]. É de tal pobreza e tão besta a nossa literatura infantil, que nada acho para a iniciação de meus filhos ..." *A Barca de Gleye*, V. II, p. 104.

And there's *Gulliver's Travels*, *Arabian Nights* and *Peter Pan* – they've all been bravely resisting the sweep of time. What is really good belongs to all countries and every century<sup>4</sup>.

In this extract from a 1924 letter, Lobato favours foreign works which are directed to children, with which he would later work. Lobato himself called his work of reading and writing an act of "galloping through books with magnets on the hooves in order to attract everything good that reading can bring"<sup>5</sup>.

In a 1921 letter he mentioned his plans for the translations and production of children's works and criticized the work of Carlos Jansen, the translator of children's literature at the end of the 19th century:

We intend to launch a series of books for children, like Gulliver, Robinson, etc., the classics, and we're going to be guided by the editions produced by old Laemmert, organized by Jansen Muller". I want the same thing, but with more lightness and wit. I even believe that we can consider Jansen an "ass" and rewrite what he did in a non-literary language<sup>6</sup>.

This critique is important, mainly because Lobato presents his translation plan in which he will be guided by the work of the other

<sup>4</sup> "E há *Viagens de Gulliver*, e as *Mil e uma noites* e *Peter Pan* – todas essas coisas que vêm galhardamente resistindo ao roçar dos anos. O realmente bom, é de todas as pátrias e de todos os séculos". *A Barra de Gleyre*, v. II, p.266.

<sup>5</sup> "[...] galopar por entre os livros com os cascos imantados para atrair tudo o que de bom a leitura lhe trouxesse" Ferreira, Hernani, "O Lobato que conheci", in: *Boletim Bibliográfico da Biblioteca Municipal Mário de Andrade*. N. 32.

<sup>6</sup> "Pretendemos lançar uma série de livros para crianças, como Gulliver, Robinson, etc., os clássicos, e vamos nos guiar por umas edições do velho Laemmert, organizadas por Jansen Muller". Quero a mesma coisa, porém com mais leveza e graça de língua. Creio até que se pode agarrar o Jansen como "burro" e reescrever aquilo em linguagem desliteraturizada". *A Barra de Gleyre*, v. II, p. 233. My emphasis.

and rewrite it. His comments make us wonder exactly how he will carry this rewriting out, whether in texts written in another language or in texts which have already been written in Portuguese. We can see that the works translated by Jansen, *Contos seletos das mil e uma noites* (1882) (*Selected Stories from the Arabian Nights*), *Robinson Crusoe* (1885), *Viagens de Gulliver* (*Gulliver's Travels*) (1888) and *As aventuras do celeberrimo Barão de Münchhausen* (*The Adventures of the Famous Baron Munchhausen*) (1891) appear in one way or another among Lobato's work, as his adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe* (1930) and *Viagens de Gulliver* (1937), for example, for the Companhia Editora Nacional. In addition, the character Baron Münchhausen, together with a number of characters from the *Arabian Nights*, appear in his children's texts as "visitors" to the Sítio of Dona Benta<sup>7</sup>.

In addition to his concern about the lack of material for young readers, Lobato also worked to broaden the spectrum of languages from which children's literature was translated:

[...] But we only translated from French and Spanish.

English literature, so rich in monuments, hardly exists for us. The same for German, Russian and Scandinavian literatures. American, idem. One day an intelligent editor had the idea of airing the brains of our eternal readers of Escrich and Ponson du Terrail. He dared to launch writers such as Wren, Wallace, Burroughs, Stevenson on to the market. And he went beyond this. He launched two of the highest: Kipling, Jack London – and he's now thinking of Joseph Conrad and Bernard Shaw.

The surprise of the natives was enormous. Serious? Is it possible that there are writers who are greater than Escrich and Dumas? Is there any salvation outside France and Spain? [...]

<sup>7</sup> These characters come also appear in *Reinações de Narizinho*, which was first published in a single edition in 1931.

Translation has to be a transplant. The translator must deeply understand the work of an author and rewrite it in Portuguese like someone who listens to a story and then retells it in his own words.<sup>9</sup>

The authors he mentions would be published by his company either under his name or that of Edgard Cavalheiro. Lobato's concept of translation is that the translator should rewrite the text as someone who hears a story, retelling it in his or her own words. These statements correspond to his work of translation and adaptation as, when translating texts like *Peter Pan* he both freely adapted the plot and presented it through a story teller.

Lobato also describes his concept of the translator of his period:

The names which we saw for the first time as translators lose their prestige when we see them as authors We have the vague impression that those who translate cannot write<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> [...] Mas só traduzíamos do francês e do espanhol. A literatura inglesa, tão rica de monumentos, era como se não existisse. A alemã, a russa, a escandinava, idem. A americana, idem. Um dia um editor inteligente teve a idéia de arejar o cérebro dos nossos eternos leitores de eschichadas e ponsonadas. Aventurou-se a lançar no mercado Wren, Wallace, Bourroughs, Stevenson, e que tais. E foi além. Lançou dos sumos: Kipling, Jack London - e já pensa em Joseph Conrad e Bernard Shaw. A surpresa do indígena foi enorme. Sério? Seria possível que houvesse no mundo escritores maiores do que Eschich e Dumas? Que fora da França e da Espanha houvesse salvação? [...]  
A tradução tem que ser um transplante. O tradutor necessita compreender a fundo a obra e o autor, e reescrevê-la em português como quem ouve uma história e depois a conta com palavras suas. Lobato, M. "Traduções", in: *Mundo de Lya e Miscelânea*, p. 125-7.  
<sup>9</sup> "Os nomes que vimos pela primeira vez como tradutores perdem o prestígio quando os vemos como autores. Há em nós a vaga impressão de que quem traduz não pode criar". Lobato M. "Traduzir" In: *Mundo de lya e miscelânea*, p. 50.

However, exactly the opposite takes place with Lobato. When publishing his translations and adaptations, Lobato was already a well-known writer, so that his name on the cover gave prestige to the translation. A large number of the translations of the Companhia Editora Nacional carry his name. Indeed, the number is so great that there are doubts as to whether Lobato was always the real translator. A considerable number are of poor quality. But I believe that his work as translator did not reduce his stature as a writer but rather broadened his creative achievements.

The foreign works published by the Companhia Editora Nacional in the initial decades of the 20th century under the name of Monteiro Lobato include authors such as Conan Doyle, Daniel Defoe, Eleanor H. Porter, Ernest Hemmingway, H. G. Wells, Herman Melville, Jack London, John Steinbeck, Lewis Carroll, Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling and Jonathan Swift. The majority of these texts were originally written in English, differently to the majority of texts which were translated in Brazil at the time. At the end of the 19th century, even texts originally written in English were translated from French.<sup>10</sup>

Lobato seems to have paid special attention to just a small number of texts, those where he freely adapted the plot, such as *Peter Pan* (1930), *História do Mundo para Crianças* (*The History of the World for Children*) (1933) and *Don Quixote das Crianças* (*Don Quixote for Children*) (1936), which can be seen not just as adaptations but as appropriations, if we examine the way in which they are published,

<sup>10</sup> Milton, J. in "A Tradução de Romances 'Clássicos' do Inglês para o Português do Brasil" (*Trabalhos de Linguística Aplicada, Campinas, 1994*, p. 19), comments that most of the translations of Byron made into Portuguese came through the French.

with considerable emphasis being given to Lobato's name, as if he were the author. Else Vieira<sup>11</sup> makes an interesting analysis of the degree of importance given to the work of the translator, according to the way in which his or her name is presented in the work, whether it is placed on the inside, back or front cover, etc. In Lobato's *Peter Pan*, Lobato's name is on the cover, and the name of the original author, J. M. Barrie, only appears in the first chapter.

In his texts for children, Lobato introduces well-known characters from Western literature. We can also note the considerable use of food metaphors when he refers to literature. In *Reinações de Narizinho* (*The Reigns of Little Nose*) (1931), he states that well-known characters needed to "escape from their original books and live other adventures in the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo". This idea of the escape of the characters is as important as Lobato believes in the creation of new stories with foreign characters. Various forms of this process of appropriation can be seen with the character of Peter Pan.

Lobato's adaptation of *Peter Pan* was published in 1930, with the complete title of *Peter Pan: a história do menino que não queria crescer, contada por Dona Benta* (*Peter Pan: the story of the boy who didn't want to grow up, as retold by Dona Benta*), by Monteiro Lobato, and published by Lobato's Companhia Editora Nacional. Thus Lobato plays the three roles of creator, translator and publisher.

Lobato appears as the author of the text, which is another of the stories of the Sítio group. The story told by this narrator is about a sequence of nights when Dona Benta told her grandchildren a story, thus framing the Peter Pan story.

<sup>11</sup> Vieira, Else. *Por uma poética pós-moderna da tradução*. Belo Horizonte, 1992.

In addition to Dona Benta telling the story, we have the intervention of a number of the listeners and a number of events which take place parallel to the Peter Pan narrative. Rather than adapting the English story, Lobato is dealing creatively with story which is contemporary to his own, by the use of a character as reader and also as story teller, handling Barrie's story as if it were an oral narrative.

The references to the text and the original author occur as follows: Emilia, Pedrinho and Narizinho, having heard about Peter Pan in *Reinações de Narizinho*, ask their grandmother, Dona Benta, who he is. The beginning of *Peter Pan* thus mentions previous allusions to Peter Pan in Lobato's works:

Whoever has read *Reinações de Narizinho* will remember the night at the circus, in Picapau Amarelo, when the clown mysteriously disappeared. He must have been kidnapped. But by whom? Everyone wondered and didn't know what to think about this strange event. Everyone, that is, except Felix the cat, who said that the kidnapper could have been no less than - Peter Pan!<sup>12</sup>

Dona Benta doesn't know who he is and must go to a book to satisfy the curiosity of her grandchildren.

She wrote to a book shop in São Paulo asking them to send her the story of this Peter Pan. Days afterwards she received a beautiful

<sup>12</sup> "Quem já leu as *Reinações de Narizinho* deve estar lembrado daquela noite de circo, no Picapau Amarelo, em que o palhaço havia desaparecido misteriosamente. Com certeza fora raptado. Mas raptado por quem? Todos ficaram na dúvida, sem saber o que pensar do estranho acontecimento. Todos, menos o gato Félix. Esse figurão afirmava que o autor do rapto só poderia ter sido uma criatura - Peter Pan." Lobato, M. *Peter Pan*, p. 149.

book in English, full of coloured prints, by the famous English author J. M. Barrie. The title of this book was Peter Pan and Wendy.

Dona Benta read the book right through and then said:

"Ready! Now I know who Mr. Peter Pan is, and I know better than Felix the cat, as I doubt whether he's read it"<sup>13</sup>.

We can thus see how Dona Benta, a cultivated and multilingual reader, manages to gain access to the foreign work. The importance of the bookshop in order to acquire to work and reading as a source of the story which will then be transmitted orally are both emphasized. When Dona Benta finishes reading Barrie's work, she tells her grandchildren: "Ready. Now I know who Peter Pan is and I can tell you the story whenever you wish."<sup>14</sup>, thus making the importance of the book explicit as she needs it to have access to the story, as she had done in a number of Lobato's other stories, such as *Reinações de Narizinho*, where she needed to buy Collodi's book in order to know the story of Pinocchio<sup>15</sup>. This was, of course, of interest to Lobato, who had definite interests in improving the book market. After reading the text in English, Dona Benta translated it into simplified oral Portuguese, which is more easily understood by the characters in the Sítio, and, according to Lobato's project, Brazilian children in general. Lobato also handles Barrie's text creatively, resulting in the creation of another story, the story of Peter Pan told by Dona Benta.

<sup>13</sup> "Escreveu a uma livraria de São Paulo pedindo que lhe mandasse a história do tal Peter Pan. Dias depois recebeu um lindo livro em inglês, cheio de gravuras coloridas, do grande escritor inglês J. M. Barrie. O título dessa obra era Peter Pan and Wendy.

Dona Benta leu o livro inteirinho e depois disse:

— Pronto! Já sei quem é o senhor Peter Pan, e sei melhor do que o gato Félix, pois duvido que ele haja lido esse livro." *Ibidem*, p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> Lobato, M. *Peter Pan*, São Paulo, Ed. Nacional, 1930.

<sup>15</sup> *Reinações de Narizinho*, p. 199.

This form of recreation can be compared to that of the translations of Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, concrete poets, critics and translators, which Else Vieira, in *Por uma poética pós-moderna da tradução (Towards a Postmodern Translation Poetics)*<sup>16</sup>, comments on. In their translations they make use of foreign texts in free translations which they often call recreations. Haroldo uses Goethe's *Faust* to make a personal version called *Deus e o Diabo no Fausto de Goethe (God and the Devil in Goethe's Faust)* (São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1981), a title which is similar to the Brazilian film directed by Glauber Rocha called *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol (God and the Devil in the Land of the Sun)*. Haroldo de Campos thus takes an "idea" from the original text, from which he creates his "own" text. His translations are also transculturizations, taking elements from the culture which receives the text and putting his own mark on it. His Faust becomes a kind of Brazilian Faust.

As a narrator, Dona Benta doesn't just translate the story but also explains certain untranslatable terms, modifies certain situations and uses certain strategies to awaken the interest of the listeners, thus contextualizing, and, to a certain extent, tropicalizing, the narrated story, making it easier to be received. She summarizes the story, giving greater emphasis to the action and dialogue scenes such as the meeting of Wendy and Peter Pan, thereby putting into practice Lobato's idea that children would mainly be interested in reading adventures. In addition, he uses contemporary slang in order to reproduce the orality. Examples are "gabolice" ("bunk"), "prosa" ("chat"), "mangar" ("make fun of").

The orality of his narrative is also reinforced by phrases which respect a certain indetermination which, though they may be

<sup>16</sup> Vieira, Else, *Op. cit.*

possible in speech, would not be acceptable in formal written language. For example, "Wendy's father is called I-don't-know-what Darling"<sup>17</sup>, and in the use of onomatopoeias such as *bem, bem, bem...*, "*tin, tin*", "*Prrrr...*". in the presentation of Sininho the fairy:

A fairy who did everything other fairies do except speak. She only said that tin, tin, tin of the silver bell<sup>18</sup>.

One characteristic of Dona Benta's narrative, which has similarities with the oral narrative mentioned by Walter Ong<sup>19</sup>, is that of approximating narrated facts with daily life when the story is being told:

[...] oral cultures must conceptualise and verbalise all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld, assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings.

This approximation between the narrated story and daily life can be seen in the interruptions of the narrator in order to explain names, situations and places which are part of another culture, as, for example, the explanation of what a *nursery* is.

Nursery (pronounced *nârseni*) in English means the children's room. Here in Brazil the children's room is a room just like any other and therefore has no special name. But things are different in

<sup>17</sup> "O pai [de Wendy] chamava-se não sei que Darling *Ibidem*, p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> "Uma fada que fazia tudo que as outras fazem, menos falar. Sua fala não passava daquele tin, tin, tin de campainha de prata" *Ibidem*, p. 167.

<sup>19</sup> Ong, W. *Orality and Literacy*, p. 42.

England. Children's rooms are really beautiful there, with nice pictures on the walls, special furniture, and all the toys that exist<sup>20</sup>.

When explaining what a *nursery* is, Dona Benta awakens the curiosity of characters like Emília, who asks whether the "boi de chuchu" (sticks inserted into a chayote to give the appearance of an ox) exists in England. Dona Benta replies:

Probably not, because a *boi de chuchu* is a toy of boys from the country, and London is a big city, the largest in the world. English children are very spoiled and have all the toys they want. The English toys are the best there are<sup>21</sup>.

These observations suggest that Wendy's family is rich, as they are able to provide a nice room full of toys for the children. Such commentaries resulted in Lobato's *Peter Pan* being placed on the list of banned books and copies to be seized and burnt by the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), as, according to Maria Tucci Carneiro (1997:74), the work criticized the Brazilian government as it showed the inferiority of Brazil to England.

But in Barrie's original we can see that the Darling family are poor in relation to other English families. Wendy's birth has brought considerable expenses to the family:

<sup>20</sup> "— Nursery (pronuncia-se *nârseni*) quer dizer em inglês quarto de crianças. Aqui no Brasil quarto de criança é um quarto como outro qualquer e por isso não tem nome especial. Mas na Inglaterra é diferente. São uma beleza os quartos das crianças lá, com pinturas engraçadas rodeando as paredes, todos cheios de móveis especiais, e de quanto brinquedo existe." Lobato, *Op. Cit.* p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> "— Talvez não tenha, porque boi de chuchu é brinquedo de meninos da roça e Londres é uma grande cidade, a maior do mundo. As crianças inglesas são muito mimadas e têm os brinquedos que querem. Os brinquedos ingleses são dos melhores." *Ibidem*, p. 152.

For a week or two after Wendy came it was doubtful whether they would be able to keep her, as she was another mouth to feed<sup>22</sup>.

Dona Benta makes no comments about the situation of Wendy's parents and merely explains certain facts of another culture so that her grandchildren are aware that it is concretely different from their reality.

On other occasions, the narrator approximates the narration to the daily life of her listeners. Sometimes this takes place because of the listeners themselves. The narrator suggests and her listeners actively receive. In the following example, this approximation gains unexpected meanings:

[...] A twin is the name given to two children who are really twins and so similar that the same clothes and name will fit both.[...]

— I know, shouted Emilia. With books it's like that. There are piles of books that are so similar that getting one is the same as getting another. The work is the same.

— That's right, said Dona Benta laughing at the doll's comparison. The six lost boys were like that, and that night they were playing until late, waiting for Peter Pan, who had gone to the city to hear the rest of Mrs. Darling's story.

— What were they playing? asked Pedrinho.

— Everything, replied Benta. English children are like you here; they play at everything<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Barrie, J. *Peter Pan*, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> "[...] Gêmeo era o nome dado a dois meninos realmente gêmeos e tão iguaizinhos que as mesmas roupas e o mesmo nome serviam para ambos [...]

— Eu sei, berrou Emilia. Com os livros é assim. Há montes de livros tão iguais que tanto faz a gente pegar num como pegar noutro. A obra é a mesma.

Another example of approximation is when Dona Benta mentions the Indians in the story of Peter Pan:

On the left-hand side there was a village of redskins, that is, North American Indians with rounded noses, feather headdresses, peace pipes in their mouths. They lived in silence and at rest, always squatting like our Indians in the jungle.

The houses of these Indians were in the shape of an Arabic tent.

— I know, interrupted Pedrinho. These Arab tents are shaped like a flattened tube or a funnel without a spout.

— That's right, confirmed Dona Benta. They lived in these spoutless funnels, and, instead of being governed by a chief, were governed by a very brave Indian, called White Panther<sup>24</sup>.

Dona Benta (and, behind her, Lobato) approximates the Redskins to Brazilian reality, comparing the Brazilian *caboclos* (half-

— Pois é, disse dona Benta rindo-se da comparação da boneca. Os seis meninos perdidos eram esses tais, e naquela noite estiveram brincando até tarde, à espera de Peter Pan, que fora à cidade ouvir o resto da história da senhora Darling.

— Estiveram brincando de quê? perguntou Pedrinho.

— De tudo, respondeu dona Benta. Os meninos ingleses são como vocês aqui; brincam de tudo." *Ibidem*, p. 184. My emphasis.

<sup>24</sup> "Do lado esquerdo ficava uma aldeia de Peles Vermelhas, isto é, índios norte-americanos de nariz recurvo, cocar de penas na cabeça, cachimbo da paz na boca. Viviam em silêncio e em descanso, sempre de cócoras, como os nossos caboclos do mato.

As casas desses índios eram em forma de tenda árabe.

— Eu sei, interrompeu Pedrinho. A tal tenda árabe tem a forma dum cartucho achatado, ou dum funil sem bico.

— Pois é, confirmou dona Benta. Viviam nesses funis sem bico e em vez de cacique eram governados por uma índia muito valente, de nome Pantera Branca." *Ibidem*, p. 179-180. My emphasis.

Indians), who can be found in Lobato's work in the guise of Jeca Tatu, by the fact that they were always squatting. However, these Indians were given negative qualities in Barrie's story because they could never defeat Captain Hook as they were "rather fat"<sup>25</sup>.

Dona Benta, as the mediator between the text and its listeners, is not neutral and demonstrates her reactions and opinions when, for example, commenting on Wendy's mother, she makes the generalization:

She was frightened, obviously, because good mothers are frightened by any thing, and she ran to close the window<sup>26</sup>.

Dona Benta's involvement with the story enables her to get out of difficult questions, demonstrating her authority as a reader, as in the following extract in which she replies to Emília's question:

— [...] a small ball of fire had entered the window.

— How could it have entered the window if it was closed? Shouted Emília.

<sup>25</sup> Barrie presents the Indians as follows:

"[...] the trail of the pirates, stealing noiselessly down the war-path, which is not visible to inexperienced eyes, come the redskins, every one of them with his eyes peeled [...] for these are the Piccaninny tribe [...] In the van, on all fours, is Great Big Little Panther, a brave of so many scalps that in his present position they somewhat impede his progress. [...] Observe how they pass over fallen twigs without making the slightest noise. The only sound to be heard is their somewhat heavy breathing. The fact is that they are all a little fat just after the heavy gorging, but in time they will work this off." (Barrie, p. 62)

<sup>26</sup> "Assustou-se, está claro, porque as boas mães se assustam por qualquer coisa, e correu a fechar a vidraça". Lobato, *Peter Pan*, p. 156.

— I don't know, said Dona Benta. The book doesn't say. But as it was a magic fire ball, it would be quite possible. If it's a magic fireball it wouldn't matter whether the window were open or closed...<sup>27</sup>

However, Dona Benta is not always faithful to the book. She modifies situations and often adds words to the speeches of the characters according to the message she was attempting to transmit to her listeners. Let us look at the example of the difference between a dialogue in the original text and the same dialogue as retold by Dona Benta:

They [lost boys] are children who fall out of their perambulators when the nurse is looking the other way. If they are not claimed in seven days they are sent far away to the Neverland to defray expenses. I'm captain.

"What fun it must be!"<sup>28</sup>

Dona Benta's narrative is modified in the following way:

— "Lost children are children who fall out of their perambulators in the public gardens when their nurses are distracted and flirt with the soldiers. If their mothers can't find them within fifteen days, they are sent to Neverland, where I rule.

— How funny! Exclaimed Wendy. Neverland! That's a land I didn't know existed. The geography books don't mention it."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> \*— [...] havia entrado pela janela uma pequena bola de fogo.  
— Como havia entrado pela janela, se a janela estava fechada? Berrou Emília.  
— Isso não sei, disse dona Benta. O livro nada conta. Mas como fosse uma bola de fogo mágica, o caso se torna possível. Para as bolas de fogo mágicas tanto faz uma janela estar aberta como fechada... \* *Ibidem*, p. 158.

<sup>28</sup> Barrie, J. *Peter Pan*, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> — "Meninos perdidos são os meninos que caem dos carrinhos nos jardins públicos quando as mães se distraem a namorar os soldados. Se as mães não



Lobato's text cuts out the comments that the lost children, when they are not found, are sent to Neverland, to "defray expenses". In Lobato's text, they go to Neverland when their mothers "can't find them". Here Dona Benta again omits the economic fact, while she adds the fact that Neverland is not found in geography books.

Dona Benta's narrative makes changes to the speeches of the characters, who, in addition to speaking Portuguese<sup>30</sup>, say what the narrator wishes. The story is therefore used as a pretext for the narrator, and behind her Lobato, to mention the fact that books are present in the lives of other people, as for example the fact that "Neverland cannot be found in "geography books".

conseguem encontrá-los no prazo de quinze dias, eles são remetidos para a Terra do Nunca, onde quem manda sou eu.

— Que engraçado! Exclamou Wendy. Terra do Nunca! Está aí uma terra que eu não sabia que existisse. As geografias não falam dela". Lobato, M. *Peter Pan*, p. 168. My emphasis.

<sup>30</sup> This fact is important when we see that in *Memórias da Emília* the character Alice (*Alice in Wonderland*) talks with Aunt Nastácia, and, in the conversation, the identification between translation and making the characters speak in the native language is made explicit:

— "A very good afternoon, Mrs Nastácia! nodded Alice.

— "Eh! Exclaimed the black woman. So the little English girl speaks Portuguese!

— "Alice has been translated into Portuguese, explained Emília."

— "Muito boas tardes, senhora Nastácia! murmurou Alice cumprimentando de cabeça.

— "Ué! Exclamou a preta. A inglesinha então fala nossa língua?

— "Alice já foi traduzida em português, explicou Emília."

The dialogue is followed by a footnote informing that Lobato had translated the story of Alice, information which had a strong marketing connotation as this mention of *Alice in Wonderland*, translated by Lobato and published by Companhia Editora Nacional publishing house could lead the reader to buy the other book.

Another element that shows that we have a story within a story are the various interruptions and restarts. There are moments when the action returns to the scene of the evening party when Emília argues with Aunt Nastácia. Then the story of Peter Pan is returned to. Thus the narrative is always mixed with scenes of the characters of the Sítio listening to Dona Benta. The questions and comments which make Dona Benta interrupt her story to provide explanations are also important.

In addition to the comments, there are also moments when the narrative thread is taken up again. The role of returning to the text is that of the narrator and Pedrinho and Narizinho, who, deeply involved in the story, take part in its composition.

Dona Benta uses the same strategies as Sherazade and the episodic novel, with interruptions and restarts, creating suspense, putting off the story, or the interesting parts of it, for the next chapter or the following day. She interrupts the narration at the end of each night to continue the next day, at seven o'clock, so that the story will be eagerly awaited by the listeners. In addition, the opening of the evening gatherings when Dona Benta will tell her story, which is marked by the narrator with expressions like "on the next day", "on the third night", suggests similarities with the *Arabian Nights*.

The characters in the Sítio help to develop the narrative, and, this results in Peter Pan taking on the characteristics of a Monteiro Lobato character, as when the story pleases them the characters in it begin to exist as part of their own reality. As they have already been visited by other characters in Lobato's previous works, when they hear the story of Peter Pan, they bring his world to theirs. And in Lobato's later works *Memórias da Emília* (*Emília's Memories*)

(1936) and *O Picapau Amarelo* (*The Yellow Woodpecker*) (1939) this actually happens as Peter Pan visits the Sítio and becomes Pedrinho's friend.

Each of the listeners has his or her own opinion on the story. Pedrinho identifies with Peter Pan, and Narizinho with Wendy. But Aunt Nastácia is not convinced by the story, and her comments turn Emília against her. Dona Benta's story is appropriated or digested in a different way by each of the characters.

Emília, the talkative humanlike rag doll, is perhaps the main character of Lobato's stories. She is Narizinho's doll, but sometimes she behaves smarter than Narizinho. In this story, Emília is not satisfied by just commenting and copies one element of the text to the Sítio as, after discovering that Peter Pan's shadow had been "cut off" when he was escaping, begins to cut up Aunt Nastácia's shadow.

Emília had slipped out of the room without anyone noticing and she soon returned with Dona Benta's scissors in her hand. She found a way to cut the head off Aunt Nastácia's shadow. She then rolled it up and put it away at the bottom of the drawer<sup>31</sup>.

From the first night, when Emília decided to cut up Aunt Nastácia's shadow, each of the chapters opens with the cook complaining about the fact her shadow is getting smaller.

<sup>31</sup> "Emília saíra da sala pé ante pé sem que ninguém percebesse, e logo depois voltou com a tesoura de dona Benta na mão. E deu jeito de cortar a cabeça da sombra de tia Nastácia, que enrolou e foi guardar no fundo da gaveta." Lobato, Peter Pan, p. 175.

On the third night Aunt Nastácia entered the room even more disappointed than the previous evening. Whatever was happening with her poor shadow was simply monstrous.

[...] It was really taking place. Holes had been cut out of the rest of the poor black woman shadow<sup>32</sup>.

The gradual disappearance of Aunt Nastácia's shadow intrigues all the characters, until the last chapter, when Visconde discovers that Emília is the culprit.

When beginning the parallel story of the cutting up of Aunt Nastácia's shadow, Dona Benta feeds the children's imagination even further when she says that she suspects Peter Pan may be the culprit.

Dona Benta thought that could only be the trick of Peninha, or maybe of Peter Pan himself, who might have been hiding in the room when they were all engrossed in the story<sup>33</sup>.

In the same year, 1930, when he published Peter Pan, Lobato also published *Pena de Papagaio* (*The Parrot's Feather*) and *O pó de Pirlimpimpim* (*The Powder of Pirlimpimpim*) where he introduced Peninha:

I'm suspicious, said Pedrinho, that Peter Pan's magic powder was our pirlimpimpim powder.

<sup>32</sup> "Na terceira noite tia Nastácia apareceu na sala ainda mais desapontada do que na véspera. O que estava acontecendo com a sua pobre sombra era simplesmente monstruoso. [...] Rem era. O resto da sombra da pobre negra estava todo picado de buracos feitos a tesoura." *Ibidem*, p. 200. My emphasis.

<sup>33</sup> "Dona Benta foi de opinião que aquilo só poderia ser arteirice do Peninha, ou talvez do próprio Peter Pan, que houvesse entrado na sala às escondidas, no momento em que todos estavam mais distraídos com a história." *Ibidem*, p. 176.

— And who can guarantee that Peninha, who gave you the Pirlimpimpim powder, isn't really Peter Pan?<sup>34</sup>

At the end of the story, when Dona Benta tells about Captain Hook's defeat by Peter Pan, the other characters comment:

— Bravo! shouted Pedrinho. I knew this was going to happen. A child who is protected by the fairies always wins...

Aunt Nastácia opened her eyes wide.

— Really! Imagine a boy like that here in the sítio! He could even saw off Quindim's horn...<sup>35</sup>

Monteiro Lobato's idea of translation has strong similarities with the notion of feeding, and he uses eating metaphors when referring to reading. We can link this with the idea of anthropophagy in literature. This concept originated in the work of the Brazilian writers who brought avant-garde art from Europe, which culminated in the "Modern Art Week" in 1922, whose aim was to shock and publicize avant-garde ideas. Following the European models, the Modernist group published a number of manifestoes, including the *Manifesto Pau Brasil (The Brazilwood Manifesto)* and the *Manifesto Antropofágico (Anthropophagic Manifesto)*, whose aim was to recover the origins of Brazilian culture and analyze its position in

<sup>34</sup> "Estou desconfiado, disse Pedrinho, que o tal pó mágico de Peter Pan era o nosso pó de pirlimpimpim.

— E quem nos garante que o tal Peninha, que deu a você o pó de Pirlimpimpim, não seja esse mesmo Peter Pan?" Lobato, M. *Peter Pan*, p. 175.

<sup>35</sup> "— Bravos! exclamou Pedrinho. Eu sabia que ia suceder isso. Menino protegido pelas fadas acaba sempre vencendo... Tia Nastácia arregalou os olhos.

— Credo! Imaginem um menino desses aqui no sítio! Era capaz até de serrar o chifre do Quindim..." *Ibidem*, p. 250.

relation to foreign cultures. In the *Manifesto Antropofágico*, published in 1928, Oswald de Andrade presented the image of the cannibal, coming from Brazilian Indians, who would "devour" the enemy to thus take over his soul. In cultural terms, this could mean a way in which the Brazilian, like the cannibal, would assimilate foreign culture, not in a submissive way, but rather actively, swallowing, or rather, transforming this culture. One of the precepts of the *Manifesto Antropofágico* was "I'm only interested in what is mine, the law of the man, the law of anthropophagy"<sup>36</sup>. The ideas of the *Manifesto Antropofágico* have also influenced later writers, including the Campos brothers. A translation along the anthropophagic model will not be faithful, seduced by the original culture and paying homage to it, but will actively receive and transform, introducing something new, assimilating, appropriating and transforming the foreign culture.

Marisa Lajolo makes the following comment on the link of Lobato's work to the stories of the European tradition:

In the presence of traditional European characters such as Snow White, Peter Pan or Little Red Riding Hood in the Sítio of Dona Benta, we can see another way in which Monteiro Lobato's project coincides with other avant-garde projects: the reexamination of the tradition, making a new version of it, impregnating its meaning either by treating its traditional context irreverently, or by immersing it in another context, which is modern and Brazilian. Are not such procedures, which are often part of the structure of Lobato's work, evidence of the same spirit of anthropophagy, which, in other works, is seen as a statement of modernity and the avant-garde?<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> "Só me interessa o que é meu, lei do homem, lei do antropófago."

<sup>37</sup> "Na presença de personagens infantis tradicionais e europeias como Branca de Neve, Peter Pan ou Chapeuzinho Vermelho no sítio de Dona Benta mani-

Elsewhere<sup>38</sup>, Lajolo also emphasizes the fact that, in *Don Quixote das crianças*, Dona Benta makes an intralingual translation in Portuguese, translating a text in old literary Portuguese to the colloquial style of her listeners, and can thus be seen to be a polyglot inside her own language. This is part of Lobato's concern with the "Brazilianization" of the translations made in Portuguese. In *Peter Pan*, Lobato uses the foreign text for his adaptation, but in *Don Quixote das Crianças* the original text is a translation into the Portuguese of Portugal. This translation is immediately refused by the children, who ask Dona Benta not to read the story but to retell it orally.

— Children [...] this book was written in a high style, full of formal perfection and subtleties, the reason why it became a classic. But as you still don't need to understand the beauties of literary form, instead of reading it, I'll tell it to you in my own words.

— That's good! Shouted Emília "In your words, those of Aunt Nastácia and mine too – and Narizinho's – and Pedrinho's – and Rabicó's".

feita-se outro aspecto no qual o projeto lobatiano parece coincidir com outros projetos da vanguarda: a retomada da tradição, passando-a a limpo, fecundando sua significação quer pela irreverência em relação a seu contexto tradicional, quer pela sua imersão em outro contexto, agora moderno e nacional. Não podem constituir tais procedimentos, muitas vezes estruturais na obra de Lobato, manifestações do mesmo espírito da antropofagia que em outras obras, é lido como penhor de modernidade e vanguarda." Lajolo, M. "A modernidade de Monteiro Lobato", in: *Atualidade de Monteiro Lobato*, p. 48. My emphasis.

<sup>38</sup> Lajolo, M. "Lobato, um Don Quixote no caminho da leitura", in: *Do mundo da leitura para a leitura do mundo*, p. 94.

<sup>39</sup> — "Meus filhos [...] esta obra está escrita em alto estilo, rico de todas as perfeições e sutilezas de forma, razão pela qual se tornou clássica. Mas como

This form of reading is praised by the characters, who will state in *Reinações de Narizinho* that "The way Dona Benta reads was good. It was 'different' to that of the books"<sup>40</sup>. We can see this way of Dona Benta "reading" as a creative solution for the adaptation of foreign texts, as between her readers and the foreign stories, there is the intermediation of the characters, either in the role of listeners or storytellers, as in the case of Dona Benta. Lobato's best adaptations are those where he freely appropriates the foreign texts, using parts of them in the composition of new stories, transculturizing old stories by transposing foreign characters to the fictional space of the Sítio do Picapau Amarelo. His adaptation of *Peter Pan* is also important as it was the first version of *Peter Pan* published in Brazil, 19 years after the publication of *Peter Pan and Wendy* (1911), and 4 years after Barrie's definitive version, published in London in 1934.

We can thus see Lobato's important role as a publicizer of the works and characters of other cultures, especially English culture, in Brazil. His concern with the knowledge the foreign literature was not only made explicit in letters, but also in the translation of many works by the two publishing houses he was linked to, Monteiro Lobato e Cia. and Companhia Editora Nacional, and the introduction of foreign stories and characters into his main works for children.

Translated from the Portuguese by John Milton

vocês ainda não têm a necessidade de compreender as belezas da forma literária, em vez de ler vou contar a história com minhas palavras.

— Isso! Berrou Emília "Com as palavras suas e de Tia Nastácia e minhas também – e de Narizinho – e de Pedrinho – e de Rabicó." Lobato, Monteiro, *Don Quixote das crianças*, p. 12.

<sup>40</sup> "A moda de Dona Benta ler era boa. Lia 'diferente' dos livros". Lobato, M. *Reinações de Narizinho*, p. 199.

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"An Item Called *Books*": Translations and Publishers' Collections in the Editorial Booms in Argentina and Brazil from 1930 to 1950

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*Abstract: This paper presents a historiographical approach to translation in Latin America. Drawing on cultural studies, media studies and studies in print culture and the history of the book, it analyzes translation practices in Argentina and Brazil from 1930 to 1950, a period known as the "Golden Age" of translation in both nations. Special attention is given to the role of publishers and translators in what is called 'the construction of a virtual world library' in two countries which were undergoing profound changes in their means and relationships of production and consumption. It is my contention that in order to better examine this period of translation effervescence in Latin America, an integrated approach that articulates sociological, economic, historical, and literary data, can contribute to a better understanding of translation as a cultural practice in specific socio-historical contexts.*

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Dear Sir:

You are already set established in business, and the more things you sell, the greater your profit will be. What about adding an item called "books"? No need to understand what it is. It is a line you do not have to examine to see if it is good, and there is no need to make a selection. The contents are of no concern to you, only to your customer, and he will learn about them from what we tell him in our catalogues, prefaces, etc. (Monteiro Lobato apud Hallewell 1985:180).

This is how Brazilian entrepreneur and writer Monteiro Lobato addressed the owners of drugstores and newsstands, stationers and grocers in his 1920s circular to postmasters in Brazil, a letter of invitation to take part in one of the most adventurous editorial practices of the time. Not merely envisaging profits, his enterprise aimed at a real popularisation of reading and bookselling in a country where people still had little access to educational and leisure activities. The idea was to turn books into mass-produced articles that could be marketed widely in places where other consumer goods were on sale. The book was, in this new context, a "thing", something to be purchased and sold like other items such as soap, groceries and medicine. As a "thing", it was devised to be acquired by a new consumer, someone who had to be persuaded about the necessity and the potential advantages of buying the product. In fact, unlike the readers that had hitherto played a leading role in the publishing market, the new consumers whom Monteiro Lobato was trying to address did not possess inherited home libraries or consolidated reading skills; they did not master any foreign languages; and neither did they have a substantial personal income, which would have allowed them to buy imported works. They were actually a new reading public, an emerging middle-class, eager to seek educational and professional opportunities for personal advancement. Most significantly, they were a new audience that

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was ready to enter the consumer leisure market, buying books not merely out of a necessity but also as a means of recreation.

Located within the everyday life of these new readers, both male and female, the new thing, "the book", enters a communication circuit which, as I will argue in this article, transcends social, linguistic and national borderlines. Entrepreneurs, publishers and translators, who rewrite books into new languages and reception contexts, take on a new role in Argentina and Brazil between 1930 and 1950 as they begin to construct what we might call a *virtual world library*, cheap enough to be accessible to the new readership and sufficiently attractive to capture their attention and be taken home as a new possession. Translations of foreign authors and works, I will also argue, was a privileged means for the editors and publishers of the time to seduce people into buying books, reading them and wishing to build their own personal home libraries.

*An item called books?* Evidently, Monteiro Lobato's question is more than an inquiry into the store owners' wishes. In the light of the developments that have since taken place in the Latin-American book markets, it can be read today as the inaugural phrase of a period of expansion of the book industry in these latitudes. The initiative also involved transforming a restricted practice of reading into a mass consumption experience, in which bindings, "striking colours on the covers" (Hallewell 1985:25), illustrations, typeface and advertising all contributed to winning the reader over to this new form of education and leisure.

A pioneering figure on the Brazilian publishing and literary scene, Monteiro Lobato sparked off, already in the 1920s, the so-called editorial *boom* that was to take place in the following decade. Actually, this is not an isolated initiative in Latin America: on the

other side of the border, Argentine counterparts of Monteiro Lobato were also paving the way for an analogous publishing boom that was to take place in Argentina, a country where people were also beginning to experience a new form of consumption: choosing to buy "books" for their education and leisure (Pagano 1996).

A consideration of the world and the Latin American contexts of the 1930-1950 period can help us account for the factors leading to this editorial and publishing boom. The period from 1930 to 1950 saw both in Brazil and Argentina a growing process of industrialization and urbanization. The labour market was expanding, allowing for a rise in the purchasing power of those who hitherto had little access to consumer goods. A rise in personal income therefore meant a rise in consumption. Together with labour and economic changes, there were changes in the educational policies adopted by the government to improve basic education and literacy. These led to a rising number of literate people and hence of potential readers of books and magazines (Rivera 1980/86:577-600). Other sources of consumption involved new forms of mass media such as the cinema and the radio, which at the time had the same repercussion television has today.

The domestic panoramas of Brazil and Argentina are obviously related to external factors that also led to the editorial and publishing boom of these decades. The relative isolation of Latin America after the 1929 world crisis and the new world map brought about by the Great and the Second World Wars motivated what critic Gerald Martin calls an introspective look on the part of Latin America. Trying to overcome the post war effects of the 1920s and the conflicts escalating towards the Second World War, Latin America began to look inwards in order to reflect upon the representations of its own identities, musing upon concepts such as

those of "Argentineness", "Brazilianness", "Mexicanness". This introspective turn in Latin American countries - a recurrent movement throughout the twentieth century, usually consonant with moments of significant changes on the world stage - witnesses both in Argentina and Brazil the birth and growth of cultural industries such as the book and the radio, together with the emergence of publishing houses and intellectual groups that seek to rethink the national within a new global context (Miceli 1979).

On the editorial scene, events such as the Spanish Civil War, which made innumerable publishing houses leave Spain and establish themselves in Argentina and Mexico (King 1989:128-135) (e.g., Sudamericana, Emecé, Losada) (Rama 1982), and the Second World War, which made it difficult for Latin American countries to import books (Hallewell 1985) and keep in touch with European capitals, helped the publishing and translating effervescence of the 1930s-1950s (Andrade 1978; Martins 1979; Miceli 1979; Hallewell 1985). Far from being detrimental to the publication of the works of local authors, both in Argentina and Brazil, translation contributed to the consolidation of the book market as a whole, helping form a larger reading public (Miceli 1979) and thus fostering the production of Argentine and Brazilian authors (Hallewell 1985; Martins 1979). A sign of the growing editorial market at the time is the appearance of what turned out to be important publishing houses and printing presses, as was the case of Editora Globo, Companhia Editora Nacional, Martins and José Olympio in Brazil, and Sudamericana, Losada, Emecé and Claridad in Argentina.

As I have already stated, in both countries there was an institutional policy for the promotion of basic education and mass literacy. Together with these initiatives and the development of reading skills, there is a fertile literary scene, greatly favoured by a



task that significantly promoted most editorial enterprises: translation. Both in Argentina and Brazil, famous writers would work as translators for the emerging publishing houses, their literary careers including both their own writing and their translations. Today, some of these writers' statements in autobiographies and memories reveal the significant role of their translation work in their own production and in their choice of poetological affiliations (Verissimo 1973). Many publishing houses would publicize their translated texts by making use of the name of their translators, often important figures on the national literary scenes, on covers, jackets and back-cover blurbs. Translations also prompted, both in Brazil and Argentina, a series of reflections upon this task, which appeared in newspaper articles, magazines, and prefaces.

Curiously, both in Brazil and Argentina, translation involved not only rewriting texts from a foreign into the national language (what we would traditionally call *interlinguistic* translation) but also rewriting texts within the same language (*intralinguistic* translation), in this particular case from the Spanish of Spain into Argentine Spanish and from the Portuguese of Portugal into Brazilian Portuguese. The editorial and publishing activities in this period included participating in debates on language and its national characteristics. Here it is interesting to remember Monteiro Lobato's questioning of the Portuguese language used in books published in Portugal and sold in Brazil, a problematization also raised by Argentine authors in connection with the Spanish language used in books published in Spain and imported into Argentina. These decades thus witness a simultaneous two-way process: the rendition of the master works of world literature into Spanish and Portuguese together with the re-translation of texts published in Portugal and Spain into the varieties of these two languages used in Brazil and Argentina.

Yet another factor leading to the increase in the editorial and translation activity in this period is the sense of international isolation experienced by Brazil and Argentina and the precarious state of copyright legislation at the time (Verissimo 1973), which resulted in some Argentine and Brazilian publishers' not honouring copyright laws of the books they translated and not being legally penalized for that (Antonio Zamora, director of the Argentine publishing house Claridad and Henrique Bertaso and Érico Verissimo of the Brazilian Globo openly admit infringing copyright). Besides favouring a cheaper production of translated foreign books, the flexibility with which publishers dealt with copyright laws allowed for the multiple translations and editions of the same volume, thus offering the market different choices of price, binding, paper, size and, most interestingly, of translator<sup>1</sup>.

The world context was much more favourable to Argentina than to Brazil, especially because it allowed her to take a leading position in the publishing market of books in Spanish. Owing to the international isolation brought about by the Second World War and Spain's internal conflicts, Argentine publishing houses, together with publishers in Chile and Mexico, became providers for the world market of books in Spanish. Nevertheless, according to historian Laurence Hallewell, the growth in the Spanish-speaking publishing market brought about an interesting by-product for the Brazilian market, as

<sup>1</sup> Studies of the different translations of the same original carried out in Brazil and Argentina in that period are practically non-existent. This area no doubt promises interesting insights into translation thinking and practices between 1930 and 1950, especially because the number of versions of the same original is in some cases quite high. An interesting comparison of translations of *Moby Dick* carried out in Brazil in the sixties and seventies can be found in "Translations of Herman Melville in Brazil", Irene Hirsch, in this volume.

Newly prosperous houses, with ambitious programmes of producing modern literary works in translation, had become interested, as fellow Latin Americans, in the inclusion of contemporary Brazilian literature (Hallewell 1985:405).

Translating and publishing Brazilian authors in Spanish was a way of promoting these writers in foreign markets, especially because Spanish was a more widely spoken language than Portuguese. Brazilian writers could now be known in other cultures thanks to their translations into Spanish. A further benefit for the Brazilian market at that time were international exchange rates that for a period of time favoured Brazilian exportation of books to Portugal and hence boosted production and sales.

As I have already pointed out, unlike the learned readership belonging to a more affluent social class that had hitherto dominated book consumption in Latin America and who had always had access to national or foreign books, the new readers were not able to afford imported volumes, which, if they were to be bought, had to be cheap and easy to purchase. Besides, the book had to fulfil not only a school or professional necessity but also a desire for leisure. Light fiction or entertainment books were therefore in demand and started to be widely read, particularly because of their high appeal, their low prices and their ready availability (local bookstores, newsstands and other stores). The translation and editorial boom in Argentina and Brazil between the 1930s and the 1950s is therefore linked to the social ascent of the middle classes and their access to print media.

The great demand for books and magazines at this time led to the need to translate a wide range of reading materials from novels, feuilletons and comics to academic treatises and textbooks. The 1930 to 1950 period witnessed in Brazil and Argentina a translation

boom in which newspapers published translated feuilleton novels, radio broadcasting companies aired translated soap opera scripts, film companies translated and adapted screenplays, and most comics and cartoons were also translations (Hausen 1992; Rivera 1980/86 577-600).

Most interesting for the purposes of a study of the editorial boom in these two countries is the way book editions and series were planned by the publishing houses in order to incorporate translated volumes and organize their reception. The key concept in their publishing policy was the idea of "libraries" or "collections", a notion that, as I wish to argue, captures the ideological stand of an intellectual group "made up of publishers who were themselves writers and translators" which filters or "translates" a carefully devised choice of works of the world literature into a national collection, which was being built up.

Here it is worth considering some of the implications of the concept of "collection". According to Susan Stewart,

In contrast to the souvenir, the collection offers example rather than sample, metaphor rather than metonymy. The collection does not displace attention to the past; rather, the past is at the service of the collection, for whereas the souvenir lends authenticity to the past, the past lends authenticity to the collection [...] because the collection replaces origin with classification, thereby making temporality a spatial and material phenomenon. (Stewart 1993: 151-153).

The collection is thus an a-historic space, a metaphor of a past that though it legitimates the collection is no longer the focus of attention. The collection, Stewart points out, displaces examples from that past to the present, "replacing history with classification, with order beyond the realm of temporality" (Stewart 1993: 151).

Organization and categorization of objects are two fundamental operations inherent to collections, in which "all time is made simultaneous or synchronous within the collection's world" (Stewart 1993: 151).

If we apply Stewart's insights into the concept of collection to the Brazilian and Argentine publishing scene of the 1930 to 1950 period, we can notice that this a-historicism or synchronous effect of collecting brings about a curious reception of the world literature in Latin America mediated by translation. Translation here plays a de-contextualizing role in the process of building up "libraries" or "collections" within the virtual library which is being built. As they go through the process of translation, the works of the world literature lose their original production context and are re-contextualized into two new reception sites (Argentina and Brazil) according to a specific classification into collections based on criteria defined by the "builders" of the virtual library. The labels chosen by the publishing houses reveal categories that they deemed important to be part of their library. "Grandes novelistas" [Great Novel Writers], "Grandes Ensayistas" [Great Essayists], "Os Grandes Livros Brasileiros" [Great Brazilian Books], "Obras Primas Universais" [Universal Masterpieces], "Novelistas Americanos Contemporâneos" [Contemporary Novelists of the Americas], "Biblioteca de Obras Famosas" [Library of Famous Books] are just a few examples of their classificatory plans.

It is also interesting to examine the choice of works that are translated and presented as members of a specific class or collection. 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], by José Olympio, bring together extremely varied authors such as

Montaigne, Laclos, Stendhal, Flaubert, Maupassant, Verlaine, Balzac, Plato, Shakespeare, Fielding, Emily Brontë, Dickens, Nietzsche, Tolstoy and Poe. This is also the case with Argentine collections such as "Biblioteca Mundial Sopena" [Sopena World Library], published by Sopena, "Biblioteca Emecé de Obras Universales" [Emecé Library of Universal Books] or "Las Grandes Novelas de Nuestra Época" [Great Novels of Our Time], published by Losada.

The same de-contextualizing and a-historical effect brought about by the grouping of different authors and times can be observed in the construction of collections according to specific genres, such as "Rubáiyát, Joias da Poesia Universal" [Rubáiyát, Gems of World Poetry], published by the Brazilian house José Olympio, and "Joyas Literarias" [Literary Gems], published by the Argentine Luis Bernard, both of which build up a "library shelf" made up of poets and poems classed together in a different way from that which would be conventionally used. In this case, texts are grouped together, not because they belong to a specific nation, historic period or literary movement, but because they are considered "gems" of world poetry "a highly personal category even when partially supported by a canon.

An examination of the names chosen by publishing houses to label their collections, libraries and series shows some predominant classifying terms such as "century", "universal", "world", "great", "treasures", "gems", "masterpieces". Under these labels works produced in different historical periods, cultures and places are gathered together at the same time. Synchronicity also governs the classification of different genres like essays, novels, poems and academic treatises into a single group, which brings about a curious blurring of the borderlines between conventional genres and even of consolidated categories such as fiction and non-fiction. In the Brazilian collection "Biblioteca dos Séculos" [Library of the Centuries],

published by Globo, for instance, works by Plato and Nietzsche share the same class with Shakespeare, Poe and Dickens. This is also the case in the Argentine collection "Biblioteca Mundial Sopena" [Sopena World Library]. These examples confirm Susan Stewart's claim that classification is the principle governing the collection, where the materiality of space replaces the objects' temporality.

The collection's gesture of "self-enclosure" brings about a materiality that need not only be physical but that can actually be virtual. In this sense, the so-called "libraries" or "collections" published by Brazilian and Argentine publishing houses seem to represent pieces of a kit, a big virtual library, a repertoire of works that purports to be readily accessible to the reader, since its existence, even if it is not physical, is guaranteed by the catalogue or global map designed by the publishing house. In this sense, one of the most interesting graphic representations of the virtual library is the one used by the Argentine publishing house Claridad (See Figure 1), which presents the image of a thinker musing upon a pile of books supported by the structure of a library shelf that is filled with volumes representing the main collections or "libraries" of the big, virtual library. The halo over the thinker clearly stands for illumination - "clarity" the house's name -, an encyclopedic ideal of knowledge possession as a way of liberation (the house was affiliated to the libertarian movement, Clarté, in Paris).



Figure 1. A graphic representation of the virtual library used by the Argentine publishing house Claridad [Clarity]

In the bookselling market of this period, then, advertising a book in most cases consisted in clearly establishing its affiliation to a known library or collection that organized the reader's interaction with books. The idea of selling a library guides readers, who, aware of the role played by education as a form of personal advancement and social ascension, seek to possess knowledge, translated and classified especially for them.

However, it is worth remembering that the pedagogical character of the Brazilian and Argentine editorial projects includes not only educational materials such as textbooks and treatises but also leisure literature, especially fiction. The libraries, collections and literary series, carefully planned and published by the publishing houses, arrange and classify the publishers' production as well as instruct and guide readers' reception, in that they organize and prepare the audience for the act of reading. Allocating a title to a specific collection or genre prepares the reader to receive that text. An analysis of the collections and series by Brazilian and Argentine publishing houses and of the titles chosen to be translated within each class therefore reveals some of the aspects of the construction of a repertoire of works to be incorporated into the national production of the two countries. Here it is worth noticing that translating these books implied allowing for their entrance into the nations' repertoire of works, as, once rendered into the national tongue, they became not only part of the national book market but also of the national collection of works of literature.

The names of the collections launched in Brazil and Argentina between 1930 and 1950 clearly signal the desires and projects of a market in full expansion. Most of the labels reveal an encyclopedic desire to incorporate "in a careful and organized way" world literature into the national repertoire of works. This desire to establish a link

to the world while at the same time reassuring one's position within that global site is perhaps more accentuated in the Brazilian case, probably due to the more isolated position of Brazil within the context of Spanish-speaking Latin America. Thus, for example, collections specially devoted to Brazilian matters are abundant in the Brazilian book market of the time, as is the case of the collections "Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira" [Brazilian Pedagogical Library], which includes the famous series "Brasileira" [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 especially devoted to Brazilian matters were of course published alongside other series made up mostly of translated texts, such as the collections "Paratodos" [For all], "Terramarear"<sup>2</sup> [Landsealandair], "Biblioteca das Moças" [Library for Young Ladies], all three published by Companhia Editora Nacional. The José Olympio house, for example, issued the collections "Documentos Brasileiros" [Brazilian Documents] and "Os Grandes Livros Brasileiros" [Great Brazilian Books] together with other series such as "Rubáiyát, Joias da Poesia Universal" [Rubáiyát, Gems of World Poetry] or "Fogos Cruzados" [Cross-fire], both mainly made up of translated foreign texts. The publishing house 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 works.

Interestingly, however, the Argentine publishing houses do not seem to focus their attention on exclusively Argentine

<sup>2</sup> The name "Terramarear" is actually a word coined by the publishers by joining the words "terra", "mar", "e" and "ar" which roughly translates as "Landsealandair".

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collections but rather seem to be interested in integrating the Argentine production into broader classes. There are certainly some series devoted to national production, such as "Novelistas Argentinos Contemporáneos" [Contemporary Argentine Novelists] and "Autores Argentinos" [Argentine Authors], but the majority of the collections locate Argentine works within categories that transcend the nation and aim at transnational identities. Here it is interesting to notice that the concept of "the Americas", frequently invoked by Argentine collections, is built upon a representation of North America, Central America and South America as sharing a common identity, for example, in "Novelistas Americanos Contemporáneos" [Contemporary Novelists of the Americas] published by Emecé, "Biblioteca de Narradores de América" [Library of Writers of the Americas] issued by Futuro and "Colección Panamericana" [Pan-American Collection], published by the "Pan-American" house Jackson<sup>3</sup>. The fostering of an identity of the Americas is clearly seen in the authors included in "Colección Azul" [Blue Collection], from the Argentine House Atlántida, which purported to cover "works, deeds and men of the Americas". The collection grouped together works that had been canonized as representative of the Americas, such as José Hernández' *Martín Fierro* (Argentina), José Mármol's *Amalia* (Argentina), Jorge Isaacs' *Maria* (Colombia), Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (United States) and Euclides da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Brazil), as well as works on Abraham Lincoln, José de San Martín, Simón Bolívar and Benjamin Franklin. Another transnational identity addressed by some publishers is that of "Nuestra América", built upon Cuban José Martí's notion. The notion of "Latin America" was still little used and will have to wait till the late fifties and early sixties to influence editorial projects.

<sup>3</sup> This publishing house operated in New York, Caracas, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Puerto Rico, Havana and Bogota.

In connection with this, a number of ideas underlying some of the names of Brazilian and Argentine publishing houses are worth noting, particularly when they are read in relation to the editorial policies put into practice. The names of the publishing houses may reveal a view that each of these countries had as regards its place on the world map, together with its aspiration to hold an encyclopedic knowledge and exercise a political and pedagogical function in society. The Brazilian publishing house *Civilização Brasileira* [Brazilian Civilization], a branch of *Companhia Editora Nacional* [National Publishing Company], for example, had a project that sought to project a view of Brazil as a civilization, an organized and consolidated cultural unit. The publishing house *Globo* [Globe] also wished to cast an ample and international gaze, seeking to insert Brazil within this global context (see logo in Figure 2). The project of the Argentine *Sudamericana* [South American], a house founded by Spaniards exiled in Argentina, intended to encompass a whole sub-continent (see logo in Figure 2), whereas the Argentine houses *América* [America], *América lee* [Americareads] and *Club del Libro Amigos del Libro Americano* [Friends-of-the-Americas-Books Book Club] reveal a project with a continental scope. The Argentine house *Claridad* [Clarity], affiliated to the French group *Clarté*, reveals through its name a project seeking instruction and illumination, clearly associated with a libertarian and anarchist ideology.



Figure 2. Logos of the publishing houses *Sudamericana* [South American], *Globo* [Globe] and *Claridad* [Clarity]

Classifying knowledge into "libraries" or "collections" and, additionally, according to groups of readers, also aimed at catering for a variety of different ages and interests, in consonance with the characteristics of the new audience that was being initiated into reading and was able to afford new consumer goods, such as books. The majority of both Brazilian and Argentine publishing houses classified their audience into the following categories: *children*, who are offered a myriad of translated and adapted adventure novels (e.g., "Biblioteca Billiken" [Billiken's Library], "Livros Infantis" [Children's Books], "Colección Infantil" [Children's Collection]); *women*, who are the target of collections of romance novels (e.g., "Biblioteca das Moças" [Young Ladies' Library], "Menina e Moça" [Girl and Young Lady], "Coleção Verde" [Green Collection], "Clásicos del Amor" [Love Classics]); *professional workers*, who require basic and up-to-date knowledge about their areas of work and study (e.g., "Iniciación Técnico-Profesional" [Technical-Professional Initiation], "Enciclopedia Agropecuaria" [Agribusiness Encyclopaedia]); *school students*, who were offered various series of textbooks; and a more generic and diffuse category, *novels for adults*, which offered collections of classic and contemporary novels, including some series devoted to a favourite genre of the time: adventure or detective novels.

The detective or adventure novel was a favourite both in the Argentine and Brazilian markets. And, interestingly, this bestseller was mainly introduced through translations. Far from being an anachronistic introduction, as was the case of some of the Greek and Latin texts or the English eighteenth-century novels translated at that time, the detective novel or *romance noire* was then a best seller in other parts of the world, particularly in the United States (Server 1994), a country that accounts for a significant number of authors translated into Spanish and Portuguese. James Cain, Mickey Spillane,

Agatha Christie, H. P. Lovecraft, Raymond Chandler, Sax Rohmer, William Burroughs, Edgar Wallace, John Dickson Carr, to mention but a few. In Argentina as well as in Brazil, there were many collections specially designed to bring books belonging to this genre together: "Série Negra" [Black Series], "Coleção para Todos" [Collection for All] and "Coleção Terramar" [Landseaandair] (see Figure 3), all three from Companhia Editora Nacional, "Coleção Amarela" [Yellow Collection] by Editora Globo, "Coleção Rastros" [Footprints] from Edigraf, "El Séptimo Círculo" [The Seventh Circle] from Emecé, "Colección Sherlock Holmes" [The Sherlock Holmes Collection] by Claridad, "Colección Rastros" [Footprints], "Colección Pistas" [Clues] by ACME and "Colección Misterio" [Mystery] from Tor, etc.



Figure 3. Adventure books translated for the collection Terramar [Landseaandair]

Translated detective stories were frequently printed in newspapers and magazines both in Brazil and Argentina. The Argentine magazines *Vea y Lea* [See and Read] and *Leoplan* and the Brazilian *Vamos ler* [Let's Read] and *Revista do Globo* are good examples

of the growing interest in this genre both by publishing houses and the reading public. There were also serial publications of detective stories and thrillers such as those in "Magazine Sexton Blake" and "Tipperary". Comics were actually translation laboratories since the translation of the stories into a new language also required a great deal of adaptation, particularly because of the linguistic register used. The Argentine magazines *Misterix*, *Pif-Paf*, *Ratoplán* and the cartoons offered by the Brazilian *Vamos Ler* and *O Cruzeiro* are interesting cases to be further analyzed in terms of the translation strategies used to adapt the stories. So are translations of radio soap operas scripts and film screenplays carried out in Argentina and Brazil in the 1930-1950 period.

Alongside these forms of popular print media, there is another category that was frequently used by the publishing houses: "the classics". A study made by the American critic Janice Radway provides interesting insights into the notion of "classic" and its relation to the book buying market. According to Radway (Radway 1997), the category "classic" appears in the American editorial market in the 1920s, through a "process of conceptual abstraction" whereby objects such books become consumer goods which are desired by an upwardly mobile social group that associated these objects with values such as comfort and respectability. In other words, in early twentieth-century America, the book becomes a cultural good legitimated by a society that promotes qualification and signals a close relationship between education, power and social prestige. Radway says,

Classics were considered worth owning because they embodied so-called universal human wisdom and truth and could be called on in time for advice and guidance. Because such books were already understood to have particular uses, and because they subsequently

had come to be associated conceptually with the sort of people who could afford to buy them, men like Scherman [an editor of the Book-of-the-Month Club] could successfully market the idea of the classic to those aspiring to demonstrate their status as well-placed and well-educated (Radway 1997).

Like the American scene, in the Brazilian and Argentine editorial projects, the notion of "classic" can also be associated with a desire for social accession and a proximity to those classes that had excelled and had had social prestige because of their education and qualifications. However, the Brazilian and Argentine book markets reveal a specific use of the label "classic" that attracts one's attention because it was a very lax category. The name was used to group not only consolidated works of art but also contemporary and modern productions, some of them actually being new releases. The collection "Clásicos del Amor" [Love Classics] published by the Argentine house Claridad, for instance, was made up by works on love relationships, which had little chance of becoming classics. Sometimes writers with varying degrees of acceptability or legitimization were included in the same series. This seems to be an additional reading of the term "classic", specific to the design of the virtual library under construction in the two Latin American nations.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this discussion, the editorial boom in Brazil and Argentina in the period from 1930 to 1950 is mostly a translation boom. In the context of the activity carried out at this time, translation can be said to have played a significant role in several senses. First of all, it was an activity that contributed to filling many of the bookshelves in the Brazilian and Argentine virtual libraries. This, in turn, allowed for the construction of a repertoire of world works in the national language, which signified the incorporation of these works into the nation and the expansion of what we might call the "national heritage". The way in which this

repertoire is constructed, through libraries and collections that group the world production according to categories defining the different bookshelves in the virtual library ("great authors", "universal masterpieces", "gems of world poetry"), reveals an encyclopedic desire to possess and classify knowledge with an ultimate view to educating, instructing and entertaining the library users. The national heritage has a counterpart at the local level, which is the home heritage or home library that many of the consumers, especially families, were trying to build in order to secure their children's' futures.

Translations also contributed to boosting book sales and hence expanding the publishing markets both in Brazil and Argentina. This was mainly related to the choice of foreign authors to be translated, selecting those whose production suited the interests of the emerging public, and the strategies used by publishers to catch the readers' attention and seduce them into reading as a form of leisure. Improved methods of book advertising were also introduced such as reviews and advertisements of new books in magazines and newspapers; advertisements or lists of forthcoming books printed on the final pages or back covers; playful covers and promotional blurbs; and legitimizing statements of the relevance of the book or author on jackets or introductions.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, translation seems to have played an important role as a re-creation exercise that led many of the translators involved to theorize about translation and even to admit to its part in their literary careers. We know from statements by Monteiro Lobato (himself a publisher, writer and translator) and Brazilian writer and translator Érico Veríssimo about a policy of re-creation and creativity in certain aspects of the translations they made. This is corroborated by the Argentine critic Jorge Rivera in his reflections on translation in Argentina in this period:



[...] in its pioneering period, the range of freedom and creativity allowed to writers and artists was almost limitless (Rivera 1980/86:591).

and on the practice carried out by Argentine translators:

Unlike other cultural industries (the Spanish, for example), in which translators are merely technicians whose performances do not excell, in the Argentine case from the very beginning, the dominant image of a translator is that of the writer or specialist with an acquired taste and literary qualification (Rivera 1980/86:582).

Most interestingly, this statement applies both to the Argentine and the Brazilian cases, a fact that may be taken to reveal a certain specificity of translation in these two Latin American countries, which, in turn, might point to the role of translation in these two nations as being different from that observed in some European countries or in the United States. These claims need to be further examined through case studies of some of these translations, a methodological approach that seems to emerge as indispensable to the building of a plural historiography of translation in Argentina and Brazil.

These reflections upon the emergence of the book as an object of mass consumption in the Brazilian and Argentine editorial markets and upon the role of translation in the construction of these contexts certainly need to be further explored and complemented by a study of the translation practices and strategies used by translators in both countries in this period. In other words, besides investigating *who* translated and what was translated in the 1930-50 editorial and translation *booms* in Argentina and Brazil, we should examine *how* and perhaps *why* these texts were translated. What are the different Edgar Wallaces in Portuguese like? How

many *Treasure Islands* were recreated in Argentina and Brazil? Are the different Brazilian *Kim*s similar to the Argentine ones? How many Quixotes conquered the Brazilian and Argentine readers of the time? These and other questions are certainly part of our historiographic approach to translation in two Latin American countries.

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## The Translations of the Brazilian Book Club, the Clube do Livro

John Milton\*

*Abstract: The Clube do Livro, the first Brazilian book club, was enormously successful, achieving a print run of 50,000, massive by Brazilian standards. It aimed its publications at a non-book buying market of lower middle-class and working-class readers and adapted its texts for this audience. This article looks at the alterations which were made, the strong attitude of paternalism its prefaces and footnotes took towards readers, and the ways in which the Clube do Livro followed, or had to follow, the ideology of the Brazilian governments through which many of its copies were sold.*

### 1. The History of the Clube do Livro

The 1930s and 1940s were a period of considerable growth in the book industry in Brazil, and has been called the golden period of the book industry and translation in Brazil. This period saw the expansion of Editora José Olympio, which, in 1939-1940 published biographies of Nijinsky, Isadora Duncan, Tolstoy and Jack London, then introduced the Fogos Cruzados [Crossed Fires] series, a selection of the most important world romances. José Olympio

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also published other foreign classics such as *A Mulher de Trinta Anos* (*La femme de Trente Ans*), by Balzac, and *Humilhados e Ofendidos* (*The Insulted and Injured*) by Dostoevsky.

But probably the most important company to publish translated fiction was Editora Globo, which, from 1931 to 1956, published a considerable amount of fiction in translation, especially from English. The Coleção Amarela [The Yellow Collection] published the detective fiction of Edgar Wallace, Agatha Christie, Sax Rohmer, G.K. Chesterton, Ellery Queen, Georges Simenon, and Dashiell Hammett and then, in 1933, began the Coleção Nobel [Nobel Collection], which, from 1933 to 1958, introduced Mann, Joyce, Gide, Virginia Woolf, Kafka, Aldous Huxley, Proust, Steinbeck, Pirandello and Faulkner to the Brazilian reading public (Amorim 108-110). Though the best-selling author in the collection was Somerset Maugham, *Em Busca do Tempo Perdido* (*A la recherche du temps perdu*) was a commercial success, with a total number of 66,000 copies printed. Its Biblioteca dos Séculos [Library of the Centuries] published 25 titles from 1942 to 1952, including *Guerra e Paz* (*War and Peace*) (24,000 copies in 6 editions); *Grandes Esperanças* (*Great Expectations*) (11,000 in 3 editions); *Viagens de Gulliver* (*Gulliver's Travels*) (9,000 in 2 editions); *O Vermelho e o Negro* (*Le Rouge et le Noir*) (16,000 in 4 editions), in addition to collections of the works of Maupassant (21,000 in 4 editions); Poe (10,000 in 2) and Merimée (10,000 in two). But by far its most prestigious publication was a carefully annotated edition in 17 volumes of the *Comédia Humana* [*La Comédie Humaine*] (1947-1955), organized by Paulo Rónai, with print runs from 20,000 (for the first volumes in the series) to 9,000 (for the last) (Amorim:157-159). Its children's series also included Lewis Carroll and Robert Louis Stevenson.

Other companies to publish translated fiction were Editora Martins, founded in 1941, and which published Dostoevsky, Bret

Harte, Flaubert, O. Henry, Kipling, Poe and Mark Twain, and Editora Saraiva, which specialized in law books, and which, from 1948, invested in classics, publishing Machado de Assis, José de Alencar, Henry James and Poe.

The Clube do Livro, presided over by its managing director, Mario Graciotti, began in 1943 and was the first book club in Brazil, publishing monthly volumes at approximately a third of the price of books sold in bookshops. Books were distributed either by post or agent, and the Clube do Livro achieved immediate success, with print runs of up to 50,000, a very high figure in Brazil, where the print run for the average novel is around 3,000. By 1969 it had sold 6,579,421 copies, which were to be found in "in the hearths, schools, libraries, plants, factories and barracks"<sup>1</sup> of Brazil. The new cultural awareness that these books bring would help to build "A PÁTRIA MAIOR" ("a greater motherland") (Ribeiro:7). Its publications were mostly classics, both foreign and Brazilian, in roughly equal proportions, though in its later years, it began to publish a number of detective and adventure novels, organized several novel competitions and published the winning novels. It also had a weekly television programme, "CLUBE DO LIVRO", in 1963, whose aims were to help form home libraries, give cultural information, literary competitions, and interviews with intellectuals about literary problems (Gorki 1964: inside flap).

The *Clube do Livro* began in 1943 under the *Estado Novo* dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas. However, Vargas' nationalism appealed to a large number of Brazilian modernist intellectuals of the time. The poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade was a secretary for the Minister of Education

<sup>1</sup> "[...] nos lares, nas escolas, nas bibliotecas, nas usinas, nas fábricas, nos quartéis"

and Health, Gustavo Capanema. Architects Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer and artist Cândido Portinari worked for the government. The poet and critic Augusto Meyer was at the head of the Instituto Nacional do Livro (National Institute of the Book).

Censorship was considerable right through the Vargas regime, beginning in 1931, with the Departamento Oficial de Propaganda (Official Propaganda Department), reorganized in 1934 as the Departamento Nacional de Propaganda e Difusão Cultural (National Department of Propaganda and Culture). This was substituted in December 1939 by the DIP, the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (Department of Press and Propaganda), directed towards controlling the cultural production of Brazil and which continued until the fall of the *Estado Novo* in 1945. After the *coup d'état* of 10 November 1937 and the institution of the *Estado Novo*, censorship was extended. A number of writers spent time in prison: among them Jorge Amado, Graciliano Ramos, Rachel de Queiroz, Gilberto Freyre and Tomás Santa Rosa. Cecília Meirelles was imprisoned for having translated *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, confiscated as it was considered to be dangerous! Books written by Graciliano Ramos, José Lins de Rego, Rachel de Queiroz and Jorge Amado, as well as the children's books by Monteiro Lobato, were all burnt. The criteria for banning books was often ill-defined. It could be strong language or eroticism, in addition to unacceptable political points of view. The government also exerted strong control over schoolbooks and distributed patriotic and pro-government material. It could also prevent publishing houses from receiving imported paper, as in the case of the anti-Getúlio Editora Martins during the paper shortage of 1941 (Hallewell 369-370).

The second period of severe censorship began in 1968 with the AI-5 decree. From 1968 to 1978, the beginning of the political

opening, 508 books were expressly forbidden. In addition to predictably proscribed authors such as Che Guevara, Lenin and Marx, banned books included *Mein Kampf*, by Adolf Hitler, and works by Harold Robbins. A book could be forbidden because it had a red cover or because it contained the word "red" in the title, as in the case of *O livro vermelho da Igreja perseguida* (*The Red Book of the Persecuted Church*) not a book on revolutionary priests but rather on early Christian martyrs. Another book to be banned was the novel *A Capital*<sup>2</sup> by Eça de Queiroz!

As there was no pre-censorship, publishing companies were forced to undergo self-censorship and avoid any controversial subjects. This was very much the case of the Clube do Livro as it wished, of course, to maintain the official distribution channels to schools and for libraries the federal and state governments to continue buying up a large number of copies.

Faced with an increasing number of retail outlets, including newspaper kiosks, and highly competent translations from Editora Sarainva and Editora Ática from the sixties onwards, sales fell in the second half of the 1960s and in the 1970s. In November 1973 the Clube do Livro was acquired by the Revista dos Tribunais, the owners of the major book printing press in São Paulo, who were forced to temporarily stop publishing in 1976, when feeling the after effects of the world oil crisis of 1973, which resulted in the cost of paper rising 125% between June 1973 and February 1974 (Hallewell: 390 & 411). The Clube do Livro was then acquired by Editora Ática as part of a debt and restarted publishing under the Clube do Livro logo in 1983. After 1984 Mario Graciotti was no

<sup>2</sup> Marx's *Capital*, takes a masculine direct article, *O Capital*. Eça de Queiroz' *A Capital* means "capital city".

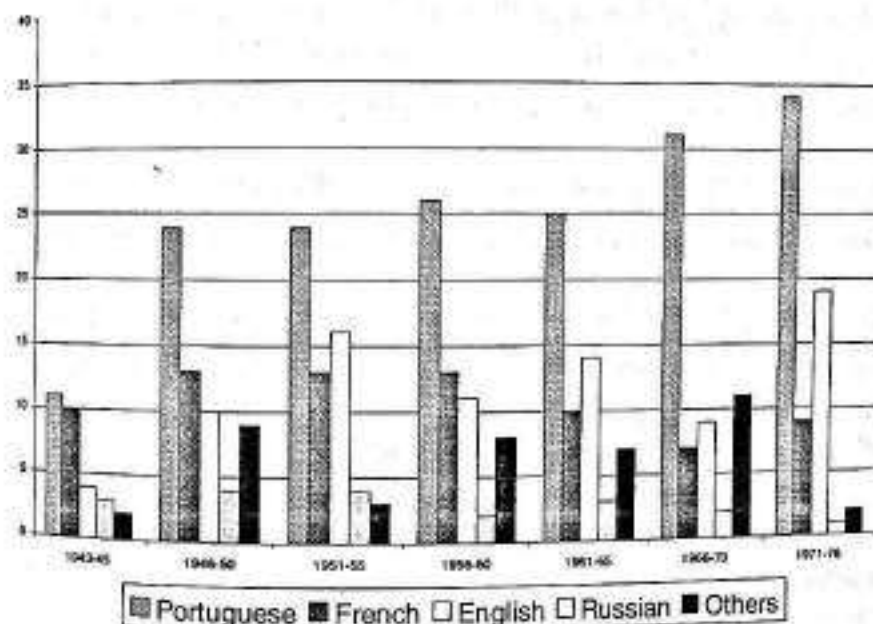
longer the managing editor, and the Ática team attempted to modernize the Clube do Livro's image. Older translations, such as that of *Madame Bovary*, were republished with considerable revisions, often rescuing the sections which had been omitted. New translations of other works, such as *Werther*, were made. And titles such as Kafka's *O Processo (The Trial)* (1985), *O Tarado do Brás (The Sex Maniac of Brás)* (1989) and *A Metade Arrancada de Mim (The Half of me that was Torn Away)* (Estação Liberdade/Clube do Livro 1989), about a torturer in the military regime, *Nos Bastidores da Censura (In the Wings of Censorship)* (1984), an analysis of the censorship of Rubem Fonseca's *Feliz Ano Novo* during the military regime, and Fernando Gabeira's *Greenpeace: Verde Guerrilha da Paz (Greenpeace: Green Guerilla of Peace)* (1988) were published in order to compete with the much more modern *Círculo do Livro*, a joint venture between Editora Abril and the German media giant Bertelsmann, which reached 500,000 members after ten years<sup>3</sup>. Members of the Clube do Livro could now choose from a list the monthly volumes they received, and were no longer obliged to accept the book chosen for them. But these changes came too late and were not successful. The Clube do Livro was finally subsumed in the Estação Liberdade branch of the Editora Ática in 1989. The Estação da Liberdade logo now appeared on the covers, and the title page provided the information "Editora Clube do Livro Ltda., Estação Liberdade". In the same year it was finally discontinued by the owner of Editora Ática, Anderson Fernandes Dias.

We can look at the original languages of the works published by the Clube do Livro:

<sup>3</sup> This success, however, was short-lived. The *Círculo do Livro* declined in popularity on the 1990s, and was closed, with Bertelsmann withdrawing, in 1998.

Table 1: Original Languages of Clube do Livro Translations

	1943-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-76
Portuguese	11	24	24	26	25	31	34
French	10	13	13	13	10	7	9
English	4	10	16	11	14	9	19
Russian	3	4	4	2	3	2	1
Others		2	9	3	8	7	11



Most popular authors:

Portuguese: Machado de Assis 22; Affonso Schmidt 21; José de Alencar 13; Willy Aureli 4; Afrânio Peixoto 3; Paulo Dantas 3; Lima Barreto 3; Bráulio Ferreira 3.

French: Dumas 7; Balzac 6; Verne 5; Sand 4; Flaubert 3; Hugo 3.

English: Dickens 8; Stevenson 8; Scott 6; Wilde 6; London 3; Poe 3; Twain 3.

Russian: Turgenev 6; Dostoevsky 4; Tolstoy 3; Gorki 3.

In its early years, the aims of the *Clube do Livro* were somewhat more serious. Using reprints from *Editora Martins*, *Antônio Tisi* or *Cultrix* publishing houses, it published longer works. For example, *Madame Bovary*, published in 1944, (317 pages); *Salambô* (1944), (216 pages); *Eugénia Grandet* (*Eugénie Grandet*) (1944), (222 pages); *O Castelo de Lourps* (*The Castle of Lourps*) by J. K. Husymans (1944), (204 pages); *O Romance de um Pobre Professor* (*The Story of a Simple Man*) by Joseph Roth (1950), (203 pages); *A Casa das Sete Torres* (*The House of Seven Gables*) by Nathaniel Hawthorne (1950), (222 pages); were all over 200 pages of close print. The Introduction to *Um Homem Acabado* (*The Failure*), by Giovanni Papini (1945), 207 pages of small print, even contains a short untranslated French quotation from Barbey D'Autrevilly, talking of his family: "J'en suis très fier, morbleu, d'autan plus que mon adorable famille m'a toujours chanté que j'étais fort laid!" (Papini:7). *Um Romance Antigo* (*An Old Romance*), by the Brazilian author Cláudio de Souza (1954), which is set in Paris, contains a number of untranslated phrases in French.

After 1960 the length of the monthly issues was to 160 pages, though some works, such as *Ivanboé*, *As Viagens de Gulliver* (*Gulliver's Travels*), *Moby Dick* and *As Aventuras de Huck* (*Huckleberry Finn*) were published in two monthly installments.

The *Clube do Livro* was set up at the same time as English began to take over from French as the major foreign language in Brazil. Initially we can see a dominance of novels translated from the

French, but this soon gives way to novels from the English in the 1950s. With the naval blockade of France from 1941 to the end of the Second World War, French originals were increasingly difficult to get hold of, and more books from North America were imported. After the War, the United States increasingly dominated the world economy, and there was more and more interest in things American, particularly through the influence of the cinema. Thus, the growing interest in detective fiction as the *Clube do Livro* began to publish translations of American detective fiction after 1965 (Norman Roleday, P.N. Oppenheim). Added to this, *Editora Globo* of Porto Alegre had published a successful series of translations from writers in English towards the end of the 1930s, and *Editora José Olympio* began to publish translations from English in the early 1940s.

Most translations of Russian works were taken from already existing translations in French, though Turgenev's *Pais e Filhos* (*Fathers and Sons*) was taken from a previously issued translation by *Editora Martins*, which was translated directly from the Russian by Ivan Emilianovitch. Thus, with the decline in translations from the French, there is a decline in translations of Russian works. On occasions the paths the translation has taken are not fully clear. Sigurd Christiansen's *Dois Vivos e um Morto* (*Two Living and One Dead*) (1947) was "translated from the direct translation from the Norwegian de Georges Sautreau by A. Luquet" (Christiansen: front cover). Presumably this means that A. Luquet translated the work from French into Portuguese.

## 2. The *Clube do Livro* and the Military Government

As a large number of its sales were to public libraries, the *Clube do Livro* had to do all it could to maintain good relations with the military government after 1964. In 1971 the *Clube do Livro* published *O Mundo de Olavo Bilac* (*The World of Olavo Bilac*), a

biography of Olavo Bilac (1865-1981), by Henrique A. Orciuoli, with Introduction by Gotfredo da Silva Telles. This biography concentrates on Bilac's unrequited love throughout his life for Amélia. But a final chapter is added which shows how Bilac, a lifelong pacifist, proposed, at the time of the First World War, that a national compulsory military service should exist in Brazil. This would not necessarily have a bellicose aim, but rather one of "civismo". It would teach "culture, work, hygiene, discipline and clear-sightedness", all of which would increase patriotism. The introduction emphasizes these intentions. The old stargazer has become the singer of the epic poem. Without abandoning his faith in pacifism, the former anti-militarist has begun to exalt the soldier and the benefits of civic virtues. Silva Telles tells us that Bilac helped to start the "Liga de Defesa Nacional" ("National Defence League"), and also encouraged the beginning of the scouting movement in Brazil. In the Introduction Silva Telles wonders whether he was contradictory and reaches the conclusion that as times had changed he was justified in changing his mind. So, in times of necessity, the poet will support the military, and there is a solid connection between the pen and the sword.

This connection can be seen in the publication of *Terra Encharcada* (*Land under Water*) by General Jarbas Passarinho (1965), one of the leaders of the military coup who was Minister of Labour (1967-69) and then Minister of Education (1969-74). The introduction states: "What is constant in the life of the soldier and of Man are Letters" (Passarinho:6).

<sup>4</sup> "[...] traduzido da versão direta do norueguês de Georges Sautreau por A. Luquet".

<sup>5</sup> "A constante da vida do soldado e do homem público, contudo, são as letras".

### 3. The Discourse of the Clube do Livro

Let us now look in closer detail at the introductory notes of the *Clube do Livro*, which were probably written by Mário Graciotti.

The first comes from the inside cover of *O Capitão dos Andes*, by R. Magalhães Júnior (1971),

To our various members, readers and friends

[...] And the increase in the price is only not higher because of the invaluable cooperation of all the hard-working and efficient team of the "Revista dos Tribunais" Press, of whose board the writer Nelson Palma Travassos and the economist Carlos Henrique de Carvalho are members. Both have helped us enormously while receiving no profit, like our own directors, editing, administration and delivery sectors, who have always received very limited financial rewards.

We are absolutely certain that, with the price of our books passing to CR\$4,00 from 1st November, just a 11% increase, with the improvement in the home delivery service being maintained, we shall continue to be the cheapest book in Brazil and will be able to continue to rely on the sympathy and support of our various members throughout Brazil. We shall continue to defend our motto: to provide access to books, to help to set up libraries in Brazilian homes and to enrich them with works of proven cultural value. This has been demonstrated in the last 29 years, as, since 1943, our clean, high-quality and cheap books have helped to enlarge the Brazilian reading market, the basis of the Nation's progress.<sup>6</sup> (Magalhães Jr. 1971:Inside cover).

<sup>6</sup> "Aos nossos distintos associados, leitores e amigos: [...] E se o acréscimo do preço não tem sido mais acentuado, devemos-lo à valiosa e imprescindível cooperação de toda a operosa e eficiente equipe de Empresa Gráfica da "Revista dos Tribunais" S.A., de cuja direção fazem parte o escritor Nelson Palma Travassos e o economista Carlos Henrique de Carvalho, que colocam a sua colaboração no limite do trabalho sem lucro, e

A number of points can be made. Firstly, books are the main way to bring culture to Brazilians, and the *Clube do Livro* sees itself as the guardian of this book culture. Its mission is to bring cheap books to as many people as possible, thus enabling them to set up their own home libraries. This will enrich them culturally and encourage them to buy more books, and this increased book-buying will be the basis of progress in Brazil.

Secondly, there is the idea of sacrifice. Those working for the *Clube do Livro* are making sacrifices to make sure the books can be produced. They are almost involved in a charitable cause. It increased its prices by only 11%. In 1971 inflation was 19.5% (*Manual de Economia*:379). Those who work for the *Clube do Livro* are doing so with no financial rewards, as in the case of Nelson Palma Travassos and Carlos Henrique de Carvalho, or with low remuneration, as in the case of the editors, managers and delivery department. The discourse of the *Clube do Livro* here seems ingenuous as it attempts to place itself outside commercial production, despite having to cope with all the daily commercial demands, such as costs of paper and wages, and sales, of any commercial company.

ao sacrificio mesmo de nossos setores de direção, redação, administração e expedição, sempre na faixa de retribuições modestíssimas. Temos absoluta certeza de que, passando, a partir de 1.º de novembro de 1971, mantidas aquelas melhorias e a entrega a domicílio, a Cr\$4,00, com apenas 11% de aumento, continuaremos a ser, no gênero, o livro mais barato no Brasil, e a contar, indubitavelmente, com a simpatia e o apoio de nossos distintos associados de todo o território nacional para os quais defendemos o lema desta Editora: propiciar o maior convívio com o livro, ajudar a criar bibliotecas nos lares brasileiros e a enriquecê-las com obras de indiscutível valor cultural, o que vem sendo comprovado há 29 anos ininterruptos, pois, desde 1943, as nossas edições se colocam no plano do livro limpo, bom e barato, procurando contribuir para alargarem o mercado leitor brasileiro, base do maior progresso na Nação."

Rather than being the result of economic forces, inflation is the enemy, and the *Clube do Livro* must fight a battle in order to keep prices low: the text uses terms such as "sacrifice" and "we defend". But, with self-sacrifice, this battle can be won, and the low prices defended, with no more than an 11% price increase, and this apparently low price rise, seen as a victory, will actually strengthen the support of the members.

The image of the mission is frequently seen. The inside cover of Guglielmo Giannini's *O Anjo Negro (The Black Angel)* (1961) offers Mário Graciotti's travel book, *Europa Tranquila (Quiet Europe)* to all those members who could get five more members. Of course, the *Clube do Livro* needed more members in order to survive commercially, but, by signing up these new members, the current readers would not only be helping themselves and the *Clube do Livro*, they would also be involved in the crusade of the book: "HELP TO SPREAD BOOKS IN BRAZIL - THE BOOK IS THE KEY TO ALL MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL PROGRESS".

Similar images of the patriotic cultural mission are frequently seen. A form on the back page of *Genevra de Brabante (Genevieve of Brabant)*, by Christofer Schmidt, is introduced by the patriotic appeal: "Help to make Brazil greater by helping in every way possible to spread books throughout Brazil" (Schmidt:158). The mission is also seen in Charles de Coster's *A Lenda de Ulenspiegel (The Legend of Ulenspiegel)* (1957), where the "great and famous works" are called the "Key to the World". This is also seen in the frequent epigraph

\*AJUDE A DIFUNDIR O LIVRO NO BRASIL - O LIVRO É A CHAVE DE TODO PROGRESSO MATERIAL E ESPIRITUAL."

\*Ajude a engrandecer o Brasil, colaborando, por todas as maneiras, na difusão do livro em nosso País".



from Cicero: "A house without a library is like a body without a soul".

With high inflation a constant problem in Brazil, the Clube do Livro frequently resorted to such appeals as that seen above. This is from *A Herança (The Inheritance)*, by Barros Ferreira, 1956:

For fourteen years our motto has been: good books at the lowest prices. Our various members, friends and readers are unknowing witnesses of the impartiality, the high-mindedness, the utility and the correctness which we have maintained our line of publications for all this time. This has won us not only the sympathy and the decisive support of our network of members but also the praise of the press, public opinion, intellectuals and even the public authorities. This work naturally did not take place without great difficulty as it is easy to imagine the sacrifices we imposed on ourselves to sell our books so cheaply and to become "the pioneers of cheap books in Brazil".

But our resistance has now reached an end. For almost five years we've been maintaining the same price of 10 cruzeiros a book. This has surprised many members who have asked us how we have been able to keep our books so cheap when faced with such a gigantic and frightening rise in the cost of living. The explanation is that, as we are not actually booksellers, our marginal costs are low and as we really try to follow our motto of "good books at the lowest prices".

\* Há catorze anos que o nosso lema é: o bom livro pelo preço mínimo. Os nossos distintos associados, amigos e leitores são testemunhas insuspeitas da imparcialidade, da elevação, da utilidade, e da correção com que mantemos a nossa linha editorial durante todo esse tempo, o que conquistou, não só a simpatia e o decisivo apoio da nossa rede de sócios, como o aplauso da imprensa e da opinião pública, dos intelectuais e do próprio poder público. Naturalmente, esse trabalho não se realizou sem grandes dificuldades, pois, por tão pouco preço, fácil é imaginar o sacrifício que nos impusemos, a fim

## Now they have

a critical dilemma: either we maintain the characteristics for our books, which they have had for a long time, and which has been our greatest reason for pride, and we increase the price from July 1956 to 15 cruzeiros, or we stop our editorial activities and put a stop to this campaign of culture, which we have devoted ourselves to for the last 14 years.

[...]

We are absolutely certain that our members and friends, who have known us for such a long time, will be able to understand sympathize with and support us. This will enable us to continue our activities, which, without boasting and lies spread good books in Brazil in terms of culture, correctness, decency and utility<sup>12</sup>. (Barros Ferreira: Introduction: no page number).

de que fôssemos, realmente, como nos chamam, "os pioneiros do livro barato no Brasil".

Mas a nossa resistência chega ao fim. Estamos mantendo há quase cinco anos o mesmo preço de 10 cruzeiros por livro. Esse preço tão baixo há sido motivo, até, de estranheza por parte de inúmeros sócios, que, surpresos, perguntam como podemos ceder tão barato o nosso livro diante do assustador e gigantesco crescimento do custo de vida. A explicação é que, não sendo, propriamente, comerciantes do livro, trabalhamos dentro de margens reduzidas, visando, em primeiro lugar, manter o lema, que é nosso programa: "bons livros por preços mínimos".

um dilema crítico: ou mantemos as nossas edições mensais dentro das mesmas características com que se apresentam há tanto tempo e que têm sido o nosso maior motivo de orgulho e passamos, de julho de 1956 em diante, o livro a 15 cruzeiros, ou suspendemos as nossas atividades editoriais, pondo ponto final a esta campanha de cultura, a que nos devotamos há quase catorze anos.

[...]

Temos absoluta certeza de que os nossos associados e amigos, que nos conhecem há tanto tempo, não nos faltarão com a sua compreensão, simpatia

Here we find the same emotional discourse of self-sacrifice. The battle against inflation has finally been lost. The Clube do Livro has done all it could to avoid putting up its prices, and the fact that they have not done so has amazed many of their members. Now the situation has finally reached breaking point. Either they put up their prices or go under, and the whole campaign will be lost. The high values of the mission – impartiality, improvement, utility and correctness have been achieving results: the press, the public, intellectuals and public authorities have all been praising the Clube do Livro. But this task has not been easy, and a large amount of sacrifice has been necessary. Battle images are once again used: "conquered", "resistance", "to give in", "campaign".

We again see the ingenuous economic discourse of the Clube do Livro as it tries to appear to be outside any kind of commerce. Profit margins are lower than those of commercial publishers. As we saw in the previous section, people worked for the Clube do Livro for free or earning very little, in order to preserve its motto: "good books at low prices". It also sees itself as an honest, self-sacrificing and decent organization, which, as seen in the last paragraph, neither lies nor shows off.

It also positions itself as an organization which preserves and spreads great literature, seemingly unaware that this "great literature" which reaches its readers will have been adapted, cut and will have lost many of its "literary" qualities.

The Clube do Livro is very worried about its own acceptance. It takes pleasure in announcing its anniversaries and presenting the

e apoio, o que permitirá levar para a frente esta atividade que, realmente, sem espalhafato e mentira, num plano de cultura, correção, decência e utilidade, difunde o bom livro no Brasil.

statistics of the number of books sold, or rather, the number of books which are to be found in "lares brasileiros", [the hearths of Brazil]. When celebrating its 18th anniversary, the Clube do Livro comments that "there's no doubt that the passing of this date makes us very happy"<sup>11</sup> (Barros Ferreira 1960:7), adding that in these 18 years 204 titles and 4,118,600 copies are in circulation "in the hearths of Brazil"<sup>12</sup>.

It also proudly announces the prizes the Clube do Livro and Mário Graciotti have been awarded, especially Mário Graciotti's election to the Academia Paulista de Letras [State of São Paulo Academy of Letters] in 1968 (Janu:1968), and the fact that Mário Graciotti's *O Mundo antes do Dilúvio* (*The World before the Flood*) was recommended as an auxiliary work by the Ancient Literature Chairs of the São Paulo universities, USP, PUC and FAAP.

The following extract comes from the thirty-first anniversary commemoration of the Clube do Livro in 1973:

We have wanted to encourage the appearance of new writers, which seems to us to be of great importance for the enrichment of the cultural heritage of the Nation, and have published 1 Brazilian author for every 2 foreign authors, recently publishing 5 Brazilians for every 7 foreign writers and have organized nationwide competitions for unpublished novels, in which hundreds of authors throughout Brazil have taken part, some of them with high-quality works.

From the first hours of our initiative, we have attempted to place ourselves under the aegis of the immense Castro Alves, who blessed "all those who sow books and order the people to think", and

<sup>11</sup> [...] o transcurso desta data muito nos envaidece, não resta dúvida".  
<sup>12</sup> [...] nos lares do Brasil".

such sowing, even on a limited scale, collaborates with the high aims of reaching our full and complete development.

In spite of the obstacles which surround activities like ours, which have almost zero profit, and which often pass through difficult times, we hope to continue with our programmed issues while we are able to, maintaining our line of cleanliness, utility and low prices.<sup>13</sup> (Rebêlo:10)

A number of the previous themes are repeated. The editors have had to make constant sacrifices, especially in financial terms. The profit they have made has almost been non-existent. And, although inflation and the resulting frequent price increases are not mentioned here, they form the background to the economic situation of the period. Secondly, the Clube do Livro is enriching Brazilian culture. But it is doing so not merely by imposing foreign works: the proportion of Brazilian authors has increased considerably, and the novel writing competition which the Clube do Livro has organized will further stimulate and enrich Brazilian culture.

<sup>13</sup> "Com a preocupação maior de editar 1 livro de autor brasileiro para cada 2 estrangeiros, chegando, nos últimos tempos, a lançar 5 autores nacionais contra 7 de outros países com os concursos de âmbito nacional para romances inéditos, aos quais concorreram centenas de autores de todo o País, o que distinguiu algumas obras literárias de bom gabarito, quisemos estimular a presença de novos escritores, e isso nos parece de grande importância para ajudar o enriquecimento do patrimônio cultural da Nação. Desde as primeiras horas de nossa iniciativa, procuramos colocar-nos sob a égide do imenso Castro Alves, que abençoa "todo aquele que semeia livros e manda o povo pensar", e tal semeadura, mesmo em faixa menor, colabora nos altos propósitos, que objetivam alcançar os índices do nosso pleno desenvolvimento. Apesar dos obstáculos, que cercam atividades como a nossa, de quase nula margem comercial, carregadas, às vezes, de horas difíceis, esperamos continuar com as edições programadas, enquanto pudermos mantê-las na sua linha de limpeza e utilidade, na área dos preços mínimos".

Another interesting point is the holy quality that books take on. This can be seen in the following section, from the Explanatory Note to *Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma* (*The Sad End of Policarpo Quaresma*) (1967), where Mário Graciotti speaks of the idealism of Lima Barreto:

All that we have, in terms of freedom and the economy, in welfare and in culture, all the social conquests, from the organization of work, stability, security, holidays, retirement, even with their gaps, is due to the miracle of the word, spoken or written, which the visionaries, like Policarpo Quaresma, sowed in the latitudes of the world, through books and the tribunes. The past teaches us that it is only through the Book that we may, slowly but surely, eliminate all that is bad in improvisations and finish the construction of the building of which Lima Barreto dreamed!<sup>14</sup> (Lima Barreto:11).

Echoing Monteiro Lobato's "A country is made with men and books"<sup>15</sup> (in ed. Rónai:1985), the book is the *logos* and the panacea. It is the cause of all that is good in the world and the solution for all of the world's problems. But seldom is there any specification of the kind of book which will benefit mankind. Usually, the only qualification is that these books must be "useful" and "clean". Books alone, regardless of what they contain, who wrote them, and whatever world view they have, will enrich the world. Just before the section above, Mário Graciotti makes a rare attack on more commercial and realistic kinds of literature:

<sup>14</sup> "Tudo o que temos, na liberdade e na economia, no bem-estar e na cultura, todas as conquistas sociais, a partir da organização do trabalho, da estabilidade, do seguro, das férias, das aposentadorias, mesmo com as suas lacunas, ainda, tudo isso é devido ao milagre da palavra, escrita ou falada, que os visionários, à maneira de Policarpo Quaresma, semearam nas latitudes do mundo, através do livro e das tribunas. E o passado histórico nos ensina que somente através do Livro é que poderemos, lenta, mas seguramente, eliminar o mal das improvisações e terminar a construção ideal daquele edifício que Lima Barreto [...] sonhava [...]."

<sup>15</sup> "Um país se faz com homens e livros".

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And how distant, how forgotten in history, are those that play with literature, which make it a motive of mundane entertainment or a source of easy profit, courting false popularity or fatuous applause, sometimes exploiting, even maliciously, certain strands of old-fashioned realism, which are inconsistent in today's world<sup>16</sup> (Lima Barreto:10).

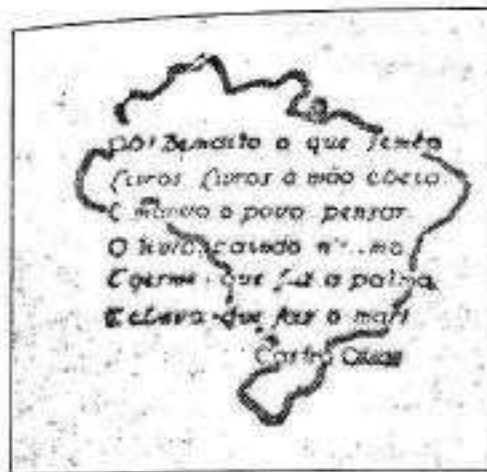
However, this attack on realism contradicts the policies of the Clube do Livro, which published a considerable amount of "realist" fiction: for example, around the time this novel was issued (1967), the Clube do Livro also published very realistic works such as Gorki's *Adolescência* (*Adolescence*) (1964), Nicolae Jianu's *O Caminho do Céu* (*The Path to Heaven*) (1968), Jarbas Passarinho's *Terra Enchovada* (*Land under Water*) (1968), Dickens' *Tempos Difíceis* (*Hard Times*) (1969), and Eurico Branco Ribeiro's *Água da Esperança* (*Water of Hope*) (1969).

The back covers of all of the Clube do Livro issues contained the following verses of Castro Alves (1847-71), which are superimposed on a map of Brazil:

Oh! Bendito o que semeia  
Livros... livros a mão cheia  
E manda o povo pensar  
Livro, caindo na alma  
E germe... que faz a palma  
E chuva... que faz o mar!

*Blessed by he who sows  
Books... handfuls of books  
And teaches the people to think  
Books, falling onto the soul  
And the seed... that makes the palm  
And rain... that makes the sea!*

<sup>16</sup> "E como ficam longe, e como se apagam no painel da história aqueles que brincam com a literatura, que fazem dela motivos de entretenimento mundano ou fonte de fáceis lucros, cortejando falsas popularidades ou fátuos aplausos, explorando, às vezes, e maliciosamente, até, certos filões de realismo ultrapassados, inconsistentes na paisagem dos tempos modernos".



These are the final lines to Castro Alves' poem, "O Livro e a América" ("The Book and America"), in which the book is seen as the way forward to progress and enlightenment for the Americas. Progress will not come about as in Greece, through the "dóricos Partenons" [doric Parthenons], which were to honour the "mil deuses" [thousand Gods], or in Rome, where the "mil marmóreos Panteons" [thousand marble Pantheons] were built in a regime which depended on fear, or as in Germany, whose cathedrals were built as a result of "tirania feudal" [feudal tyranny]. The enlightened inhabitants of the Americas will fight with the book, which will be in their hands at the final judgement:

Filhos do sec'lo das luzes!  
Filhos da Grande Nação!  
Quando ante Deus vos mostrardes,  
Tereis um livro na mão:  
O livro - esse audaz guerreiro  
Que conquista o mundo inteiro [...]

Children of the cent'ry of enlightenment!  
Children of the Great Nation!  
When you come before God,  
You will have a book in your hand:  
The book – this brave warrior  
Who conquers the whole world [...]

(From the *Complete Poems* in Azevedo:52-54)

#### 4. Enlightenment and Paternalism

The attitude of the Clube do Livro to the writers published is one of unmitigated deference: "The immortal Tolstoy attempts, in these exciting pages..."<sup>17</sup> (Tolstoy:6). Of Balzac's *Engénia Grandet* (1945), "It is an immortal book, which will last through time"<sup>18</sup> (Balzac:5); the author of *The Professor* is "the immortal Charlotte Brontë [sic]"<sup>19</sup> (Brontë 1958: 154); and in *Hard Times* (1969) "The cult of beauty and love consecrate Charles Dickens as one of the greatest writers of all time" [...] "this beautiful pathetic scene" [...] "moving book" [...] "exciting pages" [...] "inimitable literary work" [...] "immortal Dickens"<sup>20</sup> (Dickens 1969:9). *Robinson Crusoe* (1955) "excites and charms"<sup>21</sup> (Defoe:inside flap).

<sup>17</sup> "O imortal Tolstói procura, nestas empolgantes páginas [...]"

<sup>18</sup> "É livro imortal, que perdurará através do tempo".

<sup>19</sup> "[...] a imortal Charlotte Brontë [sic]"

<sup>20</sup> "O culto da beleza e do amor consagra Charles Dickens como um dos maiores escritores de todos os tempos" [...] "esta cena patética e bela" [...] "comovente livro" [...] "empolgantes páginas" [...] "inimitável obra literária" [...] "imortal Dickens".

<sup>21</sup> "[...] empolga e encanta".

There is an excess of superlatives: In *O Navio Fantasma*, "the famous worldwide-known writer (R.L. Stevenson), presents pages of thrilling literary interest, full of exciting adventures"<sup>22</sup>. The advertisement for *Os Miseráveis* (*Les Misérables*), a larger volume of 700 pages, not one of the monthly issues, states that "the genius of Victor Hugo carves one of the greatest, if not the greatest, works of Humanity, ever"<sup>23</sup> (Sylveira:inside flap).

The Clube do Livro was aimed at lower-middle class readers, people who were, perhaps buying books for the first time and who had limited education. The attitude of the editors towards the readers is always one of paternalism. Unusual or foreign words and classical references are explained. For example, in *The Professor*, there are footnotes explaining "Pylades and Orestes" (Brontë 1958:7), "Croesus" (Brontë 1958:9), "Laila", "Rebecca" (Brontë 1958:31) and the origin of the word "hypochondriac" (Brontë 1958:162), amongst others.

Advice is given: the Clube do Livro is particularly worried about drinking and eating habits. The editors of the Clube do Livro seize on Charlotte Brontë's references to the "rough needs of eating and drinking"<sup>24</sup> in *The Professor* (1958) with the following footnote:

In this short phrase, brilliantly translated by José Maria Machado, faithful, as always, to the difficult original English text, we can see that for Charlotte Brontë (sic), born in 1816 and who died in 1855, only 39 years-old, eating and drinking were indeed "rough needs". This incorrect idea is very old and affects a large number of people

<sup>22</sup> "[...] o famoso escritor (R.L. Stevenson), mundialmente conhecido, apresenta páginas de palpitante interesse literário, cheias de empolgantes aventuras"

<sup>23</sup> "[...] o gênio de Victor Hugo esculpe um dos maiores, se não o maior livro da Humanidade, através de todos os tempos".

<sup>24</sup> "[...] rudes cuidados de comer e beber".

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who think that it is inferior to be interested in food, and that it elegant not to eat, or to eat little. This incorrect conception has produced a large number of victims; Charlotte Brontë herself may have paid with her life for the lack of interest in eating which one can guess from her writings. Could not tuberculosis, which took her from this world before her time, have been a consequence of her incorrect idea of eating? And could not her two sisters have made the same mistake?<sup>25</sup> (Brontë 1958:160).

Alcohol is seen as a great evil, and the editors of the Clube do Livro attempt to correct the impression that may be given by certain authors that it has beneficial effects. The footnote in *Tempos Difíceis* follows a similar line:

The use and abuse of alcoholic drinks are responsible for pathological illnesses which affect our health, especially stomatitis, gastritis, hepatitis, polyneuritis, delirium-tremens, hallucinations...<sup>26</sup> (Dickens 1969:57).

The Clube do Livro is worried about its readers copying the poor eating and drinking habits of the authors and characters of

<sup>25</sup> "Por esta pequenina frase, brilhantemente traduzida por José Maria Machado, fidelíssimo, como sempre, ao difícil texto do original inglês, perceberemos que para Charlotte Brontë [sic], nascida em 1816 e falecida em 1855, com apenas 39 anos de idade, comer e beber eram "rudes cuidados". Esta errada concepção vem de longe e atinge inúmeras pessoas que julgam ato inferior o indivíduo ter certo encanto pelas coisas alimentares, e que é elegante não comer ou comer pouco. Este erradíssimo ponto de vista tem feito muitas vítimas; a própria Charlotte Brontë, talvez tenha pago com sua vida o descaso alimentar que se adivinha no que escreve. A tuberculose, que a levou tão cedo deste mundo, não teria sido consequência do seu erro alimentar? E suas duas irmãs não teriam, também cometido a mesma imprevidência?"

<sup>26</sup> "[...] o uso e abuso das bebidas alcoólicas são responsáveis pelas faixas patológicas que atingem a nossa saúde, principalmente, nos quadros clínicos das estomatites, gastrites, colites, hepatites, polinevrites, delirium-tremens, alucinações [...]"

the books it publishes. The following paragraph provokes a footnote which lasts two thirds of a page:

It was part of the dignity and the work of Mrs. Sparsit not to have lunch. She officially supervised the meal, but showed that she considered lunch to be a weakness for a person who, like Mrs. Sparsit, believed she was so majestic.<sup>27</sup> (Dickens 1969:54).

The footnote begins by mentioning the fact that the Brontës' disdain for eating may have led them to the grave. Then the Clube do Livro warns that poor eating habits may lead to tuberculosis. It is once again interesting to look more closely at the footnote:

Everyone who does not eat or who eats badly is exposed to tuberculosis. It happens that, before the 20th century, part of a so-called aristocracy, did not like to share their natural vocation and tendencies with the people, and certain ancient squires even thought that knowing how to read and write was, like eating, something vulgar and plebian!. But the new knowledge, especially after the French Revolution of 1789, took over form the old, and the modern generations showed, different to the romantic old nobles, that culture is as necessary to the progress of Man as the Sun is to Life. From then on, we can find greater acceptance of the concepts of hygiene, which increasingly have come about through the spreading of the book, in all its aspects, and from the political, economic, philosophical and artistic concepts which began to shape the contemporary world more and more.<sup>28</sup> (Dickens 1969:54-55).

<sup>27</sup> "Fazia parte da dignidade e do serviço da sra. Sparsit não almoçar. Superintendia oficialmente a refeição, mas dava a entender que considerava o almoço uma fraqueza para pessoa tão majestosa, como a sra. Sparsit se julgava".

<sup>28</sup> "Toda pessoa não alimentada ou mal alimentada está exposta à tuberculose. Acontece, porém, que, antes do século XX, parte de uma chamada aristocracia não gostava de compartilhar com o povo as suas naturais vocações e tendências, e certos antigos fidalgos, até, julgavam que saber ler e escrever era, também, como o comer, coisa vulgar e plebéia! Mas os novos conhecimentos, especial-

In addition to spreading culture through books, as seen in the previous section, the Clube do Livro believes it has the task to improve the nutritional habits of Brazil. The best way to spread these habits is through books, therefore why not unite both the attempt to spread culture and healthy eating by inserting such footnotes. Books are a panacea: in addition to solving the cultural deficit in Brazil, they are also solve health problems.

But even those who do eat must take great care. Seemingly harmless types of food may have drastic consequences:

Polenta, from the Italian *polenta* (from the Latin base *pollen*), is a dish made from corn flour, very common in certain countries. The use and abuse of polenta produces pelagra, an illness characterized by the absence of vitamins, especially the G and PP complexes, with the appearance of a congestive rash and digestive, nervous and mental disorders.<sup>29</sup> (Irving:35).

In the 1960s the Clube do Livro began to publish detective fiction. It defended this genre, saying that detective books "[...] encouraged reading, very much to the contrary of what today taken

mente, após a revolução francesa de 1789, que tomaram conta das antigas e modernas gerações, demonstraram, ao contrário do que os românticos fidalgos supunham, que a cultura é tão necessária à saúde e ao progresso do homem como o Sol à marcha da vida. Daí, o convívio cada vez maior com os ensinamentos da higiene, proporcionados pela difusão do livro, em todos os seus aspectos, a partir das conceituações políticas, econômicas, filosóficas, artísticas, etc. que caracterizavam cada vez mais, o mundo contemporâneo".

<sup>29</sup> "Polenta, do italiano polenta (do tema latino *pollen*, flor de farinha), prato culinário feito de farinha de milho, fubá, de grande uso em certos povos; o uso e abuso na ingestão de polenta provoca a pelagra, doença caracterizada pela ausência de vitaminas, especialmente as dos complexos G e PP, com aparência de eritemas (rubor congestivo da pele,) perturbações digestivas, nervosas e mentais".

place with cartoons, which act in the opposite way, encouraging mental idleness, if idleness can in any way be encouraged<sup>30</sup> (Oppenheim:6). And although critics have condemned this kind of fiction, it has been enormously popular throughout the world, even in socialist countries. The *Clube do Livro* even finds a medical reason for publishing detective fiction, as in the case of *Uma Mulher Corre na Noite* (1965), (*A Woman Runs in the Night*) by Norman Roleday. The *Explanatory Note*, by Jacob Penteado, states that although the detective novel has occupied a secondary position in literature, it has been praised by psychoanalysts and specialists in nervous disorders as it can be of great help in the treatment of stress, acting as an escape valve from the tumultuous life of modern times. Roland Roque da Silva, in his *Explanatory Note to O Espião (The Spy)* (Oppenheim:6), adds the support of General Eisenhower, who would relax in between battles with a detective novel.

In 1966 the Clube do Livro published one of its first science fiction work, *O Homem que Viu o Disco-Voador (The Man Who Saw the Flying Saucer)* by Rubens Teixeira Scavone. In her Introduction, Maria de Lourdes Teixeira, the author's mother, makes a similar defence of science fiction, listing its precursors: Luciano de Samosata and Plutarch, Voltaire, Mary Godwin Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe, Jules Verne and H. G. Wells. She proves its respectability by detailing a recent debate in Parisian magazine *Nouvelles Littéraires* on validity of science fiction, with the participation of Camus, Giono, Sartre, Cocteau and all the members of the *Académie Goncourt*, and mentions the Chair of Science Fiction at Harvard held by Dwight Wayne Batteau. The final section to the Introduction, after Maria de Lourdes

<sup>30</sup> "Atuavam, sem dúvida, como incentivadores da leitura, muito ao contrário do que hoje se dá com as histórias em quadrinhos, que agem no sentido oposto, estimulando a preguiça mental, se é que preguiça pode ser de alguma forma estimulada".

Teixeira's name and in different print, probably written by Mário Graciotti, proves the qualities of this work as it manages to "to unite the imaginative richness, experimental problems and literary sensitivity, thereby reaching those higher imponderable levels of creation, without which narratives are confined to the narrow limits of an inexpressive graphic form"<sup>31</sup> (Scavone:8).

### 5. *O Gigante Gargântua*: The Loss of Many Voices

In the Clube do Livro's *Gargantua*, we find that scatological, stylistic, political, religious and narrative elements have been eliminated. Works are often shortened, in order to fit into the standard 160 pages, and very often the "authorly" elements are those which are omitted.

*O Gigante Gargântua* was published by the Clube do Livro in a "special translation" by José Maria Machado" in 1961. This edition also contained 19 pages of excerpts from *Pantagruel*. Unusually, the translator admits that he has made ample use of the scissors:

In this edition, all the incongruencies and daring liberties the author has made have been cut, in a rational adaptation of the text. The *Clube do Livro* readers would not put up with a pure and simple translation of many sections, which we have been obliged, because of decency and probity, to eliminate"<sup>32</sup> (Rabelais:14-15).

<sup>31</sup> "[...] aliar a riqueza imaginativa, a problemática experimental e a sensibilidade literária, atingindo aqueles planos superiores e imponderáveis da criação, sem os quais a narrativa se confina nos estreitos limites de uma inexpressiva forma gráfica".

<sup>32</sup> "Nessa edição para o Clube do Livro, foram aparadas todas as incongruências e ousadas liberdades do autor, com racional adaptação do texto. Os leitores não suportariam a tradução pura e simples de muitos trechos, que fomos obrigados a eliminar, por uma questão de decência e probidade".

In his Explanatory Note, Domingos Carvalho da Silva does not quite share the enthusiasm of the translator for the cuts made:

"The translation which follows was, as we said, filtered by the translator, certainly in order to attend the requirements of the "Clube do Livro" subscribers. The more crude and irreverent sections have been cut out, and, as a result the colourful element, what today we might call "engagé", was reduced. There has remained a good part of the expression of a work which would not survive time if it were not also a literary work, a high achievement of the human spirit."<sup>33</sup> (Rabelais 1961:11).

Indeed, José Maria Machado prudishly eliminates all references to the sexual act and bodily functions in which Rabelais takes such great delight. For example, direct reference to love making cannot be contemplated:

Moiennans lesquelles loys, les femmes vefves peuvent franchement jouer du serre cropière (make love) à tous enviz et toutes restes, deux mois après le trespas de leurs mariz. (Rabelais 1965:Ch III:51).

References to bodily functions must be cut:

Non obstant ces remonstrances, elle en mangea seze muiz deux bussars et six tupins. O belle matière fecale que doivoit boursouffler en elle! (Rabelais 1965:Ch. IV:57).

José Maria Machado also ignores the puns and word games as in the following section:

<sup>33</sup> "A tradução que se segue foi, como dissemos, escoimada pelo tradutor, certamente em atenção às tendências do público assinante das edições do "Clube do Livro". As passagens mais cruas e mais irreverentes foram [sic] suprimidas e, em consequência o colorido - que hoje se poderia chamar "engagé" - da novela, esmaeceu. Permanece [...] boa parte da expressão de um livro que não sobreviveria ao tempo se não fosse, também, como obra literária, uma alta realização do espírito humano".



Par mesmes raisons (si raisons les doibz nommer et non resveries) ferois je paindre un penier, denotant qu'on me faict pener; et un pot à moutarde, que c'est mon cueur à qui moult tarde; et un por à pisser, c'est un official; et le fond de mes chausses, c'est un vaisseau de petz; et ma braguette, c'est le greffe des arrestz; et un estront de chien, c'est un tronc de ceans, où gist l'amour de mámye. (Rabelais 1965:Ch IX:95).

Needless to say, he also omits the long list of nicknames and euphemisms for the penis:

[...] ma petite dille [...] ma pine, [...] ma branche de coural, [...] mon bondon, mon bouchon, mon vibrequin, mon possouer, ma teriere, ma pendilloche, mon rude esbat roidde et bas, mon dressouoir, ma petite andoille vermeille, ma petite couille bredouille. (Rabelais 1965:111).

When a bodily function is mentioned, it is euphemized. The "pissa" referring to Gargantua's mare becomes "soltou águas" [released waters], (Rabelais 1965: Ch. XXXVI:289).

The translator also takes no interest in Rabelais' stylistic variations. The rhymes, such as "Chiart,/Foirart,/Petart,/Brenons, Chappart/S'espert/Sus nous./ Hordous,/ Merdous,/Esgous,/Le feu de saint Antoine te ard!/Sy tous/Tes trous/Esclous/Tu ne torche avant ton depart!" are ignored (Rabelais:Ch. XIII:125), as is the list of games (Rabelais 1965:Ch. XXII:179-185), and puns, e.g.:

"Que fera cest hyvrogne icy? Qu'on me le mene en prison. Troubler ainsi le service divin!"

— "Mais (dist le moyne) le service du vin faisons tant qu'il ne soit troublé; car vous mesmes, Monsieur le Prieur, ayez boyre du meilleur". (Rabelais 1965:Ch. XXVII:229).

This last pun would be possible in Portuguese with "serviço divino" [divine service] and "serviço do vinho" [the service of the wine], but instead is weakly translated as "serviço diário" [daily service] (Rabelais 1961:67).

Rabelais' use of Latin in a section where he mocks holy relics and the excessive use of Latin is cut. When the pilgrims are swallowed by Gargantua, they even speak in Latin. "Cum exurgerent homines in nos, forte vivos deglutissent nos, quand nous feusmes mangez en salade au grain du sel; cum iraseretur furor eorum in nos, foristan aqua absorbuisset nos, quand il beut le grand traict [...]". All the Latin is ignored in the Portuguese version (Rabelais 1965:Ch. XXXVIII:305).

The Clube do Livro does not join in with Rabelais' critique of certain elements of the Church. The whole of Chapter XL "Pourquoy les moynes sont refuyz du monde, et pourquoy les ungs ont le nez plus grand que les aultres", satirizing the lives of the monks is missing, as is Gargantua's proposal that the religious devotees should be able to get married:

Item, parce que ordinairement les religieux faisoient troys veuz, sçavoir est de chastité, pauvreté et obediencia, fut constitu't que là honorablement on peult estre marié, que chacun feut riche et vesquist en liberté. (Rabelais 1965:Ch. LII:403).

#### 6. *Tempus Difficilis*: Politics

*Tempus Difficilis* may seem a strange choice for a book club which depends on a close connection with the military government for the distribution of its books. However, right from the beginning of the Introduction, the editors play safe and take great pains to insist that there is no left-wing revolutionary message to Dickens'

work: "It is a book of ideas, though it can't really be called a book of struggle"<sup>34</sup>. It must be distanced as far as possible from the Brazil of 1969 and becomes a regional novel from a far-off epoch: "It presents a new aspect of the provincial society of his time, the deaf struggle between the ancient and the modern, through a bourgeoisie of other eras"<sup>35</sup> (Dickens 1969:8). Instead of being linked to the present, *Hard Times* is linked to the slavery and the dark ages of the past, which have now been superseded by the Universal Convention of the Rights of Children and of Men, freedom from slavery, the fight against usury, the United Nations, the ecumenical contemporary Church, and, in Brazil, greater rights for workers, which have existed since 1922. It seems possible that we are nearing the world which was dreamed of by Dickens. José Maria Machado then comments that *Hard Times* was a critique of laissez-faire economic policy, then prevalent in Britain. But he fails to dwell on this possible element of social criticism and never allows any comparison with the inequalities present in Brazil in 1969 to be made: it is a book which transcends place and time: "[...]it is a book which has a thesis presenting basic problems of a higher transcendence which go beyond any contemporary period"<sup>36</sup>.

The translated text must also be modified in order not to give the impression the *Tempos Difíceis* is a subversive work. The following section might be considered subversive, despite Dickens' opinion

<sup>34</sup> "É um livro de idéias, embora não se possa denominar propriamente um livro de combate".

<sup>35</sup> "Nele se apresenta um aspecto novo da sociedade provinciana do seu tempo, a luta surda entre o antigo e o moderno, através de uma burguesia de outras eras".

<sup>36</sup> "[...]é bem um livro de tese em que se apresentam problemas básicos de superior transcendência e vão além de qualquer período de atualidade".

that a decision to support the selfish union official, Slackbridge, would be wrong.

That every man felt his condition to be, somehow or other, worse than it might be; that every man considered it incumbent on him to join the rest, towards the making of it better, that every man felt his only hope to be in his allying himself to his comrades by whom he was surrounded; and that in this belief, right or wrong (unhappily wrong then), the whole of that crowd were gravely, deeply, faithfully in earnest; must have been as plain to any one who chose to see what was there, as the bare beams of roof, and the whitened brick walls (Dickens 1982:171).

In the translation, the idea of unity and mass action is lost. The error they made becomes clearer.

All of the crowd believed, with a grave, deep and sincere faith, in the conclusion which, right or wrong (wrong this time, unfortunately), which he had reached." (Dickens 1969:90).

Similarly, "the slaves of an iron-handed and grinding despotism" (Dickens 1982: 169) becomes the mild "workers and companions"<sup>37</sup> (Dickens 1969:90).

Apparently quite absurd changes can also be seen. The *Clube do Livro* translation of *Silas Marner* changes the name of the house where Squire Cass lives from the "Red House" (Eliot n.d.:96) to the "Casa Amarela" ("Yellow House") (Eliot 1973:66), probably to avoid the idea that the work may have had any revolutionary intention and the mansion may have been a Communist bunker!

<sup>37</sup> "Toda aquela multidão acreditava, com uma fé grave, profunda e sincera, na conclusão, certa ou errada (errada desta vez, infelizmente), a que [Slackbridge] chegara".

<sup>38</sup> "trabalhadores e companheiros".

But, more seriously, censorship was so strong when this translation was published (1973) that any book with a socialist country in the title, or by an author with a Russian sounding name, or even with a red cover, as was mentioned above (p.76-77) may have been seized by the federal or state police (Hallewell:483).

Any kind of potential political dispute or contestation dissolves into an optimistic humanism. This can also be seen in the translations from the Rumanian made by Nelson Vainer of *O Caminho do Céu* [The Path to Heaven], by Nicolae Jianu (1968), and *Um Pedaco de Terra* [A Piece of Land] (1970), by Zaharia Stanco.

The headline to the Explanatory Note of *Um Pedaco de Terra* states: "WE SEE THE PROFILE OF HUMAN FIGURES AND THE CROSSING OF A NUMBER OF DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, WHICH ARE OFTEN SERIOUS AND FULL OF AFFLICTION"<sup>39</sup>. Stanco was a writer who was in favour with the Communist regime. In 1948, he was proclaimed "the prose writer of the year"<sup>40</sup>. His work is full of socialist realism; evoking "scenes of the tragic life of the Danube countryside at the beginning of the century"<sup>41</sup>. And *Os Mastiffs* (*The Mastiffs*) (1952) "describes the 1907 peasant rising, one of the bloodiest in history, which culminated in the extermination of 11,000 peasants"<sup>42</sup> (Stanco:7). Once again, no parallel or connection with the situation in Brazil can be made. Stanco

<sup>39</sup> "ENCONTRAMOS O RECORTE DE FIGURAS HUMANAS E A ENCRUZILHADA DE VÁRIOS PROBLEMAS DOMÉSTICOS, ÀS VEZES, GRAVES E AFLIGENTES"

<sup>40</sup> "O prosador do ano"

<sup>41</sup> "[...] cenas da vida trágica dos lavradores da campina danubiana nos começos do século"

<sup>42</sup> "descreve o levante campesino de 1907, um dos mais sangrentos da história, pois culminou com o extermínio de 11,000 camponeses"

is not a social critic but a profound humanist. His work "imposes on the contemporary literary landscape a profoundly personal artistic style, as in his poetry, a message full of confidence and optimism"<sup>43</sup> (Stanco:8). And like Cervantes, Hugo, Camões, Merimée, Richépin and Pushkin, he has written about gypsies, this "unhappy human group, condemned to eternally wander along the twisted paths of the world"<sup>44</sup> (Stanco:8). Vainer's Explanatory Note ends by emphasizing the profound humanity of Stanco's work:

In all his work, as the reader will see, there flows a slow breath of piety and love, which characterizes the charming narrative of the boy Darie, faced with the painful conflicts of his relations. And, in addition to these conflicts, Stanco questions the deeper reasons which direct the no less deep mysteries of Life and Death<sup>45</sup>. (Stanco:9).

This last sentence was also one of the back cover blurbs.

And Jianu's stories "show how immense the frontiers of the human heart and literary beauties are"<sup>46</sup> (Jianu:5). Mário Gracioti

<sup>43</sup> "[...] impõe na paisagem literária contemporânea uma visão artística profundamente pessoal, em estilo característico, tal como em seus versos, como mensagem firme de confiança e otimismo"

<sup>44</sup> "[...] infeliz grupo humano, condenado a errar eternamente pelos caminhos tortuosos do mundo"

<sup>45</sup> Em toda a sua obra, como o leitor verá, flui um lento hálito de piedade e de amor, que marca a encantadora narrativa do garoto Darie, em face daqueles dolorosos conflitos de seus parentes. E acima desses conflitos, Stanco pergunta, pergunta, pelas profundas razões que norteiam os não menos profundos mistérios da Vida e da Morte.

<sup>46</sup> "[...] demonstram, assim, como são imensas as fronteiras do coração humano e das belezas literárias"

adds his postscript in similar gushing language: "In these excellent pages, which make up a considerable anthology, we find the presence of that human breath, which, in the message of its interpreters, transcends the limits of the episodic and moves towards the frontiers of Beauty, characteristics which mark the true and legitimate works of art"<sup>47</sup> (Jianu:7).

Gorki's *Adolescência* is given a pseudo-christian interpretation: "All the work of Maxim Gorky is a message of faith, though he characters may be taken from among tramps and the idle [...] All the effort of his writing is directed towards a strong word of hope"<sup>48</sup> (Gorki:8). The harshness of the real problems of the world is always kept at a distance. The Explanatory Note to Knut Hamsun's *Um Vagabundo Tosa em Sirdina* (*The Wanderer*) says: "His pages describe miseries and misfortunes, but in a soft and quiet tone, more of a poem than an indictment"<sup>49</sup> (Hamsun:5).

*O Romance de Maria Clara* (*The Romance of Maria Clara*) (1965) describes middle-class racial prejudice in São Paulo towards a young mulatto teacher. It was originally published in 1940, and the Clube do Livro Introduction stresses the fact that racial problems have

<sup>47</sup> "Nestas excelentes páginas, constituindo uma expressiva antologia, encontramos a presença daquele sopro humano, que, na mensagem de seus intérpretes, transcende dos limites do episódico para as fronteiras da Beleza, características que marcam as verdadeiras e legítimas obras de arte".

<sup>48</sup> "Toda a obra de Máximo Gorki é, pois, uma mensagem de fé, embora seus personagens sejam recrutados entre vagabundos e gente de disponibilidade [...] Todo o seu generoso esforço de escritor foi no sentido de uma vigorosa palavra de esperança".

<sup>49</sup> "Suas páginas descrevem misérias e desgraças, mas, num tom suave, brando, mais de poema do que de libelo".

been disappearing "during the civilizing progress of the Country"<sup>50</sup> and is no longer part of "a developing city"<sup>51</sup> (Ribeiro Neto:8). Literature such as that of Dickens and Victor Hugo has helped to eliminate the injustices of society and introduce progressive legislation, and this novel belongs to the documentary tradition of those works which described the difficult period of miscegenation.

The Clube do Livro also defuses Edmundo de Amicis' socialism. Ferruccio Rubiani, in the Explanatory Note, explains that de Amicis was one of the first socialists in Italy, considering socialism to be part of Christ's teachings. But then he became disillusioned when he saw that his vision of goodness and love was merely transformed into a political party. He is more of a Christian writer than a socialist, and the harmony of his writing also reveals "the harmony of the inner life"<sup>52</sup> (Amicis:5).

### 7.0 Professor: Political Correctness

Apart from *Gargantua*, *O Professor* (*The Professor*) is the only translation published by the Clube do Livro in which the translator admits he has omitted some of the longer descriptive passages. Let us look more closely at whether it is just these passages that have been left out. Some of them are mainly descriptive, such as Crimsworth's description of his room in Chapter 7, that of his walk around Brussels in the same chapter, and the physical characteristics of the female pupils in Chapter 12. Crimsworth's inner monologues are also frequently trimmed, as for example in Chapter 1, where he is discussing the attempt he is making to earn

<sup>50</sup> "[...] na marcha civilizadora do País".

<sup>51</sup> "[...] uma cidade em desenvolvimento".

<sup>52</sup> "[...] a harmonia da vida interior".

his own living, his opinions of Hunsden in Chapter 4, and his considerations about his dislike for his job in Chapter 5. But we can also find some other very clear elements that are omitted in José Maria Machado's translation. Crimsworth/Charlotte Brontë shows a very clear and bigoted anti-Catholicism: Belgium is the land of popery, which makes its inhabitants liars, tale-tellers and dishonest. All the very forthright comments in the original such as: "I know nothing of the arcana of the Roman Catholic religion, and I am not a bigot in matters of theology, but I suspect the root of this precious impurity, so obvious, so general in Popish countries, is to be found in the discipline, if not the doctrines of the church of Rome" (Brontë:Ch.12:84); "Sylvie was gentle in manners, intelligent in mind; she was even sincere, as far as her religion would permit her to be so [...]" (Brontë:Ch.12:87); "I was no pope. I could not boast infallibility" (Brontë:Ch. 20:165).

José Maria Machado seems to go to great lengths to ensure that no offence will be given to any reader by cutting references to the deterministic ideas that Charlotte Brontë ascribes to:

[...] a band of very vulgar, inferior-looking Flamandes, including two or three examples of that deformity of person and imbecility of intellect whose frequency in the Low Countries would seem to furnish proof that the climate is such as to induce degeneracy of the human mind and body [...] (Brontë:Ch. 12:86).

The translation cuts any allusions to the Flemings as an inferior race: "Flamands certainly they were, and both had the true physiognomy, where intellectual inferiority is marked in lines none can mistake; still they were men, and, in the main, honest men[...]" (Brontë:Ch.7:58). In fact, all passages where national characteristics are discussed are either omitted or pared down. After M. Pelet gets

drunk and insults Crimsworth in Chapter 20, the description of Pelet as "a thorough Frenchman, the national characteristic of ferocity had not been omitted" is also left out. The nationalities in "French politeness, German good-will, and Swiss servility" (Brontë:Ch. 24:210) are cut. Hunsden's Radical comments about poverty and oppression in England are also cut. The omitted sections are underlined:

Examine the footprints of our august aristocracy; see how they walk in blood, crushing hearts as they go. Just put your head in at English cottage doors; get a glimpse of famine crouched torpid on black hearthstones; of Disease lying hare on beds without coverlets, of Infamy wantoning viciously with Ignorance, though indeed Luxury is her favourite paramour, and princely halls are dearer to her than thatched hovels (Brontë:Ch.24:208).

I suggest two reasons for these cuts. One is that the *Clube do Livro* wished to be politically correct *avant la lettre*, attempting not to offend the religious and national sensibilities of its readers. The other reason is that although there was no religious censorship in Brazil when this translation was published, in 1958, such religious sensitivity may have been a leftover from the early years of the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), when the Catholic Church played a large role in the state apparatus of the Getulio Vargas' nationalistic dictatorship, modelled to a great extent on that of Mussolini, where, as already mentioned, considerable censorship existed.

Much of the dialogue in the original, which takes place in Brussels, is in French. In many sections Charlotte Brontë begins in French and then switches to English. Not surprisingly, as the translation is aimed at a non-academic market, French is completely ignored. José Maria Machado the multi-voiced original into a

monological homogenized translation. Chapter 23 contains two poems: a section from a ballad by Sir Walter Scott and the romantic ballad originally written in French by Frances and translated by Crimsworth. A prose translation is given of the first ballad, and the second is ignored. A narrative feature that is missing in the original is the meta-narrative where the author comes out of the narrative and makes an appeal to the reader, as near the beginning of Chapter 14: "Know, O incredulous reader! [...]" (Brontë Ch.14:112).

#### 8. Factory Translation

Many of the elements of what I call "Factory Translation", translation made quickly, for a specific market, almost in an assembly line process, can be seen in the translations of the *Clube do Livro*. *Gargantua*, *Hard Times* and *The Professor* were cut to fit into the standard number of pages. The cutting may have involved the elimination of scatological elements, as in *O Gigante Gargântua*, political references, as in *Tempos Difíceis*, of descriptions of racial characteristics, as in *O Professor*. The results are versions which are standardized, both in terms of length and type of language. In all three cases, most especially in the case of Rabelais, we feel that much of the author's original voice has been lost. In the cases of *O Gigante Gargântua* and *O Professor*, the translator admits that he has made cuts and alterations. However, this is unusual in the *Clube do Livro* translations, where the cuts are euphemized with the statement that the translation is a "special translation".

Though it is very easy to criticize the poor quality of much "Factory Translation", as could be seen in the above description of the changes which were made, I believe that, by introducing

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literature to a market of readers who were not used to buying books, the *Clube do Livro* performed an enormously invaluable function in Brazil. Although at times it may have seemed to have, at least tacitly, supported the military regime, the fact that it encouraged people who were not used to reading to read Brazilian and foreign classics, may have, in the long run, have helped to produce better-educated citizens who would question the military regime.

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*Memes of Translation*

by Andrew Chesterman

(Amsterdam and New York: John Benjamins, 1997)

What is a meme of translation? As Andrew Chesterman points out on p.151 of *Memes of Translation*, a meme is a conceptual tool, a way of examining translation and also finding solutions to translation problems. Chesterman uses Richard Dawkins' concept of the meme in *The Selfish Gene*:

Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions [...] memes propagate themselves by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense can be called imitation. If a scientist hears, or reads about, a good idea, he passes it on to his colleagues and students. He mentions it in his articles and lectures. If the idea catches on, it can be said to propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain.

Adapting to the world of human sciences, Chesterman sees a meme is a unit of cultural transmission which competes, as do genes in their Darwinian contest, with other memes for dominance. In Chapter 1, "Survival machines for memes", Chesterman introduces the dominant supermemes in translation studies nowadays, which are:

The Source-Target meme, the concept of the carrying of information across from one language to another. Chesterman

suggests a revision of this dominant metaphor as translations do not merely carry across but rather spread and replicate.

The Equivalence meme, usually stressing the desire for 100% faithfulness. However, Chesterman suggests, with the advent of postmodern theory and the awareness that this 100% equivalence will never be achieved, that this meme is on the decline.

The Untranslatability meme, a legacy of the concept that the divine word should not be tampered with, and the Romantic idea that the greatest literature can never be replicated in a foreign language.

The Free v Literal meme, centred around how free or literal a translator should be when translating, has been another dominant meme in discourse on translation.

The All-Writing-Is-Translation meme breaks down the distinctions between translating from one language to another and the translation of meanings into words in the same language. Deconstruction theory sees all texts as translations of other texts: there is never an original, a logos; we are translating all the time.

Chapter 2, "The Evolution of Translation Memes", describes the historical development of translation studies which can also be seen through its dominant memes which have changed through time. Firstly, early theory on translation emphasized literalness, the importance of the Word. By meddling with the word we would be meddling with the Word of God and disrespecting authority.

Jerome argued that non-religious texts should be translated more freely, sense for sense, thus stressing the Rhetoric meme. This

was developed by 16th and 17th metaphors of translation, which emphasize that the translator should not be slavish towards the original text and should consider the audience reception. Here we move towards the *belles infidèles* and Pope's Homer in powdered wigs.

Schleiermacher, Goethe and the German pre-Romantics emphasized the important of the formal effect. Translation could feed and extend the target language and help to shape the recently created German nation. Language was the Logos, the creative force of expression and enlightenment. The critique of the logos meme is central to the deconstructive theories of Jacques Derrida and Rosemary Arrojo. There is no original unique source. The source text will be a translation of another text. And no "logical" objective meaning will be transferred. Translations will continually be feeding off each other and giving life to each other. True, essential meaning can never be tied down.

The importance of Linguistic Science, influenced particularly by Chomsky, was important to translation in the sixties and seventies. Dominated by the possibilities of making a mathematical transfer from one language to another, the importance given to this meme resulted in large machine translation projects, which in hindsight, have had limited influence.

The concept of translation as the Communication of a message gained considerable importance in the same period. Eugene Nida emphasized the dynamic function of the translation: the message must be communicated, though this may mean changing the form. The *skopos* theories of Reiss and Vermeer, emphasizing that the efficacy of the translation is in the extent to which the translation fulfilled its *skopos*, its intention, further reinforce this meme.

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) have concentrated on Target language production. Rather than prescribing what the translation *should* be like, DTS describes the manifestations of the original works in the target language. This meme is rather different to previous norms. It is realistic and pragmatic, introducing the idea of translation as an important part of the literary system, which may have considerable manipulatory power. This cultural importance of translation has been the focus of many recent works in the area.

A growing number of contemporary studies focus on the Cognition element of translation, attempting to provide answers to such questions as what goes on inside the head of the translator or interpreter, what translators experience when they are translating and how their decision making functions. Many such experiments are carried out with protocol studies.

When memes gain a certain prestige within a community, they become norms, particular practices within a given community which regulate behaviour to make it easier for the majority to live. This is the subject of Chapter 3, "From Memes to Norms". Translators will follow the norms of their society, or their community of translators. Chesterman mentions Toury's preliminary and operational norms and introduces his own expectancy norms, which will contain the following elements: accountability to the commissioner of the translation; an obligation to optimize communication; and a requirement to develop an appropriate relationship between the source and target texts.

There are other general tendencies in translation: translators are influenced by the language of the source text, often a source of grammatical errors and stylistic problems; the translation is often

more explicit than the original; and there will often be a flattening of style.

English has its own expectancy norms such as end weight, end focus, iconicity, cohesion. Chesterman also mentions quantitative norms like sentence size, and specific qualities of academic English

Chapter 4, "Translation Strategies", generally borrows from Vinay & Darbelnet, and lists strategies such as literal translation, loans, calques, transpositions, unit shifts, phrase, clause and sentence structure change; cohesion change, level and scheme shift.

In Chapter 5, "Translation as Theory", Chesterman proposes the adoption of Karl Popper's schema

$P1 > TT > EE > P2$

through which Popper describes the process of the acquisition of scientific methodology and the acquisition of all rational knowledge, for the solution of translation problems. The initial problem, P1 is that of how to translate a certain text or item. Then a tentative solution, TT, will be found. This tentative solution will then undergo a process of error elimination, resulting in the appearance of a new problem, and then the cycle will begin all over again.

Chesterman recommends the use of such experimental procedures both in actual translation practice, gradually refining translation choices, and in research experiments, where he encourages experimental analyses such as the use of data corpora to

analyze the use of the English article in translated and untranslated texts. He also mentions Anthony Pym's recommendation for students to work with a series of translations, choosing the most appropriate according to the circumstances.

Chapter 5, "Translation as Theory", relates various forms of assessment to Chesterman's expectancy norms. Retrospective assessment will look at the relation between one text and another and often reflect equivalence research. Prospective assessment will examine the purpose of the text, the *skopos*, the communicative element. Lateral assessment will compare the translation to other texts already existing in the foreign language, reflecting the expectancy we have of texts in the target language. Introspective assessment will attempt to look into the translator's mind and examine how the translator will be accountable for his or her decisions. Pedagogical assessment will examine errors, using all of the norms and returning us to the Popperian idea of gradual refinement.

Chapter 6, "Translational Competence", uses as its basis the view of skill acquisition of Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986), which progresses from the beginner's stage of the "recognition of predefined features and rules", through the intermediate "recognition of non-defined but relevant features", then the more advanced "hierarchical and goal-oriented decision making", followed by "intuitive understanding plus deliberative action", to the expert's "fluid performance plus deliberative rationality", in other words acquiring awareness of and understanding the meme pool, the conceptual tools and strategies of the translator (pp. 147-149). The expert professional translator will be aware of the historical memes which have influenced the translator's role in society, the

"regulative" ideas which guide translation behaviour, and the day-to-day strategies will be automated in routine work. Chesterman believes that such awareness is highly important for the professional translator: "if one is aware that translators tend to explicate, or to succumb to interference or stylistic flattening... one can guard against this" (p.152).

Chapter 7 is "On Translation Ethics", which, for Chesterman are clarity, truth, trust and understanding. These, in turn, regulate the four main kinds of translation norms: our expectancy is that a translation will show clarity; the relation between translation and original should be of truth; there must exist a relationship of accountability or trust between translator and employer; and communication can only be achieved through mutual understanding.

I found *Memes of Translation* a very impressive book. Chesterman dominates a very wide range of theory on translation, and his adaptation of meme theory to translation studies gives us a fresh view of the discipline, with memes and norms cleverly linking translation history, theory, apprenticeship and ethics, providing us with a valuable tool to understand the various schools and theories in the area. Chesterman also shows us a way forward: translation studies must, as he does with the concept of memes and the Popperian schema, introduce concepts from outside the discipline in order to remain healthy and grow.

John Milton



SBÜ / FFLCH / USP

*Translation in a Postcolonial Context*

by Maria Tymoczko

(Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999)

*Translation in a Postcolonial Context* is probably one of the most impressive books on Translation Studies of the last few years and certainly one the most complete and complex historical studies to have been made.

The title is something of a misnomer; presumably for commercial reasons, giving the impression that it is a general study of translation in a postcolonial context, when it is the study of the various translations of one work, the Early Irish epic, the *Tain Bó Cúailnge* (TBC). Presumably, there are commercial reasons for the title: translation + postcolonial = good sales; whereas Irish epic + translation = an empty till.

Probably the most impressive aspect of *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* is the way in which Tymoczko develops a Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) approach, often criticized for an excessive formalism and lack of interest in the social implications of translation, and links the translations of the TBC with a number of different areas such as political developments in Ireland at the turn

of the century, Quine's theory of indeterminacy on the difficulties of translating a language which no one speaks to the problems of translating Early Irish, and important text-centred philological difficulties.

On occasions, she is critical of some of the tenets of DTS (pp.55-6). She criticizes the binary terms used by Toury, that translations either tend to be "adequate" or "acceptable". For Toury, "adequate" translations are those whose form is closer to that of the original, and "acceptable" translations are written in facilitating language in the target language. In the particular case of the translation of Early Irish literature, this duality is far from appropriate as a translation may formally represent certain aspects of the source text, and thus will be "adequate" in Toury's terms, but may radically depart from the source text in other aspects so as to assimilate to the norms of the receiving culture, and thereby be considered "acceptable" in Toury's terms. Tymoczko mentions translations of TBC which are literal in terms of the syntax but free in terms of the lexis.

Tymoczko deals in greater detail with the more popular translations of the TBC by O'Grady, Lady Gregory and Kinsella and contrasts these, to a great extent, with the four scholarly versions of sections of the TBC that were made from 1904 to 1914, with a later one made by Cecile O'Rahilly in 1976. In general, these translations were produced as glosses to the original Irish texts, with the English of the scholarly texts reflecting the original Irish patterns, violating standard patterns of English and introducing a large number of "borrowed words, loan translations, loan creations, calques, morpho-semantic transfers, and unusual collocations". Tymoczko does not favour this kind of foreignizing translation:

"The information load is heavy [...] many of these features can no doubt be explained as desperate attempts to establish the meaning of the very difficult medieval texts" (p.125). And such supposedly "close" translations usually omitted, translated into Latin or softened any element that offended Victorian taste.

In Chapter 9, "The Accuracy of the Philologist", Tymoczko strengthens her attack on this kind of translation (p.257). By concentrating on the denotative meanings of the texts, philologists have ignored the stylistic, semiotic and connotative sense. Such translations ignore the literary elements of the original work: "Thus, in philological translations the literature of the other culture is reduced to non-literature and segments of world literature come to be represented by non-literature" (p. 259). Quoting André Lefevere, Tymoczko adds that "such scholarly translations refer to their sources but do not represent them" (p.259).

In a slightly later essay, "Translation and Political Engagement", Tymoczko attacks the political value of foreignizing translations. She sees as somewhat naïve Venuti's basic tenet that translators who make this kind of translation will be making a political statement which will demonstrate their visibility, and this will lead to greater awareness of the translator and translation. She lists a number of ways in which translations were used, based on her studies of the use of translations by Irish nationalists. Translations of Irish texts formed part of the Irish nationalist and independence movement, and texts, including translations, were adapted and subordinated to these goals, often undergoing considerable manipulation. Different translation tactics may be used in different circumstances; no particular kind of translation, foreignizing or otherwise, is seen as ideal. The popularizing

translations of Lady Gregory which introduced Cú Chulainn to a wider public were fluent and altered many elements in the original stories, while the scholarly translations, which would give Early Irish literature an academic respectability, were close translations which followed the original syntax and lexis.

Tymoczko introduces a number of concepts that may be unfamiliar to many translation scholars. One of the most important of these is that of the "signature term", the key concepts which convey a large amount of cultural information. She praises the way in which contemporary Irish poet Thomas Kinsella manages to find catchy English equivalents for these key terms, whereas previous translators tended to normalize them excessively. For *riastrad*, the frenzy of the hero in battle, Kinsella uses "warp spasm"; for *aer*, the state of inertia in battle like childbirth, he uses "pangs". He also occasionally uses original Irish terms such as *táin*, cattle drives, using *The Tain* (cattle raid) as the title; *geis*, taboo; *side* for the underworld; and *gae bolga* for hero Cú Chulainn's weapon. Thus Kinsella, in a generally fluent and colloquial translation into contemporary English, uses defamiliarizing language at key points in the text to give a sense of strangeness, *ostranizatsiia*, and to help produce the atmosphere of unfamiliarity of the Early Irish mythical world.

A second concept that Maria Tymoczko adds to a DTS framework is that of the "Metonymics of Translations" (Chapter 2), that translations, rewritings and retellings are naturally metonymic, emphasizing one aspect of the original, i.e., one aspect of the entity will substitute for the whole. She exemplifies this point by illustrating the way in which each of the translations of TBC attempted to emphasize one particular element. In 1878-80 Standish O'Grady stressed the characters, the plots, and general texture for

his Anglo-Irish audience, sacrificing the genres, character types, linguistic texture and names of source texts. Lady Gregory's translation of 1912 emphasized the heroism of Cú Chulainn and the narrative flow. Indeed, it was important for such a translation to be metonymic, to emphasize the heroic element in order to promote nationalism. The scatology and original linguistic texture were lost. Other versions, such as the scholarly translations mentioned above of Mary Hutton (1907), Joseph Dunn (1914) and Cecile O'Rahilly (1976), emphasized the linguistic texture of the original. By contrast, the most recent translation, that of Thomas Kinsella (1969), was, as mentioned above, a fluent translation into contemporary English, keeping the scatology and comedy of the original.

The idea of the Metonymics of Translation, that each translation will represent one aspect of the original, complements the DTS emphasis on studying translations in series (e.g. Lefevere 1982, Hermans 1985), and the statement of Jorge Luis Borges, when he said that the best way to study *The Iliad*, if we have no Greek, is to study as many different translations as possible.

I picked up *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* expecting a wider discussion of translation and postcolonial studies. I was disappointed not to find it, but Tymoczko is above all a scholar of medieval Irish literature, and she does a very thorough job of discussing the link between TBC and Postcolonial literature. For Maria Tymoczko, translation is a fundamental aspect of Postcolonial Studies, and the translations of the TBC chart the colonial discourse, the growing sense of Irish nationalism and post-nationalism, and relations with England. DTS must not exist in a vacuum but should rather complement other areas.

The history of the translation of the TBC mirrors and throws light on Ireland as a colony and post-colony. O'Grady's 1878-8 translation assimilates a lot of medieval fairy culture, following the trend of medievalism and translations dressed up in Wardour St costumes, popular in England at the time. Although his translation is domesticating and assimilationist and might be criticized from our point of view as totally ignoring the Irish Other, assuming the literary values of the colonizer. However, this would be an imposition of our own mindset, as at the time the translation was made, anyone writing on Irish literature would automatically be considered a nationalist.

The translation of Lady Gregory (1902), one of the leaders of Irish nationalist movement, reads like an English folk tale. Her translation had to conform to the values of nationalism which had already been laid down. It emphasized the spiritual qualities (open to the spirits of the *sid*) and the physically bravery of Cú Chuliann. Both O'Grady and Lady Gregory cut the many humorous features of the Ulster Cycle as they were too near the qualities of the stereotype of the stage Irishman, who was usually portrayed as simian, childish, foolish, incompetent, amusing, violent and drunk.

Both O'Grady's and Lady Gregory's translations and the other translations of the TBC which Maria Tymoczko examines were important in the development of Irish nationalism, introducing the mythical Irish figures to a much wider audience and sensitizing the public to Irish history. But after the establishment of the Irish state in 1921, no further translation was made until 1969. This lack of translation was important in itself. The myth of Cú Chuliann was established, and the strongly Catholic, isolationist state which developed after 1921 would not have approved or would even have

censored versions which emphasized the sexuality and scatology. Kinsella's version, which brought these elements to the fore, only appeared in the more liberal atmosphere of 1969.

As seen above, DTS has often been criticized for their unwillingness to take sides and to evaluate translations. Tymoczko defends the importance of evaluation "provided that such criteria and bounds are grounded in ordinary scientific investigations, including those of such disciplines as political science, economics, sociology, anthropology and literary history, as well as other humanistic disciplines... Such an analysis can be put at the disposal of a normative approach to translation theory [...] to promulgate standards and use them as the basis for evaluating the worth of a translation - or it can form the basis of resistant strategies" (p.159). DTS should attempt to analyze the importance of textual manipulations, essential for the existence of any assessment of translations, especially when they break the boundaries of what is expected.

Indeed, Tymoczko is not afraid to take sides. She finds O'Grady's and Lady Gregory's translations very effective, but reserves most of her praise for Kinsella's, which is truly poetic and manages to give us a much better feel for the original. Of course, now that many of the taboos on translating scatological and sexual elements have now been lifted, and there is no longer a need for Cú Chuliann to reflect such heroic qualities.

Answering another critique of DTS, that linguistic questions are not addressed, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* also emphasizes the fact that DTS will have important relations with technical linguistic questions as they have important implications for cultu-

ral investigations and illuminate aspects of the creation of cultural representations, illustrating the interdependence of theoretical and descriptive studies of translation (p.27). In addition to the analysis of the "signature terms", Maria Tymoczko also makes an analysis of the translation of humour and proper names.

Chapter 7, "Translating the Humour in Early Irish Folk Tales", is based on Thomas S. Kuhn's proposition that cultural paradigms may block the perception and translation of complex cultural patterns from different cultures. Thus the great majority of the scatological humour in the TBC was lost until Kinsella's translation as it was not accepted by Victorian squeamishness. Likewise, many of the absurd and grotesque characteristics of Cú Chuliann were rejected by the equally prudish Irish nationalists right from the beginning of the 20th century to the late 1960s. Other medieval Irish paradigms may still be distant from us: some of the references and humour is based on the fact that the medieval Irish economy was cattle-based. Thus the reader will miss the seriousness of the fact that "no calf in Ulster was let go to its cow on account of his death" (p.200).

In Chapter 8, "The Name of the Hound", Tymoczko emphasizes the tendency of phonological assimilation and suppression of semantic meanings. 19th century translators used approximations to the original names and ignored the very important semantic meanings of Irish names, as in *Fergus*, "strong", and *Oengus* "singular strength", and *Cú Chuliann*, the "Hound". By contrast, Kinsella's translation employs a mixed technique, using both semantic and phonological names: "Finnebennach was his name, the White Horned", "Maine Máthramail the Motherlike", also place names "Finncairn, the white cairn", "this is how Fid

Móirthruaille, the Wood of the Great Scabbard, in Ulster, got its name" (p.234).

All in all, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context* is a must for the ever-growing translation bookshelf.

John Milton

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*Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*

by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere

(Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998 - Series Topics in Translation, No. 11)

As its title indicates, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* focuses on the role of literary translation in the construction of cultures. The book was published in 1998, and as Susan Bassnett, one of the authors, states in her preface, it is a compilation of essays written out of graduate seminars that took place at the University of Warwick in the 1990s. The book is a posthumous publication for André Lefevere and, as readers, we are immensely grateful to Susan Bassnett's initiative in bringing these valuable essays to press so that we can all share Lefevere's insights and reflections. For researchers of historiography of translation in particular, the book asserts the indissoluble relationship between translation and history and, as regards disciplines, between Comparative Literature and Translation Studies.

Edwin Gentzler's foreword is an excellent introduction and an assessment of its overall significance within the context of Translation Studies at the dawn of the third millennium. As he states, the book is sure to captivate the interests of researchers in a number of disciplinary fields from Cultural Studies to Anthropology

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and Psycholinguistics, even though we believe that it will most certainly attract the interest of 'those interested in multicultural socialization processes', as Gentzler puts it.

The book consists of an introduction and eight essays, four from each author. Among the threads running through the texts are the notions of 'acculturation', 'cultural capital' and 'textual grids' applied by the authors drawing on Pierre Bourdieu and reflections on the reader based on Roland Barthes' work. The concept of alterity as a relevant construct to discuss translation and intercultural relationships is also present throughout.

Of special interest to translation studies theorists is Bassnett's appraisal of what she calls the 'interfield', particularly at the end of the 1990s, when so much had taken place since the initial stages in the emergence and consolidation of Translation Studies. In this sense, her contributions in "Introduction: Where are We in Translation Studies?" (in co-authorship with Lefevere) and "The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies" are a must for all students and theorists.

Historiographers of translation will be pleased to see the relevance given to the role of history and the need to historicize translation studies. "History, then," state Bassnett and Lefevere, "is one of the things that happened to translation studies since the 1970s", and this has made all the difference. Rereading the development of the discipline in the last decade confirms the importance of producing histories of translation, which can capture the complex network of intercultural exchanges within and between Western and non-Western worlds. It is precisely here that Bassnett's stress on Cultural Studies can be read as one of the paths

to be followed in the new millennium. In our Brazilian context Bassnett is well-known for her 1993 assertion that Comparative Literature should actually be seen as one of the branches in Translation Studies and now puts forward a 'translation turn' in Cultural Studies, which will surely lead to further recognition of the discipline. Controversial as these two statements are, they no doubt provoke us into thinking about our field of research and strengthening its interdisciplinary nature.

Other essays in the book are also worth highlighting, particularly because of their proposal of revisiting previous texts and reassessing their conclusions. Bassnett's renewed reflections on translation and theatre and her discussion of different kinds of pseudotranslations are of considerable interest. Lefevere's analyses of different instances of acculturation, as he himself calls them, are also fascinating examples of theory building on case studies.

"Where do we go from here?" ask the authors in the Introduction. We can certainly ask the same question and perhaps wonder whether we should promote further exchanges with Cultural Studies and draw on its theories and methodological proposals. 'Acculturation', for one, is a term we can certainly begin to question in the light of new cultural theories built upon more integrated approaches of the literary, the economic, the social and the historical. "So far, the links between cultural studies and translation studies have remained tenuous" says Bassnett. The implicit invitation seems to pinpoint the future of historiographical research in the years to come.

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### *Interview*



Срп.б  
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## Interview with Anthony Pym

*Where and when did you begin to be interested in the history of translation?*

Translation history? Better: Translator history, or the history of translators. There are two answers:

First, in about 1993 Mona Baker asked me if I would write an article on the 'Spanish Tradition' for the Routledge *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. I replied that I had no special expertise in the area; I suggested she contact Julio-César Santoyo; she insisted, so I started reading, to see what could or should be done. As I waded into the mists and mysteries of the twelfth-century translators (Toledo and all that), I very quickly became hooked. Not only was the material itself fascinating, but the existing research was full of the most wonderful biases, *partis pris*, or simple wishful thinking, much of it due to nationalistic frameworks unsuited to medieval dynamics. The more I worked on medieval Hispania, the more I became convinced that what was needed was not simply more raw information, but some serious thought about the models and methods of translation history itself.

The second answer is a little different. I would have to go back to 1981-82, when I was wandering around Paris in search of a topic for a doctorate, or more exactly in search of a director for my

research (the two sides tend to modify each other). Now, Paris is not exactly the most hospitable place for young Antipodeans with very bad French; those were quite hard years. Gradually I found myself becoming part of a loose grouping of foreign students, with minimal contact with local French people. We formed a community of semi-nomadic would-be intellectuals. It was then only natural that, in my doctoral research on writers of the 1890s, I became interested in the similar networks formed by the foreign writers in and around Paris. The community of foreigners I had around me was some kind of model for the community that I eventually came to study. And the study became mildly passionate, even obsessive: I was looking up the addresses where the foreign writers lived, I would go to where some of the meetings had taken place almost a century previously, I was reading the journals of the period, the countless "Notes from Paris", the published correspondence. That was a strange and fascinating kind of community: mobile, moveable as they say, even volatile, alienated, exploited (I think of the Machado brothers working on a Garnier dictionary), pretentious (Wilde), alcoholic (Dario), hypocritical (Nordau), entirely marginal with respect to French society and letters. Yet those were the people ultimately responsible for the myth of French and international Symbolism; they had considerable historical power that went well beyond what they themselves were aware of.

Many of them were also translators, of course, since that was one of the ways they made enough money to get by. But at that stage my research was not on translation. I worked in a Groupe de Sociologie de la littérature, and I was quite happy with that location. Later, in need of money, I got a grant to study in the Comparative Literature department at Harvard. Needless to say, there I was basically in the same kind of community, the network of foreign

research workers, entirely on the fringes of any kind of American society. It was a more self-assured network, better paid, perhaps more arrogant with respect to the locals. In any case, it was thanks to that network, and not to Comparative Literature, that I became interested in negotiation theory as a set of ways to think about social and cross-cultural relations. That general interest has remained. When I ask about how intercultural communities are formed, how they gain and exercise power, my models owe much to regime theory and increasingly to cooperation theory à la Axelrod. I guess I arrived in the United States with the standard French Marxism of the 1980s, and left with Neoliberal ways of thinking about the same Marxist questions.

I mention this earlier background for two reasons. First, I was and remain basically bored by Americans discovering Derrida, Bakhtin, Foucault, Baudrillard, and the other usual French suspects. I had come from that; I still see no reason for going back to any politics of difference, subversions, critique, or otherness. I simply have a different set of questions (How to intercultures use power? How should they use power? Can answers to these questions help me live my own life?); I seek rather more affirmative or orientational responses. Second, my prime interest has never really been in translation as such. Even now I don't claim to be doing any history of translations. I am far more interested in histories of intercultures, or of intercultural relations as seen from the perspective of the people involved. It just so happens, quite logically, that many translators have been active members of intercultures, and that some translations have had considerable cross-cultural influence. But it would be stupid to suggest that all kinds of mediation are really translation, that intercultures are peopled only by translators, or that translation is even the main mode of using power in this field.

Such claims are academic fancy, used to create institutional ponds where minnows can seem whales.

*Why should we study translation history?*

Well, there are quite lucrative professional reasons for pretending to know something about translation. Translation programmes are still popping up like mushrooms across the globe; they are currently full of students; there is a large training base providing funds for academic jobs, publications, and occasionally research. At the same time, this growing community of would-be translators includes some very good students and some wonderfully dynamic modes of interdisciplinarity, and the graduates enter a very wide range of mediating professions (a third, if that, might become professional translators for any respectable period of their life). These factors make translation schools effective training grounds for the intercultural of the future. They also make them places where we might expect power to accrue. This is because, with increasing globalization, power ensues from manipulating information rather than controlling lands and seas. The people who are able to use and develop complex codes, in whatever field, in whatever set of languages, are the ones most likely to influence the destinies of our cultures.

So it is quite obviously there, in the translation programmes, that I would like to try to give the developing intercultural some sense of identity, some idea of why they should operate according to non-national criteria. History is a very good way of doing precisely that. Ultimately, I would like to be able to say to professional intermediaries, be they translators or otherwise: You are in fundamentally the same position as all these intermediaries

of the past; that is your identity; that must be the basis for your ethics; so please think beyond the possible glories of Brazilian, Spanish or Australian specificities.

From that, it follows that there are less-than-ideal reasons for doing translation history. It is quite possible, for example, to write a catalogue of all the literary works translated into English and to thereby proclaim the strength and glory of English literature, which has become the "storehouse" to which many minor literatures now turn to translate works to which they do not have direct access (such was the role Schleiermacher sought for German). Alternatively, one could write a history designed to show how little has been translated into English, and how every translator for the past three centuries or so has translated in the same bad way, give or take the odd isolated demi-hero. For me, both those histories would be equally short-sighted; neither would do more than characterize the target-language culture. If you want to write about English-language culture (or Brazilian culture, or Hispanic culture), you don't particularly need translation history to do it. Just write directly about the cultural institutions and education systems, or about good versus bad ways of writing, and spare us the pretence to be doing something different. Such histories can merely reinforce the national identities of mediators. And that is a long way from what I want to do with translation history.

Of course, there is a certain pragmatism to be admitted here. Research funding tends to be channeled through national or sub-national bodies; our language departments tend to be structured according to the same criteria; there is thus both external and internal support for a national frame or focus. We have to work with that. But I, for one, would prefer projects based on networks between

sets of cultures, or on regional circuits, in order to trace the role of intermediaries rather than the glories of nations.

*What are your opinions of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)?*

You mean the moment of Holmes, Even-Zohar, Lambert, Toury, Lefevere, Hermans, D'hulst, and friends? Since that is a self-critical and evolving group, much of what I might say is already being said within it. There were and remain some very good things there:

- The original emphasis on empirical work, on getting down and looking at actual translations, broke with a lot of academic waffle about good and bad translations. (Note, though, that in the medieval field this break happened early in the century, when pragmatists like Haskins and Thorndike insisted on going back to the manuscripts instead of repeating the stories.)
- The emphasis on system was similarly necessary, since it made researchers look beyond isolated linguistic details or isolated displays of elitist erudition (I mean, it was them or George Steiner).
- There was and remains a close link with translation practice behind many of the above names, despite the scientific need to pretend that the academic is one person, the translator another.

Unfortunately those points come with rather more negative riders:

- The emphasis on empirical work set up descriptivism in false opposition to prescriptivism, as if there could be any purely

non-evaluative description. (Even the Kantian distinction between judgement of fact and judgement of value devolves into a precarious separation between things we choose to agree on, and those we can legitimately choose to disagree on; it can be maintained without recourse to any myth of the non-effectual speech act.) This in turn supported a pretence to scientific detachment, which is okay only as long as the scientists don't believe it.

- The emphasis on system worked in much the same way, but with rather more disastrous consequences. Since the things being described were translations rather than translators, the resulting systems were sets of structural relations, with as much openness and dynamism as you like, but without people. This led to a kind of descriptivism fundamentally unable to answer the questions I was asking. But it no doubt worked well for others. When Theo Hermans points to "the translator in the text" (the way the translator is linguistically figured or eclipsed in a translation), he is apparently quite happy to believe he is studying people. Personally, I need a rather more sociological and collective subject; I want to study more than translations.
- Third point: These are researchers with a background in literary studies, and often a certain practice in literary translation. This is perhaps why they have instinctively looked at texts rather than at people. This might also be why their questions - when indeed they set out to do something more specific than just "study" a given corpus - often seem to be rather unimportant, or of interest only to narrow coteries of literary specialists. I mean, we find a lot of technical theorizing, a few quite respectable corpora, occasional roasting of traditional chestnuts, but not many actual findings that could say much to anyone

from beyond the discipline. I think this shortcoming has been felt and responded to, at least when José Lambert (a professor of Comparative Literature) addresses issues like the role of global media networks on mediated communications, or when Itamar Even-Zohar offers his models as a means of culture planning.

Little by little, DTS is becoming rather more than descriptive. When Even-Zohar openly criticizes Israel's immigration policy in a discussion article ostensibly on translation theory (in *Target* 10:2, 367), I quietly cheer within, not because I agree or disagree with him (who am I to opine on such matters?) but because I do want a way of doing history that can have something to say about things like immigration policies.

The DTSers are good people to have a beer with. Grand philosophies and fancy words tend not to hold much sway at their table.

*Do you think DTS have been central to historical studies on translation?*

Not as much as is sometimes believed. A lot of work has been carried out by rather more traditional scholars, using the methods of philology or comparative literature. There are some solid grounds for talking about a 'pre-scientific' stage that was suddenly enlightened by DTS.

*What recent work have you been carrying out?*

In 2000 I published *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History*, which is the fruit of the interest that started back in 1993, so I guess it embodies about seven years of work. That project has been criticized in Spain for not being

"systematic", for sliding from point to point (just as the article I wrote for the Routledge encyclopedia has been criticized in Spain for "insisting on certain aspects to the detriment of others"). What seems not to be appreciated is that I spend a long time on pre-1492 Hispania, and then not enough on what happened in Spain after that date. So my work seems to lack "system" (which at one point becomes synonymous with giving equal textual space to each successive century). I can live with that criticism. I mean, if one is fundamentally interested in the history of intercultures rather than the origins and adventures of the Spanish state, there is simply much more of interest in medieval multiculturalism than in eighteenth-century francophile fops, and much more going on among the external colonizers and exiles than in the heart of the Catholic canon. In order to show that, in order to say something, as a foreigner, about things Hispanic, it is obviously necessary to buck any quaintly quantitative "system". Such systems, you see, tend not to allow me, a nomadic intermediary, to find a past for myself in these lands.

I have also started rewriting a 1992 book called *Translation and Text Transfer*. But then I started to put the word "localization" in the place of "translation", and the book has since become something quite different, a set of questions about the effects of globalization. At the moment I don't quite know where those questions will lead.

*What major projects are there in the pipeline?*

The five-volume *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, to be co-edited by Peter France and Stuart Gillespie; the De Gruyter *Handbuch* project seems hopelessly overdue but might appear one of these years; there is a *Historia de la traducción en España* under way; the Translation Committee of the International Comparative Literature

Association currently plans to put together a series of sub-committees along regional lines (Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, Latin America) although the aims are not yet clear; Jean Delisle has produced a CD-ROM on the history of translators and I believe he is continuing to develop it as a major teaching resource. In the meantime, the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs abolished its History Committee this year because no new projects were forthcoming.

In sum, there is no real shortage of projects in my part of the world. What is lacking, however, is any viable alternative to the single-target-language frame (translations put together according to the language they are translated into). If you think about it, it would make just as much sense to write histories based on source languages ("the fortunes of Catalan literature in translation", for example), if and when our educational institutions were set up to handle such mosaics. And it would make even more sense, for me, to write about historical networks linking sets of cultures. But we are not yet there.

*How do you view translation historiography in Latin America and, more specifically, in Brazil?*

I view such things with great interest, if and when I can find people working in the area. Indeed, a great deal depends on finding the right people. I mean, looking at the Routledge *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, we find an article on "Brazilian Tradition", then another on "Latin American Tradition" (which should have been called "Spanish American", since it only deals with Spanish), one on "Spanish Tradition" (mine), and nothing at all on Portugal. Why? Basically because it was hard to find the right people. Things have become a little easier thanks to initiatives like Jean Delisle's

Repertory of Historians of Translation ([www.aix1.uottawa.ca/~jdelisle/fit\\_index.htm](http://www.aix1.uottawa.ca/~jdelisle/fit_index.htm)). But even so, a reviewer in Spain has criticized the Latin American article because it was written by Georges Bastin, then in Venezuela and now in Montréal. In any case, Bastin, like Pym, is not Hispanic, and we are going to be suspect whenever we tread the turf that someone thinks is their own national past.

*Why aren't there any major projects on historiography of translation encounters in the Americas and the exchanges between Spain and Spanish America and Portugal and Brazil?*

Because Portugal and Spain have long had their backs turned to each other, and Brazil has long since floated away from Portugal. The ties are stronger between Spain and Spanish America, and are actively promoted by current Spanish cultural policy, but this has not yet given fruit in the area of translation history. In all cases, however, the deep historical relations are obscured by stories of national liberation.

Sometimes these things are more easily seen from the outside. I mean, it makes sense to teach Portuguese and Spanish together (plus Catalan, Galician, or whatever), or at least in the same department, but that only be done with any degree of political correctness if your department is in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, etc. It is then quite natural for a scholar from beyond the Iberian mix to see these cultures as one, or at least attempt to write about their relations. For example, it was relatively easy for me to argue that there should be an "Iberian" chapter in the *De Gruyter Handbuch*, but there remains absolutely no recognition of Portugal in the project for a *Historia de la traducción en España* being

*Interview with Anthony Pym.*

organized by Lafarga and Pegenaute, nor, I hasten to confess, does Portugal appear in my own book on "Hispanic" history.

In the communications of our present, the intercultural has long exercised more effective power than the national. But in the organization of our histories, we may have some time to wait.

*Interview by John Milton, Adriana Pagano and Irene Hirsch.*



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