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Special Issue: Translation under Dictatorships
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TRANSLATION MATTERS

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Special Issue: Translation under Dictatorships

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION
TRANSLATING UNDER DICTATORSHIPS: THE END OF HISTORY OR
NEVER-ENDING STORY?

Dictatorships have offered rich pickings for translation scholars since the early years of our discipline. Whether understood in the strict autocratic sense of absolute government by a strongman leader, or more broadly to include repressive regimes in general, they offer ample opportunities to study the complex textual transits that occur when closed literary and political systems attempt to negotiate the admission of cultural products from outside. Indeed, it would not be unfair to suggest that translation scholars rather like dictatorships. They dignify our field by providing clear-cut examples of how translations innovate stale repertoires (cf. Evan-Zohar, 1990), and of their power to challenge and subvert. Moreover, in what is often portrayed as a Manichean confrontation between the forces of darkness and light, translators are seen as the heralds of freedom and democratic values, heroically battling to ensure that the conduits of information remain open, sometimes risking their livelihoods, or even their lives, in the process.

Censorship, which takes a particularly overt and crude form in dictatorships, is naturally a major player in translation scholars' analyses. Given the power of literature and other cultural products to influence people's minds, one of the first actions of most totalitarian governments upon coming into power is usually to set up a body charged with overseeing the cultural health of the nation. The role of these institutions, and the foot soldiers that serve them, is to "protect" their citizens from ideas that might jeopardise their moral well-being and/or threaten the system as a whole (Merkle, 2010, p. 19) by, amongst other things, vetting foreign works that seek to enter. This may occur before or after publication, or both. The first category (pre- or prior censorship) includes what Wolf (2002), following Stephen Greenblatt, has called "cultural blockage" (i.e. the exclusion of a work at the point of entry), as well as preventive intervention in the text in order to control the form in which it reaches the public. In some analyses, it may also include self-censorship by the publisher or translator in a bid to get the piece accepted at any cost. As for post- or punitive censorship, this may involve the seizure or outright banning of the work, or further intervention in the text in order to bring it into line with regime values (Merkle, 2002, 2010).

Since the turn of the millennium, there has been a plethora of studies into the subject of translation and censorship. Book-length anthologies include Billiani's *Modes of censorship and translation: national contexts and diverse media* ([2007] 2014b), with case studies from Mussolini's Italy, Franco's Spain, Nazi Germany, Communist East Germany and the Greek military junta of 1967-1974, alongside others from more liberal democratic regimes; Ní Chuilleanáin, Ó Cuilleánáin and Parris' *Translation and censorship: patterns of communication and interference* (2009), which has a broader remit, though also includes some studies of dictatorships; and Rundle and Sturge's *Translation and fascism* ([2010] 2014), reviewed here by **Bárbara Oliveira**, which focuses on the authoritarian regimes of

20th century Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal. There have also been collections and monographs devoted to translation and censorship in particular regimes, such as Portugal's Estado Novo (e.g. Cabrera, 2013; Seruya, 2018 [reviewed here by **Marco Neves**]; Seruya, Moniz and Assis Rosa, 2009), Franco's Spain (Bandín Fuertes, 2007; Lobejón Santos, 2013); Fascist Italy (Ferme, 2002; Rundle, 2010), Nazi Germany (Sturge, 2004), the Soviet Union (Sherry, 2015), and China (Yu, 2015), as well as many shorter studies scattered through all the main Translation Studies journals.

To a large extent, the articles included in this special issue of *Translation Matters* continue this trend. The case studies cluster around the fascist and para-fascist dictatorships of the 20th century (Portugal, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Nazi-occupied Norway) and largely focus on a particular work or genre, or on the agents or organs involved. Most are the fruit of archival and/or genetic research, involving the patient analysis of censors' reports and textual versions in order to establish timelines and patterns of intervention. Quite a number of them describe the delicate dance that often took place between institutionalised censorship and the self-censorship of translators or publishers, in some cases picking up on arguments that censorship offers translators opportunities to exercise their agency (Samareh, 2018; Tymoczko, 2009), that it engenders creativity (Sariz, 2017) or succeeds in "producing new textual spaces and generating new sites of meaning" (Billiani, [2007] 2014a, p. 3).

As befits a journal published in Portugal, the issue opens with a survey of translation under the Estado Novo by **Teresa Seruya**, the doyenne of the field. After a brief discussion about the extent to which this regime can properly be called "fascist", Seruya looks at the dominant ideas about translation circulating in Portugal at this time, concluding that the attitude depended largely upon the positioning of the agent concerned: that is to say, while the interested parties (publishers, booksellers, writers or critics) often saw translation as a way of compensating for a lack of home-grown talent or of internationalising literary life in Portugal, the general press, like the authorities, tended to view it more negatively as a form of contamination or social hazard. Using broad strokes, though dotted through with many fascinating concrete examples, Seruya traces the influence upon translation of the various political developments that marked the history of the Estado Novo, from the establishment of the book censorship board in 1934 through the "iron years" of 1933-1949 (when the state's cultural policy was controlled by António Ferro), the "lead years" of apparent political calm (1950-1958) to the start of the colonial wars in the 1960s, looking for patterns in the kinds of works translated into Portuguese and the censorial practices. Unusually for a dictatorship study, she also examines the translation of Portuguese cultural material into other European languages for propaganda purposes. Given the depth and breadth of the research informing this article, it is not surprising that Seruya's final conclusions are far from simplistic, suggesting the coexistence of contradictory attitudes and practices as regards translation in this period of Portugal's history.

The next article, by **Hélder Nascimento Lopes**, remains in Portugal but switches the lens. Instead of a panoramic view, we now home in on a particular translator, "jack of all

trades” Sérgio Guimarães, and his version of Tennessee Williams’ *Cat on a hot tin roof*, commissioned in 1959 by the impresario Vasco Morgado for performance at the Monumental Theatre. Probably because of their broader appeal, theatre plays seem to have been subject to more intense scrutiny than the book translations covered by Seruya in her article, involving not only the translated script but also the staged performance. Lopes’ analysis of the censorship documents stored in the national archives at Torre do Tombo reveals a complex series of interventions, not only by the official censors but also by Guimarães himself, who apparently attempted to tone down some of the more risqué passages before the translation was even submitted for assessment. This act of self-censorship – presumably designed to ensure that the play would be approved and staged, so it could go on to generate revenue for the company he worked with – is interpreted by Lopes as a way of taking ownership of the text, thereby contributing to the ongoing debate about translator agency in censorship situations (Billiani, [2007] 2014b; Samareh, 2018; Tymoczko, 2009).

The next article moves from the theatre to the cinema, with a study by **Katrin Pieper** of two German films in Portuguese translation. During the Estado Novo, Pieper tells us, many films were banned outright, while others were mutilated by the cutting of scenes and suppression and manipulation of subtitles. Again with recourse to the national archives at the Torre do Tombo, Pieper studies the various censors’ reports for the two films in question (one selected because of its sexual content and the other because it contains scenes of violence) in an attempt to gauge the extent to which each of them was modified prior to release. As well as recording the complex negotiations between the distributors and the censors, and their respective interventions in the two films, Pieper’s aim is also to create a methodology for measuring the degree of “censoredness” undergone by an individual work in order to (eventually) enable comparisons between much larger corpora of cinematographic material.

The next study concerns a different genre – poetry, more specifically, the poetry of the French Resistance and Spanish Civil War – translated into Portuguese and Italian during those countries’ respective dictatorships. **Serena Cacchioli**’s objective is to compare the reception of this poetry in the two regimes and to assess the extent to which it was being used as a critical and subversive tool. In both countries, she tells us, literary periodicals were a privileged site of debate, where it was possible to avoid censorship and communicate messages that fell outside the constraints of the “official culture”. However, the presence of distinct literary subsystems (hermeticism in Italy and neo-realism in Portugal) meant that different filters were applied in the importation of works from abroad. This classic descriptivist study is concerned not so much with the individual translated texts as with the macro level of the receptor cultures’ literary systems, looking at the significance of the poets and themes selected for translation, the mediation of particular agents (who were often high-profile literary figures) and the role of certain independent literary magazines in filtering and diffusing this potentially subversive material.

Anna Maria Cipriani's article stays with Mussolini's Italy but the attention shifts to the reception of a modernist novel, Virginia Woolf's *To the lighthouse*. The publication in 1934 of an Italian translation of this work was surprising, given the experimental nature of Woolf's prose. In fact, Cipriani identifies three distinct kinds of censorship in operation in Italy at the time, each of which might have been expected to view Woolf's writing with suspicion: the political censorship introduced by the fascist regime to control the circulation of foreign ideas and literary forms; the Catholic Church's condemnation of modernism; and the de facto intellectual or cultural dictatorship represented by the idealist philosopher Benedetto Croce (1902), with his advocacy of classicism and the art of *bello scrivere* ["beautiful writing"] according to traditional aesthetic principles. Hence, this first Italian translation of Woolf's novel by Giulia Celenza was obliged to carefully navigate these various constraints and forge a compromise between the demands of the foreign text and the need for target culture acceptance. Cipriani first discusses the role of (periodical and book) publishers in preparing the terrain for such potentially controversial works, before going on to analyse specific extracts from Celenza's translation, showing how it effectively mutes Woolf's experimentalism by replacing her polyphonic stream-of-consciousness style with a single narrative voice.

Cristina Gómez Castro's article is also concerned with a novel, but this time with a racy American bestseller – Harold Robbins' *The Betsy* – and its fortunes in Franco's Spain. The history of the Spanish translation of this work is curious. The book first entered Spain in 1973 in the form of a translation that had been done in Argentina, but it was denied publication because of its overtly sexual content. However, just three months later, it was resubmitted to the censors and was authorised without any problem. This article studies the censorship documents and translated versions in order to try to understand how, in the space of three months, the novel passed from being a danger to the moral order to being completely acceptable. Surprisingly, Gómez Castro discovers that the approved version is in fact the same translation, redacted and rebranded under a new name.

The next article, by **Sergio Lobejón Santos**, stays in Franco's Spain but returns to the genre of poetry, more specifically, English-language poetry translated into Spanish in the post-Civil War period (from 1939 through to 1983, which was when censorship officially ended). His study of censorship files and bibliographic indices reveals that poetry suffered less repression than other literary genres, not only because of its limited circulation and educated readership, but also because the censors, who were often not very highly educated themselves (the reports, Lobejón Santos observes, were typically very badly written and full of basic language errors) may have been unable to understand sophisticated allusions. Hence, the vast majority of works passed muster without any cuts or changes being required. However, Lobejón Santos does mention some interesting cases in which censorship mechanisms operated more overtly: a 1942 bilingual version of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* that was banned in the first instance, though later authorised in a limited edition aimed at academics; a 1946 edition of the *Canterbury tales*, which was "tolerated" (i.e. published), but could not be publicly displayed in bookshops; a 1969

translation of James Joyce's *Pomes Penyeach*, which was modified by the publisher in order to circumvent the censor's order to remove two offending poems; and anthologies of Beat poetry produced in the 1970s, which underwent cuts for obscenity and communism. Above all, what this study reveals is the tension between the need for sociocultural renewal, experienced particularly in the latter part of the Franco era, and the limitations on speech enforced by official censorship apparatus.

John Milton's article, for its part, focuses on the first-ever Brazilian book club, the *Clube do Livro* (1942-1989), and its relationship with the military dictatorship in power from 1964 to 1985. A massive translator and distributor of translated fiction, with print runs of up to 50,000 at its peak, the club did not seek to challenge the military regime, but instead took it upon itself to ensure that its publications were in line with the dominant (anti-communist, Catholic and moralistic) discourses. After a brief discussion of the development of repressive measures in Brazil during these years, Milton examines some of the self-censorship strategies used by the club, uncovering examples of excision, addition and, particularly, reframing. He discusses translations of Rabelais' *Gargantua* (1961), Dickens' *Hard times* (1969) and others, before homing in on two curious works from Romania, whose publication rather complicates any simplistic preconceptions regarding the ideological leanings of the book club and its founder-director, Mario Graciotti.

Ida Hove Solberg's article takes a slightly different angle to the preceding ones in that it is interested not in the repressive mechanisms affecting the admission of foreign works, but in the way that translated literature was used as soft propaganda in Nazi-occupied Norway (1940-1945). Having combed the archival material for traces of correspondence between the Reich Commissariat (body in charge of propaganda), the Literature and Library Office (LLO) of the Ministry of Culture and Public Education, and certain publishers, she presents four cases in which the publication of a particular work (a romantic novella, a children's story, an autobiography of a German poet and Jack London's account of living as a down-and-out, *People of the abyss*) was incentivised because of its potential propaganda value. The correspondence between these entities is revealed not to be a "one-way street", with some publishers, and the LLO, actively working to align themselves with the Commissariat. Solberg ends her piece by speculating that the webs of communication in the field of translated literature in occupied Norway may ultimately prove to be much wider and more complex than her material was able to show, possibly even stretching back to Germany itself.

The real outlier of this issue – and arguably the one that most productively complicates the debate about translation and dictatorships – is the final article by **Sabeur Mdallel** about children's literature in the Arab world. This stands out from the rest in terms of its historical framework (it is the only article that discusses autocratic regimes that are largely still in power), geographic span (the only one concerned with non-"Western"¹

¹ The "West" is of course a problematic concept, having been developed in large part to create an artificial boundary with its Other that is the East (Said, [1978] 1995, p. 3). However, even prior to the "neo-orientalism" provoked by the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 and the rise of Islamic

regimes) and finally because of its genre (fiction aimed at children rather than adults). All three dimensions disturb the neat categories that have been traced by much of the work that has been done up to now in this field. This is not because of the case study, which offers the most blatant example of censorial manipulation that we have had throughout this issue (a translation of Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* distorted to such an extent that the location, plot, character and even the basic narrative have been changed) but because of the challenges it raises to the liberal democratic narrative.² It reminds us that many Middle Eastern regimes have remained spectacularly immune to the attractions of liberal democracy as a system and have therefore failed to relegate dictatorships to history as Francis Fukuyama famously predicted in 1991.³ With its choice of genre, it also reminds us that censorship is by no means the prerogative of repressive regimes.⁴ As Merkle (2010, p. 19) states, children's literature is censored in liberal democracies too, "positively connoted through the choice of the noun 'adaptation'" and perceived as being "in the best interests of the ideological positioning of a larger socio-political entity". As with the certification of mainstream films, discussed in detail by Gambier (2002), the implication is that censorship in dictatorships differs from its liberal democratic counterpart only by a matter of degree rather than fundamental substance. Indeed, for Merkle (2002, p. 10), "the covert censorship at work in the free democracies of late modernity (...), though at times difficult to detect, is (...) at times insidiously pervasive".⁵

Let us extend the debate a little further by considering approaches to censorship and translation that have attempted to get beyond the clear-cut scenarios of the dictatorship studies. Some of the translation scholars quoted here (e.g. Billiani, [2007] 2014a; Merkel, 2002; Samareh, 2018; Wolf, 2002) discuss censorship in terms raised by critical theorists such as Foucault, Marcuse and, especially, Bourdieu (1982), for whom it is structural or constitutive, arising inevitably from the social field and imposed upon all producers of symbolic goods. Understood in this sense, they point out, censorship is not so different

fundamentalism, it was frequently used as a heuristic category to refer to liberal democratic regimes organised in accordance with Enlightenment values (cf. Jansen, 1991; Merkle, 2002, p. 10).

² Jansen (1991, p. 4) describes this narrative thus: "Censorship is a devil term. It refers 'back to' a Dark Age in Western history. It refers 'down to' reactionary elements: un-Enlightened or foreign elements which threaten to reverse the tide of progress in Liberal societies. In short, Enlightenment discourse views censorship as something others do: a regressive practice of un-Enlightened (non-Liberal) societies".

³ Fukuyama (1992, p. xiii), writing shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, argued that "the most remarkable development of the last quarter of the twentieth century has been the revelation of enormous weaknesses at the core of the world's seemingly strong dictatorships". For him, this meant that "liberal democracy remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and cultures around the globe", thereby constituting the "end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and the "final form of human government" (p. xi).

⁴ Some of the authors in this issue also make this point. Cipriani and Lopes mention the repression of homosexual literature in 1920s England and 1950s America respectively, while Mdallel refers to the American censorship of references to the previous regime in Iraqi children's books following the toppling of Saddam Hussein.

⁵ See Jansen (1991) for a book-length development of this argument.

from the “constraints” or “norms” assumed by early descriptive translation theorists such as Lefevere (1992) or Toury (1995).⁶

Others (e.g. Woods, 2012) have evoked the concept of *market censorship*, according to which “those who control the market sphere of producing and distributing information determine, prior to publication, what products (such as books, magazines, newspapers, television programmes, computer software) will be mass produced and thus, which opinions officially gain entry to the ‘marketplace of opinions’” (Keane, 1998, p. 90). This perspective is developed most fully by Jansen (2010, pp. 13-14), who critiques the air of objectivity and inevitability accruing to it:

Market censorship points to practices that routinely filter or restrict the production and distribution of selected ideas, perspectives, genres or cultural forms within mainstream media of communication based upon their anticipated profits and/or support for corporate values and consumerism. Such practices are reified, naturalized and integrated into the organizational structures and routine practices of media organizations and re-presented to the public as outcomes of consumer choices within a rational market system rather than as the result of calculated managerial responses to profit imperatives. Over time, these practices have become objectified, understood as “just the way things are” or “how things work”.⁷

Jansen’s basic argument is taken up by McNaught (2013), who points out that, in a liberal democracy, market values govern not only the kind of cultural material that gets published but also the kind of ideas that get aired. This *free-market censorship* rests on the assumption, enshrined in the US First Amendment, that “any discourse should be allowed, but that incorrect, obscene or hateful speech will be sanctioned in the ‘marketplace of ideas’” (McNaught, 2013, § 11).⁸ Yet, the turning-off of the TV or withdrawing of advertising revenue has proved to be a very dull weapon against hate speech, he argues, since much of the offensive language heard on talk shows is actually supported by advertisers promoting products or services that conform to the demographic that watches or listens to them. This is the “shadow of free-market theory”, which places no limits on offensive discourse “as long as it is commercially viable” (§16).

McNaught was writing in 2013, three years before the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. On the eve of the elections that will determine whether Trump gets to serve a second term in office, the debate has acquired a new urgency. Many early studies of translation under dictatorships were imbued with a sense of the past: the “end of history” as Fukuyama (1992) called it – the sense that liberal democracies had won

⁶ Tymoczko (2009, p. 38) makes this equation particularly forcefully. However, it is not uncontroversial. See, for example, Brunette’s 2002 article “Normes et censure: ne pas confondre” for the counterargument.

⁷ Jansen (2010, p. 17) goes on to list some of the noxious effects of this kind of censorship. They include the subordination of aesthetic or spiritual values to commercial values, the “dumbing down” of public discourse, the skewing of public priorities and values through the privileging of exploitive forms of sensationalism, and the subordination of politics to economic and corporate interests (p. 24).

⁸ “If one hears racist or defamatory remarks on TV, one can turn it off and/or complain to the station. If enough people do so, this can put pressure on the station to tell the commentator to tone down his rhetoric and even get him fired” (McNaught, 2013, § 15).

out and that all the nasty stuff was behind us. But dictatorships are threatening to return, often emerging out of the very liberal democracies that were supposed to supersede them. Just thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, new walls – physical and symbolic – are going up around the world to “protect” supposedly democratic nations from dangerous foreign influences. Strongman leaders in Russia, Turkey and the Philippines have begun altering their countries’ constitutions in order to centralise their power and extend their terms of office. Democracies like Hungary and Poland are enacting repressive policies designed to curb the freedoms of minorities and/or political opponents. Even the US, that bastion of liberal democratic values, has been flirting so dangerously with authoritarian ideas that fears have been voiced as to whether President Trump, having lost the election, will actually concede defeat and vacate the White House.

Faced with these scenarios, the debate about censorship in our (for now still) liberal democracies becomes truly pressing. Should anti-liberal values be suppressed on the grounds that extremist ideas, if allowed to circulate, will flourish and spread? Or was it the culture of political correctness or “woke” – itself a kind of censorship – that gave rise to the backlash in the first place?

In this knotty ethical issue, translators continue to play a vital role, not as passive conduits of someone else’s voice and opinion, but as agents who mould texts in order to sanitise, subvert, enable or frame ideas transiting between linguacultures. Back in the early days of Descriptive Translation Studies, as we have seen, Lefevere (1992) and Toury (1995) discussed these issues in terms of the “constraints” or “norms” operating on the translator in any society or culture. But they have also been broached in discussions about translator ethics, not in the sense of the deontologies of the translation providers with their emphasis on source-text fidelity and client loyalty, but rather in a new much broader sense of social responsibility (e.g. Baker and Maier, 2011; Drugan and Tipton, 2017). Anthony Pym shows this particularly clearly in his 2012 book *On translation ethics: principles for mediating between cultures*, when he asks, at the beginning of Chapter 2, whether the messenger should be punished for the messages he carries. Comparing two controversial cases that go to the heart of Western culture (the case of Günter Deckert, who in 1991 translated an inflammatory speech by an American Holocaust denier and was defended in court as being a “mere translator”, even though he was a self-professed neo-Nazi; and the case of the translators of Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic verses*, condemned to death by the fatwah of Ayatollah Khomeini on the understanding that translators, like authors, are responsible for their words), Pym (2012, pp. 37, 57-60) illuminates the paradox at the heart of Western liberal thinking. While we wish to see the Nazi-disguised-as-a-translator held responsible for the hate he spreads, it is more difficult for us to blame Rushdie’s translators, although his words were understood to be very insulting to followers of Islam. This “Gordian Knot”, according to which “freedom of expression is achieved through intolerance of the intoler-

ant” (Jansen, 2010, p. 14), is perhaps the fundamental weakness of liberal democracies, producing a raft of inconsistencies⁹ which extremists are beginning to exploit.

I would like to end with a few words about the epigraph to this special issue of *Translation Matters*, which condenses much of this reflection into a few lines. Nuno Júdice’s poem “Sobreinterpretação” (“Overinterpretation”), translated here by David Swartz, is concerned with the human propensity for symbol-making. This is the voice of a mature man who has observed the cycles of history – the blooming and wilting of ideologies, the come-and-go of dictatorships and revolutions, the endless tussle over meaning(s) that forms such a large part of human interaction. Though at one point, we think we catch a glimpse of the poet’s flag-wielding younger self – idealistic, impassioned, full of hope that the world can be made a better place – this voice seems weary, ready to retreat into a quasi-monastic silence where poppies are just poppies, existing in and for themselves alone.

Why has Júdice chosen poppies as the symbol of all that is symbolic (for there is surely an oxymoron at the heart of the poem that begs this question)? Was it just the colour that attracted him, with its connotations of socialism, passion, blood? Or does the flower have deeper associations with Portuguese revolutionary culture that only the profoundly embedded will recognise? As for those new poppies mentioned in the penultimate stanza: it is tempting to read into it a reference to the new left-wing political party Livre, which has adopted the poppy as its symbol... or might this be a classic case of overinterpretation?

To some extent, Swartz’s English translation enacts the very semantic slippage that Júdice is critiquing. Few British or American readers will have the background knowledge to associate the poppy with revolution, let alone with the emergence of a new liberal left in Portugal. Instead, they will recall the First World War and the remembrance celebrations that occur on Armistice Day in November every year; or they may think of opium and the heady associations that follow in its wake. Symbols, as Júdice is suggesting, do not travel well, nor do they survive the passing of time.

If we could indeed get beneath the layers of interpretation that human sign systems impose upon the world in order to experience the thing-in-itself in all its pristine neutrality (and it is by no means certain that this is doable, except perhaps with eastern meditative techniques honed through years of practice), the whole vortex of interpretation and counter-interpretation, revolution and reaction, would gradually swing to a halt. Such a place, if it is possible at all to reach, would be very peaceful. But it would offer no refuge for translators. As the Babel myth expresses so well, translators – and by extension, those of us who harvest the fruits of their labour – are creatures of the fallen world.

Karen Bennett

⁹ Jansen (2010, p. 15) points out that “ambiguity is (...) built into political covenants that enfranchise freedom of expression” and that “the great theorists of liberty, who crafted the philosophical grounds that weigh so heavily against ecclesiastical and state censorships and in favour of free expression, added qualifying clauses to their claims”.

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EPIGRAPH

Sobreinterpretação

Antes da revolução,
não podia falar de papoulas nos poemas
por causa do vermelho.

Depois da revolução,
falar de papoulas tornou-se
um lugar comum.

Por que será que as flores
têm estes duplos sentidos quando
não são mais do que flores?

Colho-as dos seus caules, e
não vejo numa papoula mais do
que o vermelho da sua cor.

Depois, vejo-a murchar, até perder
a cor, como a revolução perdeu o sentido
até acabar na ressaca.

Mas outras papoulas nascem, sem nada
quererem saber disso – ao contrário
das revoluções que chegaram ao fim.

Assim, ao escrever sobre as papoulas,
limito-me a falar de uma flor que é vermelha,
sem qualquer outro sentido.

Nuno Júdice

Overinterpretation

Before the revolution,
I wouldn't speak about poppies in a poem
because of their redness.

After the revolution,
writing about poppies became
commonplace.

Why do flowers
have these double meanings when
they are merely flowers?

I pluck them from their stems. I
see no more in a poppy than
the redness of its color.

Then, I watch it wither, as it loses
its color, the way the revolution lost its meaning
until it ended in a hangover.

Meanwhile, other poppies are born, without
interest in any of this – unlike
the revolutions that have already come to an end.

Nowadays, when I write about poppies,
I only speak about a flower that is red,
without any other meaning.

Translated by David Swartz, 2020

IDEIAS SOBRE TRADUÇÃO DURANTE O ESTADO NOVO EM PORTUGAL (1934-1974)

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RESUMO: Depois de caracterizar o Estado Novo como ditadura e a instituição da Censura, esclarece-se o conceito de “ideias sobre tradução” e explica-se quem são os agentes da tradução nessa época, a partir dos quais podemos sistematizar essas ideias. Os três considerados mais representativos foram o Grémio Nacional de Editores e Livreiros (GNEL), através da sua publicação *Livros de Portugal*, a Comissão de Censura ao Livro, que funcionou entre 1934 e 1974, produzindo para cima de 10.000 relatórios e, por fim, o próprio Secretariado Nacional da Propaganda (SPN), rebaptizado Secretariado Nacional da Informação (SNI), que promoveu oficialmente, e em estreita ligação com Oliveira Salazar, a tradução de discursos deste para várias línguas europeias. Apresentam-se e comentam-se as ideias que circulavam sobre tradução nessas três instâncias.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Tradução, Censura ao Livro Estrangeiro, Estado Novo, Ideias sobre Tradução

1. Introduçãoes

1.1 Estado Novo: fascismo ou ditadura

Tendo em vista o tema do presente número da revista *Translation Matters*, importa precisar, à partida, a natureza do regime que se viveu em Portugal entre as décadas de 30 e 70 do século XX. Em Portugal, os poucos anos de duração da primeira República (1910-1926) foram muito instáveis a todos os níveis e terminaram com o golpe de estado que conduziu a uma ditadura militar nos sete anos seguintes (1926-1933). Em 1933, a aprovação da nova Constituição, base legal da mais longa ditadura na Europa Ocidental do século XX, representou o momento fundador do Estado Novo, como se autointitulava o regime. Foi o próprio Oliveira Salazar quem governou como Primeiro-Ministro de 1932 a 1968, ano em que foi substituído por Marcelo Caetano, devido a problemas de saúde. Durante mais de uma década, o Estado Novo foi contemporâneo do Nacional-Socialismo alemão (que encontrou seguidores em Portugal entre alguns políticos e, particularmente, em organizações de juventude) e do Fascismo italiano. Quanto à situação em Espanha, o apoio oficial de Portugal foi acordado com Franco, durante e após a Guerra Civil (1936-1939), o que não surpreende, tendo em conta que o inimigo comum era o comunismo.

Durante muito tempo gerou polémica determinar se o Estado Novo deveria ser considerado um regime fascista, assunto discutido principalmente à luz de posições políticas (depois de 1974, antigos opositores ao regime referem-se-lhe sempre como um período fascista). Presentemente, após prolongadas pesquisas de ordem histórica e sociológica, existe algum consenso em que o regime português era uma ditadura, mas que não condizia na íntegra com as características dos fascismos europeus (por exemplo, a União Nacional, partido único fundado em 1930, não era um partido fascista, além de que não havia antissemitismo organizado e programático; ver Pinto, 1994).¹ Logo em 1930, o

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¹ Costa Pinto (entre outros) reserva a designação “Fascismo português” para o Movimento Sindicalista Nacional, com base no *Integralismo Lusitano*, movimento intelectual e político fundado em vésperas da I

próprio Salazar se referiu à Ditadura como “fenómeno da mesma ordem dos que, por esse mundo, nesta hora, com parlamentos ou sem eles, se observam, tentando colocar o Poder em situação de prestígio e de força contra as arremetidas da desordem, e em condições de trabalhar e de agir pela Nação” (Salazar, 1935, p. 73).

Alguns anos mais tarde, em 1936, deixou muito claro o que pretendia serem as características do “Novo Estado Português”: “Somos anti-parlamentaristas, anti-democratas, anti-liberais e estamos determinados a instituir um Estado corporativo” (Salazar, 1939, p. 29, minha tradução²). A polícia política, reprimindo desvios de ordem política, social e moral, a propaganda oficial, preocupada principalmente com uma identidade nacional e com a imagem do regime no estrangeiro, e ainda a censura institucionalizada eram os instrumentos cruciais na implementação das políticas do regime. Alguns historiadores mencionam também o “catolicismo social” como a base espiritual do pensamento e da actuação de Salazar.³ A nação identifica-se como cristã e católica, o que ainda hoje é verdade: de acordo com um levantamento sobre a identidade nacional levada a efeito pelo Programa Internacional de Exame Social em 2008, 68,5% dos portugueses inquiridos disseram que ser português era ser católico.⁴

1.2 O que são e como investigar “ideias sobre tradução”

A tradução tem uma óbvia vertente socioinstitucional, que será central na nossa abordagem. Theo Hermans (1997, p. 5) chamou-lhe a “face pública” da tradução.⁵ Ela começa por ser uma “entidade social”, inclui uma forma de comportamento chamada “traduzir”, um significado codificado em dicionários, actividades profissionais chamadas “tradução”, organizações representativas dos tradutores, escolas de formação de tradutores etc. (Hermans, 1997, p. 5). Propomos que inclua também o que poderíamos designar de “ideias dominantes sobre tradução” que circulam numa cultura. Os pilares dessas ideias são os agentes da tradução. Como bem comentaram Milton e Bandia (2009, p. 1), agentes da tradução são não só aquelas pessoas que estão “numa posição intermediária entre um tradutor e o utente final duma tradução”, mas também os próprios

Grande Guerra, cuja “inspiração mais óbvia” era a *Action Française* de Charles Maurras (Pinto, 1991, p. 238). Após algumas tentativas falhadas de um compromisso com Salazar, os Camisas Azuis, nome por que eram conhecidos os “integralistas”, foram proibidos em 1934, tornando-se parte da oposição ao regime (ver o Capítulo 5 em Pinto, 1994). Irene Pimentel (2018, pp. 13-18) dedica algumas páginas do primeiro capítulo da sua obra *Inimigos de Salazar* ao Integralismo Lusitano.

² Texto introdutório de Salazar para a edição inglesa dos seus discursos, *Doctrine and Action* (1939, pp. 9-49), assinado Oliveira Salazar, com a data 1936.

³ De acordo com Jaime Nogueira Pinto (2007, pp. iv-v), a primeira fonte de influência no pensamento de Salazar foi a “democracia orgânica” ou “democracia cristã”, visão do mundo a partir de uma posição religiosa e cujo *corpus* doutrinal era constituído pelas encíclicas papais da segunda metade do século XIX. Os seus inimigos eram o laicismo, a livre-maçonaria, o anticlericalismo, o internalismo, o comunismo, o governo democrático. Não podemos esquecer que Salazar tinha uma lembrança intensa do que fora a perseguição aos católicos e à Igreja Católica durante a primeira República entre 1910 e 1926.

⁴ Ver *Jornal Público*, 2008, p. 6.

⁵ Todas as traduções para português são da minha autoria. Quando assim não for, estará devidamente assinalado.

tradutores, e ainda jornais, revistas ou instituições que podem, todos eles, desempenhar os papéis mais diversos na disseminação do conhecimento de textos estrangeiros.

Em trabalhos anteriores (reunidos em Seruya, 2018), demos já um panorama muito geral das principais tendências da (muito abundante) tradução de literaturas estrangeiras, publicadas em livro, entre os anos 40 e os anos 70 do século XX, com base na informação disponível na base de dados *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000: a critical bibliography* (CECC e CEAL/ULICES, 2020). Neste contexto verificaram-se algumas tomadas de posição sobre tradução da parte de organizações de editores e livreiros, que agora recordaremos, pois são reveladoras de uma das imagens da tradução na época em causa. Acresce que alguns tradutores, porventura os mais visíveis, também escreveram sobre o seu ofício (como Paulo Quintela ou Jorge de Sena, entre outros; ver Pais, 1997, pp. 172-198). Daremos conta sobretudo do que escreveram os censores da Comissão de Censura ao Livro sobre tradução nos seus relatórios sobre livros estrangeiros, traduzidos ou candidatos à tradução. Por fim, referir-nos-emos à tradução oficial que o regime promovia da obra escrita de Salazar, integrada na estratégia de propaganda do Estado Novo no estrangeiro.

2. Ideias sobre tradução entre editores e livreiros⁶

O campo da tradução no Estado Novo compreende, além da literatura (em sentido lato, sem uma hierarquia de géneros), a tradução de temas das ciências sociais e humanas, a tradução em todos os campos das ciências naturais e da tecnologia, os filmes (a prática da legendagem, bem como os “cortes” impostos pela censura; ver António, [1978] 2001), os espectáculos de teatro (Cabrera, 2013; Santos, 2004) e as traduções publicadas em jornais e revistas e na rádio. Adiante consideraremos o caso específico da tradução dos discursos de Salazar para línguas estrangeiras. Porém, no presente estudo, consideraremos apenas a literatura traduzida, publicada em livro.

Não restam dúvidas de que editores e livreiros, por um lado, e, por outro, críticos e escritores na imprensa e em revistas de prestígio estavam conscientes da forte presença de traduções no mercado. As ideias sobre tradução que manifestavam variavam conforme os seus interesses específicos. Os editores e livreiros queixavam-se da insuficiência e da baixa qualidade da produção interna (Seruya, 2005, p. 39), opinião partilhada, curiosamente, pelo próprio Salazar que lamentava a falta de talento artístico nacional:

Agrada-me tudo o que é belo e inteligente e lastimo que Portugal seja neste momento tão pobre no campo das artes. Sinto-me muito satisfeito com os progressos realizados pelos nossos escultores e decoradores mas, há que admiti-lo, não possuímos hoje grandes pintores nem arquitectos que tenham feito escola e tanto o teatro como a produção literária não conseguiram alargar os seus horizontes. (Salazar, citado em Garnier [1952], p. 191).⁷

⁶ Recupero nesta secção partes do que está publicado em Seruya (2018, pp. 87-91).

⁷ Christine Garnier era uma conhecida jornalista francesa que entrevistou Salazar por diversas vezes e com quem chegou a ter fortes laços de amizade. O livro *Férias com Salazar* foi publicado pela primeira vez em 1952 e foi objecto de várias reedições até ao presente.

Em contrapartida, escritores e críticos olhavam muitas vezes a tradução como um meio de internacionalizar a vida literária e as preferências literárias em Portugal (por exemplo, Simões, 1937).

Na primeira metade dos anos 40, a tradução era um facto visível, embora não fosse encarada por todos como uma benção – “Epidemia de traduções” (1943) é o título de um artigo publicado na revista mensal *Ocidente*, denunciando os “impulsos desnacionalizadores” e a “preguiça mental” que o aumento de traduções revelava.⁸ E não só o número de traduções era notoriamente elevado, lamentava a *Ocidente*, como também nem sempre era muito recomendável o respectivo caminho para o mercado (‘Epidemia de traduções’, 1943, p. 2). Aquilo que era considerado concorrência desleal levou o Grémio Nacional de Editores e Livreros (GNEL) a criar um “Estatuto de traduções” (1943, pp. 15-16).⁹ No preâmbulo estava descrito, com toda a clareza, um dos aspectos problemáticos da situação: “as traduções de uma mesma obra são publicadas, ao mesmo tempo, por diferentes editoras” (‘Estatuto de traduções’, 1943, p. 5). No sentido de obviar a tal situação, o GNEL exigia dos editores a relação de livros do domínio público que quisessem publicar nos doze meses seguintes (Artigo 1). A partir desta informação, o GNEL organizava um ficheiro com todos os pedidos e decidia de acordo com a ordem de apresentação (Artigo 3). Em caso de duplicação, os editores concorrentes tinham de decidir entre si qual deles iria publicar a tradução, e tudo “com o intuito de evitar concorrência comercial” (Artigo 4) – que era contrária à doutrina económica de um Estado corporativo. Um outro artigo dos estatutos deixa transparecer, de modo involuntário, qualquer coisa sobre o estado da arte na publicação de traduções: exige que os livros traduzidos incluam dados sobre o título original e, “na falta dele, o título da tradução francesa ou inglesa” (Artigo 11). Eis uma exigência que, pela negativa, revela o desrespeito pelas obras originais, confirmando, por outro lado, quais as línguas intermediárias do grande número de traduções indirectas presentes na cultura portuguesa.

Nos anos 60, a visão negativa da tradução não se alterara substancialmente. Um editorial dos *Livros de Portugal* de 1960 inclui um depoimento notável, da responsabilidade de dirigentes dos editores e livreiros, dando conta da opinião negativa sobre a tradução de literatura, considerada muitas vezes “incrivelmente” infiel ao original e imputável à incompetência linguística dos tradutores. Por um lado, cortes, acrescentos, reinterpretações premeditadas e, por outro, o português incorrecto e a falta de respeito pelo valor estético do texto eram alguns aspectos da prática da tradução em vigor, que tinham de ser encarados pelas editoras como um problema. De igual modo, a imprensa regional registava e comentava o reduzido número de leitores – ou, pelo menos, de leitores que escolhessem “boa” literatura (já que outros géneros gozavam de um público vasto). Num artigo da imprensa regional reeditado nos *LP*, reza assim o lamento: “A Península Ibérica está a tornar-se um paraíso para os comerciantes de má literatura”, nomeadamente

⁸ A ideia de que a tradução exerce influência negativa em qualquer literatura nacional não é nem original nem específica de Portugal, como se pode ver, por exemplo, em Korpel (1993, pp. 116-119).

⁹ *Livros de Portugal* (doravante *LP*) era a revista mensal do GNEL.

de “coleções de livros pequenos e baratos (...) tão mal escritos, com tanta falta de imaginação e de sensibilidade artística, que constituem um perigo permanente” (Silva, 1967, p. 15). Silva referia-se provavelmente ao elevado número de livros do Oeste americano, policiais, romances e novelas sentimentais e de guerra, na sua maioria provenientes de Espanha e da Grã-Bretanha, dos Estados-Unidos também, que invadiam o mercado português desde os anos 40.¹⁰ Havia ainda a preocupação de que cinema, futebol e televisão já fossem a forma preferida de passar os tempos livres: “O livro, esquecido, descansa a lombada nas estantes empoeiradas” (Silva, 1967, p. 17). Finalmente, o preço do livro era considerado demasiado elevado para muitos; os jornalistas da época depositavam grande esperança nas publicações em brochura (Pereira, 1967, pp. 13ss.).

Como se viu, a qualidade das traduções – que mostravam tendência para vender mais exemplares por título do que livros portugueses (ver *LP*, n. 108, 1967) – começava então a ser discutida com maior abertura. Segundo alguns, as traduções até já detinham a maior quota na produção livreira (Rosa, 1968, p. 17). Em 26 de fevereiro de 1969, o vespertino diário *A Capital* publicava um estudo junto de editoras e tradutores “para clarificar o papel dos tradutores na vida cultural portuguesa”, nomeadamente, “o problema das traduções” (*LP*, n. 123, 1969, pp. 14-15). As respostas de editoras tão relevantes na publicação de traduções como a Ulisseia, respostas que vêm reproduzidas na *LP*, demonstram a preocupação com a baixa qualidade das traduções, atribuindo-a a problemas de selecção de tradutores (*LP*, n. 123, 1969). Este é um ponto significativo, na medida em que indicia uma maior consciência da necessidade de qualificação dos tradutores, em vez da prática corrente da selecção casuística ditada pela pressão comercial. Logo no início da década, os editores perceberam que traduzir não era uma profissão regulamentada, que não havia tradutores profissionais e que traduzir, regra geral, não dependia de motivações culturais, era, sim, um meio extra de aumentar o rendimento de cada um (*LP*, n. 19, 1960, p. 2).¹¹ No final da década, ainda tentavam aumentar o prestígio da actividade e dos seus agentes. Só na segunda metade dos anos 60 começou a formação de tradutores ao nível universitário, pelo que talvez se possa vir a considerar os anos 60 como uma viragem na oferta de tradutores (profissionais) em Portugal.

Durante o período em análise no presente estudo, os tradutores de literatura são, para além de um grande número de pessoas anónimas (como é o caso de tradutores de livros espanhóis e ingleses no campo do romance de aventuras e da novela sentimental), escritores e personalidades de renome: Aquilino Ribeiro, José Saramago, Maria Lamas, Fernanda Botelho, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues; poetas como Vitorino Nemésio, Jorge de Sena, Alexandre O’Neill, Ruy Belo, Ramos Rosa; pintores como Lima de Freitas, entre

¹⁰ Em 1968 este tipo de literatura era descrito n’*O Século*, um dos jornais diários oficiais, como sendo “literatura deformante e altamente perigosa”, em especial porque se dirigia a crianças e jovens (*LP*, n. 116, 1968, pp. 22-23).

¹¹ Esta justificação para o recurso a traduções da parte de muitos não é novidade na história da tradução e é, decerto, uma das razões para a falta de prestígio muitas vezes ligada a esta actividade no nosso país.

muitos outros. Também se encontram tradutores vindos de outras áreas de actividade, por exemplo, o sociólogo Vasco Pulido Valente ou o filósofo Agostinho da Silva (Pinho, 2006).

3. Ideias sobre tradução na Censura¹²

Em termos da Censura institucionalizada (Decreto-Lei n.º 22469/1933), a década de 30 começa a partir de 1934, com a criação da Comissão de Censura ao Livro, nacional e estrangeiro. Ao contrário do que acontecia com a Imprensa e publicações periódicas, ou até com espectáculos, os livros não estavam sujeitos a censura prévia. Chegavam à Comissão por confisco pela polícia política PIDE, por denúncia dos Correios, da alfândega ou da Polícia Civil (PSP) e, por vezes, também através dos próprios editores que não queriam arriscar investimentos inúteis. Eram, depois, objecto de um relatório individual, numerado pelos censores, com uma proposta sobre o destino do exemplar (proibido, autorizado, autorizado com cortes), que podia ser ou não validada pelo Director do Serviço.¹³ Referir-nos-emos apenas aos livros estrangeiros, eventuais candidatos à tradução, ou a obras traduzidas, pois evidentemente que só nestes casos descortinamos quais as ideias sobre tradução dos censores (e é apenas este o tema do presente trabalho). Apresentaremos alguns casos mais eloquentes de relatórios que se referem à tradução ao longo das quatro décadas em que a Censura vigorou.

Aos censores não interessava a tradução nem como processo nem como produto, mas apenas a sua função, isto é, o seu efeito nos destinatários. É que a tradução permite o acesso aos textos por muitos leitores e resulta, portanto, num acto democrático, pelo que é considerada um “perigo social” (expressão do R 374/1937).¹⁴ Como tal só pode ser receada. Para os censores, os livros, em geral, dirigem-se a muitos, “às massas”, ou às elites, neste caso a maioria das vezes quando estão escritos em francês ou inglês, pelo que serão lidos por poucos (interessante indício sobre o conhecimento de línguas estrangeiras no Portugal desses tempos). Se se destinam a muitos representam um perigo. Ao critério do número reduzido de potenciais leitores (elites) junta-se o do “livro científico” ou “de carácter técnico”, candidato sempre à aprovação, e bem assim o seu corolário, a alegada objectividade dos conteúdos. Há um livro que “não é acessível a todas as inteligências”, por isso é autorizado mesmo com temática suspeita (livro francês sobre mitos socialistas, R 398/1937). Um livro francês da autoria de Estaline (R 748/1939) é considerado um livro com “carácter técnico”, que o torna “pouco acessível às grandes massas”, mas acaba proibido porque o censor não vê “vantagem na sua divulgação, a não ser como elemento

¹² Escreveremos Censura (com maiúscula) sempre que nos referirmos a esta censura institucionalizada.

¹³ Os relatórios a citar serão identificados com um R, seguido do respectivo número e ano. Os originais encontram-se no acervo do Secretariado Nacional da Informação (SNI), guardado na Torre do Tombo, em Lisboa. Do total de 10.011 relatórios deste acervo elaborados entre 1934 e Abril de 1974, 22,4% estão em falta.

¹⁴ Esta visão da tradução não é exclusiva de Portugal nem de uma ditadura. Ver os estudos de Denise Merkle (2009, pp. 85-105) e de Carol O’Sullivan (2009, pp. 107-129) sobre dois famosos editores da era vitoriana em Inglaterra (respectivamente Vizetelly and Company e Henry G. Bohn), vítimas de mecanismos censórios por tentarem introduzir no mercado traduções de obras consideradas socialmente disruptivas ou moralmente ousadas.

de estudo, pelo que só poderia ser confiado a quem não fosse influenciável pela sua leitura”. Quando “só pessoas cultas podem interessar-se pela sua leitura” (R 751/1939), um livro é aprovado. E porquê? Porque essas não mudam de opinião só por lerem um livro: sobre os *Études socialistes* de Jean Jaurès (1859-1914), obra publicada em final do século XIX, diz-se exemplarmente: “Livro de doutrina socialista que pelo preço, volume e linguagem, não tem inconveniente em continuar à venda; não pode ser lido por toda a gente e o reduzido número daqueles que o compreendem é limitado e a influência no seu espírito em nada modificará as ideias que professam” (R 520/1938). Várias informações se podem retirar deste relatório: que o livro terá sido apreendido numa livraria onde estava à venda, que em 1938 não seriam muitos os portugueses que compreenderiam francês, e há a convicção de que a Censura era totalmente ineficaz para as elites, tanto do regime como da oposição, pelo que uma proibição só fazia sentido se o livro pudesse atingir as “massas” – pela tradução. Já a proibição do livro *Révolutionnaires, où allez-vous?* (R 667/1938), de Jove e Jean Nocher (original publicado em 1935), candidato explícito a tradução, justifica-se porque se destina “às classes pouco cultas”, usando linguagem simples e exemplos “facilmente assimiláveis”. A conclusão é que “uma tradução em língua portuguesa seria inconvenientíssima”. No final dos anos 30, censura-se a condenação da Censura, conforme o relatório sobre *The Press*, de Harry W. Steed:

Preconiza a liberdade de imprensa, de pensamento, da palavra e da crítica. Analisa e condena a acção da censura nos países totalitários. (...) Como obra de estudo não há inconveniente na sua expansão na língua de origem, mas a sua tradução em português não traz vantagem dada a opinião parcial do seu autor. (R811-A/1939)

Para quem tem uma visão de conjunto dos relatórios produzidos ao longo das décadas da Censura, estes primeiros anos lançaram as bases do seu trabalho, isto é, expõem desde logo os critérios de proibição ou aprovação dos livros. São orientações que revelam um alto grau de estabilidade e previsibilidade, portanto também de bastante monotonia na argumentação. O que varia, e torna o trabalho do investigador interessante, são as descrições dos livros e os comentários dos censores. Assim, e voltando ao nosso tema, as ideias sobre tradução dos censores não se alteraram substancialmente com o tempo, as obras chegadas à Censura é que variaram conforme os problemas dominantes em cada altura, a nível nacional e internacional. Por exemplo, no início da década de 60 assiste-se à emergência da questão colonial, como veremos adiante. Assim, destacaremos alguns exemplos marcantes das décadas de 40, 50 e 60.

A década de 40, como é expectável, está muito ligada aos anos da II Guerra e ao período do pós-guerra. Tratando-se, no nosso trabalho, do livro estrangeiro, verifica-se, na sua análise, o quanto a avaliação dos livros reflecte as orientações gerais da política externa de Salazar, resumida na conhecida fórmula da “neutralidade” em relação às partes beligerantes, que passou depois a uma “neutralidade colaborante” em favor dos Aliados (excluindo a URSS, com quem não havia relações diplomáticas). Em conformidade, chegou aos Serviços um número elevado de material propagandístico, sobretudo vindo da Legação

da Alemanha, muito menos das congéneres inglesa e americana (a francesa está praticamente ausente). Com notável sistematicidade e consistência, foram proibidos todos os folhetos propagandísticos que insultassem o adversário; mesmo perante uma facilmente comprovável simpatia pelo regime nazi, podia-se proibir um folheto alemão que criticasse Churchill em termos considerados ofensivos. Também a Igreja Católica e as Nações Unidas sucumbiram à noção de propaganda: a denúncia da perseguição a católicos pelo regime nazi é proibida (R 2149/1943), assim como a denúncia dos campos de concentração e dos horrores praticados pela Gestapo (R 2229/1943), e uma obra sobre a guerra “vista do lado das Nações Unidas” tem o mesmo destino, por ser considerada propaganda (R 2243/1943).

De resto, mantém-se na década a ideia de que não é uma tradução como tal que interessa aos censores, mas apenas o respectivo conteúdo, pelo que continua a haver traduções autorizadas com cortes (R 1151/1940 ou R 1192/1940, em que se impõem cortes a críticas a Hitler, para “salvaguardar a nossa neutralidade”), propostas de tradução expressamente proibidas (R 2240/1943, sobre livro de Marcel Hoden), originais que são aceites mas não a sua tradução (R 2251/1943, sobre obra de Zola que, aliás, acabou por ser autorizada), originais e respectivas traduções que são proibidos (R 2323/1943, sobre obra de Ilya Ehrenburg). Há um caso raríssimo de censura a um tradutor, que resultou na proibição da respectiva tradução: trata-se da carta de um clérigo protestante sueco ao arcebispo de Cantuária, que terá rezado pelos bolchevistas e pela sua vitória, quando os muitos suecos vivendo na Estónia foram perseguidos, justamente pelos bolchevistas. Segundo o relatório, o tradutor (João Manuel da Costa Figueira) extravasou a sua tarefa ao fazer anteceder a sua tradução de “Duas palavras”¹⁵ quando “devia alhear-se destes assuntos que só podem dizer respeito às nações beligerantes” (R 2414/1943). A razão da proibição reside no “ataque a um bispo inglês”, mesmo quando, aparentemente, defende os bolchevistas.

Continua a presença de traduções brasileiras, não avaliadas diferentemente das portuguesas, mas suscitando, por vezes, declarações sobre o “perigo” que representam, caso caiam nas mãos de “pessoas sem uma sólida cultura política”. E esse perigo resulta de que a obra até é “interessante”, e traduzida ainda mais (R 3139/1948, sobre obra de M. Hindus, “O segredo da resistência russa”¹⁶). De facto, era o público alargado que as traduções proporcionavam que inquietava os censores. Assim, uma *Histoire de la Russie*, de Pierre Pascal, foi confiscada pela PIDE, mas os censores autorizaram a sua circulação em Portugal por “estar escrito em língua francesa e, por consequência, não estar ao alcance das classes menos cultas”. A respectiva tradução é expressamente proibida.

Aos “anos de Ferro”, como muitos designam o tempo (1933-1949) em que António Ferro (1895-1956) dominou a política cultural do Estado Novo, seguiram-se os “anos de chumbo”, designação que o historiador Fernando Rosas (1994, p. 408) deu à década de 50

¹⁵ Este livro existe na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP) e foi publicado pela Editorial Nós, de Braga, em 1943.

¹⁶ Este livro existe na BNP em segunda edição (Rio de Janeiro, 1944).

(1950-1958), pela aparente calma política que se arrastava desde 1949. Derrotados e divididos os oposicionistas após a vitória do General Carmona nas eleições presidenciais, fora restaurada no país a “modorra cinzenta e, à superfície, quase despolitizada de uma vida sem surpresas” (1994, p. 503). A década terminaria com o “terramoto Delgado” e o início da Guerra Colonial em 1961. Quanto aos procedimentos da Comissão de Censura ao Livro, não houve alterações legislativas relevantes nem mudança substancial de critérios na avaliação dos livros estrangeiros, onde volta a predominar o livro francês, agora, porém, tratando predominantemente da temática literária e cultural, com sensível abrandamento da temática política e, também, moral e sexual (ver quadros e detalhes em Seruya e Moniz, 2008, pp. 3-20, reproduzido, em versão portuguesa, em Seruya, 2018, pp. 220-235).

Daremos exemplos de continuidades. É recorrente a ideia de que a tradução aumenta muito o número de leitores, entenda-se, nas camadas “menos cultas” e necessariamente mais numerosas, aí residindo o seu perigo, sobretudo em temática política e sexual. Assim, uma tradução em língua espanhola, vinda de Buenos Aires, da obra do médico e psicólogo britânico Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) *La selección en el hombre*, trazida à Censura pela PIDE, obtém o seguinte parecer:

As obras desta colecção [não é dito qual], embora de fundo científico, visam todas o desenvolvimento e propaganda da orientação materialista da juventude – o que constitui uma das facetas da preparação comunista. É claro que servem aos estudiosos e estão bem nas respectivas bibliotecas. Não devem, contudo, ser vulgarizadas e vendidas numa tradução barata, ao alcance das bolsas que correspondem às camadas menos cultas e para quem a sua leitura pode ser prejudicial. (R4803/52)

Pode depreender-se que a obra era candidata à tradução. Mas o original foi proibido, em nome de outra recorrência, a suspeita de propaganda comunista. Com outro desenvolvimento, volta o argumento de que às elites não adianta negar os livros, porque os podem ler na língua de origem. Não se sabe bem é como é que se seleccionavam os destinatários autorizados a comprar o livro. Veja-se este caso, que deu brado na altura, da obra autobiográfica de Caryl Chessman (1921-1960), um criminoso americano famoso, condenado à morte que, durante a prisão, escreveu, entre outros, *Cell 2455, Death Row*, que chegou a Portugal em tradução francesa em 1956 (*Cellule 2455. Couloir de la mort*). Tratou-se de um libelo contra a pena de morte que correu mundo e agitou consciências. Sobre esta tradução francesa escreveram os censores:

(...) autorizar a sua aquisição aos estudiosos interessados. Com efeito, em mentalidades puras e simples de adolescentes, ou nas de “predispostos” porque desequilibrados em potência, a leitura da obra poderá produzir frutos de malefícios extremos. Sou, portanto, de opinião que não deverá ser permitida a venda livre nos escaparates e que não interessa a tradução, visto que, para todos os que nele podem encontrar matéria de estudo e de

meditação, por força da sua cultura, podem fazê-lo na língua de origem ou nas traduções existentes. (R 5618/1956)¹⁷

No despacho do director da Comissão de Censura da altura, reforça-se o apoio ao texto deste relatório, mas enfatizando a proibição da tradução, afinal pelo seu carácter subversivo: “Dou a minha inteira concordância ao parecer do Sr. Director Adjunto e assim não será permitida a tradução [sublinhado sic] no nosso país, nem a entrada nele de traduções em língua portuguesa editadas no Brasil” (R 5618/1956).

Na realidade, manteve-se, nos anos 60, a diferença cultural entre as “elites” ou “os eruditos” e “o povo”, apoiada pelas autoridades que iriam permitir, por vezes contra vontade, a circulação de um livro estrangeiro pela simples razão de ele ter sido editado em língua estrangeira (só conhecida das elites!). Nestas circunstâncias estava a obra de Françoise Sagan, *Les merveilleux nuages*, que circulava em francês mas cuja tradução estava expressamente proibida (R 6944/1961); *Chéri*, da escritora francesa Colette, em tradução de José Saramago, apesar de considerada “uma obra-prima literária”, era “uma das obras mais indignas de publicidade. Mormente em tradução portuguesa, o que facilita a expansão e assimilação do mal intrínseco da obra” (R 8567/1969). O facto de se acreditar que as pessoas “formadas” não eram facilmente influenciadas permitiu que os censores tolerassem a posse de livros proibidos a alguns grupos profissionais: médicos,¹⁸ juristas e pessoas com formação em geral, desde que não fossem “comunistas nem comunizantes” (incluído no veredicto para a obra *Le Congo, terre d’avenir, est-il menacé?*, de Patrice Lumumba, R 6932/1961).

A década de 60 inaugura uma nova fase histórica, com o início da Guerra Colonial em 1961, referido acima. Na Comissão de Censura, o anticolonialismo emerge como uma nova questão. Na maioria dos casos, era considerado “propaganda comunista” (os casos dominantes eram Cuba e a revolução da Argélia), embora houvesse também líderes africanos respeitáveis, como Sékou Touré (R 6473/1959). É raro exporem-se ideias sobre tradução, mas, no contexto do começo das lutas anticoloniais, há um caso digno de citação: trata-se da colectânea de contos do escritor negro Richard Wright (1908-1960) *Os Filhos do Pai Tomás* (*Uncle Tom’s Children*, 1938), publicada pela editora Arcádia (mais de vinte anos depois!), com tradução de Manuel de Seabra. A proveniência não surpreende: “Requisitado para censura”. A obra é considerada “um memorial apologético do racismo negro”, uma obra “nitidamente tendenciosa e parece-me perigosa a sua circulação”, pela época que se atravessa (não se especifica). Quanto ao facto de se tratar de uma tradução, veja-se o poder que o censor lhe atribui:

¹⁷ Sobre o destino desta obra em Portugal, cuja tradução foi expressamente proibida e, mesmo assim, feita e publicada em 1959, ver Seruya et al. (2013), publicado pela primeira vez, com alterações, em Seruya (2018, pp. 306ss, sobretudo pp. 310s).

¹⁸ Na década de 60 foi permitida a circulação de um livro sobre a impotência masculina (*Impotência masculina* de Wilhelm Stekel, numa tradução brasileira), embora “somente destinado à classe médica” (R 8595/1969).

Esta tradução portuguesa da obra apaixonada de um afro-americano, uma vez difundida entre nós (nomeadamente nas nossas províncias ultramarinas africanas) seria como uma acha ardente lançada na fogueira que já lava e ameaça a nossa integridade nacional. (R 6636/1960)

O veredicto da proibição “inexorável” começara, porém, no início do relatório, com o louvor de *A Cabana do Pai Tomás*, “valioso e válido documento humano da abolição da escravatura”, que falara ao “coração” e ao “entendimento” do “mundo civilizado e cristão” – de meados do século XIX, que não convinha lembrar!

Além do marxismo/comunismo e do colonialismo, continua a presença forte de proibições relacionadas com a moral sexual e o erotismo, assim como com a religião católica. Aparece muita literatura, oriunda das editoras da época que mais literatura estrangeira publicavam: Portugália, Ulisseia, Gleba, Inquérito. E são proibidos autores traduzidos como Erskine Caldwell, Elio Vittorini (e outros autores do neorrealismo italiano), Italo Calvino, Roger Vaillant, Vladimir Maiakovsky.

Nos anos 60 os próprios censores iam tendo a noção de que, não havendo censura prévia no caso do livro, nomeadamente estrangeiro, as hipóteses da ineficácia da Censura cresciam, pois o número de traduções de literatura estrangeira foi sempre aumentando, tornando impossível a sua vigilância sistemática. Atente-se neste exemplo, respeitante à tradução duma conhecida obra do escritor americano Erskine Caldwell, *Gretta*:

(...) foca a vida desregrada das raparigas americanas que vivem nos grandes centros sem família. A obra não é pornográfica, mas é um tanto escabrosa. Acontece, porém, que a mesma já foi vertida em português e editada pela Livraria Bertrand, indo já na 4ª edição, sem ter levantado qualquer protesto. Parece-me, por isso, que não é oportuno impedir a circulação deste livro. (R 7847/1966).

4. A tradução oficial no Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (SPN)

Para além da circulação de textos estrangeiros do exterior para o sistema literário português, deve considerar-se também, para um quadro mais abrangente da tradução durante o Estado Novo, a exportação, em tradução, de textos, discursos, legislação, panfletos, material turístico etc. mandados traduzir pelo Estado para as principais línguas europeias. O objectivo era, obviamente, criar uma imagem positiva da ditadura portuguesa no estrangeiro, sobretudo europeu. Tal objectivo associava-se de imediato a propaganda que, no sentido positivo que Salazar lhe deu logo aquando da criação do SPN, destinava-se a combater a “ignorância” de jornalistas, escritores e políticos estrangeiros, pois “muitos dos que falam e escrevem sobre Portugal não visitaram nunca o País: deve haver ao dispor de uns e outros elementos bastantes para que inconscientemente não deturpem a verdade” (Salazar, 1935, pp. 260s). Acrescentaria ainda que Portugal não tem necessidade de que “se minta a seu favor, nem pode o Secretariado [o SPN] ser injusto para ninguém” (p. 262). Dos “elementos” à disposição dos estrangeiros fez parte a política de tradução dos

discursos de Salazar, empreendida pelo SPN/SNI, a que o próprio sempre esteve atento.¹⁹ A tradução tornar-se-ia, portanto, em valioso instrumento de propaganda do Estado Novo.

Depois de investigações pioneiras sobre o assunto – o historiador Medina (1977, 1998) escreveu sobre a “salazarofilia” em França e na Alemanha, e João Pedro Cotrim (2010) sobre os tradutores que trabalharam para o SNI – eu própria comecei a estudar as traduções propriamente ditas dos discursos de Salazar para as línguas europeias (Seruya, 2017, pp. 89-109; Seruya, 2018, pp. 114-133). Recupero alguns dados deste estudo, resumidamente:

- A Imprensa Nacional publica, entre 1928 e 1938, legislação portuguesa em línguas estrangeiras, com textos explicativos de Salazar; entre 1934 e 1938 SPN e Imprensa Nacional publicam em paralelo, mas esta apenas as explicações sobre legislação e orçamentos;²⁰
- Entre 1934 e 1942 o SPN encomenda, autoriza, paga, manda divulgar no estrangeiro edições de entrevistas e discursos de Salazar, mas também panfletos como o *Decálogo do Estado Novo* (1934), em inglês (*The ten commandments of the Portuguese New State*) e francês (*Décatalogue de l'état nouveau portugais*);
- Ao mesmo tempo, o SPN publica obras de e sobre Salazar em línguas estrangeiras, como a de Maurice Lewandovski, *M. Oliveira Salazar: une expérience de redressement* (Editions SPN, 1935). Também há livros e artigos sobre Salazar publicados no estrangeiro, em que o SPN/SNI colaborou, fornecendo materiais e informações. É o caso do alemão Anton Mayer e do seu livro *Portugal* (Leipzig, 1939), oferecido em dois exemplares a Salazar;²¹
- A partir de 1942 criam-se cinco colecções no SPN: “Salazar says”, “La pensée de Salazar”, “Das Denken Salazars”, “El pensamiento de Salazar”, “Il pensiero di Salazar”. Tal como nas outras traduções do SPN/SNI, também estas não fazem qualquer menção ao(à) respectivo(a) tradutor(a). Esta invisibilidade não era certamente ingénuo, antes o resultado de uma ideia de tradução absolutamente instrumental, em que não se punha sequer a hipótese de uma intervenção do tradutor na reprodução dos originais. Acrescente-se, no entanto, que outros países da Europa não teriam, nesses anos 40, um pensamento mais sofisticado sobre tradução. Tal só aconteceria muito depois da Guerra;
- Importantes para a imagem do país no estrangeiro foram ainda as grandes Exposições de Paris (1937) e Nova York (1939), e várias Feiras do Livro no estrangeiro, por exemplo a de Madrid em 1947. Há textos produzidos no âmbito destes eventos que poderão também um dia ser estudados, assim como os materiais sobre vinhos, monumentos, folclore, entre outros, que seguiam para as embaixadas no estrangeiro.

¹⁹ Em 1944 o SPN mudou de designação para Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (SNI). A troca de “Propaganda” por “Informação” “teve subjacentes efectivas preocupações de aperfeiçoamento do aparelho”, como refere acertadamente Jorge Ramos do Ó (1996, p. 895). E deve acrescentar-se a má fama que, no fim da Guerra, o termo adquirira.

²⁰ Só em 1972 a Imprensa Nacional se juntou com a Casa da Moeda, passando à designação que hoje conhecemos: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda.

²¹ Título completo da obra: *Portugal und sein Weg zum autoritären Staat* [Portugal e o seu caminho para um Estado autoritário]. Pode ser consultada na BNP.

O Fundo do SNI, à guarda da Torre do Tombo, possui, nas respectivas caixas, abundante e interessante documentação sobre as edições estrangeiras dos *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, bem como as versões estrangeiras das conhecidas entrevistas de António Ferro a Salazar.²² São elas a edição francesa, de 1934, com notas de Paul Valéry; a edição em língua espanhola, publicada no Chile em 1935; a edição em polaco, publicada em Varsóvia em 1935; a edição numa língua que não consegui identificar, mas publicada em Lisboa em 1938 e, ainda, a edição inglesa prefaciada por Austen Chamberlain (Londres, 1939). Nenhuma ainda está estudada, que eu saiba. Quanto às edições estrangeiras dos *Discursos*, reuni, por enquanto, dez: a francesa, em dois volumes (1937 e 1940); duas de língua espanhola, uma oriunda do Chile (1938), outra de Buenos Aires, com prefácio de Gil Robles; a alemã, com prefácio do germanista Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos e uma nota introdutória de Joseph Goebbels (Essen, 1938); a italiana (Florença, 1939); a romena (Bucareste, 1939); a polaca (Varsóvia, 1939) e a húngara (Budapeste, 1941). Destas, estão estudadas por mim cinco: as traduções francesa, inglesa, alemã e checa (Seruya, 2017, 2018), tendo a história da edição alemã sido posteriormente aprofundada (Seruya, 2019).²³

5. Conclusão

As ideias sobre tradução no Estado Novo são contraditórias, mesmo ao nível do poder. Por um lado, pode dizer-se que a importação de autores estrangeiros em grande escala a partir dos anos 40, autores que se viriam a considerar canónicos da literatura universal, aproximou os leitores portugueses de níveis mais elevados de cultura; mas a grande diversidade de traduções, que implantaram subgéneros como a novela sentimental, o *western* ou o policial, veio satisfazer também a vontade de entretenimento de um público urbano em expansão. Por outro lado, como vimos, a qualidade das traduções deixava a desejar, levando a protestos de entidades ligadas ao mercado do livro. Por sua vez, do lado do poder, o Estado tanto instituiu a censura e proibição de traduções que democratizariam o acesso ao livro estrangeiro da parte das camadas que não sabiam línguas estrangeiras, como investiu duradouramente na promoção da sua imagem e do seu chefe máximo, promovendo a tradução do regime para diversas línguas europeias. Como se vê, a tradução é tudo menos um acto inócuo.

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²³ Está, neste momento, em curso uma tese de doutoramento sobre a edição inglesa na Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

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TRANSLATORIAL SELF-CENSORSHIP UNDER THE PORTUGUESE ESTADO NOVO: SÉRGIO GUIMARÃES' 1959 TRANSLATION OF *CAT ON A HOT TIN ROOF*

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ABSTRACT: Taking as a starting point Chesterman's (2009) proposal for an interdiscipline of Translator Studies within a sociological scope, this article discusses the concept of translatorial self-censorship in light of the 20th-century Portuguese dictatorship. The play *Gata em telhado de zinco quente*, a translation of Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a hot tin roof*, commissioned to Sérgio Guimarães in 1959 by impresario Vasco Morgado, provides sufficient archival material for a debate on the multiple layers of censorship in the target (con)text, with implications for translator agency. **KEYWORDS:** Translator Studies, Theatre, Translatorial Self-Censorship, Tennessee Williams, Translator's Agency

1. Introduction

With nearly fifty years having passed since the end of institutionalised censorship in Portugal,¹ there is already a considerable body of research into translation under the Estado Novo (e.g. Cabrera, 2013; Seruya, 2018; Seruya et al., 2008). However, further quantitative and qualitative research is crucial in order to obtain a more comprehensive historiography of the phenomenon of censorship and translation in the Portuguese context. Such studies will also provide a better understanding of the individual and collective practices involved in the multiple layers of state-imposed censorship, along with other types of censorship during dictatorial regimes.

At the height of the longest Western European dictatorship of the 20th century, censorship was fundamental to the *modus operandi* of artistic creation. As authors, playwrights and other artists had increasingly limited conceptual tools at their disposal with which to exercise their craft, translation was a means to an end: to keep cultural production alive. Hence, the translation of foreign plays became one of the most important ways of renewing the Portuguese theatrical repertoire.

According to Luiz Francisco Rebello (2000, p. 494), the compulsory censorship impeded the production of many theatrical works, whether national, international or from different historical periods. Hence, translatorial self-censorship was a way of escaping the "blue pencil"² and the political repercussions attached to it. The written word may have posed a threat to the regime, but the performed word arguably brought even greater risks and fears of reprisal.

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¹ Legally instituted in the 1933 Portuguese Constitution, it was abrogated in 1974 with the Carnation Revolution.

² *Lápis azul* ["blue pencil"] became the iconic symbol of censorship in Portugal in the 20th century. Censors struck out texts considered unsuitable for national audiences, namely those with content that would go against the core values, beliefs and assumptions proclaimed by the Portuguese autocratic regime: Deus, Pátria e Família ["God, Homeland and Family"].

Extending Francesca Billiani's (2007, p. 4) approach, I intend here to query the "degree of paradoxically productive freedom" present in Sérgio Guimarães' translatorial work for the Portuguese stage, and explore the extent to which he manifests agency through translatorial self-censorship within a context of institutional repression. In other words, the aim is to reach a better understanding of censorship as both a repressive and "productive" tool and to investigate "how power structures are put in place when censorship acts upon translation" (Billiani, 2007, p. 4).

According to Billiani, the relationship between the various agents in the translation process and the fluidity of censorship practices therein may be productively studied via archives, because "correspondence between (...) diverse cultural agents (...) sheds light on the process by which a certain aesthetic, ideological and cultural understanding of reality is shaped and, more importantly, shared" (2007, p. 5). In "analysing the narratives" in archives, "we can understand how a community negotiates its own identity and textuality as well as its cultural and aesthetic paradigms" (p. 5). Therefore, self-censorship can be simultaneously understood as a device that triggers not only repression but also creativity (p. 10), which in turn is affected by a person's attitude towards the government's regulations and norms.

In this regard, over the past decade, valuable documented files have been examined by translation studies scholars who have contributed towards an archaeology of translation and censorship in Portugal (e.g. Cabrera 2013; Seruya et al. 2008; Seruya, 2018). As we have seen, compulsory censorship affected all areas of intellectual production under Salazar's regime, including the visual and performing arts.

Tennessee Williams' 1955 play *Cat on a hot tin roof* (Williams, [1955] 2009), translated by Sérgio Guimarães as *Gata em telhado de zinco quente* (Williams, [1955] 1959) in response to a commission from Vasco Morgado's Monumental Theatre, is a paradigmatic example of a translated play censored by Salazar's regime. Focusing on the translator's craft, this article raises questions about the phenomenon of censorship and self-censorship that shaped the play and its circulation in the late 1950s, in light of the sociopolitical background in Portugal.

The article begins by briefly describing the genealogy of Salazar's censorship mechanism in accordance with legislation. The next section is subdivided into three parts. The first introduces the translator, Sérgio Guimarães, while the second provides archival information that has greatly contributed to our understanding of the translator's profile, raising questions about the degree of agency he enjoyed in the translation process. Finally, in the third part, examples are given of textual excerpts that illustrate the translator's subordination to the values of the regime and his attempts to rework Tennessee Williams for the Portuguese stage.

2. The Inspectorate-General for Theatres and theatre censorship in 1950s Portugal

McCarthyism, the body of political and social repression which shaped cultural production in the United States between 1950 and 1957, considerably influenced the work of writers

like Tennessee Williams. *Cat on a hot tin roof*, in its page, stage and cinema versions, did not escape this dictatorial mechanism. At a time when not only communists but also homosexuals, like the author himself, were prosecuted and imprisoned by the government, the playwright was constrained in his depiction of Brick's sexual orientation.

The translation of this work circulating in the Portuguese context also underwent similar processes. It was subject not only to the state-imposed control of literary production and the performing arts, but also to a process of self-censorship by the translator. This article aims to shed light on the intricate relationship between the two.

Censorship in Portugal started after the coup of 28 May 1926 that installed the dictatorial regime. Formally established on 6 May 1927, it entirely changed theatrical life in order to prevent “the perversion of public opinion” and “offences against the law, morals and good customs” (Santos, 2002, p. 196):³

Although censorship did not always have well-established rules – relying on the mood of the censors – it became normal, from then on, to shred texts, veto authors, and forbid theatre plays on the opening night, even when they had been previously approved. It was a disgusting thing, which never slowed down, damaging theatrical life so deeply that even today, after so many years of freedom, it is difficult to have a clear idea of its true dimension. Authors and companies started to watch themselves, undergoing self-censorship, an attitude that takes decades to cleanse from the spirit. Although freedom was restored in 1974, it is hard to think about theatre after this time and until the end of the century, without considering such conditions.

Following the fall of the First Republic, the Inspectorate-General for Theatres was created on 6 May 1927 with the publication of Decree-Law no. 13,564, overseen by the Ministry of Public Education (Ministério de Instrução Pública). The aim was to define rules that would govern the operations of entertainment companies, ensuring the “interests of artists, authors and translators” and other theatre-related professionals (Cabrera, 2013, p. 19). On 25 September 1933, the Secretariat for National Propaganda was created, though it was extinguished in 1944 and integrated into the National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism. In the following year – marked by the end of World War II – the Censorship Board (Comissão de Censura) was created, focusing particularly on cinema and theatre.

The Censorship Board had a number of functions: to issue professional licenses to artists; to inspect national companies, verifying compliance with obligations to artists and property rights; to apply fines; to authorise shows and punish any offenses against the law, morals and good customs (Cabrera, 2013, p. 20). Data available at the National Archives of Torre do Tombo (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – ANTT) show that plays could be (1) approved, (2) approved with cuts or (3) rejected, in which case they would be banned

³ All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

from performance throughout the whole of Portugal (mainland and islands). Some, however, might be reassessed later in the wake of political changes.⁴

Considering the typology of censorship established by Assis Rosa (2009, p. 127),⁵ data show that texts were subject to prior censorship and *a posteriori* repressive censorship. In addition to these two phases, theatre plays would have to undergo an intermediate stage, which occurred at the dress rehearsal. The report issued by the Inspectorate-General for Theatres monitoring services about the work analysed here presents data on the genre, title, number of acts, names of author and translator, date and starting time of dress rehearsals, name of intervening censors, and classification obtained in accordance with the age of approved audiences. The first sheet also presents the names of the cast and other professionals involved in the production, such as the director, while the second remarks on the costumes and scenery, rehearsals' closing time and expected date of the first performance. Some more or less restrictive comments made by the censors are also given. In brief, all this information was required for the compulsory censorship process, and the document had to be signed by the Board's chief inspector (Lopes, 2014, p. 16).

When a play was approved, a document would be issued that enabled its performance throughout Portuguese territory. In addition to basic descriptive information (i.e. the play's title and genre, number of acts and names of author and translator), the document also contained a registration number and a classification according to the age of the audience allowed to attend (Lopes, 2014, p. 16).

Censorship processes were formalised through correspondence between the impresario and the chief inspector of the Censorship Board. Letters addressed to the Inspectorate-General for Theatres indicate that the first request involved announcing that the play was ready to be censored. Before the response was received from the National Secretariat for Information, the translations were delivered and examined, and then artistic directors had to "invite" the censors to the rehearsal. This process will be further discussed in the second part of this article in connection with Sérgio Guimarães' translation of *Cat on a hot tin roof*.

2.1 Sérgio Guimarães: the translator and his craft

In the introduction to his article "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies", Andrew Chesterman (2009, pp. 13-14) states that "all research on (human) translations must surely at least imply that there are indeed translators behind the translations, people behind the texts". The sociological framework within which such studies would take place covers, he says, "such issues as the status of (different kinds of) translators in different cultures, rates

⁴ A good example is *Chá e Simpatia*, translated by Sérgio Guimarães in 1964, which was re-evaluated in 1970. Although no specific reasons are provided in the process regarding the play, this decision could have been made in the aftermath of Salazar's death.

⁵ Assis Rosa (2009) establishes five different types of censorship in the Portuguese context: 1) prior censorship/*a priori*/preventive system vs repressive censorship/*a posteriori*/repressive system; 2) transitory censorship, regime censorship, censorship in war time, the gag-law (*Lei da Rolha*); 3) selective censorship; 4) debugging (*depuração*); 5) *stricto sensu* censorship vs internal censorship/self-censorship.

of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator's *habitus*, professional organisations, accreditation systems, translators' networks, copyright, and so on" (p. 16). He also suggests that the term *telos* could be used to refer to the personal motivation of translators, and that it could comprise both the general motivations (*teloi*) for working in the field and the reasons for translating a specific text (p. 17).

In the context of censorship, Chesterman's line of thought has been complemented with considerations derived from Bourdieu's sociological framework, since "to understand fully how censorship operates, one needs to take into consideration its relationship with the habitus of the field in which it circulates" (Bourdieu, cited in Billiani, 2007, p. 6).

(...) it follows that structural censorship occurs in the field within which a text circulates and is determined by the habitus of the agents belonging to that field. In this respect, censorship has to be seen not as an institutional set of rules, or even as an overtly repressive means of controlling public opinion and discourses: rather as a set of unwritten rules, shaped both by the current habitus and by the symbolic capital a text enjoys in a certain field. (Bourdieu, cited in Billiani, 2007, p. 6)

As we shall see, in the case of the 1959 Portuguese translation of *Cat on a hot tin roof*, the translator is himself a central agent in the censorship process, having internalised the rules and values circulating within his habitus.

Sérgio Guimarães' profile is marked by two crucial factors: versatility and professional instability. He was also clearly a jack of all trades, having worked as a photographer, costume and set designer, actor, publisher, secretary and illustrator, as well as a translator. This suggests that his working conditions will have been very unstable throughout most of his life.

There are three different entries for him in the database of the Centre for Theatre Studies in Lisbon (CETbase, 2020): one as a translator,⁶ one as an actor⁷ (he played the character of Bernard in Arthur Miller's *Death of a salesman*, translated into Portuguese as *Morte dum caixeiro viajante*) and a third that corresponds to *Death of a salesman*, the theatre play itself, translated by José Cardoso Pires and Victor Palla.⁸ We also know that he worked as a secretary to impresario Vasco Morgado for five years (1959-1964),⁹ during which time he translated the theatre plays¹⁰ shown in Table 1.

⁶ Entry number 7812 (CETbase, 2020).

⁷ Entry number 11911 (CETbase, 2020).

⁸ Entry number 1483 (CETbase, 2020). This play was performed by Porto's Teatro Experimental on 16 November 1954 (Lopes, 2014, p. 64) and, according to this entry, a new performance was staged on 28 March 1958.

⁹ According to Pedro Marques (2018), a bionote to this effect was found in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo.

¹⁰ This list comprises plays translated between 1959 and 1964. The last play, *Tea and sympathy*, was revised in 1970. Although the listed plays were originally written in different languages (English, French, Spanish and German), Guimarães was fluent only in French and had reasonable knowledge of English, according to António Ferra (2009). According to the blogger, this means that if Guimarães translated Marx Frish, it could not have been from the German source text. As for the play by Jorge Llopis in Castilian, despite the language's proximity to Portuguese, we do not know for sure whether Guimarães' translation was the result of an

Original Title	Author	Date	Portuguese title	Date of translation	Context	Language
<i>Cat on a hot tin roof</i>	Tennessee Williams	1955	<i>Gata em telhado de zinco quente</i>	1959	Drama in three acts by Tennessee Williams, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, approved with cuts, to be staged by impresario Vasco Morgado	EN
<i>Double image</i>	Roger MacDougall (written in collaboration with Ted Allan, with plot by Roy Vickers)	1956	<i>Eu não sou eu</i>	1960	Comedy in two acts by Roger MacDougall and Ted Allan, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, approved with cuts, to be performed at the Teatro Monumental	EN
<i>The million pound note</i>	Max Régnier	1954	<i>Milionários sem vintém</i>	1960	Comedy in a prologue and two acts by Max Régnier, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, forbidden by the Censorship Commission, to be staged at the Teatro Monumental	FR
<i>The mousetrap</i>	Agatha Christie	1952	<i>A ratoeira</i>	1960	Play in two acts by Agatha Christie, approved with cuts, to be staged at the Teatro Monumental	EN
<i>Charlie's aunt</i>	Based on the farce written by Brandon Thomas	1892	<i>A tia de Charley</i>	1961	Comedy in two acts by George Abbott, translated and adapted by Sérgio Guimarães, approved with cuts, to be performed at the	EN

(continues)

indirect translation through English or French, since these were the two languages he mastered (Lopes, 2014, p. 66).

					Teatro Monumental	
<i>La tentación de va de compras</i>	Jorge Llopis	1956	<i>O diabo é um anjinho</i>	1961	Comedy in three acts by Jorge Llopis, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, approved with cuts, to be performed at the Teatro Monumental	ES
<i>Die Grosse Wut des Philipp Hotz</i>	Max Frish	1956	<i>A grande raiva de Filipe Hotz</i>	1961	Comedy in one act by Max Frish, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, to be performed at the Teatro Monumental	DE
<i>L'Apollo de Bellac</i>	Jean Giradoux	1942	<i>O Apolo de Bellac</i>	1961	Comedy in one act by Jean Giradoux, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, to be performed at the Teatro Monumental	FR
<i>Tea and sympathy</i>	Robert Anderson	1953	<i>Chá e simpatia</i>	1964-1970	Comedy in two acts by Robert Anderson, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, banned by the Censorship Commission from being staged by the Vasco Morgado Company, having been approved with cuts in 1970	EN
<i>The marriage go-round</i>	Leslie Stevens	1958	<i>Lições de matrimónio</i>	1965	Play in two acts by Leslie Stevens, translated by Sérgio Guimarães, approved with cuts, to be performed at the Teatro Variedades	EN

Table 1. Plays translated by Sérgio Guimarães (adapted from Lopes, 2014, pp. xli-xliv).

According to Marques (2018), Guimarães was born in 1933 in Porto, where he attended Manuel II High School. He had acquaintances in the world of arts and knew writer Luís Pacheco, with whom he collaborated in book publications (Ferra, 2009). According to the same source, he lived in Paris for a while during the 1960s and worked for *Elle* magazine, having attended Fernand Léger's *atelier*. He illustrated the book *Morse de sangue* by João Apolinário, published in Porto in 1955.

Ferra (2009) also mentions a poster created for the Carnation Revolution in Portugal from a photograph by Sérgio Guimarães, distributed by the publisher Avante. The photograph depicts a child apparently placing a red carnation inside the barrel of a G3. Charged with a powerful symbolic anti-Fascist meaning, the image became widely popular, which meant that Guimarães was required to give a number of interviews to international newspapers and magazines, although, as emphasised by the author in his bionote, the poster was easily disregarded by the Portuguese media.

Guimarães worked as a professional photographer in the field of advertising but did not limit himself to this activity. As a photographer, he published books with titles such as *As paredes na revolução* ["The walls in the revolution"], *Diário de uma revolução* ["Diary of a revolution"] and *O 25 de Abril visto por crianças* ["The 25th of April seen by children"]. Hence, it is not a surprise to learn that he was a proud member of the Portuguese Communist Party, as Ferra confirmed via e-mail. After his advertisement contract work ended, Guimarães became a publisher of erotic literature, producing titles such as *Os prazeres do sexo* and *História de O* (Portuguese translations of Alex Comfort's *The joy of sex* and Pauline Réage's *Histoire d'O*, respectively). Regrettably, this business ended up going bankrupt (Marques, 2018).

Given these circumstances of Guimarães' life, it becomes even more important to ask: how does *Gata em telhado de zinco quente* comply with the more conservative or subversive forces circulating at the time of its performance in Portugal in 1959? To what extent does creativity thrive on translatorial censorship? What do we learn about the role and status of Guimarães from his translations? And most of all, how does the translator's agency gain shape in the circulation of a text coming from the politically repressed United States of America to a peripheral southern European autocratic country?

2.2 Cat on a hot tin roof: transitioning to the Portuguese stage

Tennessee Williams was not at all a stranger to European audiences. Not only had his work circulated widely across post-war Europe through decades of cinematographic adaptations, he had himself lived in Europe for a while, particularly in Rome, Paris and Barcelona. As John Bak (2014, p. 7) puts it, Williams was able to challenge European audiences regarding censored topics revolving around sexuality, particularly in countries affected by different degrees of totalitarianism: "to a certain extent, Europe helped Williams out of the theatre's closet, with plays like *Camino Real*, *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and *Suddenly Last Summer* bearing traces of his European experiences in their more earnest treatment of homosexuality than did his plays of the previous decade".

With regard to Williams' position in his homeland, Mizejewski (1992, p. 90) states:

the "censorship" of Broadway productions tended to be internal and closely attuned to a general sense of public morality. The representation of promiscuity was usually limited to melodramatic suffering (Tennessee Williams) or eventual accommodation into domesticity and romance.

Hence, authorial intent and censorship went hand in hand as far as Williams' work is concerned. Regarding the Portuguese translations, as detailed below, the situation was no different.

Richard Brooks' film *Cat on a hot tin roof* premiered in Portuguese cinemas in 1958, when the practice of cutting scenes and omitting subtitles was an institutionalised way of dealing with subversive content such as sex, divorce and adultery. Williams' plays were also staged worldwide, and there is no doubt they caused great cultural impact amongst European audiences.

As far as the reception of Williams' works in Portugal is concerned, a survey¹¹ of the records at the ANTT identifies the translators, titles, and dates of his works translated into Portuguese during this period: (i) R. Magalhães Júnior, *A rosa tatuada (The rose tattoo)*, 1956-1957; (ii) Edurisa Filho, *A descida de Orfeu (Orpheus descent)*, 1969; (iii) Idalina S. N. Pinto Amaro, *A noite da iguana (The night of the iguana)*, 1966; (iv) Costa Ferreira, *Fumo de verão (Summer and smoke)*, 1965; (v) Luís de Sttau Monteiro, *Fumo de verão (Summer and smoke)*, 1966; (vi) Rui Guedes da Silva, *Bruscamente no verão passado (Suddenly last summer)*, 1965; (vii) Correia Alves, *O jardim zoológico de vidro (The glass menagerie)*, 1957 and 1959; (viii) Correia Alves, *uma carta de amor de Lord Byron (Lord Byron's love letter)*, 1962; (ix) Luiz Francisco Rebello, *Saudades de Berta (Hello from Bertha)*, 1961; (x) António Quadros, *Um eléctrico chamado desejo (A streetcar named Desire)*, 1963. Apart from Guimarães, who is central to this research, a translation into French was also archived at the ANTT, entitled (xi) *Le doux oiseau de la jeunesse (The sweet bird of youth)*, translated in 1972 by Françoise Sagan. In total, four plays were rejected, and those that were approved underwent severe adjustments.

As far as the archival material is concerned, sorting and identifying all the steps taken during the translation censorship process was a challenging task, but revealed further information about translatorial self-censorship. Multiple dates were identified, and numerous decisions were taken regarding different parts of the text. It appears that the censors met regularly before and after the play's premiere in Lisbon on 16 October 1959. Their reports indicate that most of the negotiations took place over the months of July, August and October 1959. On 28 July the play was officially registered and signed by the president of the Censorship Board. The initial decision to cut parts of the text was agreed upon and signed on 3 August. Four days later, the play's permit was issued by the Shows Committee and the translation was handed to the censors for official authorisation. The

¹¹ Theatre scholar Eugénia Vasques (2007) also conducted a survey on the reception of Tennessee Williams during Estado Novo. Her findings have been incorporated into my own list.

following day the permit was signed by the president of the Censorship Board once again, noting that no official receipt had been submitted for the translation costs (Lopes, 2014, pp. 41-42). This absence of receipts precludes further speculation about Guimarães' terms of employment as a translator. The fact that he worked as secretary for Vasco Morgado suggests that translating was one of the many tasks he was given to perform on a regular basis.

Throughout the months of August and October, decisions were made nearly every week. *Gata em telhado de zinco quente* was registered on 28 July 1959. On 3 August, the Censorship Board signed a document confirming that some parts of the text should be removed. Four days later, on 7 August, the play's license was issued and the translation was handed to the Board to be censored. The next day (8 August), the Board's chairman signed a note informing that the translation had been received. New textual cuts were made on 1 October, and on 2 October the play was approved by the Shows Committee. On 10 October, Vasco Morgado sent a letter to the Board confirming that the performance was ready to be censored, and on 13 October he invited the Board to censor the performance. The dress rehearsal took place on 14 October. On 15 October, a report was signed with remarks made by the Board and the play premiered on 16 October. On 28 October, new cuts were made to the text while subsequent performances took place. Finally, on 29 October Vasco Morgado was informed by the Board that further cuts were to be imposed and that selected dialogues were also rejected, namely from pages 33, 104 and 117.

2.3 Translatorial self-censorship

According to Maria Tymoczko (cited in Woods, 2012, p. 4), the translator is permeable to existing external constraints, internalising dominant codes and ideologies due either to pre-existing subject positions or to a perception that such acceptance can bring benefits. With regard to this particular translator's experience and motivations, I would like to draw attention to two distinct points in Guimarães' translation of *Cat on a hot tin roof*, which show how he, too, had internalised the dominant values of the regime.

The first is part of a scene in Act 1 in which Brick has a conversation with his wife Margaret about an alleged friendship between himself and Skipper. After realising that her husband had started showing symptoms of depression and anxiety shortly after his best friend committed suicide, Margaret recalls a day when the two of them had gone out in a foursome with their respective girlfriends (Margaret with Brick and Gladys Fitzgerald with Skipper). Margaret implies that the meeting meant a great deal to Skipper and Brick, since they clearly had an unusual bond that went beyond the standard definition of friendship in the heteronormative society of 1950s Mississippi. However, under the circumstances in which the play was being translated, the suggestion of a potential homosexual relationship between Skipper and Brick was a taboo subject that would surely be deemed as "perverting" the public opinion. Hence, in the translation, the reference to making a good public impression disappears, potentially leaving out any sense of ambiguity.

EN: Margaret: (...) it was like a date between you and Skipper. Gladys and I were just sort of tagging along as if it was necessary to chaperone you – to make a good public impression. (Williams, [1955] 2009, p. 26)

PT: Margaret: (...) foi mais como que um encontro entre ti e Skipper. Gladys e eu éramos apenas as vossas damas de companhia. (Williams, [1955] 1959, p. 33)

Back Translation: Margaret: (...) it was like a meeting between you and Skipper. Gladys and I were only there as your ladies-in-waiting.

The use of “damas de companhia” in the Portuguese translation to render “chaperone” can open new interpretative possibilities, since the term can also mean “lady-in-waiting” or “lady companion”. The last two options tone down the existing sexual connotation in the source text. This indicates that Guimarães had already exerted some degree of censorship even before the translation was examined by the Board. The same thing happens with other problematic episodes.

The second excerpt corresponds to dialogues at the end of Act 2. Mr Pollitt (Big Daddy) and Brick, his son, have a heated conversation about the fact that Brick has no heirs and has been in the grip of a depression since losing his best friend Skipper. Brick has also had an accident and broken his leg, leading him to abandon his sports career:

EN: Big Daddy: All I ask of that woman is that she leave me alone. But she can't admit to herself that she makes me sick. That comes of having slept with her too many years. (Williams, [1955] 2009, p. 51)

PT: Pai: Tudo o que eu peço àquela mulher é que me deixe sozinho! Mas ela não admite que me enjoa. Saturei-me dela. Foram anos demais. (Williams, [1955] 1959, p. 60)

Back Translation: Father: All I ask of that woman is that she leave me alone. But she can't admit she makes me sick. I'm tired of her. It's been too many years.

As mentioned by Seruya and Moniz (2008, p. 3), in the Portuguese censorship context, any ideology that went directly against Christian morality (such as criticisms of marriage or themes of homosexuality, adultery or divorce) would inevitably lead to a rejection of literary content on both page and stage. In this case, the source text allusion to Big Daddy and Big Mama's sexual life has been omitted in the Portuguese version.

Big Daddy is often blunt and sarcastic, especially when the subject matter is sex. In his opinion, the sexual investment of a lifetime with his wife was a complete waste of resources. In the next excerpt, we can see that the depreciative expression “old woman” was replaced by the noun “wife” in translation. Similarly, his unashamed boasts about his sexual prowess have been completely omitted.

EN: Big Daddy: Should have quit much sooner but that old woman she never got enough of it – and I was good in bed (...) I never should have wasted so much of it on her. (Williams, [1955] 2009, p. 51)

PT: Pai: Um homem, no que respeita a sua própria mulher, deve retirar-se a tempo, percebes? Se não, fica saturado. Ela era uma fera insaciável e eu deixei-me ir atrás disso. Gastei demasiado, sabes? (Williams, [1955] 1959, p. 60)

Back Translation: Father: As far as his own wife is concerned, a man should back off in time, do you understand? If not, he gets saturated. She was an insatiable beast and I fell for it. I've wasted too much, you know?

There is also a change of tone in Big Daddy's speech in the Portuguese translation. Emphasis is put on the role of a man within the marital bond in relation to the woman, suggesting that the male is the one who should always take the lead, knowing when to act and what to do in order to keep his integrity and things running smoothly within the household. Bearing in mind that this is a conversation between a father and his son, who is also going through marital trouble himself, this piece of advice goes against the morality praised by the Portuguese government.

Finding out that his cancer diagnosis was wrong and that he would no longer die of illness, Big Daddy makes clear his wish to have sex with another woman. Therefore, his plan is to find a mistress and give into temptation and carnal pleasure. Unlike the previous scene from page 33, which had been completely eliminated by the censors, this scene is modified by the translator, who simply suggests physical fatigue as a potential consequence of aging, rather than refer to the character's sexual impulses or his desire to find a mistress, both of which had been present in the source text.

EN: Big Daddy: Well I got a few left in me, a few, and I'm going to pick me a good one to spend'em on! I'm going to pick me a choice one. (Williams, [1955] 2009, p. 51)

PT: Pai: Mas julgas que fiquei definitivamente gasto? Estás muito enganado. Ainda tenho muito de sobra, muito, garanto-te. (Williams, [1955] 1959, p. 60)

Back Translation: Do you think I was definitely worn out? You're very wrong. I still have a lot left, I assure you.

These excerpts provide strong evidence that the translator changed the content of Williams' play to circumvent the Portuguese institutional censorship at the time. However, despite this, parts of the script were still considered inappropriate for theatre audiences, and a speech from the end of Act 2 was removed by the censors, as shown in Figure 1.

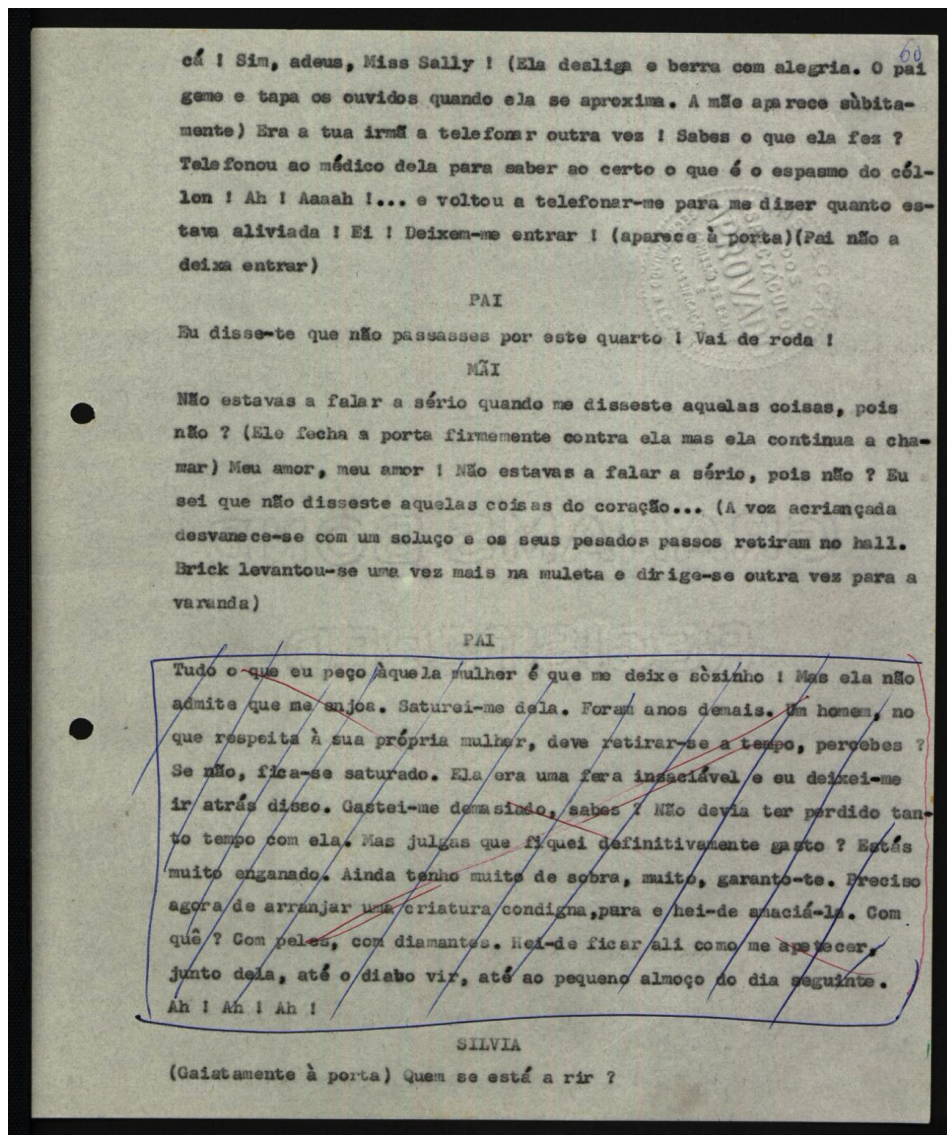


Figure 1. Excerpt from page 60 of Guimarães' translation of *Cat on a hot tin roof*, showing the censor's first interventions.

(Reproduced with permission from ANTT)

With this speech from page 60 removed, the play managed to make an appearance on 28 October 1959. However, the censors were still dissatisfied, and the work was withdrawn for further alterations. Some "immoral" material found on page 33 of the script was also eliminated, severely altering the content of Williams' original play (Figure 2).

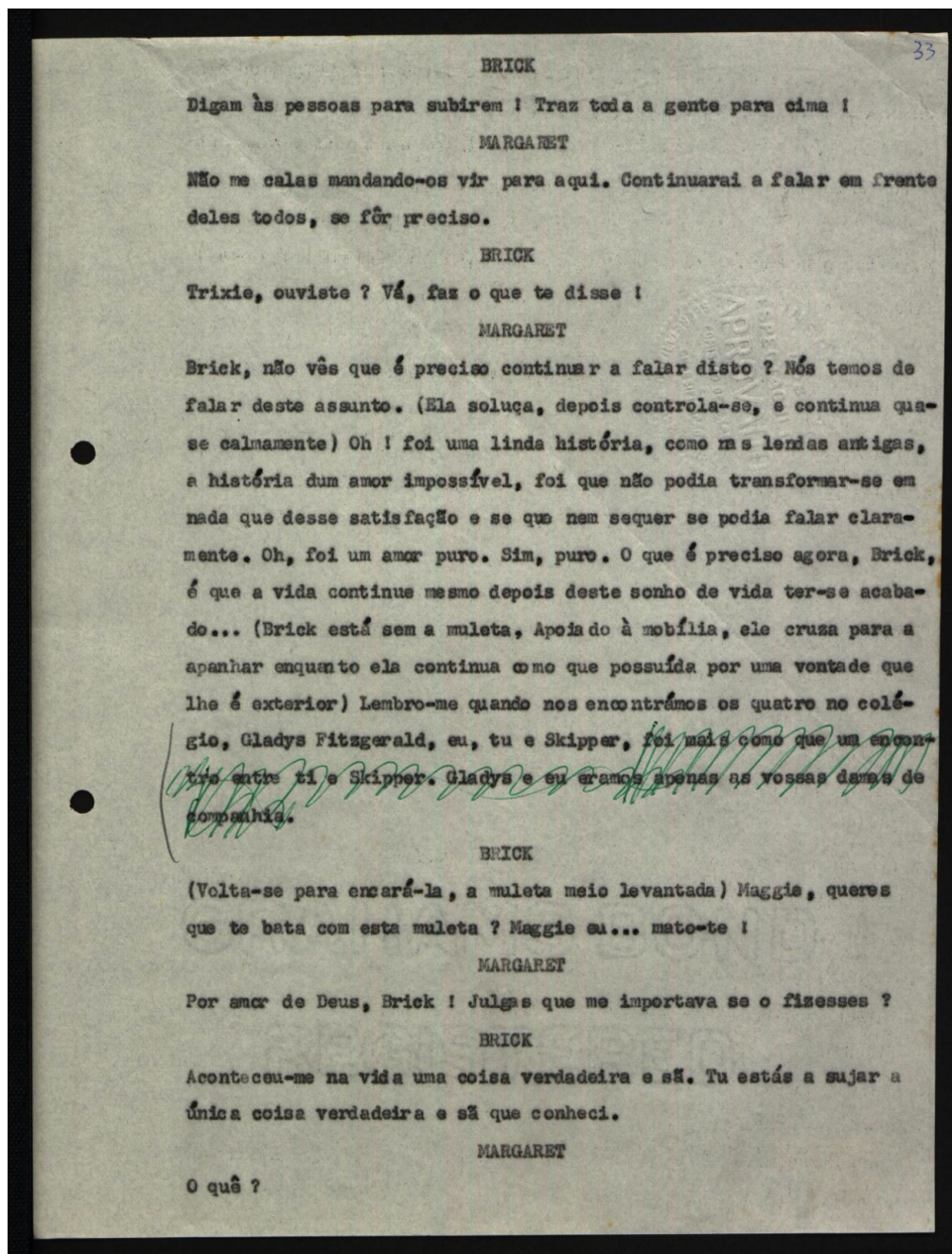


Figure 2. Excerpt from page 33 of Guimarães' translation of *Cat on a hot tin roof*, showing the censor's second interventions.
(Reproduced with permission from ANTT)

Thus, we can observe the intricate oscillation between self-censorship and institutional censorship that went hand in hand in the translation and staging of Williams' plays.

3. Concluding remarks

In his translations, Sérgio Guimarães shows that he was fully aware of the political, social and aesthetic values of the regime, and would often anticipate them. Indeed, his first version of *Gata em telhado de zinco quente* was actually approved by the censors. Only after the premiere were entire scenes removed, suggesting that elements of the staging and performance might have contributed to the censors' decision.

In the process of translating this play, Guimarães was left with no other choice than to use self-censorship and his own creativity. Institutional decisions were not always clear and minds could change overnight, representing more obstacles for all the agents involved in the performance on and off stage. Hence, as we have seen, the process of representing the cultural *other* became, more than anything else, a virtual confrontation with the repressive official mechanism.

In the correspondence between the Censorship Board and the impresario Vasco Morgado, the translator is largely invisible, indicating that he held little cultural capital in the censorship process. However, Guimarães clearly used self-censorship to comply with the requirements of the system. After all, it was in his best interest to produce material that could be approved and staged, since this would translate into more revenue for the company he worked with.

Guimarães seems to have taken ownership of his text to a certain degree by proposing feasible alternatives that met the criteria prescribed by the censors and sustained the core values endorsed by the Portuguese government. This meant that the lines were often blurred in terms of decision-making. Although he was unable to fully convey the source text, in the end he managed to manifest his own agency by choosing what to say on page and by allowing others (the actors) to say it on stage. Hence, this case study shows how the translator would employ self-censorship in order to make potentially risqué content acceptable in a theatre context under the Portuguese dictatorial regime.

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MEASURING CENSORSHIP?: DETERMINING THE LEVEL OF “CENSOREDNESS” OF FILMS SUBTITLED DURING THE DICTATORSHIP IN PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT: During the Portuguese Estado Novo (1933-1974), many films were banned and others mutilated by the cutting of scenes and suppression and manipulation of subtitles. What reached the audience, in many cases, was a cleansed version of the original. A quick look into censorship documents shows how many cuts a film might have suffered. Suppressed subtitles are also relatively easy to detect. Yet, to get a complete picture, one has to take a deeper look at the subtitles, comparing them with the original spoken dialogues to detect ideological manipulations on the linguistic level. But how can one tell if a film was heavily or slightly censored? Is “censoredness” comparable? This article sets out to find an answer to the question of whether these measures are objectively describable and structurable, and if so, how the level of “censoredness” of subtitled films can be determined, with a view to allowing a larger-scale comparison of films.

KEYWORDS: Estado Novo, Film Censorship, Subtitling, Manipulation

1. Introduction

During the dictatorship in Portugal, from 1933 until the Carnation Revolution in 1974, when the state sought to control and influence all kinds of cultural production, all foreign films had to pass censorship. The aim was to keep people’s minds free of subversive thoughts from abroad, preserve values like obedience, patriotism, conservatism and faith, and thus secure “paz social” [“social peace”] (Silva, 2013, p. 185) in the country. In charge of this defence of the state’s ideology was the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional – SPN [National Propaganda Office], renamed the Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo – SNI [National Information, Popular Culture and Tourism Office] in 1945, before being transformed into the Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo – SEIT [State Information and Tourism Office] in 1968, with Marcello Caetano’s political “spring” (Pieper, 2018, pp. 157, 162; Reis Torgal, 2000).

Many films were not even imported into Portugal, since film distributors often deemed it not worth their while trying to go through the censorship process. In cases of doubt, however, they could submit a film for *censura prévia* [“pre-censorship”]. If a film was banned at this stage, the film would be sent back, and the import taxes would be saved. Even if the distributors had concerns that a film might be rejected, they might risk submitting it directly for regular censorship, making cuts beforehand in order to make it more acceptable. There was also the option to submit it again at a later time.

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For the regular censorship session, a list of subtitles had to be presented on paper; indeed, in most cases, the subtitles were only added to the footage after they had been formally approved. Here another aspect comes into play, which could influence the censor’s assessment: the use of “safe” vocabulary, an act of self-censorship. Once in the censors’ hands, images and subtitles were always scrutinised by at least two inspectors of the censorship board, a procedure that could be repeated several times if there was disagreement. After reaching a consensus, the censors would write a report giving their final decision: *aprovado sem cortes* [“approved without cuts”], *aprovado com cortes* [“approved with cuts”] or *reprovado* [“rejected”]. When a film was approved, the distributors would then carry out the orders to cut scenes, and suppress or rewrite subtitles, and after a final check by the censors the film could be released (António, 2001, pp. 31-37; Pieper, 2018, pp. 157-159).

Although censorship reacted to certain historical events,¹ over the decades, it can be generally noted that the two most censored issues were eroticism (or moral issues, in a wider sense) and violence. But the questioning of hierarchies and the political order or of traditional and religious values would also be targeted by the censors’ “blue pencil”² (António, 2001, pp. 56-71; Morais, 2017, p. 15).

Today, the censorship documents are archived in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – ANTT [Portuguese National Archive], in Lisbon. These documents include correspondence between distributors and the censorship board, censors’ reports and also lists of subtitles, which were often marked with comments by the censors, as they viewed the films with the lists in their hands. The ANTT provides information about the archived documents in the form of a spreadsheet, which contains the film’s original and Portuguese title, country of origin, genre, year(s) of the censorship process, and the censors’ decision (i.e. if the film was rejected or approved, with or without cuts, and, in some cases, if the film had been rejected before).

This article analyses the censorship processes undergone by two German films, one comedy and one crime film, both produced in the mid-1960s. Both were submitted for pre-censorship and initially rejected, though some years later, in the more relaxed climate of the Caetano regime, they were approved. A closer look into the documents reveals more details about the censorship process, but only a comparison of the subtitles with the original films allows judgements to be made about the extent to which censorship took effect. The objective of this study is to create and apply a system of analysis to determine if the censorship of subtitled films is comparable and thus “measurable”. In what follows,

¹ For example, after the beginning of the colonial war, films with pacifistic tendencies were more likely banned (António, 2001, p. 57; Pieper, 2018, pp. 159-164).

² Although the censors also used red or green pencils, the *lápiz azul* [“blue pencil”] is known as a synonym for censorship during the Estado Novo.

two films will be used to test the analysis system and to find out if it might also be applicable to a larger number of films.

2. Two films courting disapproval

Frühstück im Doppelbett with the Portuguese title *Pequeno almoço em cama de casal* [English title: *Breakfast in bed*], directed by Axel von Ambesser (1963), is a German post-war version of a screwball comedy. After their wedding, the newspaper publisher Henry Clausen increasingly neglects his beautiful young wife Liane, and the “breakfast in bed” soon does not take place anymore. The disappointed young woman starts a flirt with yoga teacher Victor, who lives in the apartment below the couple’s. When Henry also acquires a lover, a young author called Claudia, to make Liane jealous, the marriage seems to exist only on paper. But after the divorce, Henry and Liane discover that they actually love each other, and that it was marriage that had turned their relationship less passionate. They re-bond happily, while Claudia and Victor discover each other (Pidax film, 2014). Even though the spouses get back together again, we might expect their sexual immorality to have been a thorn in the side of the censors. Apart from that, the title suggests that parts of the film might take place in bed and feature sleepwear and nudity, which could also have been a reason for the negative assessment.

The second film, *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*, launched in Portugal under the title *O monstro da cidade de Londres* [English title: *The monster of London City*], was directed by Edwin Zbonek in 1964, and is one of a series of successful German pseudo-British film adaptations of Edgar Wallace crime novels. In the narrative, actor Richard Sand plays the infamous woman killer “Jack the Ripper” on the stage of London’s Edgar Allen Poe Theatre. When one night a prostitute is murdered in town, the historical sexual murderer seems to have been resurrected, and so not only Scotland Yard Inspector Dorne and his colleagues, but also two private detectives, decide to take a closer look at the actor and other suspects in the theatre milieu (Universum Film, 2009). Since the story features prostitutes and a cruel sexual killer, eroticism may once again have been the reason for the film’s failing to win the approval of the Portuguese censors, though the scenes of murder and crime could also have provided the impulse for its banning.

In short, these two films offer typical examples of the most frequently censored issues: sexuality and violence. The question is, which one suffered more censorship.

3. A look into the censorship documents

The distributor Doperfilme submitted *Frühstück im Doppelbett* for pre-censorship on 28 January 1964, and in this phase, it was viewed by four groups of censors. One censor from the first group wrote on 21 February 1964:³

A “coexistência pacífica” do casal com os respectivos amantes, é levada neste filme, em nosso entender, longe de mais, e uma grande parte do diálogo é desnecessariamente atrevido. Votamos pela não importação do filme. (SNI-IE-ECF,⁴ 1964)

[The couple’s “peaceful coexistence” with their respective lovers is, in our opinion, taken too far in this film, and much of the dialogue is unnecessarily bold. We vote not to import the film.]

A censor from the fourth group had another opinion and wrote on 4 March 1964:

Em meu entender o filme com alguns cortes de imagens e de diálogo, não excederá a bitola habitual [*illegible*] parecendo-me portanto que nessas condições poderia ser autorizada a sua importação. (SNI-IE-ECF, 1964)

[In my opinion, the film, with some image and dialogue cuts, would not exceed the usual (*illegible*) standards, and so it seems to me that, under these conditions, it could be authorized for import.]

However, the final decision was to reject the film, which was communicated to Doperfilme on 5 March 1964. The same day, the distributor sent a letter asking for the decision to be revised, since two copies of the film had already been imported by mistake (they had not anticipated that a comedy might not be approved), and offering to make cuts if necessary. A week later, on 13 March, the answer was the same: rejected. On 1 April, Doperfilme had another try and resubmitted a cut version, reiterating that the taxes had already been paid. The distributor’s letter reads:

(...) efectuámos cortes e nova montagem no filme em referencia de forma a passar a existir sòmente um “flirt” entre a esposa do jornalista e Lex Baxter (...). (SNI-IE-ECF, 1964)

[(...) we have made some cuts and re-edited the film so that there exists only a flirt between the journalist’s wife and Lex Barker (...).]

The censorship board must have given another negative answer (the document is not preserved) because, over half a year later, on 29 January 1965, Doperfilme submitted the film once again, repeating that it would mean a complete loss of the taxes already paid if

³ The spelling has been taken from the original document and may be outdated and incorrect. The English translation is my own; this applies to all further quotations from the censorship documents.

⁴ SNI-IE-ECF stands for Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo – Inspeção dos Espectáculos – Exame e Classificação de Filmes [National Information, Popular Culture and Tourism Office – Film and Theatre Inspectorate – Analysis and Classification of Films].

the film remained banned. Another three viewing sessions followed. On 14 May, one of the censors wrote:

Vi o filme. Parece-me que os cortes efectuados não melhoraram o filme e em nada ajudaram a resolver o problema no sentido de obter a aprovação. (SNI-IE-ECF, 1964)

[I have seen the film. It seems to me that the cuts made have not improved the film and have done nothing to help solve the problem in order to get approval.]

One more time, on 20 May 1965, the answer was negative. Then, four years later, when censorship was slightly more lenient under Marcello Caetano, Doperfilme submitted the film again and, on 17 March 1969, it was finally approved, on condition that two more scenes were cut. The instructions were that the cuts had to be made around subtitles 26 on page 31 and 104 on page 39.⁵ The screening license (for adults aged 17 and above) was finally issued on 8 June 1969. Interestingly, there is a note in the files indicating that the film was shown in Angola and Mozambique in 1964 and 1965. The documents also contain two different subtitle lists, as well as the censor’s complaint, in 1969, that the list of subtitles submitted on paper did not match the subtitles that actually appeared in the footage.

As for *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*, this was first submitted for pre-censorship on 19 July 1965. In one viewing session, on 2 August 1965, two censors agreed to reject the film, and another censor signed the report two days later. This was their comment:

Trata-se de um filme morbido que decorre em ambientes condenáveis e recorda factos tristes que devem ser esquecidos. Votamos pela não autorização da importação. (SNI-IE-ECF, 1965)

[It is a morbid film that takes place in condemnable environments and recalls sad facts that should be forgotten. We vote for the non-authorization of importation.]

On 5 August 1965, Doperfilme was informed of the decision. By 15 July 1966, the film seems to have already been imported, despite the negative assessment, since Doperfilme now requested permission to export it to the Portuguese colonies. This was probably denied, as the request was made again on 19 July 1967 by Talma Filmes, a company operating from the same address as Doperfilme. No response to this request is found in the documents, only a note on the cover page of the revision documents indicating that the film had been authorized for Angola. Three years later, Talma Filmes resubmitted the film for censorship, and it was approved without cuts on 1 October 1970. The censors commented that the subtitle list on paper did not correspond to the subtitles used in the film footage, so a new list was requested. On 8 February 1971, the final screening license

⁵ The censors normally used the subtitle numbering to indicate which images had to be cut.

(for adults aged 17 and over) was issued. In this case too, the files contain two subtitle lists. What does not emerge from the documents, however, is whether any cuts were made before the film was resubmitted in 1970.

As this short overview shows, the archived documents are by no means complete and the processes are not seamlessly traceable. It is clear, however, that the route of a film into Portuguese cinemas was marked by obstacles and negotiations between distributors and the censorship board. What this archival research has provided is an insight into the time the censorship process took, the “trouble” a film caused and the reasons why it was eventually altered.

Based on this information, it can be concluded that *Frühstück im Doppelbett* was indeed initially banned on the grounds of immorality/sexuality (“peaceful coexistence of the couple with their respective lovers”), while morbidity (“it is a morbid film”), and thus violence in a wider sense, was the reason for the rejection of *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*. The fact that the censorship process took longer in the case of *Frühstück im Doppelbett*, and involved the order to cut two scenes, suggests that the censor interfered more extensively with this one than with *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*. Let us see if the analysis of the subtitles will confirm this impression or not.

4. Proposal of an analysing method

Cuts were only one measure of censorship and, as described above, were usually made by the distributors or ordered by the censors. In practice, this meant that a piece of film footage (a whole scene or only a few images) was literally excised. The other two measures impacted the linguistic level: suppressions and manipulations. In the case of a suppression, the footage would remain, so the audience could see the image and hear sound of the original text, but whole subtitles or significant parts of them are missing. Suppressions could be carried out by the translator, so the translation would never reach the censor’s knowledge,⁶ or be ordered by the censors, who would usually mark or cross out the respective text in the subtitle list.

The phenomenon that Díaz Cintas (2012) calls “ideological manipulation” involved the translator intentionally deviating from the source text, so the subtitle does not match the original spoken text (only very rarely would a censor take the trouble to propose an alternative text). Compared to cuts and suppressions, manipulations are subtler and more difficult to detect, since, without knowledge of the source language, one can only suspect an act of censorship. At this point, it is important to point out that reduction (the omission of single words or short phrases that do not interfere with the sense of the statement) and compression (reformulating it in a more concise way) are usual translation techniques in

⁶ Often the note “sup” (*suprimida* = suppressed) marks that spoken text was not translated, due to problems in understanding the original or to technical issues, but also for ideological reasons.

subtitling (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007), given the time and space limitations. In addition, a translation might contain mistakes. Thus, when it comes to distinguishing between legitimate deviations, mistakes and manipulations, the central question is the underlying intention: variance or invariance (Schreiber, 1993). Manipulation is to be defined as intentional variance for ideological reasons (for more details see Pieper, 2018, pp. 169-174). Table 1 demonstrates the differentiation of translation, mistakes and manipulation:

	Maximum invariance in meaning of text	Variance in meaning of text
Intended invariance	Translation (reduction, compression)	Mistake
Intended variance	x	Manipulation

Table 1. Differentiation of translation, mistakes and manipulation.

In sum, three measures have to be considered in an analysis of censored films: cuts, suppressions and manipulation. But there is another important factor to be kept in mind: a censorship measure can have more or less impact on the meaning of the film. That is to say, cutting out a crucial scene, and thus altering the message of the whole film, is a far more severe intervention than merely eliminating a scene in which too much naked skin is seen. It seems appropriate, therefore, to differentiate the measures in terms of the level of impact they have in a given context. Below is a proposal for a five-step scale to assess this dimension:

- [1] **Nuance:** film story unmodified
- [2] **Slight:** film story slightly modified
- [3] **Relevant:** film story noticeably modified
- [4] **Strong:** film story strongly modified
- [5] **Crucial:** the whole film’s message altered

In the following analysis, all cuts, suppressions and manipulations are attributed a score on this scale of one to five, according to the impact the alteration has on the film’s story or message.

Of course, it has to be kept in mind that this scheme is an abstract reduction of complex procedures against the background of an even more complex political system. However, this model is supposed to serve as a tool to determine the level of “censoredness” in order to compare two or more films in this respect.

5. Application

The analysis was carried out using a commercially available DVD of the uncensored film and involved comparing the spoken dialogue with the subtitle lists. Given that both censorship files contain two subtitle lists (both by the same translator, Júlio de Seabra Vicente Ribeiro),

the first step was to establish which one was actually added to the footage. As mentioned above, the censors had first viewed the films with the non-matching lists on paper, on which they marked unwanted content and wrote their comments (henceforth, this will be referred to as the *first list*). The other lists were formally and linguistically improved, so it can be assumed that it was these that finally reached the audience (the *second list*). For this reason, the second list will be analysed for alterations at the linguistic level, though both lists will be considered with regard to the censor’s comments and markings. It is beyond the scope of this article to exhaustively list all examples of alterations made, hence some examples shall serve for illustration. The examples contain the whole scene as it was marked by a censor, either in the first or the second list (the text in the examples is always taken from the second list, even if the censor marked the scene in the first list, given that the second list was the version seen by the audience). The relevant passages are highlighted in bold. Mistakes in the original subtitles have been retained.

Frühstück im Doppelbett

The translation in the first list contains many mistakes. Some of these are incongruences of image and subtitles (on 1 April 1964, the distributor mentions that the translator had worked without viewing the film), while others can be explained by a lack of language skills or difficulties in understanding German (these were often jokes based on word play, with the result that the Portuguese audience had less to laugh about, though the plot remained broadly understandable, if perhaps a little illogical in one or two places). It is striking that the first list contains many red, blue and green markings, traces of the many censors who had worked with the film. Given that the first list was not the final one, it is unclear if the marked passages were actually eliminated, and if so, whether they were cut or suppressed. They may even indicate that the censor felt the need to highlight a passage in order to make an observation without bringing further consequences. In other cases, the markings very likely relate to a cut or suppression that had been made by the distributor, indicating a difference between the subtitles on paper and on screen.

The subtitles in the second list are divided in a more logical way and conform better to the rhythm of the film. However, some of the incongruences present in the first list persist in the second (such as most of the comprehension mistakes). The second subtitle list contains only four markings by the censors, two referring to the cuts demanded in the censorship report (subtitle 26 on page 31 and subtitle 104 on page 39), and one indicating that a cut had been executed: “cortado” [“cut”]. It can be assumed that these scenes were definitely excised.

This means that all four markings in the second list refer to cuts that were definitely executed, whereas the reasons for and consequences of the markings in the first list cannot

be clearly identified. Taking this into consideration, the alterations that ultimately found their way into the final version have been divided into three groups, as follows:

A: Definite alterations: proved by censors’ comments in the subtitle lists, explicit information in the censorship documents (mostly cuts) or by comparing the subtitle list with the original film (manipulation, suppressions).

B: Very probable alterations: executed with a very high degree of probability, through being marked in the subtitle list, sustained by general information in the censorship documents or other fonts.

C: Probable alterations: marked in the subtitle list and/or assumed to have been implemented, given the context and subject matter (such as sexuality, immorality, violence, etc.), yet with no explicit censors’ comment to indicate what was actually done with the respective scene.

Group A:

In the film *Frühstück im Doppelbett*, all definite alterations concern cuts or manipulations (no suppressions). An example for a cut is the scene of Liane and Victor’s first kiss, which was marked by a censor and commented “falta imagem” [“image missing”]:

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, elevator, L+V close to each other.	V lights Liane’s cigarette.	V: Oh, darf ich? [Oh, may I?]		00:35:21
		L: Immer zur rechten Zeit. Ist das ein Zufall, oder wussten Sie, dass ich komme? [Always at the right time. Is this a coincidence, or did you know that I come]	16_138: Sempre a tempo! Foi acaso ou sabia que vinha? [Always in time! Was it coincidence or did you know I would come?]	
		V: Ich wünschte es mir. Und wenn man sich etwas fest wünscht, dann geht es auch in Erfüllung. [I wished it, and if you wish something very strongly, then it comes true.]	16_139: Quando se deseja muito uma coisa, ela realiza-se. [If you wish for something very strongly, it happens]	(continues)
		L: Noch einen Wunsch?	16_140: Tem outro desejo?	

(continues)

		[Another wish?]	[Do you have another wish?]	
		V: Ich wünschte, der Lift bleibt stecken. [I wish the elevator would get stuck.]	16_141: Que o elevador pare. [That the elevator would stop.]	
	L presses a button, elevator stops.			
		L: Noch einen Wunsch? [Another wish?]	17_1: Outro desejo? [Another wish?]	
		V: Ich habe schon einen, aber ich traue mich nicht, ihn zu sagen. [Indeed I have one, but I don't dare say it.]	17_2: Tenho um, mas... 17_3: ...não me atrevo a dizê-lo... [I have one, but I don't dare say it.]	
	L+V come closer.	L: Dann kein Wort. [No word then.]	17_4: Então, nem uma palavra.	
		V: Nein, kein Wort. [No, no word.]	[So, not a word.]	
	L+V: kiss			

Table 2. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: example cut.

Here, the object of concern is the image: Victor and Liane come very close and kiss. It may still be possible for the Portuguese audience to understand that Liane and Victor are having an affair, even without any explicit body contact or kisses (there is nothing more explicit than kissing in the original either), so this information is relevant, but not significant. It has thus been evaluated as level [3] (*relevant*).

The second example contains a manipulation. After Henry, Liane, Victor and Claudia have discussed the state of their relationships prior to Henry and Liane's official divorce, Claudia gives Henry a goodbye kiss and leaves with the following words (C = Claudia):

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, living room.	H, L, V, C standing, say goodbye, C kisses H on mouth.	C: Aber wegen der sechs Monate Enthaltsamkeit brauche ich Bedenkzeit. [But for the six months of abstinence , I need some time to consider.]	32_48: Por causa dos seis mēses... vou pensar nisso. [Because of the six months... I will think about it.]	00:35:21

Table 3. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: example manipulation.

In this case, the word *Enthaltsamkeit* (abstinence), which explicitly refers to (the lack of) sexual activity, was eliminated. Astonishingly, this was the only manipulation found in the whole film (even the housemaid’s “revolutionary” discourses about capitalism, class struggle and strikes were quite accurately translated), and it is not even a very clear case, since there may have been technical–formal reasons (lack of space and time) determining text reduction. Hence, this was awarded only one point (*nuance*).

In total, four cuts and one manipulation belong to category A:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Group A	[3]+[2]+[1]+[1]		[1]	8

Table 4. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: result group A.

Group B:

In accordance with the censor’s comment that Victor and Liane’s relationship was reduced to “only a flirt”, and given the fact that nudity, kisses and sexy poses would most likely have been censored during the Estado Novo, there is a very high probability that the scenes gathered in group B were cut. Furthermore, they are all marked in the first subtitle list, though no explicit comment or instruction to cut has been found in the documents. It includes all the kisses between Liane and Victor, some scenes in which Liane or Claudia can be seen in their underwear, and one scene, in which Claudia takes a shower and her naked silhouette reflects on the curtain.

One of the seven cuts in this category was attributed four points (*strong*), due to the complexity and impact of the scene. Liane and Victor had gone out together that night, assuming that Henry was in Moscow. In the elevator, Liane refuses a goodbye kiss. Very probably, the subsequent scene was cut and the following information got lost for the Portuguese audience:

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, night, elevator.	V+L say goodbye.	V: Also gut, aber ich werde die ganze Nacht an unserem Geheimtelefon auf deinen Anruf warten. [All right, but I'll be waiting all night on our secret phone for your call.]	18_9: Esperarei toda a noite no nosso telefone que me chames. [I'll wait all night on our secret phone that you call.]	00 :50:40
Bedroom.	H sleeps, has glasses on, an open book lies on his hip.	H snores.		
Foyer.	L enters apartment, sees no sign of H's presence.			
L and H's kitchen.	L lowers tin can at a string into the waste shaft.			
Bedroom.	H wakes up from the noise.			
V's kitchen.	Talk through the waste shaft.	V: Liane? Darling!	18_10: Liane, querida!	
		L: Hallo. [Hello.]		
		V: Oben alles ok? [Upstairs everything ok?]	18_10a: Está tudo O.K.? [Is everything ok?]	
L and H's kitchen.		L: Alles ok. Du kannst kommen. Ich warte an der Tür. [Everything ok. You can come. I'll wait by the door.]	18_11: Tudo bem, podes vir. Espero-te à porta. [Everything fine, you can come. I wait by the door.]	
Bedroom.	H listens alertly, sits up.			00:50:08
Foyer apartment.	V enters, L stands next to the door.	V: Darling!	18_12: Querida... [Darling...]	
	Kisses, hug.			

(continues)

		L: Bitte, Vic, jetzt hast du mir gute Nacht gesagt, jetzt musst du wieder gehen. Wir sind ohnehin schon zu weit gegangen. [Please, Vic, now you said good night to me, now you have to leave again. We've anyhow gone too far.]	18_13: Deste-me as boas noites, agora vai-te. 18_14: Mesmo assim, já fômos longe demais. [You said good night to me, now leave. Anyhow, we've already gone too far.]	
	V takes off L's coat.	V: Was macht das schon aus? Diese Nacht gehört uns. [What's the matter? This night is ours.]	18_15: Que tem isso? Esta noite é nossa. [What's the matter? This night is ours.]	
	Kisses, hug.			
Bedroom.	H listens, opens a box with cigarettes and a pistol, takes out pistol.	V: Darling! L moans.		
Living room.	V kisses L's neck.	L: Bitte, Victor, nicht weiter. Ich habe Angst. [Please, Victor, no further. I'm scared.]	18_16: Não continues, eu tenho mêdo. [Don't continue, I'm scared.]	
Bedroom.	H opens eyes widely with surprise.	V: Vor deinem Mann? [Of your husband?] L: Nein. [No.]	18_17: Do teu marido? [Of your husband?] 18_18: Não. [No.]	
Living room.		V: Hast du etwa Angst vor mir? [Are you scared of me?]	18_19: Terás mêdo de mim? [Are you scared of me?]	
	V kisses L on forehead.	L: Auch nicht. Ich habe Angst vor mir selbst. [Also not. I'm scared of myself.]	18_20: Também não. 18_21: Eu... tenho mêdo de mim. [I... I'm afraid of myself.]	

(continues)

		V: Und warum? [And why?]	18_22: Porquê? [Why?]	
	L sits on sofa back, V kisses her neck.	L: Frag nicht. Du bist der Mann. Ich möchte mit gutem Gewissen sagen können, dass ich nichts dagegen tun konnte. [Don't ask. You are the man. I want to be able to say in good conscience that I couldn't do anything about it.]	18_23: Não perguntas, tu és o homem... 18_24: Eu queria ter a consciência de não ter podido resistir... [Don't ask, you are the man. I wanted to have the conscience that I couldn't do resist.]	
	Kiss.	V: Liane!	18_25: Liane...	00:51:17
	V carries L on his arms, heading to bedroom.	V: Du zwingst mich, dich zu zwingen. [You force me to force you.]	18_26: ...forças-me a que eu te force... [You force me to force you.]	
		L: Bitte, Victor, nicht weiter. Geh, bevor es zu spät ist. [Please, Victor, no further. Go, before it's too late.]	18_27: Não continues. Vai-te embora antes que seja tarde...! [Don't continue. Go, before it's too late...!]	
	Noise from bedroom.			
Door of bedroom.				
Bedroom.	H sitting in bed, disappointed facial expression.			
Living room.	V+L, arm in arm, L releases from V.	L: Cilly? Sind Sie das? [Cilly? Is that you?]	18_28: É a Cilli? [Cilly? Is that you?]	
Bedroom.	H sitting in bed, annoyed face.	H: Nein, die Cilly bin ich nicht. [No, Cilly I'm not.]	18_29: A Cilli é que eu não sou. [No, Cilly I'm not.]	
Living room.	V+L surprised, L signs V to go away, V faces away.			
Bedroom.	L opens door, turns light on.	L: Henry?!	19_30: Henry!	00:51:53

(continues)

	L enters room, H sitting in bed, cigarette in his mouth, puts it back into box.	H: Bist du überrascht, Liebling? Hast du mein Telegramm nicht bekommen? [Are you surprised, darling? Didn't you get my telegram?]	19_31: Surpreendi-te, querida? 19_32: Recebeste o meu telegrama? [Did I surprise you, darling? Did you get my telegram?]	
		L. Nein. [No.]	19_32A: Não. [No.]	
		H: Das habe ich mir gedacht. Ich habe dir nämlich keins geschickt. [I thought so. Because I didn't send you one.]	19_33: Pensei isso. Eu não te mandei nenhum. [I thought so. I didn't send you one.]	

Table 5. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: example very probable cut.

Unbeknown to Victor and Liane, Henry is in the room next door and hears what they say, which is significant, because it explains his attempt to make his wife jealous by getting a lover himself. What remains in the footage, just before this probable cut, is Liane's refusal to kiss Victor, which actually leads to a reversal of the original message. At least two censors marked this scene, and it is not clear where exactly the cut scene ends, if before or after Liane enters the bedroom. However, if this part is missing, it becomes illogical that Victor suddenly also appears in the bedroom in the next scene. Interestingly, while Liane and Victor's affair was reduced to a platonic level by the censors, kisses and physical contact between Claudia and Henry did not seem to give them any concern, which suggests a greater tolerance of a husband's infidelity than a wife's.

Group B thus is rated as follows:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Group B	[2]+[3]+[3]+[4]+[1]+[2]+[1]			16

Table 6. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: result group B.

Group C:

The assumed alterations gathered under group C are still quite probable, given that the respective subtitle is marked in the first list. The problem is that no comment or other proof could be found in the documents or subtitle lists. The scenes could have been cut or subtitles could have been suppressed. This category was allocated on the basis of whether the object of concern is found in the image (cut scene) or in the spoken text (suppression

of subtitle). Most of the suppressions concern sexual allusions, though the explicit mention of Henry and Liane’s divorce was also marked. One example is a short dialogue sequence between Henry and Liane. To make Liane jealous, Henry had put lipstick on his cheek and bit his hand before entering the bedroom. He tells Liane about his meeting with the “talented” author Claudia and her book (italics: subtitles marked with a cross by a censor):

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, night, bedroom.	L+H sitting on bed. L paints her nails, H has tousled hair, lipstick on his cheek, a bite wound at his hand.	H: Ja, aber das Buch ist tatsächlich, muss ich dir sagen, also gleichwertig “Lady Chatterly” oder “Lolita” – <i>ein Tatsachenbericht der sexuellen Revolution.</i>	24_124: ...mas o livro vale tanto como “Lady Chatterley” ou “Lolita”. 25_125: <i>É uma informação realista da revolução do sexo.</i>	01:05:04
		[Yes, but the book is in fact, I must tell you, equivalent to “Lady Chatterly” or “Lolita” – <i>a real report of the sexual revolution.</i>]	[... the book is as valid as “Lady Chatterly” or “Lolita”. <i>It’s realistic information from the sex revolution.</i>]	
		L: <i>Von dieser Revolution habe ich zu Hause nichts gemerkt.</i> [I didn’t notice anything of this revolution at home.]	25_126: <i>Dessa revolução nada notei aqui em casa.</i> [Of this revolution nothing I noticed here at home.]	
		H: Liane, dazu hast du ja jetzt Gelegenheit. [Liane, you have the opportunity now.]	25_127: Liane... 25_128: ...tens agora oportunidade para isso... [Liane, you now have opportunity for that.]	
	L stands up.	L: <i>Ich habe von der Gelegenheit bisher wenig Gebrauch gemacht. Aber ich sehe, dass du keine Zeit versäumst, warum soll ich dann warten?</i>	25_129: <i>Pouco uso fiz dela... mas vejo que não perdeste tempo. Que espero eu?</i> [I’ve made little use of it... but I see you haven’t wasted any	

(continues)

		[I have made little use of this opportunity so far. But I see that you don't miss any time, so why should I wait?]	time. What do I wait for?]	
	L leaves the room.			

Table 7. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: example probable suppression.

Liane refers to the fact that Henry had been too busy for intimacies with her, and he offers to make up for it now. But, given Henry’s apparent affair, she leaves for Victor’s place. This scene was evaluated with three points (*relevant*).

Altogether, group C includes twelve suppressions and one cut:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Group C	[1]	[1]+[3]+[1]+[1]+[1]+[3]+[3]+[2]+[3]+[1]+[1]+[1]		22

Table 8. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: result group C.

The sum of all three groups leads to the following result:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Groups A,B,C	[1]+[3]+[2]+[1]+[1]+[2]+[3]+[3]+[4]+[1]+[2]+[1]	[1]+[3]+[1]+[1]+[1]+[3]+[3]+[2]+[3]+[1]+[1]+[1]	[1]	46

Table 9. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: result groups A, B and C.

On the assumption that only the alterations of groups A and B were actually executed, this is the result:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Groups A+B	[3]+[2]+[1]+[1]+[2]+[3]+[3]+[4]+[1]+[2]+[1]		[1]	24

Table 10. *Frühstück im Doppelbett*: result groups A and B.

Das Ungeheuer von London-City

The first subtitle list, bearing the note “Prévia” [“pre-censorship”] handwritten in red, contains only one comment by the censor. The second list is completely clean. It is noticeable that the quantity of text was radically reduced in the second list (the first list is considerably more detailed) to the extent that even questions or answers (thus parts of a dialogue) are missing. However, given that the content is not ideologically charged, this has been interpreted as a mistake. Indeed, despite the drastic reduction of text, there were still a great many translation mistakes, probably due to a lack of language skills.

The only comment in the first list reads “núa” [“naked”] and refers to a scene in which the two private detectives observe a suspect in the theater (B = Betty, T = Teddy):

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, theatre, backstage.	B+T standing. A naked woman passes close to them and disappears in the background.	T: Da ist er wieder. [There he is again.]	227: Aqui está ele outra vez. [There he is again.]	00:25:34
		B: Der vorhin den Kopf durch die Tür gesteckt hat? Verdächtig. [The one who stuck his head through the door earlier? Suspicious.]	228: É o que meteu a cabeça pela porta. É suspeito! [He’s the one who stuck the head through the door? He’s suspicious.]	
		T: Hoechst verdächtig. Wirst sehen, hier im Theater finden wir den Mörder. [Highly suspicious. You’ll see, here at the theatre we’ll find the murderer.]	229: Altamente! Verás, é aqui que descobriremos o assassino. [Highly! You’ll see, it’s here where we’ll find the murderer.]	

Table 11. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: example probable cut.

A few scenes later, Teddy, dressed in a police uniform, pretending to be one of the actors, ends up on stage by mistake and stumbles over a woman lying on a chaise longue. For a moment, her naked left breast can be seen.

If the distributor eliminated any scene, it was unfortunately not documented. In the censorship documents no cut is mentioned, and the subtitle lists, apart from the comment “naked”, also provide no further information. This is the reason why (eventual) alterations have to be divided into groups, as was done with *Frühstück im Doppelbett*. The two scenes of nudity were very probably cut, yet as this assumption cannot be proved, they form group C. The narrative remains largely unaffected (indeed the dialogue is barely relevant), so they get one point (*nuance*):

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Group C	[1]+[1]			2

Table 12. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: result group C.

A total of seven manipulations were detected in *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*. As mentioned above, it is not always obvious whether words or phrases were eliminated for ideological reasons or for reasons of (radical) technical-formal reduction. However, the need to reduce text offers an opportunity to remove undesirable content. The following

example is a scene in the theatre play *Jack the Ripper*, in which a prostitute fends off her pimp (W = woman, M = man):

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, theatre, on stage, stairs.	W tries to go upstairs, M holds her at her hips, W defends herself.	W: Nimm deine verdammten Hände von mir weg. [Get your bloody hands off me.]	17: Tira as mãos de mim! [Take your hands off!]	00:04:15
		M: Du gehörs zu mir, du wirst tun, was ich will. [You belong to me, you're going to do what I want.]	18: És minha, farás o que quero! [You are mine, you're going to do what I want.]	
		W: Ich denke nicht daran. Was hast du denn schon für mich getan? [I don't think of that. What have you ever done for me?]	19: Que fizeste de mim? Pôr-me neste covil? [What have you done of me? Putting me into this cave?]	
		M: Alles! [Everything!]		
		W: In dieses verdammte Dreckloch mich gelockt. Ich sage dir, ich gehe nicht mehr für dich auf die Straße , lass mich in Ruhe. [Lured me into this damn sinkhole. I'm telling you, I'm not going on the street for you anymore , leave me in peace.]		

Table 13. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: example manipulation I.

The woman talks quite fast, so this dialogue would have had to be reduced in any case. Yet it seems no coincidence that the reference to the woman’s work on the street is missing – the fact that she is a prostitute was blurred.

This impression is reinforced by other scenes, as the following example shows:

Image	Action	Voice	Sub	Tc
Interior, day, apartment.	H reads the newspaper.	H: In der Nacht vom Sonntag zum Montag wurde eine Prostituierte in dem Park nahe der Osborne Street ermordet aufgefunden. Das Opfer ist auf eine brutale und unbeschreiblich rohe Weise verletzt worden. [On the night from Sunday to Monday a prostitute was found murdered in the park near Osborne Street. The victim was injured in a brutal and indescribably cruel manner.]	94: Na madrugada de domingo acharam outra mulher assassinada ... 95: ... de maneira incrivelmente brutal! [On Sunday morning they found another woman murdered in an incredibly brutal way!]	00:15:33

Table 14. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: example manipulation II.

The word “prostitute” appears five times throughout the film and is never translated as such. Other references to the fact that Jack the Ripper’s victims were all prostitutes were also concealed, so this can be considered a systematic manipulation.⁷ On the other hand, the images (dark streets, women meet men, etc.) also provide information in this regard, so the Portuguese audience could at least surmise that the setting is the red-light district, even though prostitutes and pimps were not explicitly named.

The first example (Table 13) was evaluated as [1] (*nuance*), the second (Table 14) as [2] (*slight*) points. Together with the other manipulations, the final score is as follows:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Group A			[2]+[1]+[2]+[1]+[2]+[1]+[1]	10

Table 15. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: result group A.

⁷ This corresponds to the fact that prostitution was prohibited in Portugal from 1 January 1963 (Decreto-Lei n° 44579; see Portugal, 1962).

The film contains a total of six scenes of murder, yet the act of slashing the women is always masked in some way (by a coat, a shadow, etc.), so no bloody or brutal violence can be seen. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the distributor had also had a hand in this. In any case, despite what we might have expected on the basis of the narrative and the censor’s arguments for banning the film in 1965, it would seem that it was not violence but again sexuality that was censored in the first place.

Given that no further information concerning alterations could be found in the censorship documents, a group B scenario does not apply to this film. In total, the result for *Das Ungeheuer von London-City* is:

	Cuts	Suppressions	Manipulations	Total
Groups A+C	[1]+[1]		[2]+[1]+[2]+[1]+[2]+[1]+[1]	12

Table 16. *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*: result groups A and C.

Finally, comparing the two films, the following chart shows the result of this analysis:

	<i>Frühstück im Doppelbett</i>	<i>Das Ungeheuer von London-City</i>
Group A	8	10
Groups A+B	24	-
Groups A,B,C	46	12

Table 17. Result of comparison between both films.

If group A alone were decisive, the film *Das Ungeheuer von London-City* would come out in front. It is more probable, though, that all three groups of alterations were executed, which leads to the conclusion that *Frühstück im Doppelbett* is the more censored film of the two.

6. Conclusion

During the analysis of the two films some unexpected difficulties appeared, leading to a refinement of the methodology. The main problem was the fact that the censorship documents are not complete and do not give a full picture of the processes. Therefore, it would have been helpful if these films, with the subtitles that were added during the Estado Novo, had been available for viewing. But there is little chance that these copies still exist and, if they do, it is unlikely that they would be made available, given the risk this might bring of technical damage.⁸ Consequently, the research had to proceed with the sources that were available, considering various scenarios.

Under ideal conditions, if all cuts and suppressions were evident and unambiguous, the analysis would produce a single value. However, a clean result would only be possible

⁸ This is the reason why the Arquivo Nacional de Imagens em Movimento – ANIM [Portuguese National Film Archive] does not provide access to the existing copies of foreign films.

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to achieve if the censored footage were available, and even then, some degree of uncertainty would inevitably remain as distributors may have made alterations without documenting them. Assumptions have also been made as regards the evaluation of the level of impact the alterations would have on the message of the film, even though the awarding of points is based on the contextualisation of the respective scene within the story of the film. This means that the experience and personal assessment of the researcher exert some influence on the result.

The analysis clearly indicates that the film *Frühstück im Doppelbett* was more heavily censored than *Das Ungeheuer von London-City*. The result is produced in the form of a differentiated score representing the degree of “censoredness”, which may be especially useful when a large number of films is being compared (otherwise a written description of the alterations without scores may be sufficient). Anyhow, further analysis will raise further questions and solutions: the more films that are analysed, the more finely tuned the model becomes. This article is the starting point of a journey through the censorship documents, which still holds many new insights.

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A TRADUÇÃO DE POESIA NOS PERÍODOS DITATORIAIS EM ITÁLIA E PORTUGAL

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RESUMO: O presente estudo configura-se como uma investigação, do ponto de vista comparatista, sobre a tradução de poesia durante os períodos ditatoriais do século XX, em Itália e Portugal. O papel da tradução de poesia estrangeira como vector de mudanças sociais e como factor incidente nas dinâmicas socioculturais durante os períodos de forte repressão política é o foco desta investigação. As balizas temporais, para cada um dos países, são diferentes; é, no entanto, possível identificar elementos comuns relacionados especificamente com a tradução de poesia como forma de resistência à autoridade cultural, à cultura hegemónica imposta pelos regimes e à censura. A investigação demonstra como esta actividade pôde ser um dos meios de transmissão de mensagens revolucionárias em tempos de extrema repressão. O estudo concentra-se, em particular, num *corpus* reduzido de revistas italianas e portuguesas e extrai os elementos comuns relacionados com a tradução de poesia como meio de contestação à ditadura.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Poesia, Tradução, Itália, Revistas Literárias, Estado Novo, Fascismo

1. Introdução

Este artigo pretende analisar as traduções de poesia publicadas em revistas literárias e feitas a partir de qualquer língua para italiano e para português durante os períodos ditatoriais de Itália e Portugal. O objetivo é examinar o uso da tradução de poesia como instrumento de crítica e subversão em contextos ditatoriais. Foram consideradas apenas as publicações em revistas literárias independentes e de oposição aos regimes, pois, tanto no período do fascismo italiano como no do Estado Novo português, as revistas literárias eram o lugar privilegiado do debate cultural; o primeiro sítio onde havia encontros de autores e tradutores, onde se discutia sobre a atualidade e a arte e onde era, por vezes, possível evitar a censura e comunicar mensagens alternativas às da chamada cultura oficial. Em ambos os países surgiam algumas constantes e elementos em comum nas escolhas tradutórias, de modo que pareceu proveitoso aprofundar sobretudo os elementos partilhados nas traduções que saíram em revistas literárias em Itália entre 1922 e 1945 e em Portugal nos anos do Estado Novo, entre 1936 e 1968.

Existem, de facto, similitudes entre os dois regimes, italiano e português, e a sua relação com a literatura, a poesia e a tradução. Como já foi amplamente estudado, o regime salazarista teve vários pontos em comum com o fascismo italiano, e a inspiração fascista mais clara ocorreu na segunda metade dos anos 30 (Ivani, 2005). Embora o Estado Novo tenha criado aos historiadores vários problemas de categorização entre os fascismos europeus, pode avançar-se a ideia segundo a qual o salazarismo foi realmente um fascismo assimilável ao regime italiano de Mussolini. Os contextos em que nasceram as duas ditaduras eram muito diferentes do ponto de vista social e económico, mas houve paralelismos bastante marcados, sobretudo na maneira como os ditadores conseguiram centralizar e preservar o poder. É preciso dizer que, em Portugal, o salazarismo talvez não

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tenha tido a mesma ambição de regeneração cultural e nacional baseada numa suposta glória superior da cultura portuguesa como, pelo contrário, foi o caso na Itália de Mussolini. Quando comparamos as políticas culturais, em Portugal encontramos episódios mais significativos nos anos posteriores à Segunda Guerra Mundial, enquanto em Itália toda a contestação aconteceu sobretudo nos anos anteriores e contemporâneos à Segunda Guerra Mundial. Se observarmos Itália e Portugal nas políticas referentes às traduções, notamos que em Portugal existia muito menos o medo do estranho e do diferente; havia desde sempre o hábito de se estar permanentemente virado para o estrangeiro. Isso não impediu, todavia, que houvesse uma forte censura sobre as obras literárias de outras culturas.

O que tanto a cultura italiana como a portuguesa tinham em comum, em termos de traduções de textos poéticos, provinha sobretudo da poesia francesa da Resistência, ou seja, dos poetas que lutaram pela liberdade ao longo da Segunda Guerra Mundial em França; da poesia da Geração de 27 espanhola, também muito ligada a uma luta pela liberdade, neste caso antes e durante a Guerra Civil de 1936-1939, e também da poesia negro-americana.¹ Este artigo concentrar-se-á no caso da poesia francesa da Resistência e da poesia espanhola da Geração de 27 e no uso destes textos com a mesma finalidade de fazer passar uma mensagem de liberdade e revolta à subjugação, numa Itália e num Portugal sufocados pela ditadura, em momentos históricos diferentes, mas seguindo aproximadamente os mesmos moldes.

Considera-se, em particular, um *corpus* de revistas italianas e portuguesas, cujo elenco é reportado nas fontes primárias, que foram consultadas e de onde se extraíram os textos traduzidos e os elementos comuns relacionados com a tradução de poesia como meio de contestação à ditadura.

As constantes levantadas remetem para escolhas precisas de autores, movimentos literários e temas. Foi estabelecido que o foco do estudo não residiria na comparação de regularidades ou irregularidades linguísticas derivadas da análise textual propriamente dita, mas antes no significado da escolha de determinados autores em detrimento de outros, de determinados conteúdos em detrimento de outros e, de forma geral, na maneira como nos dois países se decidiu abordar os mesmos temas ou denunciar as mesmas questões através da tradução de poesia. Este modo de pesquisa parte da convicção de que as escolhas de tradução refletem uma particular atitude face ao panorama literário do momento e ao momento histórico que se está a viver. Em dois países onde as ditaduras se assemelharam tão dramaticamente do ponto de vista ideológico, também as formas de contestação foram de inspiração de um país para outro.

Era também necessário compreender se os tradutores italianos e portugueses aqui considerados estivessem a agir contra os constrangimentos impostos pela cultura literária oficial dos seus países (a política cultural imposta pelo Estado Novo em Portugal e pelo

¹ Quer a revista *Letteratura*, quer a revista *Seara Nova* refere-se à poesia dos poetas negros dos Estados Unidos e da América do Sul com a fórmula “poesia negro-americana”; hoje dir-se-ia “poesia afroamericana”, mas quis deixar a denominação usada nas revistas analisadas.

fascismo em Itália), mas continuando a permanecer conformes com o seu subsistema literário (simplificando, de uma maneira geral, o hermetismo em Itália e o neorrealismo em Portugal), ou se aproveitando as traduções conseguissem subverter as regras do sistema ideológico e literário ao mesmo tempo, de forma mais “legítima”. As traduções, mesmo introduzindo inovações e desvios à norma estabelecida, conseguiam adaptar-se às normas do seu subsistema ganhando “aceitabilidade” ou abriam o caminho para uma subversão completa não apenas ideológica, mas também literária? Como eram recebidas pelos leitores da época?

No caso da poesia francesa da Resistência e da poesia espanhola da Geração de 27, o que se trazia para Itália e Portugal não eram apenas textos, poemas, mas verdadeiros modelos textuais. Traduzir aquela poesia significou atribuir-lhe um papel social e uma função para a comunidade.

2. A poesia francesa da Resistência em Portugal e Itália pelo crivo das revistas literárias

A tradução da poesia francesa nos períodos ditatoriais em Itália e Portugal não foi de modo nenhum sistemática nem organizada. Nomeadamente nas revistas literárias, a maneira como a poesia chegava ao leitor português ou italiano resultava caótica e desordenada. Além disso, a sua difusão com frequência dependia quase unicamente da mediação de algumas figuras do meio intelectual e literário do momento.

A poesia francófona mais traduzida nessa época, em ambos os países, provinha do surrealismo e da poesia da Resistência: duas correntes que na receção portuguesa e italiana viriam a cruzar-se e por vezes a sobrepor-se.

Em Portugal continuou a publicar-se poesia francesa da Resistência também nas décadas subsequentes à Segunda Guerra Mundial, sendo esta um tipo de poesia que continuava a fazer sentido no Portugal do Estado Novo. Em Itália, depois da Resistência, pelo contrário, os gostos literários, e talvez as necessidades, mudaram ao ritmo da História. Para quem a lia em Portugal, era ainda possível encontrar, na poesia da Resistência, uma analogia na revolta contra a sua própria opressão; no entanto, na França daquele mesmo período, aquela poesia era expressão de uma coletividade com um forte sentimento nacional, além de uma certa coesão e união contra um inimigo comum, o invasor externo. Para Portugal, pelo contrário, o inimigo era interno, não um invasor. Como nos fez notar Eduardo Lourenço (1968), foi por esta razão que em Portugal se criou uma verdadeira mitologia cultural francesa que conseguiu transformar o país num símbolo de luta universal. Ainda segundo Lourenço, foi a descontextualização da poesia da Resistência francesa que lhe conseguiu dar um alcance suficientemente amplo para se tornar uma poesia da liberdade universal. Em Portugal, porém, faltava a participação coletiva, a adesão popular, o elemento que unia a poesia ao povo, o elemento capaz de os alimentar mutuamente.

A poesia francesa chegava através das revistas e das redes informais entre conhecidos; talvez não tivesse logo um grande impacto no panorama literário do país, mas tinha consequências importantes nos pequenos meios dos intelectuais e funcionava como um forte gerador de novas ideias.

É também frequente encontrar-se, nas revistas publicadas nos anos do Estado Novo, poemas transcritos na língua original. A circulação, dispersa e fragmentada, de poemas e poetas agrava, por assim dizer, a dificuldade do discernimento das redes de intertextualidade, no complexo conjunto de elementos catalisadores da poesia. Mesmo assim, com ou sem conhecimento prévio verdadeiramente fundado, os nomes de alguns poetas de língua francesa (em especial Éluard, Aragon, Claudel, Rimbaud, Michaux, Guillevic) continuaram a ser “moeda corrente” na identificação de influências em congêneres portugueses, provando deste modo que o paradigma francês, também no domínio poético, continuava a ser, pelo menos exteriormente, funcional (Coutinho Mendes, 2002, p. 56).

Os autores mais envolvidos nas traduções de poesia francesa em Portugal foram escritores como Vitorino Nemésio, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, António Ramos Rosa ou David Mourão Ferreira, enquanto em Itália traduziram do francês poetas como Eugenio Montale, Franco Fortini ou Mario Luzi e intelectuais como Carlo Bo (embora a maioria destas traduções tenha sido efetivamente publicada apenas após a queda do fascismo).

Carlo Bo foi um dos grandes divulgadores de poesia francesa durante os anos do fascismo. Em particular, ocupou-se de surrealismo e das vanguardas numa época em que existia um verdadeiro conflito interno entre apreço e desprezo por tudo o que vinha de França e especialmente por tudo o que tinha a ver com as vanguardas. Bo foi professor de língua e literatura francesas na Universidade de Urbino, colaborador de inúmeras revistas literárias e realmente um crítico militante. No início da sua carreira foi apoiante do hermetismo e mais tarde ocupou-se sobretudo de literatura de inspiração católica. Como o demonstra bem Tania Collani (2015) no seu ensaio “Carlo Bo, lettore dei surrealisti francesi”, ele viu-se obrigado a enfrentar também algumas contradições pessoais para continuar a defender o surrealismo de forma inflexível. Bo era, de facto, um católico fervoroso que acabara por integrar e aceitar o surrealismo sem querer forçosamente depurá-lo dos seus elementos anticlericais e antiburgueses. Com esta atitude, contradizia parte da crítica literária tradicionalista italiana segundo a qual o surrealismo não passava de uma mera exposição do subconsciente que banalizava a criação poética que, no entanto, tinha que ser concebida como uma elaborada e complexa construção estética e literária. Nos anos do fascismo, a visão da França que se tinha em Itália era ambivalente. Por um lado, o prestígio da cultura francesa do século XIX não tinha desaparecido, mas havia também inúmeros testemunhos de intolerância para com a França. O sonho libertário e artístico que estava normalmente associado àquele país não era unanimemente partilhado.

Em Portugal, durante os anos do Estado Novo também houve uma figura de crítico e autor de alguma forma comparável com Carlo Bo, principalmente no que diz respeito à admiração pela poesia francesa e à influência crítica no meio literário: Adolfo Casais Monteiro. Casais Monteiro, além de escritor e poeta, obteve reconhecimento na história da literatura portuguesa como crítico e tradutor. O seu nome está vinculado à revista *Presença*, da qual foi um dos diretores juntamente com José Régio e João Gaspar Simões. Foi poeta, editor, tradutor e professor até que foi forçado a deixar o ensino e obrigado ao exílio no

Brasil por motivos políticos, em 1954. No Brasil continuou a sua atividade literária e ensaística continuando a ser professor universitário. Hoje lembra-se a sua atividade crítica, principalmente pelo papel importante que teve na divulgação da obra de Fernando Pessoa e pela importância reconhecida à revista *Presença*. Todavia, Casais Monteiro merece ser lembrado também pelas suas traduções (traduziu, entre outros, Baudelaire, Supervielle, Stendhal).

O caso de António Ramos Rosa, outro autor e tradutor fundamental da segunda metade do século XX, foi diferente. O excelente tradutor que ele era foi um pouco encoberto pelo Ramos Rosa autor, mas foi de facto um dos mais ativos divulgadores de poesia estrangeira em tradução durante os anos do Estado Novo e não só. No primeiro número da revista *Árvore*, no Outono de 1951, Ramos Rosa publicou um poema seu, “Viagem através de uma nebulosa” (*Árvore*, 1951), e traduziu também cinco textos de René Char, além de escrever um ensaio sobre este autor francês. Num momento histórico e numa situação geográfica em que Portugal se via como “orgulhosamente autossuficiente” económica, política e literariamente, todos os autores como Ramos Rosa, com ouvidos abertos a tudo o que era transnacional, eram considerados, claramente, “suspeitos”.

Nem sempre é fácil saber as razões por que um tradutor e autor traduziu determinado autor num dado momento; em todo o caso, enquanto leitores, não podemos deixar de traçar paralelismos entre os acontecimentos históricos, o espaço geográfico habitado pelo tradutor e pelo autor traduzido e a escolha de uma determinada autoria. No caso de António Ramos Rosa, seria redutor considerar a sua atividade de tradução apenas como um “rascunho” da sua escrita poética. A tradução, mais do que atividade à parte ou paralela, para Ramos Rosa foi um modo para alcançar outro nível de voz poética, uma forma de coincidir com outros imaginários fora das fronteiras nacionais e, com certeza, uma forma de rebelião. António Ramos Rosa autor não traduziu acompanhando o percurso literário de certos autores, como acontecia por vezes a alguns tradutores que acabavam por se tornar “a voz” portuguesa ou italiana de algum poeta em particular. Ramos Rosa ocupou-se de poemas esparsos e nunca organizou as suas traduções em coletâneas. Na maioria das vezes parecia ser atingido por alguma intuição súbita que vinha da leitura de alguns poemas e resolvia transformar a sua leitura passiva numa leitura ativa, ou seja, numa tradução. Entre poetas traduzidos e o autor há quase sempre uma coerência de assuntos examinados e muitas vezes uma mesma visão da relação entre o real e a poesia. O poema de sua autoria intitulado “Um poema é sempre escrito numa língua estrangeira”, em que o autor fala do texto poético como se fosse escrito numa língua desconhecida que poderíamos só intuir em primeiro lugar a partir do som, “compreendendo a ágil indolência de sucessivas aberturas / em que veremos as labaredas de um outro sentido”, demonstra quanto, para ele, até a própria leitura era uma questão de tradução.

O intento de Ramos Rosa na tradução de Char na revista *Árvore* não foi, portanto, o de descrever uma panorâmica do poeta e do seu percurso artístico para o dar a conhecer ao público português, mas foi o de servir-se de alguns dos seus poemas, por coincidência e identificação com eles, num preciso momento e num preciso espaço geográfico. No caso

da *Árvore*, os poemas de Char serviam para incitar a resistência ao difícil período político, além de introduzir outros textos mais ensaísticos como “Necessidade da Poesia” (*Árvore*, 1951).

Em “A margem de uma leitura de René Char”, sempre no mesmo número da *Árvore*, Ramos Rosa referiu que desde Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Eliot, Éluard e Char a poesia tornara-se um diálogo de integração de um mundo fraternal e livre. Por outras palavras, a missão social, ou quase religiosa, da poesia seria a de produzir alegria e plenitude capazes de ir ao encontro do maior sofrimento de qualquer época. Por esta razão a poesia seria um canto simultaneamente pessoal e universal. Segundo a lição de Char, “os altos momentos do humano não têm que perder de vista a atmosfera histórica” (*Árvore*, 1951, pp. 45-47).

As escolhas de poetas para traduzir não foram inocentes, mas premeditadas. São significativas também as palavras de Ramos Rosa depois de citar Éluard, Neruda e Alberti: “Citámos de propósito três dos mais altos poetas do nosso tempo, cuja posição humana é bem conhecida, para que não se receie que os poetas alguma vez submeterão a sua poesia a consignas alheias à sua personalidade” (*Árvore*, 1952, p. 234).

A tradução por Ramos Rosa de “A passo de bóí” do livro *Lointain Intérieur* de Michaux é emblemática porque se trata de um poema que provavelmente terá influenciado outro, um pouco mais tardio, de sua própria autoria: “O bóí da paciência” (Rosa, 1958). Este poema de Michaux elabora a falta e a perda de esperanças, num mundo onde ninguém mais tem vontade nem motivação para nada. As angústias oprimem, é-se oprimido pelas angústias dos outros, o vazio e a sombra encobrem tudo.

No último número da *Árvore*, publicado em semiclandestinidade, António Ramos Rosa escreveu “A poesia é um diálogo com o universo”, explicitamente inspirado na obra de poetas tais como Éluard ou Char. Há uma nítida distinção entre a poesia feita e sentida apenas para fins individuais e a poesia como instrumento de libertação coletiva, “pois só se alcança a Poesia quando se faz dela o meio privilegiado para viver no seio das cousas e dos seres” (*Árvore*, 1953, p. 6).

Nos anos 50 em Portugal, além da revista *Árvore* que já citámos abundantemente, encontramos traços de poesia francesa também na *Vértice*, sobretudo o número de 1946 especialmente dedicado à França, onde temos a impressão de que muitas vezes os escritores foram escolhidos sobretudo pela sua “posição humana” e pelo seu perfil político, além de literário.

No que diz respeito à *Seara Nova*, da qual se esperaria igualmente uma adesão incondicional à poesia francesa, foi pelo contrário uma das poesias menos consideradas pela revista. Contudo, no número de 12 de Março de 1949, Adolfo Casais Monteiro escreveu sobre Supervielle e Michaux, descrevendo este último como um aventureiro da imaginação e louvando o surrealismo como uma forma de rejeição da guerra.

Também nas revistas literárias italianas ativas durante o fascismo, a tradução de poetas como Char, Éluard e Michaux foi extremamente importante. Sobretudo em revistas como *Il Baretto* houve uma verdadeira revalorização da França, nomeadamente nos números do ano de 1925. São revalorizados os temas, os géneros, fazem-se retratos de

autor e traduz-se a poesia com uma atenção especial às vanguardas, ao cubismo e ao surrealismo. *Il Baretto*, com exemplos literários, ensaios, poemas e frequentes referências à cultura francesa, mostra as diferentes condições sociais, económicas e políticas que impediram a uma parte da Europa de se resolver numa mudança radical. A atenção para o que acontecia em França era sempre forte, estudavam-se e traduziam-se autores como Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Valéry, Mallarmé e, entre os contemporâneos, procuravam-se inteligências afins, dimensões alternativas, modalidades de resistência contra aquele “monstro que nos sufoca sempre mais dia após dia” (Bo, 1938, p. 553, tradução minha).

A poesia de Char e de Éluard, por exemplo, era emblemática por representar um sentido de união da humanidade, de consciência e de verdade. Em Itália, nos anos do fascismo, ia definindo-se a corrente hermética que representava uma rebelião contra a tirania, mas era uma rebelião individualista, totalmente alheia aos desejos de comunhão e de coletividade que caracterizavam a poesia francesa. Contudo, foram os próprios herméticos italianos a interessar-se sobretudo pela poesia francesa contemporânea, na tentativa de importar as experiências poéticas mais vivas e mais fervilhantes da época.

A poesia e a liberdade, além de chegarem a Itália através das revistas literárias nacionais, também chegavam através das mesmas revistas estrangeiras. A influência da *Nouvelle Revue Française*, por exemplo, foi enorme, seja pela maneira como se tratavam os assuntos dentro do periódico, seja pelos poetas de outras línguas que aí se traduziam para francês e que por sua vez eram traduzidos em Itália e Portugal a partir do francês, seja pela estrutura com textos de prosa, poesia e ensaios de crítica.

A *Corrente di Vita Giovanile* foi, das revistas consideradas neste estudo, aquela que mais se ocupou da poesia francesa da Resistência. A 31 de Outubro de 1938, Leone Traverso traduziu alguns poemas de Éluard tirados de *L'amour, la poésie* (Éluard, 1929) e de *Capitale de la douleur* (Éluard, 1926). Leone Traverso era um tradutor já conhecido sobretudo pelas suas traduções de autores alemães. Em 1940, no número de 31 de Março, apareceu de novo Éluard, assim como tinham aparecido algumas das *Notes sur la poésie* escritas por ele em colaboração com André Breton, no número inteiramente dedicado à poesia de 15 de Junho de 1939. Éluard afirmava no seu texto “L'évidence poétique” (Éluard, 1968), transcrição de uma conferência pronunciada em Londres em 1936 por ocasião da Primeira Exposição Internacional do Surrealismo, que todas as torres de marfim dos poetas seriam definitivamente demolidas através da confraternização dos seres humanos e dos poetas.

O Éluard da Resistência tinha um impacto visível na literatura italiana dos finais dos anos 30, e teve-o igualmente no Portugal dos anos 50. A condição das pessoas perante a situação política era semelhante nos dois países, embora em momentos diferentes; tratava-se maioritariamente de uma condição de indignação e de opressão onde o canto de liberdade destes poetas assumia, nos dois lugares geográficos, o mesmo significado de apelo à luta e à não resignação.

Também na revista *Letteratura*, entre os franceses, Éluard foi o mais apreciado. *Les Yeux Fertiles*, cuja resenha foi escrita por Carlo Bo no número de 2 de Abril de 1937, foi um primeiro elogio à sua poesia, como uma porta introdutória que foi, em seguida,

aprofundada noutro ensaio, sempre assinado por Bo, no número 13 de 1940. Neste se estudou mais pormenorizadamente o autor francês, considerando-o mesmo como o maior representante da democracia através da poesia.

Além da poesia da Resistência, outra corrente muito influente que se importou da França foi o surrealismo. Em Itália, sempre na já citada *Corrente di Vita Giovanile*, o crítico literário e escritor Giansiro Ferrata traçou uma breve panorâmica do movimento considerando-o como o manifesto das dissonâncias, mas ao mesmo tempo como uma corrente que foi capaz, pela primeira vez, de agregar os artistas numa rede coletiva, quebrando as solidões sem fugir da realidade e criando uma realidade outra.

Em suma, pode dizer-se que a poesia francesa da Resistência e a do surrealismo foram tratadas de forma mais aprofundada e explícita em Portugal, quando em comparação com a Itália, no universo das revistas literárias consideradas.

Nos anos 50, em Portugal, já se podia usar a poesia da Resistência como um símbolo, como uma imagem metafórica, pois já se tinham passado vinte anos e havia um recuo temporal que permitia fazer comparações, traçar conexões entre a realidade de Éluard e a realidade daquele tempo, e assim falar da contemporaneidade através do passado. Em Itália, pelo contrário, a publicação desta poesia acontecia, nas revistas consideradas, quase contemporaneamente ao período em que ela aparecia na França e, por consequência, a publicação foi mais contida, mais censurada e vigiada, às vezes até pela autocensura dos próprios tradutores. Resultava mais difícil, em Itália, transformar este tipo de poesia num símbolo ou numa metáfora, uma vez que os problemas que a França enfrentava durante a ocupação eram paralelos aos da Itália subjugada ao fascismo, faltava o recuo temporal. Era difícil contornar a censura e a situação geral obrigava a que fosse tudo mais velado. Contudo, apenas a citação dos nomes de Éluard, Char e Aragon dava àquela mesma ação um significado particular no contexto italiano, em que a poesia francesa ainda não se tinha tornado o mito que se tornaria depois, ainda não era uma representação de uma realidade afastada, ainda não era apenas um pretexto para falar de outra coisa, mas era uma realidade muito próxima e que podia evidentemente ter consequências diretas para tradutores e publicações periódicas.

Outras revistas portuguesas, tais como a *Vértice*, praticavam um elogio sociopolítico da França, sobretudo de sua vocação humanista e universalista. Na *Vértice* uniam-se as visões portuguesas e as francesas, a visão de Ramos Rosa com a de Éluard e dava-se uma síntese poética dos dois mundos. Sentia-se, nos meados do século XX, uma necessidade muito forte de união por parte de todos os intelectuais. Afirmava-se a necessidade de os poetas se exprimirem livre e sinceramente, recusando qualquer espécie de servidão. Punha-se a liberdade e a independência do ato poético como base fundamental da poesia europeia. Escrever isto e traduzir nas páginas das revistas significava, também, redigir um programa para as próprias revistas.

A *Árvore*, por exemplo, queria dar à poesia uma nova posição no plano da criação e na demanda social, usando-a como um espelho da multiplicidade do real, libertando-a dos seus principais constrangimentos. Um dos constrangimentos era com certeza o fascismo

com as suas regras e imposições, mas outro constrangimento era também o marxismo, ou melhor, uma conceção marxista da arte, como se fosse possível considerar a arte a partir apenas do seu valor e conteúdo social. A ideia de poesia que tinham em comum os colaboradores da revista pode ser reportada ao conceito de *engagement* de Tristan Tzara, segundo o qual o único compromisso que os poetas deveriam assumir seria com a “vida ilimitada”, o da “fidelidade ao homem total”, fora de qualquer outra questão mais circunstancial (*Árvore*, 1953, p. 7).

Seria relevante afirmar que foi mesmo a presença da tradução de Éluard na revista *Árvore* a ter determinado o seu encerramento definitivo e a sua censura total; seria interessante poder demonstrar que o principal elemento perturbador para o fascismo fosse a simples tradução de um poeta francês; infelizmente, porém, não nos é possível demonstrá-lo de forma tão clara. O último artigo do derradeiro número clandestino da revista foi exatamente um artigo sobre a morte de Éluard que ficou também como testamento da revista em si. A questão do encerramento por causa do poeta pode ficar como suposição juntamente com muitas outras, pois na revista amalgamavam-se várias personalidades com perfis “suspeitos” não apenas do ponto de vista literário, mas também e sobretudo do ponto de vista político. Alguns dos colaboradores, em particular, tinham ligações estreitas com o Movimento de Unidade Democrática (MUD) ou com organizações subversivas da oposição.

Foram excluídas deste estudo outras revistas que podiam ter sido importantes, por diferentes razões. Foi o caso, por exemplo, da revista *Afinidades*, onde a ideia de valorização da França era quase propagandística. Tratava-se de uma revista financiada pelo Instituto Francês de Portugal, publicada entre 1940 e 1946, cujo diretor era Lionel de Roulet, e que buscava valorizar o “espírito francês” sem fazer referência à ocupação e passando ao largo das questões contemporâneas, com a intenção de não interferir com a amizade diplomática entre França e Portugal e tentando não ter problemas com a censura.

3. A poesia da Geração de 27 espanhola

Todas as revistas italianas e portuguesas consideradas para este estudo dedicaram uma grande atenção à tradução de poesia escrita em castelhano, em particular à Geração de 27. No entanto, em Itália e em Portugal houve, nas modalidades de receção, algumas diferenças.

Em Itália, o movimento literário que iniciou e fomentou a tradução da poesia espanhola contemporânea foi, mais uma vez, o hermetismo, e com certeza os estilos dos particulares autores que traduziam influenciaram os textos e foram por sua vez influenciados pela poesia que vinha do mundo ibérico. Em Portugal, foi o neorrealismo a corrente que pela primeira vez recebeu e difundiu os poetas espanhóis de 27. Foi demonstrado quer em Itália (Sartore, 2015), quer em Portugal (Soler, 2000), que as modalidades de receção foram fortemente determinadas pelas exigências literárias e ideológicas correspondentes aos grupos que funcionaram como mediadores.

Como salienta Dionisio Martínez Soler (2000), embora a Geração espanhola de 27

tivesse crescido paralelamente à Geração portuguesa da *Presença* e, embora de facto houvesse algumas trocas poéticas entre Portugal e Espanha, foi apenas bastante mais tarde que a poesia da Geração de 27 foi realmente importada e recebida em Portugal. A escassa difusão inicial deve-se ao facto de a Geração não se ter apresentado inicialmente como um grupo homogéneo, mas como uma corrente variegada, composta por muitos nomes, dos quais apenas alguns ficaram no cânone literário e somente nos anos seguintes.

Nos finais dos anos 30 e início dos anos 40, o neorrealismo português selecionou, entre os autores da Geração de 27, os temas que mais sentia como afins e “instrumentalizou” a questão inicial da Guerra Civil de Espanha para traçar paralelismos com a situação política portuguesa submetida à ditadura. Soler (2000) insiste em salientar a questão da particular seleção que foi feita pelos neorrealistas para trazer para Portugal a poesia espanhola daquela época. Depois da Guerra Civil, era dominante a escolha de obras de autores como Federico García Lorca – que, entretanto, se tinha tornado num mártir da guerra e, por extensão, um mártir do fascismo que naquele momento parecia invadir toda a Europa.

Outros poetas daquela mesma geração, embora estivessem envolvidos na guerra e a sua poesia tocasse temas sociais e políticos, raramente eram considerados. A escolha resultou assim um tanto aleatória. Até na obra do próprio García Lorca observa-se que aparentemente os neorrealistas escolheram apenas uma parte da sua produção, isto é, a parte mais próxima do registo popular, do espontâneo, do tradicional espanhol, enquanto, por exemplo, toda a produção do autor que se aproximava do surrealismo e que parecia não ter aparentemente um compromisso político foi menosprezada.

Houve uma exceção, mas somente mais tarde, já no início dos anos 50, e foi mais uma vez o caso da revista *Árvore*. Esta, não querendo dar à poesia apenas uma função social e política, como já vimos anteriormente, concentrava-se na dimensão humana da palavra poética e no seu apelo à fraternidade universal. No número da Primavera-Versão de 1952 publicou-se Vicente Aleixandre, poeta então quase desconhecido e que se tornará mais famoso em Portugal e no resto do mundo apenas depois de receber o prémio Nobel em 1977. O poema intitulado “El moribundo” apareceu na língua original e foi dividido em duas partes: “Palabras” e “El silencio”. Tratava-se de um poema tirado de *Nacimiento último*, obra considerada como a última síntese poética do autor.

É de destacar, em particular, por ser significativa, a escolha da revista *Árvore* de apresentar também os poemas de Carmen Conde – no número do Inverno de 1951-1952 – num contexto poético maioritariamente ocupado por homens, tanto em Portugal como em Espanha. Uma escolha definitivamente contracorrente para o seu tempo. Conde foi uma das principais mulheres representantes da Geração de 27 e é descrita, na revista, como uma escritora e ensaísta multifacetada e fecunda.

No último número da *Árvore* propuseram-se dois poemas então inéditos de García Lorca em versões diferentes, na língua original, acompanhados por uma breve nota de Eugénio de Andrade. O poeta português escreve que, quando chegou a autorização para a publicação dos dois poemas inéditos, a revista já estava a ser composta para a impressão e

não sobrou tempo para elaborar um comentário mais detalhado capaz de dar pontos de referência ao leitor português para situar García Lorca no seu contexto histórico e literário. É também preciso considerar que se tratava do último número da revista e que esta saiu em situação de emergência e semiclandestinidade.

Como nos faz notar ainda Soler (1999), em Portugal, poetas como Luis Cernuda, Pedro Salinas, Dámaso Alonso, Emilio Prados, entre outros, não foram considerados nos anos em que escreveram; foram-no apenas muito tempo mais tarde graças às posteriores traduções não domesticantes de José Bento.

Na revista *Vértice*, o que foi traduzido de poesia espanhola também remete sobretudo para a Geração de 27. Encontra-se um poema de García Lorca, na língua original, no número de Julho de 1947, e de forma geral deu-se bastante atenção aos poetas do mundo hispanófono, não apenas ibérico. Em Maio de 1959 foi publicado Antonio Machado, numa homenagem relativamente aprofundada e com os poemas em língua original.

Em Itália, a receção da poesia espanhola da Geração de 27 aconteceu de forma diferente. García Lorca foi também o poeta que recebeu mais atenção e a sua poética tornou-se indubitavelmente num eficaz antídoto contra a retórica do fascismo entre os anos 30 e 40. O primeiro tradutor italiano de García Lorca foi o já citado crítico e professor Carlo Bo, que traduziu pela primeira vez alguns poemas na revista *Letteratura* no número de Abril de 1938. *Letteratura*, sendo uma das revistas herméticas mais lidas e comentadas, tinha uma grande influência no mundo das letras daquele momento. Neste contexto, Bo decidiu não fazer uma distinção entre o poeta socialmente comprometido e o poeta mais ligado ao surrealismo, como se tinha feito na receção portuguesa da sua obra, e traduziu para a revista “La casada infiel”, “Ciudad sin sueño (noturno del Brooklyn Bridge)” e “Llanto para Ignacio Sánchez Mejías”, composto por “La sangre derramada”, “Cuerpo presente” e “Alma ausente”. Bo costumava ler a sua tradução do “Llanto para Ignacio Sánchez Mejías”, sobretudo por ocasião das tertúlias literárias de Florença, no ambiente animado do hermetismo florentino que orbitava em torno do café Le Giubbe Rosse. Foi assim que o verso “a las cinco de la tarde”, “alle cinque della sera”, no seu ritmo martelante e monótono que toda a gente costumava repetir continuamente, se tornou uma metáfora sangrenta da luta contra o fascismo. O *Llanto* de García Lorca foi escrito em 1934 e publicado pela primeira vez em Espanha em 1935. O poeta fala, neste poema, da morte de um famoso amigo *torero*, mas claramente a leitura importada que se fez em Itália, e talvez também em Espanha naquele mesmo momento, levava a lembrar outras mortes, como as das guerras e das vítimas do fascismo. O ritmo é envolvente e incessante e “as cinco da tarde” tornou-se rapidamente, para todos os intelectuais do hermetismo italiano, uma espécie de linguagem em código que significava “a hora da morte”. Era impossível não fazer a ligação com todos os mortos que a Guerra Civil em Espanha e o fascismo em Itália estavam a provocar.

Globalmente, em Itália, não houve nesse período a distinção que se verificou em Portugal no que diz respeito às diferenças entre poesia social e poesia não social. Pode afirmar-se que as principais traduções da língua castelhana em revistas literárias da época

foram feitas sobretudo por Bo e Oreste Macrì. De facto, Macrì traduziu em *Corrente*, de 1939, “Oda a Salvador Dalí” de García Lorca, e Luigi Panarese, também em *Corrente*, traduziu a “Canción de la muerte pequeña”.

Em 1940, por fim, foi publicada a primeira edição dos poemas de García Lorca pela coleção La Fenice da Editora Guanda, com tradução e organização de Bo. Faz-se normalmente coincidir este ano, 1940, com a viragem para uma receção e uma leitura dos autores espanhóis contemporâneos finalmente capaz de sair do ambiente restrito dos intelectuais e das revistas de algumas elites para se difundir mais a nível nacional, alcançando assim o leitor comum.

Em Itália, a relação entre o hermetismo e as traduções que o mesmo movimento proporcionava foi ambivalente. Nas traduções, Bo mantinha a construção paratática típica de García Lorca, por exemplo, e recriava as repetições lexicais em italiano com a mesma intensidade, o mesmo efeito de reiteração e de ritmo. De certa forma, portanto, a tradução resultou ser um primeiro passo para começar a sair do traçado dos modelos estilísticos típicos da corrente hermética. Podemos falar de um verdadeiro hispanismo hermético que, com certeza, nasceu na esteira da morte de García Lorca, mas que a seguir continuou o seu caminho até outras paragens. A explosão de interesse crítico que se sucedeu à Guerra Civil de Espanha fez com que vários críticos e tradutores transitassem do mundo do francesismo para o mundo do hispanismo.

Antes da Guerra Civil tinham-se, em Itália, escassos conhecimentos de Espanha e da literatura espanhola. O evento infeliz da guerra proporcionou, todavia, a descoberta de um povo e de uma literatura, permitindo ir além das simples relações institucionais entre governos. Para os intelectuais italianos, descobrir que Espanha e a sua literatura estavam vivas e que eram profundamente europeias (isto é, influenciadas por todas as outras literaturas europeias e em contacto com elas) foi uma revelação. Ao longo dos anos do fascismo em Itália, foi muito importante para os resistentes ter, a seu lado, o exemplo espanhol.

Em todo o caso, não é de subestimar o papel da França na descoberta da poesia espanhola contemporânea (sobre o caso italiano cf. Sartore, 2015, p. 73). É bastante comum, ao longo da história da literatura, que se importem não apenas textos soltos de uma dada cultura, mas até traduções e, juntamente com elas, modelos de formas de traduzir. A França, durante todo o século XIX e parte do século XX, foi o grande modelo europeu em termos literários e, tanto em Itália como em Portugal, lia-se avidamente tudo o que provinha de lá como se proviesse de uma entidade superior. Segundo o mesmo mecanismo, também tudo o que se traduzia para francês era considerado como já “canonizado” pela cultura francesa, portanto já digno de interesse *a priori*. Desta forma, nasciam em Itália e em Portugal as traduções indiretas de línguas de países muito afastados geográfica e/ou linguisticamente, tais como o russo, que se traduziam para italiano ou português a partir do francês. Nos casos aqui considerados, em que estamos a tratar de literaturas de línguas românicas e, portanto, todas relativamente próximas entre elas, era raro fazerem-se traduções indiretas a partir do francês, mas não era de todo raro traduzir

seguindo o modelo francês. Por modelo francês não se entende aqui apenas uma determinada forma de traduzir ditada por escolhas linguísticas, mas quer-se significar um determinado tipo de enquadramento tradutório que compreende os autores escolhidos, os tipos de texto, os temas tratados. Por esta razão, podemos readaptar o conceito de *mediating model* referido por Gideon Toury (1995, p. 161) ao modelo de sistema de tradução francês. Neste caso específico, em França já se traduzia a poesia espanhola contemporânea – muito antes do que em Itália e já fazia parte da sua literatura, por assim dizer, canonizada. A literatura francesa e as revistas francesas conseguiram, com frequência, circular diretamente em Itália sem necessidade de traduções, portanto provavelmente foi também através delas, e em particular através da *Nouvelle Revue Française*, que os poemas de García Lorca traduzidos para francês por Éluard devem ter chegado aos leitores e críticos italianos. Finalmente, é importante não esquecer um último fator determinante no que diz respeito à relação entre Espanha e Itália em termos literários, que é a questão do exílio de alguns poetas espanhóis em terra italiana. Alberti, por exemplo, viveu em Itália por mais de dez anos sem interrupção; Guillén esteve muitas vezes no território italiano e, além disso, tinha conhecido o tradutor e crítico Renato Poggioli nos Estados Unidos entre os anos 30 e 40.

No que diz respeito a outros poetas de língua castelhana nas demais revistas, na *Baretti* não se tratou muito de poesia em castelhano, mas no número de Outubro de 1925 dedicou-se um artigo aos poetas catalães – um facto bastante raro em Itália naquela época –, aprofundando em particular a figura de Margall, poeta que viveu entre o fim do século XIX e o começo do século XX. Na revista *Letteratura*, juntamente com Antonio Machado, Juan Ramón Jiménez e outros, apareceram também autores como Rafael Lasso de la Vega, também conhecido como Marqués de Villanova, poeta mais alheio aos movimentos literários da época e que em Itália conheceu uma fortuna crítica sobretudo póstuma.

Em conclusão, entre os autores mais citados encontramos Ramón Jiménez e Machado, sendo a revista *Maestrale* aquela que mais se ocupou desta poesia, tratando também autores da América do Sul, tais como Pablo Neruda.

4. Considerações finais

Globalmente, a diferente receção em Itália e em Portugal da poesia da Geração de 27 espanhola pode ser devida aos diferentes períodos históricos em que esta poesia chegou aos dois países. Portugal já tinha com Espanha relações literárias bastante próximas, mas é verdade que durante a Guerra Civil despertou-se um grande interesse sobretudo pelos poetas que se tornaram mitos individuais e coletivos da resistência, nomeadamente García Lorca e Machado. Assim, o neorrealismo celebrou e difundiu especificamente alguns nomes da Geração de 27. Como já referido, porém, o neorrealismo trouxe a Portugal uma versão parcial desse movimento poético, concentrando-se quase unicamente nas suas vertentes sociais e ligadas às tradições populares. Como refere Lourenço (1968, p. 32), “o ano da eclosão da Guerra Civil de Espanha é bem próprio para referir o que será também uma guerra civil dos espíritos de que o neo-realismo será durante longos anos a expressão mais

extrema e consciente”. Foi preciso esperar até aos anos 60, no que diz respeito à reprodução e difusão da dita poesia espanhola em revistas literárias – se não considerarmos a exceção que já vimos representada pela revista *Árvore* nos primeiros anos da década de 50 –, para o poeta e tradutor José Bento conseguir proporcionar uma visão mais ampla, mais aprofundada e menos sectária das mil facetas daquela poesia em revistas como *O Tempo e o Modo* e em outras publicações antológicas. Em Itália, pelo contrário, a receção relativamente caótica e urgente dos anos do fascismo não permitiu o recuo necessário de que se precisaria para compreender a fundo uma dada obra ou corrente literária de um período histórico específico.

Permanecia, em Portugal como em Itália, o problema da censura e do controlo em geral sobre as publicações periódicas e não periódicas. É preciso considerar que o que se publicava era algo que já tinha sido filtrado – no sentido de, por vezes, proposto, rejeitado, reproposto, modificado e enfim publicado – inúmeras vezes. Contornar o problema da censura, através da poesia, tornou-se mais fácil pelo facto de a poesia permitir uma linguagem ambígua e alusiva.

Se considerarmos a poesia como o terreno privilegiado da literatura em que se permite a irrupção do semiótico no simbólico (Kristeva [1974] 1985), a linguagem poética é absolutamente reveladora do sujeito em processo e consegue desestruturar a gramática, a língua e, de alguma forma, o modo em que se concebe a realidade. Esta subversão, no âmbito do semiótico, é transponível para a língua da tradução e isto pode acontecer de várias formas: decalcando, em tradução, o mesmo ritmo do original ou recriando na língua de chegada um poema composto por uma determinada forma que em tradução seria concebida como um desvio da norma, uma subversão. No poema de García Lorca, o ritmo concitado é transposto para italiano e recria perfeitamente o mesmo sentimento de ansiedade, de urgência e, ao mesmo tempo, de inelutabilidade. Embora as obras lorquianas mais surrealistas e as mais tradicionalistas se tenham misturado na receção italiana, e os poemas de García Lorca não tenham encontrado – aparentemente – particulares obstáculos na publicação, algumas palavras de Bo publicadas na sua introdução à antologia *Lirici Spagnoli*, no número de 9 de Setembro de 1941 da revista *Maestrale*, deixam entender que nem tudo o que se queria publicar era efetivamente publicado. Nomeadamente, quando Bo fala, por exemplo, de Rubén Darío dizendo que a sua produção artística derivada das suas preocupações políticas é muito menos interessante e que não está à altura do autor de “Azul”, deixa entender ao leitor italiano que existe também uma produção mais politizada de Darío e, desse modo, convidaria indiretamente à sua descoberta.

O grande poder da poesia passava precisamente pela sua natural ambiguidade, pelo seu saber falar obscuramente e, assim fazendo, conseguia iluminar zonas semânticas que de outra forma não seriam acessíveis.

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THE IMPACT OF CENSORSHIP ON THE TRANSLATION AND PUBLICATION OF VIRGINIA WOOLF IN ITALY IN THE 1930S

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ABSTRACT: Defined as “the decade of translations”, the 1930s saw the publication of Virginia Woolf’s novels *Orlando*, *Flush*, and *To the lighthouse* in Italian. In the cultural and political context of Fascism, this is unexpected, given the peculiarities of Woolf’s experimental prose. Italian literary criticism was firmly founded on a normative anti-modernist canon, supported by both the Catholic Church, which decried modernism and excommunicated some modernist writers, and by the literary movement led by the anti-Fascist and liberal philosopher Benedetto Croce. This *de facto* intellectual dictatorship complemented the official cultural policy of the Fascist regime by generating another dimension of censorship that invariably affected the publication of periodicals and books. The present work focuses on the effects of this triple (political, moral, and literary) censorship on the first translation of *To the lighthouse*.

KEYWORDS: Translation Censorship, Domestication, Cultural Policy, Modernism, Aesthetics, Close Reading

1. Introduction

This article aims to demonstrate how the first Italian translation of the “modernist” novel *To the lighthouse*, produced by Giulia Celenza in 1934 under the Fascist dictatorship, was affected by an interplay of three different types of censorship. The first derived from the *de facto* “idealistic or intellectual dictatorship” (Coli, 1982, pp. 236-237; Ruberto, 2019) or cultural influence (Gramsci, [1926-1930] 1966; [1932] 2014, pp. 213-215) of the liberal philosophy of Benedetto Croce (1902), who advocated classicism and the art of *bello scrivere* [“beautiful writing”]¹ under traditional aesthetic principles of poetry.² The second type of censorship came from the ex-communication of the “modernist” movement by the Catholic Church in 1908. The third type was the political censorship introduced under the Fascist cultural policy banning the cultural “foreignisation” of translated texts. It is argued here that these three independent but equally imposing types of “censorship” converged in the defence of national literary norms and against any forms of modernism. The present study shows how the first translation of the novel was highly “domesticated” in its literary and linguistic style.

Critics have generally pointed to the openness of Italian culture to foreign literature. Cattaneo (2007, p. 17) notes that it was precisely under the Fascist regime that English literature was introduced into Italy in the form of original texts, translations, reviews,

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¹ All the English translations in square brackets are made by the author of this article.

² Gramsci ([1926-1930] 1966, p. 153) defines Croce as “a world leader [whose function] could be compared with that of the Catholic Pope (...). The last edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica* commissioned the entry term ‘Aesthetics’ to Croce”. Similarly, the literary critic Cecchi ([1947] 1964, p. 131) declared “Né sono possibili dubbi che, sul pensiero e la cultura d’ogni paese civile, l’opera del Croce esercitò incalcolabili influssi” [“Neither can there be any doubts about Croce’s inestimable influence on the thought and culture of every civilised country.”].

manuals and bibliographies, while Elisa Bolchi (2010, p. 199) claims: “Even though Fascism was a harsh and patriarchal dictatorship notorious for its strong nationalism, raised barriers and censored press, there were forums in Fascist Italy where Italian and foreign literatures could be published, read, and discussed”. In fact, during the 1930s, a period later labelled by Cesare Pavese (1951, p. 223) as “the decade of translations”, the Italian publishing market experienced an unusual flood of translations (Carducci, 1973, p. 23; Rundle, 2010a, p. 2, 2010b, p. 15). With so many translations circulating in the country, readers had the chance to encounter many classic and contemporary authors from abroad. Antonio Gramsci (cited in Fernandez, 1969, p. 14) and Cattaneo (2007, p. 46) have observed how paradoxical it was that the Fascist cultural policy in literature and arts effectively brought the nation under the hegemony of foreigners. Although the dictatorial regime never actually encouraged translations, Italian versions of foreign literary works outnumbered domestic products translated into other languages and published abroad. This meant that the country failed to achieve one of the regime’s aims of becoming a net cultural exporter (Billiani, 2007, pp. 138-160; 2020, p. 42; Ferme, 2002, p. 39; Rundle, 2000, pp. 72-74; 2010a, p. 3).

According to Ferme (2002, pp. 210-211) and Rundle (2010a, pp. 55-66), the resulting position of the country as a net cultural importer was partly due to an earlier ambiguity on the part of the regime. It had initially considered foreign literature to be a source of innovation and an instrument of cultural exchange, but then gradually began to fear the subversive power of translation and could not refrain from enforcing censorship to defend national identity. What started as “silent tolerance” later became “an active hostility towards translations conceived much more as an idea than as an activity itself” (Taronna, 2018, p. 83).

The “translation invasion” was not perceived until 1929, when the publisher Mondadori inaugurated the first low-cost series of detective stories initially distributed by newsagents (Rundle, 2010b, p. 23). This innovative way of selling translated books successfully spread across the country, paving the way for a long list of novels and literary works in general. Among the so-called *libri gialli* [“yellow books”] – “detective stories” initially published in Italy with yellow covers – were translations of Agatha Christie’s novels, whose immediate popularity became a cause for concern, leading to their being subject to censorship (Ferme, 2002, p. 50).

The large number of inexpensive translations circulating in Italy during the 1930s increased publishers’ profits significantly. “Escapist fiction”, mainly comprising adventure and romantic novels or detective stories depicting a world away from the monotonous life of farmers and workers, was not generally opposed by the regime. Some publishers, such as Mondadori, Einaudi, and Bompiani, as well as translators, were engaged in a subtle cultural battle to allow the country to stay in touch with contemporary European and American experiences (Billiani, 2007; 2020, p. 63; Nottola, 2010, p. 178; Rundle, 1999, p. 427). For Rubino (2010, p. 150):

(...) 1929 was the year that saw the real launch of the new publishing strategy, with the appearance of three new series of foreign literature: “Scrittori di tutto il mondo” [“Writers of the world”], directed by Gian Dàuli on behalf of the Milanese publisher Modernissima, “Narratori nordici” [“Northern Narrators”], edited by Lavinia Mazzucchetti for Sperling & Kupfer, Milan, and “I romanzi della vita moderna” [“Novels of Modern Life”] published by Bemporad, Florence.

Translators played an essential role in selecting texts and deciding how to translate them. Many authors, notably Pavese, Montale, Cecchi, and Vittorini, translated books with a slant that often did not conform to Fascist ideology. Vittorini, in particular, was one of the most politically engaged intellectuals working against the regime, and his anthology of translated American authors, *Americana*, fell foul of the censors.³ However, in such a context, evaluating the impact of the censorship policy is not a simple task. There were other cultural, social, and historical factors in operation which often imposed a form of self-censorship upon literary translators before the works even reached the official censors. The first Italian translation of Virginia Woolf’s *To the lighthouse* (1927) by Giulia Celenza, published by Fratelli Treves Editori in 1934 under the title *Gita al faro* [“Excursion to the lighthouse”], is a typical case in point. The present study identifies certain stylistic features in the translation that are considered to represent a compromise between the demands of the foreign text and the need for cultural protectionism.

Before embarking on this case study, however, let us briefly examine the role of periodicals in diffusing translated foreign literature under censorship, and the impact of historical and cultural factors on the censorship of literary translations.

2. Periodical and book publishing in Fascist Italy

The twentieth century was defined by Langella (1982, p. 3) as “the century of periodicals” due to the hundreds of such publications on the market. Indeed, periodicals became the preferred channel of a militant culture, an instrument of communication and a new place for the production and distribution of cultural products. Many literary journals did not have any link with the regime, and in the thirties, represented important fora for discussions about foreign writers. Authors and translators were able to take part in the dissemination of international culture against national provincialism. The surveillance and censorship implemented by the regime did not prevent either the emergence of a clandestine press or the publication of discordant voices in freely circulating journals. The dictatorship, therefore, never succeeded in gaining intellectuals’ consent, though it conditioned their actions and reduced their freedom of manoeuvre.

³ Vittorini’s *Americana* was ready for publication at the end of 1940 when the veto came from the regime. The Minister of Popular Culture, Alessandro Pavolini, motivated it in a letter to the publisher Bompiani dated January 1941 (cited by Rundle, 2010a, pp. 200-201): “l’antologia non farebbe che rinfocolare la ventata di eccessivo entusiasmo per l’ultima letteratura americana: moda che sono risoluto a non incoraggiare” [“the anthology would rather rekindle a flush of excessive enthusiasm for the late American literature: a trend that I am resolved not to encourage.”]

The publication of some translated excerpts in periodicals created a sense of anticipation about works published outside the regime's propaganda machine. Some literary magazines played a significant role in the positive reception of Virginia Woolf in Italy. For example, the journal *Il Baretto*,⁴ founded by Piero Gobetti in 1924, hosted reviews of Woolf's first two novels *The voyage out* (Woolf, 1915) and *Night and day* (Woolf, 1919) by literary critic Umberto Morra di Lavriano (1928, pp. 27-28), before it was closed down in 1928 at the behest of Mussolini's censorship board.⁵ Despite being short-lived, *Il Baretto* was very influential in determining which books would be translated. It had been founded with the intention of exposing the national culture to foreign works of literature, and its editorial board (which included Alessandra Scalero, the translator of Woolf's novels *Orlando* (Woolf, 1928, 1933) and *Flush* (Woolf, 1933, 1934a), as well as authors and literary critics such as Morra di Lavriano, Giacomo De Benedetti, Leone Ginzburg, Natalino Sapegno, Umberto Saba, and Emilio Cecchi) supported an inclusive culture that would comprise foreign history, politics, and literature, a project born in opposition to the spreading rhetoric and provincialism of the Fascist regime.

For some intellectuals, literature was the only way they had of challenging the dictatorship. The monthly literary journal *Solaria*, with a modernist approach and anti-fascist stance, which started up in 1926, explicitly aimed to use literature for political controversy (Bonsaver, 2007, pp. 140-143; Duyck, 2015). It, too, was closed by the regime censorship, following the seizure of its forty-first issue published in 1936 (but backdated 1934). However, other periodicals were born, such as *Letteratura*, directed by Alessandro Bonsanti, and *La Riforma Letteraria*, by Alberto Carocci – the former director of *Solaria* – and Giacomo Noventa (Bolchi, 2007a, p. 190).

A dissenting article published in a periodical might usually escape censure as representing one voice amongst many, supported to some extent by the others. In contrast, the author of a book could easily be singled out by the censorship body (Cattaneo, 2007, p. 52). Nevertheless, publishers continued to defend their right to circulate translated books because it was a profitable market, trying to outwit the system by cultivating interlocutors inside the regime (Galfré, 2005, pp. 127-132; Rundle, 2004, p. 65). Arnoldo Mondadori, for example, maintained an intricate network of personal relations with Mussolini and other high-ranking officials (Guerra, 1983, pp. 90-99), and Bompiani and Einaudi also worked closely with the MinCulPop, the Ministry of Popular Culture (Rundle, 2010a, pp. 87-92). This state of affairs endured until full-blown centralised censorship was instituted between 1934 and 1939.

Until 1934, the year of publication of Celenza's translation of *To the lighthouse*, the political censorship was anything but strict or widespread. On the contrary, censorship was initially quite loose, incompetent, and often individually and locally enforced rather than

⁴ The periodical was founded in honour of Giuseppe Baretto, an eighteenth-century literary critic, translator, and linguist.

⁵ Its founder, despite his liberal ideas, was accused of connections with the left and especially with Antonio Gramsci, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, who had been in prison since 1926 (Langella, 1982, p. 95).

dictated by central institutions (Ferme, 2002, p. 219). Even later on, when the censorship of literature became more active, the solutions tended to be tailored to each case, which meant that the system as a whole was unpredictable (Bonsaver, 2007, p. 95). Publishers could select texts to translate, fully aware that a government review would only take place at the end of the editorial process when the investments had already been made.

In the early years, the regime managed not to impose preventive censorship, but encouraged publishers and writers to make choices that would meet patriotic ends, including protecting the Italian language and culture from foreign influence (Rundle, 2010a, p. 102). However, attitudes changed with the Fascist autarkic policy launched by Mussolini in reaction to the League of Nations' response to his conquest of Abyssinia and Ethiopia in 1935-1936. Hence, in an atmosphere of increasing severity, rigid measures were imposed by the Minister of Popular Culture to control both existing and future translations.⁶ Now publishers began to systematically intervene in the texts in order to ensure they would pass the censorship (Ferme, 2002, p. 210).

The entry of foreign works became ever more restricted. In 1938, the government imposed a ban on Jewish authorship, and books by Jewish authors were confiscated and removed from the market. In the case of translations, there was a need to smooth out or conceal any "foreign" aspects, so foreign names now had to be translated into Italian. Some translations were banned because their contents were considered offensive. One example is *All passion spent*, by Virginia Woolf's friend Vita Sackville-West, about a woman who refuses to follow the conventions of the time; it was translated and published by Mondadori in 1935 in the Medusa series dedicated to foreign literature. The same fate befell *The well of loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall,⁷ translated on Alessandra Scalero's initiative and published in 1930 by the small and short-lived publisher Modernissima.

It is no exaggeration to say that writers and translators in Italy were now subject to a *de facto* triple system of political, moral, and literary censorship. The State's control system converged not only with the anti-modernist position of the Catholic Church (Luperini, 2018,

⁶ The new government measures – cited by Fabre (1998, p. 32; 2007, pp. 27-28) and translated into English by Rundle and Sturge (2010c, p. 147) – were as follows: "1) As of the 1 April [1938] only the Ministry [of Culture] is entitled to authorize the diffusion in Italy of foreign translations. 2) Publishers can send the Ministry copies of the book they intend to translate into Italian, in the original language, either directly or via the Prefecture. 3) The Ministry will inform Publishers – via the appropriate Prefecture – of its decisions as quickly as possible. 4) Publishers are permitted to submit works for approval also in the form of proofs in Italian translations. 5) No prior approval is required for purely scientific treaties (...) or for works which are universally recognized as classics".

⁷ This novel had initially escaped censorship control and appeared in Italy only two years after its publication in the UK, where it underwent a trial on obscenity in 1928. Strangely enough, the censorship occurred in the same country where *Orlando*, Woolf's virtuoso lesbian novel, was published the same year to fulsome praise' (Souhami, 2008, p. viii). In British society, where the censorship of books happened through trials, Woolf managed to escape since "her sexual allusions were too aerial to invite scrutiny by the Home Secretary" (Souhami, 2008, p. viii). These events, which were followed by a long history of trials in the UK, testifies to how censorship of literature in the 1930s was equally widespread in other European countries, although under different political regimes and for different reasons.

p. 35; Vian, 2012, p. 59),⁸ but also with the “intellectual dictatorship” exerted by liberal philosopher Benedetto Croce through the aesthetic norm of *bello scrivere*⁹ [“beautiful writing”]. In a letter dated 7 September 1931, Gramsci ([1971] 2014, p. 161) described Croce as “una specie di papa laico ed è uno strumento efficacissimo di egemonia anche se volta per volta possa trovarsi in contrasto con questo o quel governo” [“a sort of lay pope, and a very effectual instrument of hegemony even if, from time to time, he may find himself at odds with this or another government”]. Indeed, his influence was such that Italian culture in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the philosophical current of neo-idealism and a general need for formal balance in the arts. It is ironic that, in his opposition to literary innovations, even those introduced by famous writers in Italy and other European countries (Croce, 1902, 1938, 1954), this liberal anti-Fascist philosopher who opposed Catholic policies in so many ways was, in this respect, aligned with the aesthetics of the Church. Partly as a result of his influence, literary translations of modernist works in Italy were generally driven by an agenda of domestication and the desire to impose the “high” register of the Classics.

3. Virginia Woolf in Italy

The decision to translate Woolf’s novels in the thirties was not made by chance. According to Calvani (2018, p. 65), it was the (relative) commercial success of these works in England that justified her introduction into Italy. She had already written five novels, including *To the lighthouse*, when Carlo Linati firstly introduced her to Italian readers in an article published in the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* on 24 January 1927, asking “è dunque impressionista la Woolf?” [“Is Woolf, then, an impressionist?”] (Bolchi, 2007b, p. 71). The thirties saw the publication of three of Woolf’s novels in translation. By the time the Italian version of *To the lighthouse* was published in 1934, translations of *Orlando* (1933) and *Flush* (1934a) had already appeared, accepted by the regime with no apparent fear of contaminating Italians with their “foreignness” (Calvani, 2018, p. 63).

To the lighthouse was published in England by The Hogarth Press in 1927. The novel, considered as a sort of autobiography, revolves around the Ramsays’ family life, and as such appeared to be in tune with Italian cultural values.¹⁰ On 31 December 1929, Woolf granted the publisher Fratelli Treves Editori the translation rights, and it was decided that it would be translated by Giulia Celenza, an Anglicist who was already an acclaimed translator of Shakespeare, Stevenson, and Swinburne (Pancheri, 1999-2001, p. 265). The novel was expected on 31 March 1931 but took a further three years due to Celenza’s health problems, which eventually resulted in her death in 1933 (Bolchi, 2007a, p. 46).

⁸ Only in June 1966 did the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith of the Catholic Church announce that its widely-known *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* [“List of Prohibited Books”], which included about 4,000 censored books, would no longer have the force of ecclesiastical positive law with the associated penalties.

⁹ *Bello scrivere* is a very old expression dating back to the great rhetoric of Ancient Rome and the *Dolce Stil Novo* of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio (Fornaciari, 1839, pp. 11-12).

¹⁰ As Morra di Lavriano (1931, p. 45) notes, “La famiglia (...) impregna di sé il paesaggio in cui si muove” [“the family (...) imbues the environment in which it moves”].

When the translation did finally come out, it was praised by critics. For example, Alberto Consiglio (1929, p. 6), writing in the periodical *Italia letteraria*, talked about “her [Woolf’s] perfect work”, while Emilio Cecchi and Paolo Emilio Paolini praised Celenza’s work for rewriting Woolf’s concepts in her own words (Bolchi, 2007b, pp. 46-47). In his preface to the Italian edition of *To the lighthouse*, Cecchi (1934, p. xi) praised the translation as having dealt very adeptly with what he regarded as a most challenging work: “Forse, in *To the lighthouse*, la Celenza affronta il compito più difficile, per la stessa natura riflessa e composita della scrittura della Woolf” [“Perhaps, in *To the lighthouse*, Celenza faced the most difficult task due to the reflected and composite nature of Woolf’s writing”]. However, he ended by saying “noi vogliamo che *To the lighthouse* parli da sé al nostro lettore” [“we want *To the lighthouse* to speak to our readers for itself”] (p. ix):

(...) ogni traduzione anche la più perfetta è infine un compromesso. Si vorrebbe poter augurarsi ed ambire che tutti i compromessi riuscissero come questo [each translation, even the most perfect one, is, in the end, a compromise. One would like to be able to wish and hope that all compromises turn out to be as this one.]. (Cecchi, 1934, p. ix)

Cecchi seems to have appreciated the way the translation appeared to conform with the cultural context dominated by Croce’s aesthetic idealism, exhibiting the high poetic level typical of the “Great Works” of world literature.¹¹ On the other hand, Marino Moretti, in a letter to Aldo Palazzeschi dated 19 August 1934 (Pancheri, 1999-2001), described the newly published translation of *To the lighthouse* as one of the most challenging works that he had ever read. While expressing his “ammirazione incondizionata” [“unconditional admiration”] for Celenza, he nevertheless found the source text to be “la cosa più inconsueta che si possa immaginare e lascia – direi che *deve* lasciare – perplessi. Giudica tu” [“the most unusual thing that one might imagine and leaves – I would say it *should* leave – one perplexed. See for yourself”] (Pancheri, 1999-2001, pp. 265-266, emphasis in the original). These opposing views make this case emblematic of a receiving culture in the grip of such particular cultural, social, and political conditions.

The next section will discuss some examples in which these factors made the target text diverge semantically as well as stylistically from the source text.

4. The translator’s choices

For Perosa (2002, p. 201), Woolf was appreciated in Italy through translations that completely altered her style, transforming her experimental writing into a more reassuring prose. Celenza’s translation of *To the lighthouse* was a case in point, muting the “revolutionary experimentalism” of Woolf’s modernism writing (Caw, 2002, p. xx) in order to conform to the regime’s diktats and appease literary critics dominated by the aesthetic canons of the time.

¹¹ See Cecchi ([1963] 1964, p. 384): “l’indirizzo critico che sempre ho cercato di seguire ha i suoi fondamenti nel Vico, nel De Sanctis e nel Croce” [“The direction of criticism that I have tried to follow is founded on Vico, De Sanctis, and Croce”].

As we have seen, publishing regulations determined that characters' foreign names be changed into Italian names: thus, in *Gita al faro*, Charles, Paul, Rose, Prudence, Andrew, and Roger became Carlo, Paolo, Rosa, Prudenza, Andrea, and Ruggero, respectively. The translation also uses a more formal style and higher register than Woolf's modernist writing. Unlike in the original text, where different registers are used to distinguish characters' social class, the same high-style register is employed throughout the translated dialogues, with upper-register words replacing more demotic ones. For example, "uscio" is used for "porta" ["door"], "ti levi" for "ti alzi" ["you get up"], "udendo" for "ascoltando" ["listening to"], and archaic forms are preferred in cases such as "ell'era" for "ella era" ["she was"], "ove" for "dove" ["where"] or "pei" for "per i/per gli" ["for the"].

A particularly significant aspect of Celenza's translation is the way the polyphonic effect of the source text, created by the blending together of various voices in a stream-of-consciousness style, is replaced by a single narrative voice.¹² For instance, the modernist technique of free indirect speech was systematically avoided in translation. Here are some examples taken from the 1927 edition of Woolf's *To the lighthouse* and Celenza's 1934 Italian version *Gita al faro*:

Example 1

EN: Of course, she said to herself, coming into the room, she had to come here to get something she wanted. (Woolf, 1927, p. 109)

IT: Entrò con la sensazione d'andare in cerca di qualcosa che le occorreva [She entered with the feeling of looking for something she needed]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 127)

We can see here that the character's voice has not been considered by Celenza, who prefers to rely on descriptive narration rather than enter into the character's mind. With the elimination of the original blending of inner voices, the translator imposes the traditional Crocean style, in which little space, if any, is dedicated to the inner lives of characters.

Example 2

EN: Then her husband thought, "That's what they'll say of me"; so, he went on and got one of those books. (Woolf, 1927, p. 109)

IT: (...) e certo il signor Ramsay, temendo che quel giudizio venisse riferito anche a lui, era andato a prendere quel romanzo [and undoubtedly, Mr Ramsay, fearing that this judgment would be referred also to him, had gone and fetched that novel]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 127)

Mr Ramsay's interior monologue in the first part of the sentence is again ignored by the translator, who uses the third person with the result that "the readers are presented with the characters' thoughts rather than plunged into them" (Morini, 2014, p. 142).

¹² Woolf (1924, p. 20) describes how her "smashing and crashing" of writing rules was designed to achieve a full representation of her characters' inner worlds without stylistic constraints.

Example 3

EN: she felt again, sinking deeper, as she had felt in the hall when the others were talking, There is something I want – something I have come to get, and she fell deeper and deeper without knowing quite what it was with her eyes closed. (Woolf, 1927, p. 110)

IT: (...) ella, immergendosi dentro di sè, capì (come già nel vestibolo, mentre discorreva coi giovani) di aver bisogno di qualcosa; di qualcosa che era andata a cercare là dentro; e, senza saper che fosse, continuò a immergersi dentro di sè ad occhi chiusi [Plunging within herself, she understood (as in the vestibule, while talking with the young men) that she needed something; something that had gone looking for in there; and, without knowing what it was, she continued to immerse herself within herself with her eyes closed]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 128)

Again, Celenza rephrases the whole sentence, adding brackets. The phrase “There is something I want”, expressed in the first person in Woolf’s modernist style and introduced with a capital letter, is merged with the rest of the sentence.

Example 4

EN: Almost one might imagine them, as they entered the drawing-room, questioning and wondering, toying with the flap of hanging wall-paper, *asking, would it hang much longer, when would it fall?* (Woolf, 1927, p. 120, emphasis added)

IT: Penetrati in salotto (è facile immaginare con quale curiosità) presero a giocherellare coi brindelli del parato di carta, *domandandosi se resterebbero ancora un pezzo ciondoloni o quando si staccerebbero*. [Penetrated in the living room (it is easy to imagine with what curiosity) they began to fiddle with wall-paper shreds, *wondering if they would remain dangling any longer or when they would detach themselves*]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 138)

In this more complex example, the literary technique of blurring the narrator’s and characters’ voices is erased.

Example 5

EN: For how would you like to be shut up for a whole month at a time, and possibly more in stormy weather, upon a rock the size of a tennis lawn? She would ask. (Woolf, 1927, p. 4)

IT: “A chi piacerebbe esser confinati per un mese intero, e forse più in tempo di burrasche, sopra una roccia grande quanto un campo da tennis?” ella esclamava [“How would like to be confined for a whole month, and possibly longer in stormy weather, upon a rock the size of a tennis lawn?”, she exclaimed]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 5)

The rhythm of Woolf’s prose is achieved in part through her intentional omission of quotation marks, which is perceived as an unnecessary barrier between the reader and the character’s mind. In this example, we can see how Celenza, in contrast, has restored the quotation marks, thus normalising Woolf’s experimental writing style.

Example 6

EN: He should have been a great philosopher, said Mrs. Ramsay. (Woolf, 1927, p. 9)

IT: “Sarebbe potuto riuscire un gran filosofo,” disse la signora Ramsay [“He could have been a great philosopher”, said Mrs Ramsay]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 11)

Again, the quotation marks have been added, and the semantics have been changed by using the expression *sarebbe potuto riuscire* [“could have been”] to translate “should have been”.

Example 7

EN: He never seemed for a moment to think, But how does this affect me? (Woolf, 1927, p. 241)

IT: Bankes non aveva mai, neppure per un momento, l’aria di pensare: “Quanto e come questo può riguardarmi?” [Bankes never, not even for a moment, looked like he was thinking: “how much and how could this concern me?”]. (Woolf, 1934, p. 116)

Once again, “borders” between the narrator’s and the character’s voices have been added using quotation marks.

Woolf’s novel is also full of quotations from English literature, mainly poems. Celenza not only refrains from adding any paratextual explanation or comment (which arguably disguises the presence of “foreign” elements that would undermine the image of an original text), she also imbues her translation with poetics from the receiving culture. As pointed out by Calvani (2018, p. 81), “the intense lyricism” of *Gita al faro* noted by Rosati (1933, p. 638) is achieved by echoing the neoclassical poems praised by Croce. For example, the original poetic expression “With stars in her eyes and veil in her hair” (Part I, Narrative unit 1, par. 27) is translated by “cogli occhi stellati e veli alle chiome”, which echoes Giosué Carducci’s ([1875] 1877) “stellati occhi” [“starry eyes”]¹³ and Gian Pietro Lucini’s (1908) “veli alle chiome” [“veils on her hair”].¹⁴ Presumably, Celenza’s use of literary expressions by neoclassical poets would make the reader associate the translated text with the Crocean tradition and bring it into line with the traditional forms dictated by the Catholic Church and Fascist censorship.

Indeed, there seems to be not enough evidence to support Morini’s (2014, p. 141) contention that Celenza was “disturbed by the lack of borders in Woolf’s novel as a result of forgetfulness and sloppy writing, rather than as a conscious artistic choice reflecting a world-view and a new ideology of fictions”. The fact that she was an Anglicist and acclaimed translator makes it unlikely that she would have misunderstood the nature of Woolf’s

¹³ See the 38th verse of the poem to a woman “Alla stazione in un mattina d’autunno” in Carducci’s *Odi barbare* ([1875] 1877): “o *stellati occhi* di pace, o candida” [“oh *starry eyes* of peace, oh candida”].

¹⁴ See the first stanza of Lucini’s (1908) poem “Il carme di angoscia e di speranza”: “Mi stanno a lato le Grazie/ non piangono, ma fremono/ han neri i *veli alle chiome*” [“On my side, are the Graces/ they do not cry, but quiver/ black are the *veils on their hair*”].

prose. It is much more probable that she was aware of the constraints of time and was trying to find a reasonable compromise between the challenging prose of *To the lighthouse* and the strict editorial rules imposed by the regime.

5. Conclusion

During the 1930s, the Italian book market faced a flood of translations, which caused concern about the effects of foreign influence on domestic culture and gave rise to a governmental campaign to control the phenomenon. The liberal philosophy of Benedetto Croce and the Catholic Church helped to form a *de facto* intellectual dictatorship against modernism. Mussolini's government had taken an ambivalent approach towards foreign writers who, while being seen as threats to tradition, were also essential sources of business for publishers. The regime was well aware that restricting translations damaged economic activities, as the translation market was generating significant earnings. Nonetheless, foreign literature continued to be disseminated, even in domesticated translations, as in the case of Virginia Woolf's *To the lighthouse*. The experimental style of the source text, defined later as modernist, was "domesticated" in translation by Giulia Celenza in 1934. The act of adjusting and rewriting the text complied with the norms of translating the classics in a high-level register and formal style.

Many literary journals played a fundamental role in translation, hosting foreign authors without making any distinction of gender and nationality. Even in a political dictatorship, literary journals were vital in the field of literary criticism. However, the censorship mechanism affecting the press and publishing houses gained momentum soon after Mussolini rose to power, intensifying sharply between 1934 and 1938.

A close analysis has confirmed the "domestication" of Woolf's *To the lighthouse*. Results show the translator's effort to dismiss almost every British aspect of the text, nurturing the image of a poetic novel. "Foreign" features were not rendered, arguably to avoid problems with different kinds of censorship and to accommodate the text comfortably in the receiving culture. As a result, almost all of the original modernist aspects of Woolf's style remained hidden from Italian readers for decades.

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HAROLD ROBBINS' *THE BETSY* AND ITS SPANISH TRANSLATION UNDER DICTATORSHIP: A RACE AGAINST CENSORSHIP

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ABSTRACT: Harold Robbins was one of the most prolific bestselling writers in the United States. He published *The Betsy* in 1971 and the story quickly became a bestseller. The history of this novel within the official book control system in Spain was not an uncomplicated one: the first time the censors read it, it was in the form of a translation into Spanish that had originated in Argentina. This translation, entitled *Betsy*, was deemed inadmissible by the censors, who denied its publication. However, publishers would sometimes resubmit the same book under another title or in another translation to get it published. This was the case with *The Betsy*, which was examined a second time by the censors and hence authorized. The story of this race against censorship is an interesting case study to understand how, in the space of three months, the book went from dangerous and reprehensible to morally acceptable.

KEYWORDS: Translation, Censorship, Dictatorship, Bestsellers

1. Introduction

Harold Robbins (1916-1997) was one of the most prolific bestselling writers in the United States, especially during the seventies. His novels had all the ingredients that readers love in this kind of publication: sex, money, power and violence. Thanks to them, he became famous and his works, not without controversy, circulated all over the world.¹

He published *The Betsy* in 1971,² having already achieved international success with novels such as *Never love a stranger* (1948) and *The inheritors* (1969). The plot of *The Betsy* focuses on the family saga of the Hardemans, owners of Bethlehem Motors, and the family patriarch's desire to build a new car model to be named "Betsy", after his granddaughter (Robbins, 1971). Among the family members there are conflicts, love affairs, ambitions and betrayals, things that Robbins' regular readers were already used to. This is clear from the review of the novel that *The New York Times* (NYT) published on December 19, 1971, which reads: "Intra-family conflict! Corporate feuding to the near death! Exhaust freaks! (...) All right, you Harold Robbins fans? Nuff said?". Even though the comments it received were not always favorable³ ("Ol' Harold trades in the jet set for a brand new model on the auto-biz; same sexual *chugalug*, though" (NYT, October 8, 1972), the novel spent 21 weeks on *The New York Times*' bestseller list (see NYT's "Best seller list" of December 26, 1971 or the

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¹ Robbins published more than 20 books, which were translated into 32 languages and sold over 750 million copies (Liukkonen, 2008).

² The novel has a sequel entitled *The Stallion*, written by Robbins in 1996, which is beyond the scope of this study since it was not translated under censorship.

³ The book's reviews published in North American newspapers and magazines include: *Kirkus Reviews*, September 15, 1971, p. 1038; *Publishers' Weekly*, September 27, 1971, p. 65; *Library Journal*, December 1, 1971, p. 4031; *Time*, December 13, 1971, p. E7; *Best Sellers*, December 15, 1971, p. 427; *The New York Times Book Review*, December 19, 1971, p. 20; *Books & Bookman*, February 1972, p. 66; *Publishers' Weekly*, May 22, 1972, p. 52; *Book World*, July 9, 1972, p. 7.

“Pocket Books Best Seller list” of July 26, 1972), also inspiring a film of the same name starring Laurence Olivier, Tommy Lee Jones and Robert Duvall, among others, in a kind of transfer which is usually very common in mass literature: “*The Betsy*, a novel by Harold Robbins about the four-year planning, development and manufacture of a new model of an automobile (...) will be filmed by Warner Bros and Cinema Video Communications next year” (*NYT*, July 13, 1971). The book had not been received with praise, and the film did not receive favourable reviews either. As Janet Maslin commented, “without much of a plot, *The Betsy* often sags, and a movie this frivolous has no business being dull” (*NYT*, February 10, 1978).

Regarding the publication of *The Betsy* in Spain, the history of this novel within the official book control system was not an easy one, as we are about to confirm.

2. *The Betsy* in Spain under dictatorship: an intricate case

When Robbins' book arrived in Spain in 1973 through a translation entitled *Betsy*, undertaken a year earlier in Argentina by Raquel Albornoz (Robbins, 1972), it had to pass through the official control system that had been established by Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975 and beyond) in order to regulate printed material entering the country and the publication of “pernicious content”. This system of regulation was launched with the Press Law of 1938,⁴ after which all books had to be submitted to the scrutiny of the censors prior to publication. The outcome of the inspection would vary, depending on the material's level of offensiveness, but the verdicts of “authorized”, “authorized with certain restrictions” or “rejected” were the most common ones. After 1966, and with a different minister in charge, a new Press Law⁵ was released, regulating the control of books in a slightly different way. With the new law, prior permission to publish was no longer a compulsory requirement, and control was based mainly on two procedures: “prior consultation” or “advance censorship”, which were similar to prior permission but voluntary and which could result in a positive or negative report about the book under review; and the legal deposit (*depósito*) of the printed work in the aforementioned Ministry, without the need for a censor's judgement. All publishers, however, regardless of whether they had submitted their books for prior consultation or not, were required to deposit all titles with the censors prior to distribution. This could mean confiscation of the book by the authorities if, once on the market, its distribution had been prohibited. Thus, although the legal deposit system granted permission for book production to go ahead without the regime's direct supervision, it could result in significant economic losses for publishers, making the business of publishing books much riskier than it had been before.

While “legal deposit” and “prior consultation” were designed to expedite the distribution of printed material, another meaningful change in the law was the definition of the response of *silencio administrativo* or “official silence”. This formula was used by censors when they had objections to the content of a work but still saw benefits in

⁴ Ley de Prensa, April 22, 1938.

⁵ Ley de Prensa e Imprenta, March 18, 1966.

authorizing its publication. By remaining officially silent, the authorities did not explicitly approve of a given book nor support its moral content; they simply abstained from blocking its commercial distribution.

Today, when researching the topic of censorship, researchers can have access to the files issued during the Francoist dictatorship in the Official Archive called Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), located in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain. A search for *The Betsy* in the database yields the following data (Table 1):⁶

Title	Author	File number	Publishing house	Entry date	Exit date
Betsy	Robbins, Harold	1349-73	Luis de Caralt	06/02/1973	24/02/1973
C de T. ⁷ Familia la. El ejecutivo	Robbins, Harold	5514-73	Caralt	05/05/1973	27/04/1974
ejecutivos, Los	Robbins, Harold	1778-77	Luis de Caralt	08/02/1977	09/02/1977
ejecutivos, los. 2 ed. Col buc ⁸	Robbins, Harold	2391-77	Luis de Caralt	21/02/1977	22/02/1977
ejecutivos, los. 3 ed. c buc	Robbins, Harold	2489-78	Luis de Caralt	02/03/1978	03/03/1978
ejecutivos, los. 7 edic colec gigante	Robbins, ⁹ Harold	2760-78	Caralt	08/03/1978	09/03/1978
ejecutivos los. 4 edic. colec buc	Robbins, Arold	4066-79	Caralt	18/04/1979	19/04/1979
Los ejecutivos. 5 edc. col buc	Robbins, Harold	926-80	Caralt	22/01/1980	07/02/1980
ejecutivos, los. 14 edc. Col gigante	Robbins, Harold	11783-80	Luis de Caralt	18/11/1980	19/11/1980
ejecutivos, los. 14 edic. col buc	Robbins, Harold	2438-81	Luis de Caralt Editor S A	06/03/1981	09/03/1981
ejecutivos, los. 15 edc. Col buc	Robbins, Harold	309-82	Luis de Caralt S A	13/01/1982	14/01/1982

Table 1. Censorship files for *Betsy/Los ejecutivos* in the AGA.

The first censorship file that can be found of the book, file number 1349-73, dates from February 1973. It refers to the publishing house Luis de Caralt, which submitted Albornoz's translation, entitled *Betsy*, for voluntary inspection with the intention of getting approval and subsequently publishing the book. After the censors had read the work, they issued the following report:¹⁰

⁶ A search for results containing "Betsy" in the title yields only the first file. It is only by consulting the records for "Robbins" that the rest of the files appear. Inspection of files and of their content confirms that they concern the same book, though presented with a different title.

⁷ The note "C de T" refers to "Change of Title", explained later in this section.

⁸ The initials "buc" indicate the name of the collection in which the book was published, entitled "Biblioteca Universal Caralt". This was the collection that included more re-editions of the novel.

⁹ The table reproduces literally the content found in the AGA and thus sometimes includes spelling mistakes.

¹⁰ The version in English offered here is the translation of the Spanish source text, which goes as follows (the grammar and spelling mistakes included were all present in the original report and, as such, are reproduced here): "Tema: Puede decirse que es la historia de una familia americana – productores de coches – a través de tres generaciones, aparendo desde sus primeras páginas el personaje central fundador de la dimastía:

C.

Topic: it can be said this is the story of an American family – car makers – through three generations, with the central character, founder of the dynasty, present from the first page: Number One, as he is called by the family.

Another one of the most relevant characters is a test driver of Italian origin, strongly related to them. This one tries to launch a new model of car, “the Betsy”, and while the vicissitudes suffered while trying to achieve this are narrated, the story of the people involved in this car world is told in retrospect.

The whole plot is woven on the background of the crudest pornography and it can be said that there is no chapter where complete paragraphs and sometimes even the entire chapter do not have to be deleted in their entirety.

Thus, if all that rubbish is cut out, the book would stop making sense.

REJECTED.

Madrid, February 21, 1973,
The official reader,
M^a Dolores Molero¹¹

From this it can be inferred that the work contained, according to the censor, too many erotic scenes or passages, which meant it could not be authorized for publication. The word *basura* (rubbish) is used by the censor to refer to those contents, which is also an indication of how Robbins' novels were regarded in Spain at the time. Only two days later, another censor, issued the following report:¹²

Story of the Hardeman family, a dynasty of automobile manufacturers, whose pornographic content stands out from their social and professional life, content which has been underlined or put inside brackets on all pages where it appears, such as pages 24-25-59-71-80-81-82-86-109-111-112-113-114-115-124-138-139-140-142-143-206-208-233-234-253-262-263-288-291 and 310. Besides, chapters 7, 8 and 9 of Book Two (1970) describe in detail the consummation of incest.

Since its moral danger is obvious and since the suppression of so many scenes seriously damages the structure of the novel, I determine that this should be

REJECTED.

Madrid, February 23, 1973,
Signature: Ángel Aparicio
Reader no. 18

Número Uno como lo llaman la familia. Otro de los personajes más relevantes es un piloto de pruebas de origen italiano relacionado fuertemente con ellos. Trata éste de lanzar un nuevo modelo de coche, ‘el Betsy’ y mientras se narran las peripecias habidas para conseguirlo, retrospectivamente se cuenta la historia de las gentes metidas en ese mundo del automovil. Toda la trama está tejida sobre el fondo de la más cruda pornografía y puede decirse que no existe capítulo donde no haya que suprimir párrafos enteros y a veces los mismos capítulos en su totalidad. Por lo tanto creo que si se elimina toda esta basura el libro dejaría de tener sentido. NO AUTORIZABLE”.

¹¹ This is one of the few examples where the censor's full name is legible, since reports normally remained anonymous (Abellán, 1992).

¹² “Historia sobre la familia Hardeman, dinastía de fabricantes de automóviles, destacando de su vivir social y profesional el contenido pornográfico de múltiples pasajes subrayados o encerrados entre corchetes, como puede comprobarse en las páginas nº 24-25-59-71-80-81-82-86-109-111-112-113-114-115-124-138-139-140-142-143-206-208-233-234-253-262-263-288-291 y 310. A este inconveniente hay que añadir, que en los capítulos 7, 8 y 9 del Libro Segundo (1970) se describe, pormenorizándola, la consumación de un incesto. Siendo evidente su peligrosidad moral y dado que la supresión de tantas escenas perjudican gravemente la estructura de la novela, considero que esta debe ser NO AUTORIZADA.”

This second opinion corroborates the first reader's impression of the novel, indicating that the most advisable final verdict would be to deny publication due to the "moral danger" the novel represents. In the last case, the censor even indicates the pages on which the reprehensible passages appear. While on some other occasions the deletion of such passages would have sufficed to authorize publication,¹³ in this case, they were so profuse that their deletion would have affected the plot development; thus, rejection of the whole work seemed to be the most logical solution. And that was the verdict the publishing house received: Luis de Caralt's wager on this novel by the famous Robbins did not have a successful outcome, at least in this first attempt.

But if there was anything publishers at the time were used to doing during the dictatorship, it was negotiating with the administration and thinking up possible manoeuvres to get their works on the market (see Gómez Castro 2008 for examples of these strategies). Hence, only a few months later, the same work was presented to the authorities for voluntary consultation, this time under a different title and in a different Spanish translation. File number 5514-73 entered the administration on May 5, 1973, introduced now as *La familia* ["The family"], by Harold Robbins. The censor's report about it reads:¹⁴

The plot of this novel consists of a story of a family – from grandparents to grandchildren – that manufactures cars and in which the family problems are intermingled within a case, central in the novel, of industrial espionage.

There are adulterous love affairs, a murder and a suicide, but treated with absolute integrity, as if in passing, in a way that does not constitute a serious burden.

Beyond that, there is no further comment to make.

AUTHORIZED

Madrid, May 18, 1973

Reader no. 12

[Illegible signature]

With this report, it can be seen how, in a period of a few months, the novel went from dangerous and morally reprehensible, and thus rejected, to being authorized for publication, with controversial themes apparently being treated with "absolute integrity". The fact that the publisher decided to present it as a different translation and under a different title led to the authorization of a novel which had been previously rejected. This censorship file does not indicate any relation to the previous one, which confirms that the censors had not identified it as the same book and thus did not relate it to the previous file.

¹³ That was the case of other novels by Robbins, such as *The inheritors* (file number 4081-70), and of novels by other authors, such as Mario Puzo's *The godfather* (file number 13192-70), Evan Hunter's *Last summer* (file number 1192-70) or Joseph Wambaugh's *The new centurions* (file number 4089-71), among others.

¹⁴ "El argumento de esta novela está constituido por la historia de una familia –de abuelos a nietos– fabricantes de automóviles, en la que se entremezclan los problemas familiares con un caso, central en la novela, de espionaje industria. Hay amores adulterinos, un asesinato y un suicidio, pero tratados con absoluta limpieza, como de pasada, en forma que no constituye inconveniente grave. Fuera de esto, no hay ninguna observación que hacer. AUTORIZADO."

Despite the fact that the novel was authorized after this voluntary submission under the title of *La familia*, when the publisher deposited the required copies of the book, it requested authorization for a new change of title: now the book was to be called *Los ejecutivos* ["The executives"] (Robbins, 1974). No reason was given for this change, but permission for it was granted without any problem. However, it took almost a year for this to be carried out, as 1974 is given as the date of resolution for the file, once the work had been put on the market in the first edition of March that year. Although this may seem a long time, no further reasons were specified, and the outcome was that Robbins' book was finally published and reached Spanish readers. What remains to be seen is how much of the original work had survived translation into Spanish, an analysis which is tackled in the next section of this article. After the publication in 1974, the publishing house Luis de Caralt repeatedly re-edited the novel from 1977 onwards within their collections Gigante and Biblioteca Universal Caralt. The censorship files belonging to these records were only deposit files that do not offer any kind of value judgment about the work, except for the one numbered 1778-77, which is reproduced below:¹⁵

C. Novel

Peroni, a former car racing driver, together with the founder of a dynasty of car manufacturers, tries to create a revolutionary prototype based on a turbine. His own grandson will oppose the project. There will be a lot of fighting, industrial espionage, and even attacks...

A story, very much in the style of Robbins, in which he exposes the problems of American manufacturers and their conflicts of power and wealth, and where ambition prevails over any other values.

It should be noted that the narrative lacks any significant erotic description.

NON-CONTESTABLE.¹⁶

COMPLETE Imprint.¹⁷

Madrid, February 8, 1977

¹⁵ "C. Novela. Peroni, antiguo corredor automovilístico, intenta junto al iniciador de una dinastía de fabricantes de coches, la creación de un prototipo revolucionario a turbina. Su propio nieto irá en contra del proyecto. Se sucederán rencillas, espionajes industriales y hasta los atentados... Narración, muy al estilo de Robbins, en donde expone la problemática de los fabricantes americanos y sus conflictos de poder y riqueza y donde la ambición prevalece sobre cualquier otro valor. Hay que destacar que la narración carece de descripciones de carácter erótico de importancia. NO IMPUGNABLE. Pie de imprenta COMPLETO."

¹⁶ This kind of verdict started being common following the dictator's death in 1975, with the system still operative as a mere means of control. This mechanism implies that everything is legally correct on the part of the publishing house to proceed with the publication.

¹⁷ The compulsory nature of the Imprint for all types of publications, if they were not to be considered clandestine, had been legitimized by a decree on July 11, 1957 (BOE 07-VIII-1957). It was later qualified by the decree from March 31, 1966 (BOE 04-IV-1966), which does not represent a substantial change from the previous one. This reference is relevant because sometimes the works presented for prior consultation included an incomplete imprint or this was deliberately distorted in order to clear the way for publication: these works thus appeared as if they had been commissioned from another country, thereby implying that if the latter were more lenient in any of the requirements, the reason was precisely this. For example, that was the case of file number 4878-73, corresponding to the novel *Once is not enough*, by Jacqueline Susan. Too many deletions were advised in the report, and the publisher, Grijalbo, asked for permission to export the complete novel with the imprint "Grijalbo-México" as if it were a commission from Mexico to the Spanish publisher, a trick that worked.

Once again, nothing seemed to be objectionable in the novel: indeed, the official reader expresses some surprise at not finding descriptions of an erotic nature in a work authored by Robbins. However, in the end, there was no reason to take any legal action against it. From the point of view of translation research, it is certainly interesting to find how a work which had been rejected due to its almost pornographic nature had now become a book that was completely unobjectionable. An analysis of how the translation into Spanish rendered those passages is thus necessary to shed some light on the matter.

3. *The Betsy* vs. *Los ejecutivos*: a look at the Spanish translations

The book that readers in Spain had access to in the officially approved translation was the version by Domingo Manfredi Cano published in 1974, and not Raquel Albornoz's earlier one that had been sold in Argentina and imported without success to Spain.¹⁸

On the macrotextual level, both Albornoz and Manfredi's renderings into Spanish respected the structure of the English source text, which was divided into four books and several chapters (Table 2):

BOOKS	CHAPTERS
BOOK 1 (1969)	1-15
BOOK 2 (1970)	1-13
BOOK 3 (1971)	1-16
BOOK 4 (1972)	1-12

Table 2. Chapter distribution in *The Betsy*.

Nonetheless, Manfredi's total number of pages differed considerably from Robbins': from 502 pages of the English text, the Spanish publication was reduced to 318. Such a large discrepancy cannot be due solely to intrinsic differences between the languages, but probably indicates large changes at the microtextual level as well. A comparative textual analysis can help illustrate what kinds of changes were made and how these modified the final result.

Although Spanish readers in the Iberian Peninsula never officially had access to Albornoz's translation, making it impossible to judge its reception and pragmatic consequences, it is useful to include her translation here as a reference when assessing the massive changes that Manfredi made to the text in relation to its English source. Besides, since official censors had marked some of the pages of her translation as reprehensible (see the report from Reader no. 18 above), it serves as a guide for examining whether the aspects pointed out had been maintained or attenuated in Manfredi's later translation. As explained previously, when the novel was presented to the censors in the first instance, and rejected, the aspect that influenced them the most was the presence of numerous erotic scenes which, according to the official readers, bordered on pornography. On the other hand, when introduced later under another title, and in a translation carried out in

¹⁸ It is more than probable that this book circulated in the black market, though, being this a common practice among publishers at the time (Pradera, 2004).

Spain, everything seemed to have been treated with “absolute integrity”, as the reader indicated. Only a detailed analysis of the controversial passages can serve to elucidate what happened in between.

The examples chosen for this comparison have been selected according to the main categories that were deemed morally reprehensible during the dictatorship and therefore constantly monitored by the censors, namely: sexual morals, political beliefs, use of language and religion (Abellán, 1980, p. 88). Of all these, the one we will focus on first, due to the nature of the controversial passages indicated by the censors, is the one dealing with sexual morals.

i. Sexual morals

Although the plot of Robbins' novel revolves around the construction of a new car model, the presence of numerous erotic scenes that take place between several of the characters often diverts attention from it. Such sexual encounters are described by the author in great detail, so a literal rendering of them would necessarily be considered pornographic in a context such as the Spanish one during the Franco regime.

By looking at Albornoz's translation of some of these passages, it can be observed how most of them (over 60% of the almost 300 examples detected¹⁹) have been interpreted literally. However, even in this case it is possible to observe the presence of some erasures and partial elisions, which, in combination, reduced the erotic content of some of the excerpts. These were most probably introduced by the publishing house after the translation had been done in an act of self-censorship.²⁰ Figure 3 offers some examples of those attenuated instances, compared with the technique of translation adopted by Manfredi when faced with the same passage:

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973) ²¹	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
I felt the heat in my balls (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 26)	Sentí que me subía el calor a los testículos. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 24)	Me subió un extraño calor a la cara./ I felt the heat in my face [Modification/commutation] (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 20)
place your hand on her cunt and you came away with a cupful of honey. (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 26)	<u>ponía la mano en su vulva, se podía comprobar su excitación.</u> / place your hand on her vulva and you could feel her excitement. [Modification] (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 24)	∅ [Total elision] (Book I, Chapter 2, p. 20)

(continues)

¹⁹ See Gómez Castro (2009) for the complete set of examples.

²⁰ We can affirm this because the translator herself, in personal communication via e-mail, admitted to not exercising self-censorship when translating because she would have not dared to, but she knew publishing houses practiced self-censorship in order to get their manuscripts published.

²¹ The year indicated here refers to the date in which the book was presented for authorization to the Spanish censors, to which the censors made some comments before finally rejecting it. The same applies to the rest of the tables in this article, which include examples of Albornoz's translation.

<p>“Well, then, French it.” (Book II, Chapter 3, p. 146)</p>	<p>[-Bueno, entonces hazlo al estilo francés.] [Literal rendering or transference] (Book II, Chapter 3, p. 111)</p>	<p>∅ [Total elision] (Book II, Chapter 3, p. 104)</p>
<p>Why didn't you just fuck me when I wanted you to? (Book III, Chapter 5, p. 280)</p>	<p>¿Por qué, entonces, no se acostó conmigo cuando yo quise?/ Why didn't you just go to bed with me when I wanted you to? [Modification] (Book III, Chapter 5, p. 206)</p>	<p>∅ [Total elision] (Book III, Chapter 5, p. 185)</p>
<p>Come on into the bedroom and let's fuck. (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 502)</p>	<p>Vamos a acostarnos./ Let's go to bed. [Modification] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 360)</p>	<p>∅ [Total elision] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 318)</p>

Table 3. Examples of sexual passages in *The Betsy* and their translation into Spanish.

As can be appreciated in the examples above, Albornoz's translation appears to follow the English source text quite closely in some of the erotic scenes, whereas Manfredi's text always attenuates it in one way or another by means of content commutations, as in the first example (“balls” has been rendered as “face” in Spanish), or by simply omitting the whole passage, which seems to be the most common technique throughout his text. What is more, Manfredi's own remarks about his habitual practice as “translator” reveal that he did not actually refer to the English text at all. Rather, he took the Argentinean translation as a starting point and then redacted it in order to ensure that it would not meet with censorial opposition. He stated that this was a common practice in his job:

(...) many English works published in Spain with my signature as translator had already been translated in South America, and I had to take those South American texts and put them into Spanish. And it has been as difficult as, or even more difficult than, translating them directly from English. (Manfredi Cano, 1972, p. 18)²²

With these words, Manfredi is not only branding his colleagues' translations as of poor quality, but also suggesting that other translators might have done the same when a translation arrived in Spain from South America. Indeed, Larraz Elorriaga (2010) claims that this was common practice at the time due to the establishment of many South American-affiliated publishing houses by Spanish exiles, especially in Mexico and Argentina.

The publisher's main objective – to put the work on the market – was achieved, something that was only possible because 85% of the erotic, suggestive or morbid content

²² “(...) muchas obras inglesas publicadas en España con mi firma como traductor, habían sido traducidas antes en Sudamérica, y yo he tenido que coger esos textos sudamericanos y ponerlos en castellano. Y me ha costado el mismo trabajo, o quizá más trabajo, que si los hubiera traducido directamente del inglés.” Manfredi's job in this case was mainly reduced to attenuating/eliminating the controversial passages in the book, which referred chiefly to sexual scenes, as was common practice in Robbins' novels and specifically in this one.

had been eliminated. Manfredi's strategy of "whitewashing" Albornoz's text seemed to work.

With regard to the moral issues most commonly monitored by the censors (namely divorce, homosexuality and abortion), Manfredi's version transfers "divorce" literally on a total of 13 occasions out of the 16 in which it appears in the text, which can be interpreted as a sign that it had become more common in translations of this type and also in the country.²³ However, the same cannot be said about "abortion", "contraception" or "homosexuality": the first two were completely omitted from the Spanish text and, as far as homosexuality is concerned, the version was not consistent. It was included fairly unproblematically in some examples, whereas in others it disappeared without a trace. The reference to "incest" that had been made in the novel's first censored files was also attenuated by the omission of the passages in which this was explicitly described, as well as the statement that such an act actually took place. Overall, it can be seen how Manfredi's redaction resulted in an aseptic rendering of sexual aspects, bringing it into harmony with the morals of the regime. Table 4 shows the translation of some of these passages related to moral issues.

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973)	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
Then divorce him. (Book III, Chapter 12, p. 346)	¿Por qué no te divorcias? [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 12, p. 252)	¿Cómo no te divorcias? [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 12, p. 225)
What happens if the doctors think it's too late to have an abortion? (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 377)	¿Y qué pasa si los médicos opinan que es demasiado tarde para provocar un aborto? [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 263)	∅ [Total elision] (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 243)
I brought everything to the Riviera with me except my B.C. pills. (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 376)	Me traje todo a la Riviera, salvo los anticonceptivos. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 273)	∅ [Total elision] (Book III, Chapter 15, p. 243)
Loren, your father was a homosexual. (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 496)	Loren, tu padre era homosexual. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 356)	Loren, tu padre era homosexual. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 315)

(continues)

²³ Only a few years later, in 1981, the country legalized divorce. In fact, books published at the end of the dictatorship were already becoming more open with regard to such moral issues, and by the mid-seventies, it was clear that "the spectacular 'corrective' measures of public morality and religiosity that had been in force since the end of the Civil War had not really taken root among the common people" (Gutiérrez Lanza, 2002, p. 151).

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973)	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
You're almost as good a cocksucker as some of the little pansies I know. (Book III, Chapter 9, p. 320)	Sabes hacerlo tan bien como algunos de los amiguitos maricones que conozco./ You know how to do it as well as some of the little pansies I know. [Partial elision] (Book III, Chapter 9, p. 234)	∅ [Total elision] (Book III, Chapter 9, p. 208)
Mike says he was banging his own daughter-in-law. (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 350)	Mike me contó que se acostaba con su propia nuera. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 255)	∅ [Total elision] (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 227)

Table 4. Examples of moral passages in *The Betsy* and their translation into Spanish.

ii. Language

Apart from sexual morals, the other main controversial aspect to examine in the book is the one referring to the use of language: Robbins' characters make use of improper language on many occasions and that is part of their characterization. Changing the way they speak thus implies having an effect on how they are depicted to the reader, presenting them as more acceptable in the eyes of the censors.²⁴

As is often the case in a type of narrative in which action and therefore dialogic language prevails over description, the protagonists of *The Betsy* frequently use informal language, including many expletives and insults. An analysis of this section yields more than a hundred examples²⁵ of passages that contain, in one way or another, some kind of offensive language. Once again, in Albornoz's translation, the preferred technique was to literally transfer the content of the English source text (48% of cases). Although the official censorship report did not make any explicit reference to this issue, it may have contributed to the novel's initial rejection. And it did not go unnoticed by Manfredi, who followed the same technique here as for the rest of the controversial categories: he ensured the novel's acceptability by a massive use of total and partial elisions and by moderating some of the expressions. Some of these examples can be seen in Table 5.

²⁴ This had also been the case, for example, of the main characters in *Love story*, who also saw a change in their way of speaking through a reduction of the vulgarity of their expressions, leading to an improvement of their image and making them appear as more conservative and conformist than in the English source text (Gómez Castro, 2005).

²⁵ See Gómez Castro (2009) for the complete set of examples.

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973)	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
The little bastards are going to clean up the world. (Book I, Chapter 4, p. 38)	Esos hijos de puta van a barrer con todo. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book I, Chapter 4, p. 33)	∅ [Total elision] (Book I, Chapter 4, p. 29)
You bitch! (Book II, Chapter 7, p. 183)	—¡Puta! — [Literal rendering or transference] (Book II, Chapter 7, p. 138)	∅ [Total elision] (Book II, Chapter 7, p. 126)
“The son-of-a-bitch”, she whispered. (Book III, Chapter 1, p. 244)	—Ese hijo de puta — murmuró ella. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 1, p. 182)	—Ese sinvergüenza/ That rascal. [Moderation] (Book III, Chapter 1, p. 159)
Where the hell are you? (Book IV, Chapter 6, p. 433)	¿Dónde diablos estás? [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 6, p. 313)	¿Dónde te metes?/ Where are you? [Partial elision] (Book IV, Chapter 6, p. 278)
You fucked me on the Sundancer too. (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 498)	También me jodiste con el Sundancer. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 358)	∅ [Total elision] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 316)

Table 5. Examples of linguistically offensive passages in *The Betsy* and their translation into Spanish.

As can be appreciated in the examples, while Albornoz's expressions were offensive in Spanish, the total or partial absence of translated material in Manfredi's case leaves the text almost without any trace of transgression, thereby contributing to the overall goal of moderating the text for publication. The work's race against censorship was fast and going in the right direction this time.

It is time now to turn to the field of politics and religion to see if they were also changed by Manfredi.

iii. Politics

In this regard, the action is focused on the construction of the new car and on the businesses in which the family is involved in to make the company successful. To this end, they do not hesitate to enter into partnerships with German or Japanese car companies (which were already beginning to dominate the market) and do so without any major ideological problems in terms of politics. The only dubious reference in this section concerns communists and the fact that Loren Hardeman, the president of Bethlehem Motors, was considered to be their friend. To literally transfer the content of such a statement into Spanish would have implied going against the postulates of the dictatorship, so Manfredi conveniently chose to omit this reference (Table 6). However, as indicated,

since only one example of this kind has been located in the whole text, the importance of the topic is secondary in comparison with others, where we can find many more examples.

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973)	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
<p>“You can tell your Commie-loving boss to watch tomorrow and see how a real company handles the union”, her father said, taking off his blouse. (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 348)</p>	<p>Puedes ir diciéndole a tu jefe comunistacho que observe mañana cómo una verdadera empresa maneja al sindicato — dijo el padre, sacándose la camisa. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 254)</p>	<p>Ya puedes ir diciéndole a tu jefe que esté atento a cómo una gran Empresa puede atreverse con el Sindicato./ You can tell your boss to watch tomorrow and see how a real company handles the union. [Partial elision] (Book III, Chapter 13, p. 226)</p>

Table 6. Example of a political passage in *The Betsy* and its translation into Spanish.

iv. Religion

Something similar to what happened in the case of politics takes place in the field of religion, another problematic issue for the censors, especially during the first years of dictatorship, when the official regime was very close to the Catholic Church (Ruiz Bautista, 2017).

In Robbins' world of vice and pleasure, there is no room for religion; hence, there are few examples that can be spotted in this regard. In total, there are only seven instances where some possible offence is suggested, three of which can be seen in Table 7:

EN-Source Text (1971)	ES-Target Text by Albornoz (1973)	ES-Target Text by Manfredi (1974)
<p>I don't care if you're God, Jesus Christ and Moses, you don't get in here without a pass signed by either Mr. Perino or Mr. Duncan. (Book II, Chapter 2, p. 130)</p>	<p>No me importa que sean ustedes Dios, Jesucristo y Moisés. No pueden entrar sin un pase firmado por el señor Perino o el señor Duncan. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book II, Chapter 2, p. 101)</p>	<p>No me importa quienes sean ustedes, pero no pueden entrar sin un pase firmado por el señor Perino o el señor Duncan./ I don't care who you are, you don't get in here without a pass signed by either Mr. Perino or Mr. Duncan. [Partial elision] (Book II, Chapter 2, p. 95)</p>
<p>Two, I want that suicide note that Loren has in his home safe. (Book IV, Chapter 9, p. 472)</p>	<p>Segundo, quiero tener la nota del suicidio que Loren Hardeman nieto conserva en la caja fuerte de su casa. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 9, p. 340)</p>	<p>Otra, conseguir la nota que sobre el suicidio de Loren Hardeman su hijo conserva en la caja fuerte. [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 9, p. 340)</p>

(continues)

<p>You say this letter is supposedly a suicide note left by my late son? (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 494)</p>	<p>¿Dices que esta carta supuestamente la dejó mi hijo antes de suicidarse? [Literal rendering or transference] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 355)</p>	<p>¿Dices que esta carta fue dejada por mi hijo antes de su muerte?/ You say this letter is supposedly a note left by my late son before his death? [Modification/commutation] (Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 314)</p>
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Table 7. Examples of religious passages in *The Betsy* and their translation into Spanish.

Out of the seven examples in this section, six refer to the subject of suicide and are therefore important in the plot: because Loren Hardeman III accused his grandfather of pushing his father, Loren Hardeman II, to suicide, the family quarrels arose over the construction of the new car by the company. Albornoz's translation gives a full rendering of all the passages in which the topic is present. When Manfredi set out to put Albornoz's text into Spanish (as he described it), he resorted to various techniques that ensured that the final result would be acceptable. This involved avoiding making too many references to "suicide": thus, by means of either elisions or moderations, as in the last example in Table 7, he reduced the offensive content in four of the six occasions. The first example in Table 7 mentions "God, Jesus Christ and Moses" in a derogatory manner which was also opportunely corrected by Manfredi, who avoided alluding to the biblical characters. Once again, and in accordance with the tendency observed in the novel as a whole, the need for acceptability in the target culture seems to be the one dominating the decisions taken by Manfredi, thus guaranteeing that the text would have no problem with the official censors.

4. Concluding remarks

The ingredients that made Harold Robbins famous worldwide are all present in this novel. However, in its Spanish version, these were often changed or attenuated, as we have seen, in order for the work to be publishable under the Franco regime. After Albornoz's Argentinean version had been denied authorization due to its controversial content, Manfredi's redaction of her work seemed to comply with the authorities' standards, thereby making it admissible for publication. These changes had to do with the four problematic areas that were particularly controversial for the regime, namely, sexual morals, offensive language, politics and religion, as seen above. Thus, it could be said that every aspect of the novel has been made acceptable in the target culture, including religion and politics which, by the end of the regime, were no longer so contentious. The result was that the novel was published and remained on the market for a long time under the title *Los ejecutivos*.²⁶ Manfredi's version was reprinted several times until another translation was published by Plaza y Janés in 1986, this time by Roger Vázquez de Parga. Interestingly,

²⁶ The reviews published in magazines and journals were exclusively devoted to its film counterpart which achieved considerable success in Spain, mainly due to the famous cast (see, for example, *ABC*, November 17, 1978, p. 54, or *Blanco y Negro*, August 2, 1978, pp. 54-55).

it was entitled *Betsy* once more, presumably recovering those aspects lost in Manfredi's version – though this will have to be corroborated by means of another detailed study beyond the scope of this article.

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TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE POETRY IN POST-WAR SPAIN (1939-1983)

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ABSTRACT: In the years immediately following the Spanish Civil War, the domestic poetry market underwent a lengthy and traumatic transformation stemming directly from the conflict and the Francoist regime's implementation of systematic censorship. The death and exile of many of the preeminent poets from previous generations, along with the closure and relocation to Latin America of many publishing houses, left a considerable cultural void which would be partly filled with translated texts, most of them from authors writing in English. This article outlines some of the main results of a comprehensive study into the impact of censorship on the Spanish translations of English-language poetry between 1939 and 1983. Although the quantitative data point to a high authorisation rate for translated poetry, the regime used several mechanisms to curb the public's exposure to ideas deemed harmful which profoundly impacted the translation and reception of those texts.

KEYWORDS: Translation, Censorship, Poetry, Franco's Spain

1. Introduction

In the mid-1950s, Gabriel Celaya, one of the foremost members of the so-called social poetry movement in Spain, expressed his belief in poetry as a vehicle for social change in his poem "La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro" ("Poetry is a weapon loaded with future"). In view of the revolutionary nature of much contemporary poetry, it is significant that this literary genre has arguably been underrepresented in the study of censorship in Spain. Although several authors have hinted at or speculated about the overall impact of the Francoist censorial system on the publication of poetry (Abellán, 1980, p. 84; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, p. 18), there is limited literature tackling censorship on Spanish poetry, and even less devoted to its effect on translated poetry. With regard to Spanish translations of English-language poetry, only a few isolated studies focusing on a single poem or author can be found.¹ Considering the translation of other textual modes such as film, theatre and narrative texts had already been covered in detail by other researchers,² it was necessary to bridge the gap in our understanding of the Spanish literary system under Franco. This void would eventually be filled by means of a PhD thesis (Lobejón Santos, 2013) examining all the translations of English-language poetry produced in Spain between 1939 and 1983, the most salient aspects of which are presented in this article. It is worth noting with regard to the selected period that although the Nationalist side began censoring books and periodicals in 1938, no English-language poetry books were reviewed until the following

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¹ This includes an analysis of several translations of James Joyce's "The Holy Office" (Lázaro Lafuente, 2001-2002) and an examination of censorship in the translations of Robert Burns' poetry (Mainer, 2011).

² Previous studies include several unpublished PhD theses on the censorship of film (Gutiérrez Lanza, 1999), drama (Bandín Fuertes, 2007) and novels (Gómez Castro, 2009).

year. Furthermore, official censorship did not end with Franco's death, as reports continued to be issued until 1983.

Given that a research methodology for the study of censorship in translation had already been established for other text types,³ it was important, when defining the methodological framework for use in this study, to determine the particularities of poetic texts and to explain how any possible differences with other text types might affect their censorial treatment (see Lobejón Santos, 2013). The data included in the following pages is taken mostly from the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue.⁴ Its analysis paints a comprehensive picture of the various phenomena that helped shape the poetry market in post-war Spain, describing how poetry was translated, published and censored, as well as the specific role of the agents involved in those processes. In order to understand such issues, however, we first need to examine how the poetry market was configured at the time and how it evolved throughout the period studied.

2. The Spanish poetry market (1939-1983)

The Spanish Civil War wreaked havoc on the poetry market in Spain. Many of the poets from the generations of '98 and '27 either died in the conflict or were forced to flee the country, mostly to the Americas (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 25). A considerable number of publishing houses had to close or relocate from Spain to Latin America due to the poor material conditions, paper shortages and devastating effects of official censorship (Bayo, 1991, 15). This effectively meant that the market for both Spanish and translated poetry had to be completely rebuilt after the war. In the meantime, the publication of translated texts suffered a notable decline, and the reception of major works was subjected to substantial delays (Mangini González, 1987, p. 15; Vega, 2004, p. 550).

Although the reading public was generally uninterested in English-language literature translated into Spanish in the years following the Civil War,⁵ this situation would reverse in time, as the publication of translated works accelerated towards the end of the period (Díaz, 1983, p. 195; Santoyo, 1996, pp. 139-140; Vega, 2004, p. 549). The influence of contemporary English-language poetry is also perceived in the poetic output of several leading Spanish poets, who had an interest in translating the poetry of English-speaking authors from previous generations, such as T. S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens and E. E. Cummings, as well as new poets (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 92) such as those of the Beat Generation. A notable example of a Spanish author heavily influenced by English-language poetry is Jaime Gil de Biedma, one of the major anglophiles in the post-Civil War poetic landscape and a self-professed admirer of Eliot's poetry (Dalmau, 2004, pp. 118-119).

Madrid and Barcelona were the main publishing centres during this period, the former being the dominant one until the 1960s (Bayo, 1991, pp. 17, 33). Faced with the

³ For an in-depth description of the TRACE methodology, see Gutiérrez Lanza (2005).

⁴ Abbreviation of TRAnslations CEnsored of Poetry in English. The catalogue was compiled as part of the inter-university TRACE project on translation and censorship.

⁵ See Santoyo (1999, p. 215) and Savater (1996, p. 11). These comments fall in line with the data compiled in the TRACEpi catalogue.

challenge of having to market a low-selling genre to the impoverished post-war population, various publishing ventures developed avenues to boost the distribution of translated poetry, the most relevant of which were literary magazines, anthologies and poetry collections. Such publications, as a whole, helped shape the Spanish poetry market as it currently operates (Bayo, 1991, pp. 45-46). These were effectively employed to mitigate the country's cultural isolation by introducing foreign authors to the poetry-reading public in Spain (Blanco Outón, 2000, p. 352). Moreover, the sizeable joint publishing volume of these publications, many of them produced in smaller regions, triggered a series of poetic phenomena that resulted in the redistribution of publishing power between Madrid and Barcelona and the periphery, thus to some extent breaking the de facto publishing duopoly of the two capitals (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, pp. 35-36).

Literary and cultural magazines in post-war Spain, many of which were devoted to poetry, proliferated during this period, filling the void left by those poets who died during the Civil War or had gone into exile (Rubio, 1976, pp. 16-17). These publications were instrumental in the evolution of national poetry (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 123). In particular, magazines played a critical part in the translation and publication of English-language poetry, including contemporary authors barely known in Spain (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 93). For instance, the noted literary magazine *Ínsula* "introduced the work of booming foreign writers of that period, almost unknown in inward-looking 1940s Spain" (Mangini González, 1987, p. 44, my translation). This was far from an isolated phenomenon tied to a single publication. At least 20 magazines were involved in the publication of Spanish translations of English-language poetry.⁶ This includes publications from smaller towns in the periphery, such as *Espadaña*, a León-based magazine in which poems by authors such as Archibald MacLeish, T. S. Eliot, Laurie Lee, Dylan Thomas, Kathleen Raine, Lawrence Durrell, Charles David Ley or W. H. Auden were published (Blanco Outón, 2000, p. 333).

Interestingly, censorship appears to have been less rigorously enforced in the case of these magazines.⁷ This might explain the fact that magazine editors would often include poems which, because of their subject matter or use of language, had no other viable means of publication (Mangini González, 1987, p. 45; Rubio, 1976, p. 233). Of the cornucopia of magazines published during those years, a few may be highlighted for their relevance in articulating post-Civil War culture. Among these are *Garcilaso* (1943-1946) and *Espadaña* (1944-1950), representatives, respectively, of the regime's official cultural model and the social (or political) poetry movement (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 124; Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 37). Other magazines notable for their role in defining several poetic groups include *Cántico* (1947-1957), *Postismo* and *La Cerbatana* (both published in 1945).

⁶ This figure is the total count of such publications listed in Rubio (1976).

⁷ It should be noted that the reviewing boards for periodicals and books operated separately and followed different internal guidelines. While book censorship was centralised and undertaken by a monolithic body, that of periodicals was entrusted to various regional boards.

The publication of anthologies grew steadily throughout the dictatorship, particularly from the 1950s onwards, and played a fundamental role in defining the poetic evolution in Franco's Spain (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, pp. 126-127). Poetry collections also experienced a constant increase, with more than 350 collections partially or completely devoted to poetry published during that period (Bayo, 1991, pp. 44-45). In fact, collections would become the primary avenue of publication for poetry, with the vast majority of titles at the time being published through this means (Bayo, 1993, pp. 27-28). Although a large number of collections launched during these years were short-lived, a characteristic shared with poetry magazines, the rest would go on to achieve a modicum of popularity. Poetry collections have served as platforms for introducing novel or little-known poets and for solidifying the reputation of others. The major collections when it comes to the translation of English-language poetry are: *Adonais* (1943-present), *Selecciones de poesía universal* (1970-1986) and, particularly, *Visor de poesía* (1969-present), which featured a considerable number of poets unknown to the Spanish public at the time (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, pp. 88-89).

2.1 Book censorship

Publishing during the regime was regulated through two major pieces of legislation: the 1938 Press Law and the 1966 Press and Print Law.⁸ The latter introduced a major change whereby the review process shifted from being compulsory before publication to voluntary. This meant that publishers could then release books without prior consultation, provided they complied with the legal deposit requirements. However, this attempt at liberalisation was curtailed by the clear limitations of the new law, which regarded any criticism levied against the regime as potentially punishable and gave authorities the power to sequester copies of any book deemed unlawful (De Llera, 1995, p. 16).

Arguably, Spanish poetry was not affected by censorship to the same extent as other literary genres (Abellán, 1980, pp. 84-85; De Llera, 1995, p. 26; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, p. 18). This opinion, far from being exclusive to the Spanish context, has been expressed with regard to other literary systems, such as the Czech or the Portuguese (Burt, 1999, p. 188; Burton, 2003, p. 172; Lugarinho, 2002, p. 280; Luján, 2005, p. 51). Several reasons account for the more lenient treatment of poetry in Francoist Spain. The first stems from its marginal position in the book market (Alcover, 1977, pp. 70-71). Even when the subject matter of poetry volumes clashed with the tenets of the regime or its members, their publication was often allowed on account of their narrow distribution (Hierro, 1988, p. 114; Wright, 1986, p. 1). This factor explains the existence of works that were authorised on the sole condition that they were released as limited or deluxe editions, or restricted to academics (Ruiz Bautista, 2005, pp. 296-297). Some books that did not receive the regime's full approval, but were otherwise tolerated, also had their public exposure and promotion limited by law (De Blas, 1999, p. 290).

⁸ *Boletín Oficial del Estado – BOE* [Official State Gazette], 23 April 1938 (amended in *BOE* 24 April 1938) and 19 March 1966.

The apparent permissiveness of censors towards poetry can also be explained by their lack of competence in noticing criticism against the regime (Mangini González, 1987, p. 125). A constant feature throughout Franco's dictatorship was the lack of intellectual stature of many censors, most of whom were mere civil servants (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007a, p. 28; Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007b, p. 27; Sinova, 1989, p. 278). That belief can be substantiated by simply perusing the censorship reports, which are often fraught with numerous glaring spelling and factual errors and displaying blatant ignorance of the works and authors they reviewed (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007b, p. 29). The exception to this pattern can be found in the years following the Civil War, in which the book censorship staff consisted entirely of intellectuals affiliated to the regime, many of whom had a substantial academic background (Abellán, 1980, p. 159; Ruiz Bautista, pp. 284-285).

There were, however, a series of factors that determined the degree of censorial scrutiny. Poetry books written by authors whose liberal ideology was well known and protest books released by left-wing publishing houses came under censorial fire (Abellán, 1980, p. 212; De Blas, 1999, p. 291; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, pp. 24, 30, 51), while the opposite often held true for books produced by publishing companies operated by regime advocates or collaborators, which were received more favourably (Moret, 2002, pp. 133, 134, 257). Moreover, titles with wider distribution were automatically placed in the censors' crosshairs, for they were then regarded as being potentially more damaging. This also seems to be a constant feature in other censorship systems. For instance, regarding Charles Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal*, "A key factor in the [French] government's decision to pursue his book, according to the prosecutor Ernest Pinad, was that Baudelaire's poetry might prove accessible to a larger audience" (Burt, 1999, p. 188).

Despite what appears to be a somewhat milder censorial treatment, textual changes often had a more profound impact on poetry than on other genres. Even if some poems were allowed to be published with deleted lines or stanzas, on many occasions, due to the difficulties in maintaining semantic and metrical coherence, publishers decided to cut entire poems (Abellán, 1980, p. 142; Beneyto, 1977, p. 347; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, p. 50). In such circumstances, given that a single deletion could alter the whole meaning of the poem, omitting it from the published volume was sometimes regarded as the lesser evil (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007a, p. 6). Government censorship also had a decisive influence in the development of self-censorship. Poets would often write between the lines, dealing with controversial issues by employing unrelated terms. This cryptic terminology allowed them to allude to topics which would have been immediately rejected by the censors if mentioned explicitly. This mode of writing, however, had a double negative effect: the constant repetition of the same metaphors, which was necessary for them to be understood, lessened their impact over time. Moreover, it risked alienating a part of their audience unaware of such references (Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, pp. 162-163).

Another element of poetry which could have an alienating effect on readers and censors alike has to do with "its subject matter and formalism [which] remove it far enough from the experience of most readers" (Burt, 1999, p. 188). Such characteristics, as per Burt,

explain why “lyric poetry does not appear an attractive target for censorship” (p. 188). Commenting on the formal features of poetry, Burton (2003, pp. 172-173), citing Milan Kundera, explains that, according to the latter:

the language of poetry is acceptable to dictatorships because it does not “refer”, because “rhyme and rhythm possess magical power: the formless world enclosed in regular verse all at once becomes limpid, orderly, clear, and beautiful.” Poetry reconciles man to himself, to the world, to society, while the novel, through its analytical, deconstructive bent, makes such an atonement impossible. Dictatorships, says Kundera, love poets and poetry, but cannot but view novels and novelists with the gravest suspicion.

Poets, translators and publishers began to develop a series of self-censorship mechanisms affecting, either unconsciously or deliberately, each stage of poetic production (Beneyto, 1977, p. 170). In the case of foreign-language texts, unconscious self-censorship is typically associated with translators, who did not have a financial stake in the publication of the texts. By contrast, publishers often privileged economic interests over cultural ones, making conscious decisions to alter the text before publication. Although the presence of self-censorship in translated texts can be ascertained via textual comparison between source and target text(s), unless explicitly mentioned by any of the parties involved in the publication process, it is not possible to determine in most cases whether such changes were implemented by the translators or the editors and the reasons, if any, for those alterations. A thorough study of the self-censorship carried out by publishing houses would prove useful. However, even if direct witnesses testify that such activity was common, there are many administrative hurdles that prevent researchers from gaining access to the publishing companies’ archives (Abellán, 2007, pp. 10-11; Rodríguez Espinosa, 1997, pp. 157, 160), including the fact that “the vast majority (...) have been lost for good” (Rojas Claros, 2013, p. 29).

The analysis of the target culture outlined in the previous pages is crucial to understand the evolution of the form and content of poetry translation, which need to conform to the shifting historical configurations of the target culture. What follows is a description of the main tool employed in this study, the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue, and an overview of the main conclusions that can be drawn from its analysis.

3. Methodology: the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue

The TRACEpi catalogue is an electronic database devoted to censored translations of poetry written in English.⁹ It consists of 1,279 records compiled from two main types of sources: the censorship files located at the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, as well as a series of bibliographic indexes and online catalogues spanning the whole period. The latter include *Bibliografía hispano-americana*, *Bibliografía hispánica*, *Bibliografía española*, *El libro español*, *Boletín del Depósito Legal de obras impresas* and

⁹ The catalogue also includes self-translations and mediated translations.

Index Translationum, as well as online databases and catalogues such as those of the publisher Visor, the Spanish ISBN Agency,¹⁰ and the Spanish Public Libraries Catalogues.¹¹

Records were selected using a defined set of criteria. The source language would have to be English and the target language Spanish. Translations into other Iberian languages were also added. These include 82 translations into Catalan, six into Basque and two into Galician, although they are beyond the scope of the analysis carried out here. Additionally, the titles in the catalogue must have entered either the censorship system or the book market between 1939 and 1983. Finally, books had to feature some form of poetry. It is important to note in this respect that the TRACEpi catalogue covers information not only about books exclusively devoted to poetry, but also about others containing poetry fragments. This enables the study of various translation phenomena across several different text types. To account for this diversity and to facilitate the subsequent analysis, several subcatalogues were created, one for each of the following text types: titles strictly devoted to poetry (which amount to 43% of the entire catalogue); texts with poetry fragments (whether complete poems, stanzas or verses) interspersed with other genres (28%); volumes with whole sections of poetry (24%); and other types of texts, such as poetic dramas and poetic prose (5%). The following analysis, however, is centred around the first group, that of books consisting solely of poetry.

Employing the above criteria, titles were selected and exhaustive data about each of them was gathered and systematically compiled into a computerised database. The collected information, which covers three main areas (censorship, publication and consulted sources), is analysed in the following pages.

4. Results and discussion

The analysis of the catalogue reveals several significant trends. Quantitatively, the role of poetry in the Spanish book market of the period is negligible in terms of the overall number of published books. This is particularly true in the case of poetry translated from English. While Spanish poetry titles account for a mere 3% of the entire market during the studied period, translations of English-language poetry do not even amount to 0.1% of all the published books. In a single year, 1983, 920 Spanish poetry volumes were published, over twice as many as the 433 translated from English in the 45 years covered in the present study (see Figure 1).

¹⁰ Available at: www.mcu.es/webISBN (Accessed: 1 February 2020).

¹¹ Available at: <http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCBIP/cgi-ccbip/abnetopac> (Accessed: 1 February 2020).

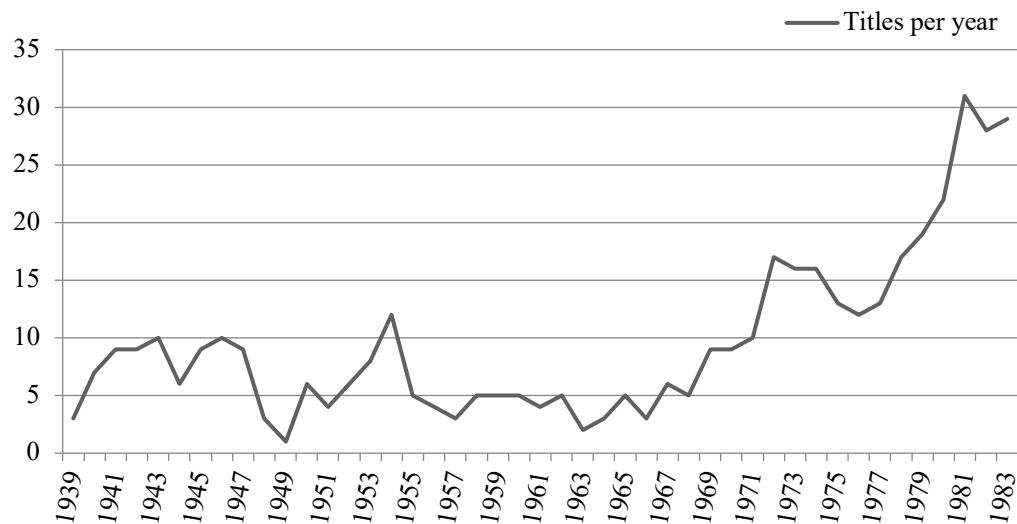


Figure 1. Poetry titles translated from English per year (1939-1983).

Focusing on the number of English-language poetry titles translated into Spanish, two markedly different periods can be isolated. In the years following the Civil War there was neither a market for such poetry nor a clear publishing effort to create it, save for a few honourable exceptions such as the *Adonais* collection. This is reflected in the fluctuating and extremely low publication figures that very rarely reached double digits in a year. From the late 1960s onwards, there was a sizeable increase in the amount of published translations. In fact, almost half of all the English-language poetry translations were released in the last decade of the period. This upward trend is hardly random, as it coincides with a substantial change in publishing practices taking place during these years.

As previously stated, after the Civil War, many publishing houses left the Spanish market, leaving a void that would be filled by new ventures. By the end of the 1960s, the new ecosystem had reached its maturity. Until then, the market was dependent on imports to meet demand. Most of these would come from Spanish publishing houses that had relocated to Latin America after the war. Comparing imported books to the ones produced nationally, differences seem to be minor in terms of published titles and authors. This suggests that imports were employed for logistical and economic reasons rather than as a means to fill a cultural void. After the 1960s, poetry translation imports were not a pressing demand, for new poetry collections, such as *Visor de poesía* and *Selecciones de poesía universal*, supplied much-needed momentum to the publication of translated poetry. These collections redefined the standard publication format for translated poetry by favouring bilingual editions and contributed to the renewal of domestic literary models by focusing on the publication of works by novel writers. Their role cannot be understated, even from a purely quantitative point of view. Four of these collections (*Visor*, *Selecciones*, *Adonais* and Ediciones 29's poetry series) published 37% of all the books in the catalogue. This fact underscores their vital role in the transformation of the publishing model of translated poetry in Spain.

The experimental nature of many of the new poetry collections emerging in the late 1960s contrasts with the publication trends of the first three decades of the period, when most publishers were significantly more risk-averse. Such a stance, arguably reasonable in view of the scarce economic incentive offered by poetry publishing, was reflected in conservative publishing plans which played it safe in terms of the selection of works and authors. In fact, most published poets at the time were either canonical or popular contemporary authors. New or lesser-known writers had almost no presence in the market. It is also worth mentioning that the vast majority of authors were male; only ten titles from six women were published in Spanish translation (Lobejón Santos, 2017). The best-selling English-language poets of the period, mostly of British and American origin, were, by number of printed copies: Geoffrey Chaucer, John Milton, Lord Byron, Rabindranath Tagore, Walt Whitman, William Shakespeare and Edgar Allan Poe. Their overwhelming popularity relegated other writers to a marginal position. Thus, the poetry books of other prominent English-language authors would remain untranslated for most of the dictatorship. For instance, no translations of Samuel Beckett, John Donne, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Gerard Manley Hopkins, James Joyce or Wallace Stevens were published until the 1970s, aside from isolated poems included in anthologies. The work of other well-known authors such as W. H. Auden, D. H. Lawrence and Williams Carlos Williams would be further delayed until the 1980s.

The renaissance experienced by the Spanish poetry market at the end of the 1960s was also manifested in the high volume of bilingual translations produced at the time (see Lobejón Santos, 2015). This phenomenon, driven mostly by the four aforementioned poetry collections, would ultimately change reading habits in Spain. Between 1974 and 1983, bilingual editions became standard practice, with 43.5% of all translations of English-language poetry produced in this format. This trend became ingrained in the Spanish market, persisting as the norm to this day (Gallegos Rosillo, 2001; Pariente, 1993). The sudden growth in bilingual publication can be attributed to three factors: increased contact of the Spanish population with the English language (Vega, 2004, p. 564); improved economic conditions, which enabled the production of books with a larger number of pages and public access to a more varied range of reading options; and, lastly, the risk assumed by a series of publishers who managed to create a market that was, until then, virtually non-existent. In the case of poetry, the lack of economic incentive meant that publishing and translating work would often be done *pro bono*.

There is yet more evidence of the shifting nature of the market in the last 15 years of the period, which is linked to the poetic genres being published. In this regard, although publication numbers for narrative poetry remained consistent and on a par with lyric poetry for the first three decades of the period, the latter became the most translated genre in the last 15 years by a wide margin. This trend mirrors contemporary poetry creation, which is largely synonymous with lyric poetry (Myers and Simms, 1985, p. 172). Poetry collections were the main vehicle for the publication of most lyric poetry. Narrative poetry was, by contrast, published mostly in literary, non-poetic collections. It is worth mentioning that in

most translations of narrative and dramatic poetry, narrative and dramatic elements were often privileged over poetic ones, as most of these works were translated into prose.

Another salient feature of the poetry market during the period studied relates to the publication of anthologies, which would become the preferred publication format for English-language poetry, amounting to 43% of all the translations produced at the time. The most important of these are translation anthologies, which highlight the role of the anthologist, who moulds the reception of certain authors or, even, literary movements or national literatures in the recipient context (Korte, 2000, p. 3). The way in which the translated texts of contemporary writers were assimilated into the Spanish literary system would affect the development of poets, beginning with the second post-war generation. This influence explains in part the transition that took place in Spain between the 1940s and 1950s, from social poetry to a poetic style more concerned with aesthetics (Bregante, 2003, p. 669; Carnero, 2004, pp. 654-656).

In many cases, the processes of poetry writing, translating, editing and publishing were assumed by the same agents. Spanish poets were heavily involved in translated works, leaving their imprint on many of them. In fact, almost half of all the poetry translators of this period were poets themselves. This phenomenon, intimately linked to this genre, may be predicated on the widespread belief that only poets can translate poetry. Thus, the poetic idiosyncrasies of these texts led some publishing houses to hire poets to translate them. In other cases, poets approached publishers directly with translation proposals based on their interest in the work of a particular author. The lyric genre is the most translated by poets, perhaps due to the fact that lyric poetry translation usually focuses on formal concerns, allowing poet translators to showcase their talents. By contrast, narrative and dramatic poetry translations, which, as we have previously alluded to, tend to reduce or eliminate the poetic elements, were mainly produced by professional, non-poet translators.

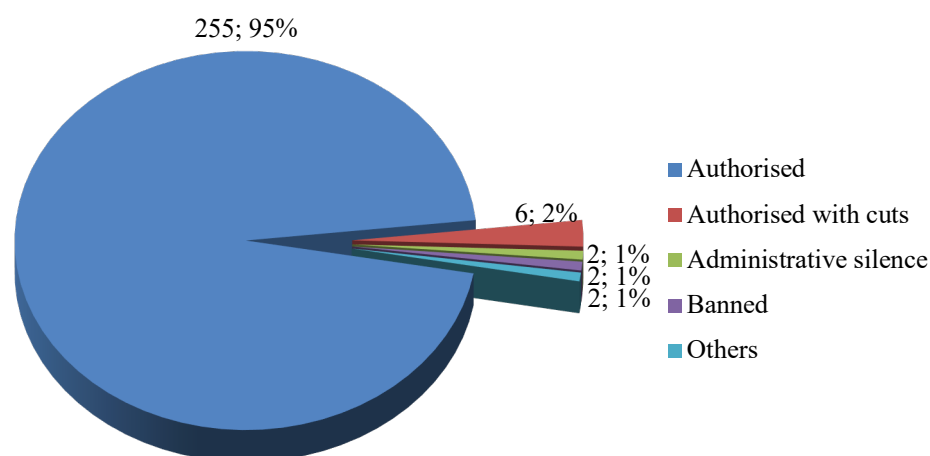


Figure 2. Official censorship ratings in English-language poetry translations (1939-1983).

The trends which have just been examined played a significant role in the way translated poetry was censored. In this regard, as per the catalogue data, hardly any poetry translated from English was either banned or authorised with cuts (Figure 2). Most of these books were authorised or, after the 1966 Press and Print Law, directly published and archived in accordance with the legal deposit system without being submitted to the voluntary censorship review. This circumstance can be explained by several factors: 1) the limited publication numbers of poetry, averaging 3,000 copies per edition, restricted its potential impact among the Spanish audience; 2) the semantic ambiguity inherent to poetry could disorient the censors, as supported by the censorship files we have examined; 3) most published authors conformed to the pattern of classic orthodoxy, which prompted their systematic publication due to the prestige they conferred to the regime; 4) poetry translated from English hardly ever alluded to the Spanish political situation, a characteristic common to much domestic poetry. Many censors placed emphasis on the paratexts rather than on the main texts, which indicates that the primary source of conflict had to do with those textual fragments. While many of the texts published dated back several decades or even centuries and were, therefore, likely to be unproblematic from the regime's standpoint, the production of most paratexts overlapped chronologically with Franco's dictatorship, which made direct references to the regime more probable.

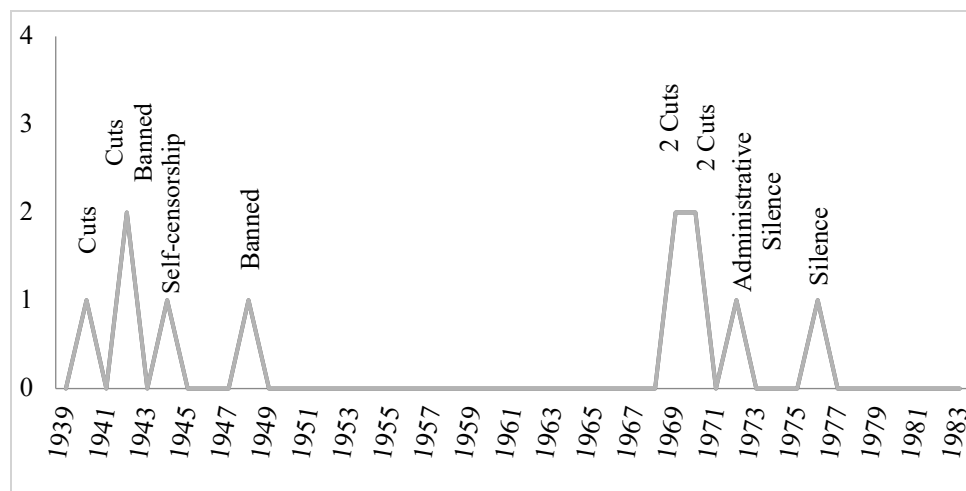


Figure 3. Non-authorisations of English-language poetry translations (1939-1983).

Only two books were banned between 1939 and 1983. Six were authorised on condition that cuts were made. Another two received a verdict of administrative silence, which meant that the regime accepted no liability in the event legal action was taken against the publisher for the contents of the book. Lastly, one title was overtly self-censored, as noted in its censorship report.¹² Focusing on these 11 works, three distinct

¹² This is the case of a 1943 translation of Byron's *Don Juan* published by Mediterráneo (file 3597-76). The censorship report indicates that the translation could be authorised, it being a well-known work. Surprisingly, the censor acknowledges that some parts that may offend the Spanish public had already been removed. It

phases in the evolution of official censorship can be isolated (Figure 3). In the first one (1939-1948), several books were affected by various forms of direct censorial intervention. This gave way to a period in which English-language poetry tended to be favoured, which corresponds with the years following World War II, when the regime had the pressing need to present a liberal façade to the international community. From the late 1960s onwards, there is a profound renovation of the poetry catalogue translated from English. The preponderance of the English classics subsided and a new generation of poets, mainly North American, emerged in the Spanish market, such as the Beat Generation writers, Leonard Cohen and Bob Dylan. These tended to focus on contemporary social, religious and political commentary, including explicit references to sexuality and drugs and the use of crude language. Such themes and content would not go unnoticed by the censors, resulting in their renewed zeal between 1969 and 1970. The temporal distribution presented in the chart is unlikely to be random, for it coincides with two key periods which are often identified as the heights of censorial zeal: the years immediately following the Civil War, in which censorship was overseen by the fascist party Falange, and the last part of Manuel Fraga Iribarne's tenure as head of the Ministry of Information and Tourism and that of his replacement, Alfredo Sánchez Bella (1969-1973) (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla, 1977, pp. 68-69).

Target Title	Author(s)	Translator(s)	Publisher	Year	Rating and file number	Bilingual
<i>El paraíso perdido</i>	John Milton	M. J. Barroso Bonzón	José Bergua (Madrid)	1940	Cuts (217U-40)	No
<i>De la india lejana: los cantos a la luna naciente</i>	Rabindranath Tagore	Zenobia Camprubí and Juan R. Jiménez	Lucero (Barcelona)	1942	Cuts (494-42)	No
<i>Sonetos</i>	William Shakespeare	Angelina Damians de Bulart	Montaner y Simón (Barcelona)	1942	Banned (823-42)	Yes
<i>Cuentos de Canterbury</i>	Geoffrey Chaucer	Juan G. de Luaces	Iberia (Barcelona)	1946	Tolerated (3618-46)	No
<i>Canto a mí mismo</i>	Walt Whitman	León Felipe	Losada (Buenos Aires, Argentina)	1948	Banned (1580-48)	No
<i>Poemas</i>	Walt Whitman	Armando Vasseur	Prometeo (Valencia)	1969	Cuts (5388-69)	No
<i>Poemas manzanas</i>	James Joyce	José María Martín Triana	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1969	Cuts (7672-69)	Yes

(continues)

is clear that publishers implemented self-censorship mechanisms, as they often privileged economic interests over textual integrity. Therefore, the fact that book contents were altered to guarantee or, at the very least, increase the likelihood of publication, was not unheard of. It is unusual, however, that the censor appeared to have been notified of the situation in advance.

Target Title	Author(s)	Translator(s)	Publisher	Year	Rating and file number	Bilingual
<i>Antología de la "Beat Generation"</i>	Various	Marcos-Ricardo Barnatán	Plaza & Janés (Esplugues de Llobregat)	1970	Cuts (1445-70)	Yes
<i>Poesía Beat</i>	Various	Jerónimo-Pablo González Martín	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1970	Cuts (5687-70)	No
<i>Poemas escogidos</i>	Leonard Cohen	Jorge Ferrer-Vidal	Plaza & Janés (Esplugues de Llobregat)	1972	Silence (409-72)	Yes
<i>Aullido</i>	Allen Ginsberg	Sebastián Martínez, Jaime Rosal and Luis Vigil	Producciones Editoriales (Barcelona)	1976	Reservations (1042-76)	Yes

Table 1. English-language poetry translations not directly authorised by official censors (1939-1983).

By examining the books that were not directly authorised by the censors (Table 1), we can identify several patterns. At times the regime felt the need to publish certain internationally renowned authors in order to appear more open to foreign cultural influences, while still curtailing free access to ideas that were contrary to its fundamental tenets. In order to achieve both goals, several measures were employed. These included severely restricting marketing, as well as publishing limited and deluxe editions, some of them aimed at the intellectual elite. The implementation of these mechanisms can be exemplified by the 1946 version of *The Canterbury tales* published by Iberia. The censors noted Chaucer's satirical portrayal of religion and its representatives, which, under different circumstances, would be grounds for banning the book or, at least, for authorizing it with cuts. This being a classic title, however, its publication was tolerated,¹³ which meant, as per a 1 June 1945 Law,¹⁴ that it could not be publicly displayed in bookshops. Another example of the regime's tendency to limit public access to certain titles is the first of the two works banned during this period, a 1942 bilingual translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* produced by Montaner y Simón. Despite the negative verdict, the censor suggested the ulterior authorisation of a special edition aimed at academics. Accordingly, the publication of a 300-copy limited edition would be authorised two years later. This highlights the fact that the main obstacle to the translation's authorisation was the 2,500-copy print run originally proposed by the publisher. The other banned book is a 1948 imported translation of Walt Whitman's *Song to myself*, first published in Argentina by Losada. While no reason is given for that decision in the censorship report, it may have been banned due to its translator being exiled Republican poet León Felipe. In fact, even though several

¹³ A few years after this report, through a 25 March 1944 law (*BOE*, 7 April 1944), Spanish literary works published before 1800 were exempted from prior censorship. Data from the TRACEpi catalogue indicate that the same criterion was largely applied to English-language works written prior to the 19th century.

¹⁴ *BOE*, 29 June 1945.

translations of Whitman's poem would be published in subsequent years, Felipe's version remained unpublished until 1981, several years after the end of the regime.

As previously mentioned, sometimes censors would stipulate changes to the paratexts rather than to the main texts, due to their contemporary nature. That is the case of a 1940 translation of *Paradise lost*, for which cuts to the prologue were required by the censor. Milton's text, however, being a classic, was not suspect and, as such, the censor did not think it necessary to read it. Similarly, although a prior edition of Whitman's anthology entitled *Poemas* had been authorised uneventfully in 1947, a new 1968 edition would face censorial problems. The volume included a poem in which Whitman extols the First Spanish Republic. However, the censor did not deem it unpublishable in his report, since that reference was considered irrelevant, "as it has been undoubtedly overcome as pure historical progression" (my translation). Rather, the main objection regarding that book stemmed from a comment found in the prologue in which the translator criticised the pitiful state of Spanish-language literature. This was unacceptable to the censor, who asked the publisher to remove that passage.

On other occasions, some of the content in the main text was considered unfit for public consumption and therefore cut. For instance, a 1942 edition of Rabindranath Tagore's *The crescent moon* was authorised with cuts. The problematic fragment, according to the censor, dealt with a morally dangerous subject, in the form of a child asking his mother where he came from. Given the age of the prospective readers, its removal was considered compulsory. Also, the censors ordered publisher Alberto Corazón to cut two poems from a 1969 translation of James Joyce's *Pomes Penyeach* (Lázaro Lafuente, 2001-2002). Both compositions, "The Holy Office" and "Gas from a burner", contain harsh attacks on the Catholic Church, which meant that a specialist reader, most likely a member of the clergy, would be drawn into the process. The publisher, ignoring the suggested cuts, merely modified the parts containing such attacks, leading to the text's authorisation.

Two other works, both 1970 Beat poetry anthologies, were authorised with cuts: *Antología de la "Beat Generation"* (Plaza & Janés) and *Poesía Beat* (Visor). Regarding the former, the censor reported that several poems could not be published, one for its support of Fidel Castro and others for their obscene and irreverent nature. The book went on to be released after the fragments flagged by the censor were removed. The censorship report on the second anthology notes several reprehensible aspects, including frequent allusions to drugs, sex and communism. Although the censors suggested cuts across several pages, the publisher decided to put the translation's release on hold until 1977, when such references were permissible. Censors also targeted a 1976 Beat anthology, Allen Ginsberg's *Aullido*. The report notes that the text clearly displays irreverence and obscenity, particularly in its extolment of homosexuality, which had been openly condemned by the regime. Due to its content, for which the publishers could still be liable to legal action, the work was authorised with reservations, a verdict used during the latter years of the period, particularly after Franco's demise, effectively equivalent to that of administrative silence.

Another anthology by a contemporary North American poet, Leonard Cohen's *Poemas escogidos*, published by Plaza & Janés in 1972, would receive the same treatment. The censor highlighted the presence of several references to sex and the military, but the major obstacle to its publication were a series of allusions to religion. These prompted the intervention of a religious advisor, who opined that those passages dealing with religious matters were too ambiguous to be conclusively seen as attacks against the Catholic faith. However, all these aspects being potential legal liabilities, resulted in the volume receiving a verdict of administrative silence.

5. Conclusion

It should be noted that the examples discussed in the previous section are exceptional. Over 95% of all poetry titles translated from English were authorised at the time, and most of those that were not would end up being published at a later date. It is evident that the Francoist regime was not overly concerned about English-language poetry, given the low circulation numbers for this genre. Nevertheless, it might be argued that another important reason for such a reaction lies in the kinds of titles that publishing houses tended to favour. The publication of canonical authors and titles, which was the norm at the time, facilitated their release. By contrast, those of contemporary authors, especially the likes of the Beats, who were against many of the fundamental beliefs on which the regime was founded, were problematic. The increased publication of such authors highlights the tensions derived from the clash of two forces: on the one hand, the historical demands imposed by the opposition movements of late Francoism, for which the publication of contemporary English-language poets as a form of sociocultural renewal was an overwhelming imperative; on the other, the speech limitations enforced by the official censorship apparatus. In that sense, going back to the sentiment expressed by Celaya in “La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro”, maybe the question is not whether translated poetry reached a wide audience at the time, but, rather, whether it reached those who could help bring about the much-needed social change.

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HOW TO TRANSLATE “THE RED HOUSE”: CENSORSHIP AND THE *CLUBE DO LIVRO* DURING THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP (1964-1985)

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ABSTRACT: This study extends previous studies (Milton, 2001, 2002, 2008) made on the first ever Brazilian book club, the Clube do Livro (1942-1989). It examines the background of the censorship of the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985) and gives examples of items which were cut by the Clube do Livro in its translations. It then attempts to explain how, despite rigorous censorship, the Clube do Livro managed to publish translations of two works from Romania which contained much socialist realism at the peak of the dictatorship.

KEYWORDS: Clube do Livro, Mario Graciotti, Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1989), Book Clubs

1. Introduction

This article takes another look at and adds more information to a study I made on the translations and adaptations of the Brazilian book club, the Clube do Livro. In my 2002 book *O Clube do Livro e a tradução*, I made a detailed study of this first ever Brazilian book club, which existed from 1942 to 1989, publishing one book per month, distributed through the post to its members throughout Brazil. At its peak, during the 1960s, the Clube do Livro was hugely popular, with print runs of up to 50,000. Door-to-door canvassers enrolled members, often from homes that did not have a large number of books (indeed, after my study I was contacted by two older people who told me that as teenagers they had invested their pocket money in subscriptions to the Clube do Livro). Its publications were also distributed to schools, libraries, and army barracks through federal, state, and municipal networks. Roughly 50% of the publications were translations. The 1969 list of publications will give us an idea of the range of works published: *O misterioso caso de Ritinha*, Léo Vaz; *Frente 313*, Mário Garcia Guillén (translated from Spanish); *O diabo branco*, Leon Tolstoi (translated from Russian via French); *Trilhos de prata*, Ibiapaba Martins; *O laberinto*, V. Verpool; *Shunko*, Jorge Abalos (translated from Spanish); *O sacrifício*, Franklin Távora; *Água da esperança*, Eurico Branco Ribeiro; *Quatro irmãs*, Louisa M. Alcott (translated from English); *Nas selvas do Xingu*, Ayres Câmara Cunha; *A cabana do Pai Tomás*, Harriet B. Stowe (translated from English); and *Tempos difíceis*, Charles Dickens (translated from English).

This study will particularly look at the censorship of the Clube do Livro during the period of the long military dictatorship, from 1964 to 1985, though the toughest years were from the end of 1968 to 1976.

2. Censorship and the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985)

The military dictatorship in Brazil was established in 1964, following the 31 March/1 April coup carried out by the Brazilian army, which feared that the increasingly left-wing position

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of President João Goulart and his hostility to the United States could result in Brazil becoming another, much larger, Cuba. Researchers differ on exactly how much support Brazil received from the US, but it seems that the US American Military Attaché, Vernon Walters, was responsible for helping to organize a network of dissatisfied Brazilian generals. An American aircraft carrier was also stationed in the Atlantic Ocean near Rio de Janeiro in case any trouble should arise (Gaspari, 1980; Oliveira, 2019; Walters, 1978).

After the bloodless coup, the economy began to flourish and, from 1968 to 1973, grew by an average of 10% per year, reaching an amazing 14% in 1973, before the world oil crisis. This was the period of the “Brazilian miracle”, with most aspects of industry, including book production, sharing similar growth rates (Hallewell, 1985, p. 480). However, according to publisher Ênio Silveira, head of the left-wing publishing house *Civilização Brasileira*, restrictions on what could be published meant that the area of Social Sciences was dispersed and effectively destroyed (Hallewell, 1985, p. 481).

The Minister of Education in the new government was Flávio Suplicy de Lacerda, Rector of the *Universidade Federal do Paraná*, who worried about obscenity to such a point he tore pages out of the works of Zola, Pérez Galdos, and Eça de Queiroz in his university library, where works by Graciliano Ramos, Jorge Amado, and Guerra Junqueira were removed (Hallewell, 1985, pp. 482-483).

The confiscation of books was disorganized and almost random. Thousands of books were confiscated from bookshops, and the main criteria for removal seem to have been: (i) they were about communism (even though they may have been against it); (ii) they were written by a *persona non grata* of the regime; (iii) they were translations from Russian; (iv) they had red covers; and (v) they were published by Ênio Silveira’s left-wing *Civilização Brasileira* publishing house. We are given an idea of the inefficiency by the fact that among the books banned were *O livro vermelho da igreja perseguida* (about primitive Christian martyrs); *O caminho e a foice*, about the conflicts between Arabs and Jews; *Julião, Nordeste e revolução*, about the social problems of the Northeast of Brazil, and Portuguese novelist Eça de Queiroz’ *A Capital* (Hallewell, 1985, p. 483).

In 1965 Ênio Silveira stated that there were four types of confiscated books in the *Civilização Brasileira* collection: firstly, those taken by mistake, as in the examples above; secondly, any book connected with Marxism, even though it may not propose any social revolution (examples include *Marxismo e alienação*, by Leandro Konder, and *Política e revolução social no Brasil*, a collection of essays on social problems in Brazil); thirdly, the works of Marx and Engels; and finally, works on the coup, such as the collection of articles previously published in newspapers *O golpe de abril*, by Edmundo Muniz (Hallewell, 1985, p. 487).

After the hardline coup within the Brazilian Military government known as the AI-5 (Ato Institucional no. 5, of 13 December 1968), which reduced civil liberties and all but closed down Congress, new laws on censorship were promulgated, such as Decree no. 1,077, in force from 6 February 1970. This extended prior censorship to books, though just those “referentes ao sexo, moralidade pública e bons costumes” (of course, “bons

costumes” is open to a much wider interpretation); in addition, Brazilian youth were supposed to be protected from any material containing “matéria erótica ou versasse sobre crime, violência, aventura amorosa, horror ou humor picante”. Publishing houses were free to publish material outside these areas, but by so doing ran the risk of tough penalties if found to be breaking the law. On the other hand, a work which dealt with any of these topics could be submitted for approval, which, in addition to being almost an admission of guilt, might result in a considerable delay. This system would not require a large army of censors and would induce self-censorship among authors, translators, and editors (Hallewell, 1985, p. 494).

3. Censorship and the Clube do Livro

Siobhan Brownlie (2007) describes three kinds of censorship. The first, following Pierre Bourdieu, is a kind of structural censorship in that “the structure of the field in which the discourse circulates (...) constitutes censorship in the form of control on discourse exercised without explicit laws” (Brownlie, 2007, pp. 205-206); that is to say, those who dominate and are at the apex of this structure, with more cultural capital, are able to silence others or relegate them to subordinate or rebellious discourse. The second, public censorship, is imposed by public authorities and explicit laws, and may occur either before or after publication. Finally, the third, self-censorship, may occur either consciously or subconsciously.

The Clube do Livro, though hardly an enemy of the military regime, as will be seen, was not a major player in Brazilian society, and so had no power over dominant discourses, which were anti-communist, Catholic, and moralistic. As it ran on a strict timetable, issuing one book per month, it was hardly practical to seek official approval; far better, therefore, to adopt a form of self-censorship, initially choosing inoffensive, or classic, works, and then cutting out elements that might run foul of the censors, such as religious and sexual references. Elements that might offend readers and subscribers were also excised, as was anything considered to be stylistically complicated, such as the use of other languages, puns and word games, dialect, and poems. This resulted in standardized Portuguese that was relatively easy to read for those with limited schooling but somewhat dull and pasteurized.

4. Examples of the censorship of the Clube do Livro

The Clube do Livro took an extremely patronizing attitude to its readers. This can be seen in the Preface to *Gargantua* ([1534] 1961), which states that cuts have been made: “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” (Machado, 1961, pp. 14-15).

Indeed, Rabelais’ rollicking humour and biting satire in *Gargantua* seems something of a strange choice for the strait-laced Clube do Livro. The readers are further helped and

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“protected” by the extensive use of footnotes, which clarify historical and classical references, explain apparently difficult words, and give advice on healthy living. For instance, on the first page of the Prologue to *Gargantua*, there are footnotes to give information on Alcibiades, Plato, and Harpies (Nota do “Clube do Livro” in Rabelais, [1534] 1961, p. 17). And in *Tempos difíceis*, readers are warned not to copy the habits of Mrs Sparsit: they should make sure they eat well, otherwise they might end up like the Brontë sisters and die of tuberculosis (Nota do “Clube do Livro” in Dickens, 1969, pp. 54-55). Mario Graciotti, the director and general editor, was a qualified doctor and therefore felt able to make such warnings and also stressed the dangers of alcohol, telling readers not to follow the convivial drinking habits of many of Dickens’ characters: “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, etc” (Nota do “Clube do Livro” in Dickens, 1969, p. 57).

Let us now look at some of the specific cuts made to *Gargantua*. Firstly, sexual references are removed, such as this passage in which Rabelais recommends that widows be allowed to make love two months after their husband dies:

Moineaux lesquelles loys, les femmes vefves peuvent franchement jouer du serre croupière [make love] à tous enviz et toutes restes, deux mois après le trespas de leurs mariz. (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 51).

[By means whereof the honest widows may without danger play at the close buttock game with might and main, and as hard as they can, for the space of the first two months after the decease of their husbands. (Rabelais, 1653)

Similarly, references to bodily functions are excluded:

Non obstant ces remonstrances, elle en mangea seze muiz deux bussars et six tupins. O belle matière fecale que doivoit boursouffler en elle! (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 57)

Notwithstanding these admonitions, she did eat sixteen quarters, two bushels, three pecks and a pipkin full. O the fair fecality wherewith she swelled, by the ingrediency of such shitten stuff! (Rabelais, 1653)

And when Gargantua’s horse “pissa”, this becomes the more genteel “soltou águas” (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 289). The Clube do Livro also excludes Rabelais’ extensive use of puns, as in the following section:

Par mesmes raisons (si raisons les doibz nommer et non resveries) ferois je paindre un penier, denotant qu’on me fait pener; et un pot à moutarde, que c’est mon cueur à qui moult tarde; et un pot 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, [1534] 1965, p. 95)

By the same reasons (if reasons I should call them, and not ravings rather, and idle triflings about words), might I cause paint a pannier, to signify that I am in pain – a mustard-pot, that my heart carries much for't – one pissing upwards for a bishop – the bottom of a pair of breeches for a vessel full of fart-hings – a codpiece for the office of the clerks of the sentences, decrees, or judgments, or rather, as the English bears it, for the tail of a codfish – and a dog's turd for the dainty turret wherein lies the love of my sweetheart. (Rabelais, 1653)

Needless to say, the list of synonyms for the penis is also missing:

L'une la nommait ma petite dille, l'autre ma pine, l'autre ma branche de coural, l'autre 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, [1534] 1965, p. 111)

One of them would call it her little dille, her staff of love, her quillety, her faucetin, her dandilolly. Another, her peen, her jolly kyle, her bableret, her membretoon, her quickset imp: another again, her branch of coral, her female adamant, her placket-racket, her Cyprian sceptre, her jewel for ladies. (Rabelais, 1653)

The following example would be very easy to translate into Portuguese, with the use of “serviço divino”. However, this section is also cut:

“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, [1534] 1965, p. 229)

“What should this drunken fellow do here? let him be carried to prison for troubling the divine service. Nay, said the monk, the wine service, let us behave ourselves so that it be not troubled; for you yourself, my lord prior, love to drink of the best.” (Rabelais, 1653)

Rabelais' exercises in rhyming also disappear:

“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!” (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 125)

“Shittard,/ Squirtard,/ Crackard,/ Turdous,/ Thy bung/ Hath flung/ Some dung/ On us:/ Filthard,/ Cackard,/ Stinkard,/ St. Antony's fire seize on thy toane [bone?],/ If thy/ Dirty/ Dounby/ Thou do not wipe, ere thou be gone.” (Rabelais, 1653)

With the disappearance of fragments of other languages (such as the following section, in which the pompous pilgrims continue to show off and speak Latin when they escape from inside Gargantua's mouth, after nearly being swallowed by the giant), Rabelais' polyphonic text becomes a mere narrative of the more savoury episodes of Gargantua's life.

“*Cum exurgerent homines in nos, forte vivos deglutissent nos, quand nous feusmes mangez en salade au grain du sel; cum irasceret furor eorum in nos, foristan aqua absorbuisset nos, quand il beut le grand traict (...).*” (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 305, emphasis in the original)

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“Quum exurgerent homines in nos, forte vivos deglutissent nos; when we were eaten in the salad, with salt, oil, and vinegar. Quum iraceretur furor eorum in nos, forsitan aqua absorbuisset nos; when he drank the great draught (...).” (Rabelais, 1653)

Not surprisingly, Rabelais’ critiques of the Church are also missing, such as the following fragment in which he suggests monks and nuns should marry each other and live together outside the monastery or convent:

“Item, parce que ordinairement les religieux faisoient troys veuz, sçavoir est de chastité, pauvreté et obedience, fut constitu’t que là honorablement on peult estre marié, que chacun feut riche et vesquist en liberté.” (Rabelais, [1534] 1965, p. 403)

“Item, for that the religious men and women did ordinarily make three vows, to wit, those of chastity, poverty, and obedience, it was therefore constituted and appointed that in this convent they might be honourably married, that they might be rich, and live at liberty.” (Rabelais, 1653)

Hard times, Charles Dickens’ most political novel, would seem a strange choice for the Clube do Livro to publish in December 1969, exactly one year after the issuing of the hardline AI-5. However, the Introduction plays down any political element and frames *Tempos difíceis* as a work of humanity, sensitivity and Christian feeling. Announcing that “O CULTO DA BELEZA E DO AMOR CONSAGRA CHARLES DICKENS COMO UM DOS MAIORES ESCRITORES UNIVERSAIS DE TODOS OS TEMPOS”, it is framed by José Maria Machado, the translator and author of the “Nota explicativa”, the introduction, as “um livro de ideias, embora não se possa denominar propriamente um livro de combate” and “um livro de tese em que se apresentam problemas básicos de superior transcendência e vão além de qualquer período de atualidade” (Machado, 1969, p. 7). For Machado, the contemporary world has managed to surpass the hardships of *Hard times*:

A convenção universal dos Direitos da Criança e do Homem, a libertação da escravatura, o combate à agiotagem, as leis da higiene do trabalho, a organização das Nações Unidas, o sentido ecumênico da Igreja Moderna, as reivindicações trabalhistas, que, no Brasil, se realizam a partir de 1922, alimentam as nossas esperanças de que o mundo melhor se aproxima, aquele mundo sonhado pelo imortal escritor inglês. (Machado, 1969, p. 8)

This implies that those who see parallels between the poverty and juvenile crime of contemporary Brazilian cities could hardly be more wrong: we have surpassed the evils found in Dickens’ work, the author insists, and must contrast our world and its institutions, rule of law, freedoms, and protections for workers with that of Dickens, rather than look for similarities.

Political references are often cut or softened. The following section, in which Dickens seems to propose a type of unionization in order to demand better working conditions, has been largely cut from the Portuguese translation:

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, p. 171)

Most noticeably, the Clube do Livro translation avoids the loaded term “comrades” and stresses the error of the corrupt union official, Slackbridge: “Toda aquela multidão acreditava, com uma fé grave, profunda e sincera, na conclusão, certa ou errada (errada desta vez, infelizmente), a que [Slackbridge] chegara” (Dickens, 1969, p. 90). As for the phrase “the slaves of an iron-handed and grinding despotism” (Dickens, 1982, p. 169), which encapsulates the evils of capitalism, this becomes the milder “trabalhadores e companheiros” (Dickens, 1969, p. 90).

The concern to avoid anything that could possibly offend the censors sometimes becomes excessive. In George Eliot’s *Silas Marner*, which the Clube do Livro published in 1973, Squire Cass lives in a mansion called “The Red House”. How is this translated into Portuguese? As nothing less than “A Casa Amarela” [“The Yellow House”] (Eliot, 1973, p. 66). As mentioned above, red was a dangerous colour. Books with red covers were censored, and presumably the Clube do Livro wished to avoid the possibility of Squire Cass’ residence being thought to be a communist bunker!

As mentioned above, non-standardized speech is all standardized. As part of my background research in *O Clube do Livro e a tradução* (Milton, 2002), I discovered that a primary norm, to use the term proposed by Toury (2003), was to standardize non-standard language in the translation of classic novels in the period studied, that of the existence of the Clube do Livro, from 1942 to 1989. This is still very much the case, as revealed by academic projects like that of Solange Carvalho, whose MA dissertation, “A tradução do socioleto literário: um estudo de *Wuthering Heights*” (Carvalho, 2007) and subsequent book, *A tradução de variantes dialetais: o caso Camilleri – desafios, estratégias e reflexões* (Carvalho, 2017), proposed translating dialects by using sub-standard elements which are common to various regions in Brazil. Stephen Blackpool’s broad Lancashire dialect is translated into somewhat highbrow Portuguese:

“I ha’ coom (...) to ask yo yor advice. I need’t overmuch. I were married on Eas’r Monday nineteen year sin, long and dree. She were a young lass – pretty enow – wi’ good accounts of herseln. Well! She went bad – soon. Not along of me. Gonnows I were not a unkind husband to her.” (Dickens, 1982, p. 110)

“Vim (...) pedir-lhe um conselho. Do qual muito preciso. Casei-me há dezenove anos na segunda-feira de Páscoa. Ela era moça nova, bonita e ninguém tinha coisa a dizer a seu respeito. Mas bem depressa deu para o mal. Não por minha culpa. Deus sabe que não fui mau marido para ela.” (Dickens 1969, p. 56)

The Professor ([1857] 1955), Charlotte Brontë’s first and relatively little-known novel, is set in Brussels, where Crimsworth, from Britain, a mouthpiece for Brontë, is a teacher at

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a girls’ boarding school. Two main elements are censored. Firstly, anti-Catholic comments, reflecting Brontë’s own strong protestant background, and secondly, comments suggesting the Flemish are second-class citizens. Obviously, the Clube do Livro was worried about offending its Catholic readers in Brazil, where Catholicism is the main religion, and also tried to water down any kind of insulting language. The following passages, which are very anti-Catholic, have been omitted:

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, [1857] 1955, p. 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, [1857] 1955, p. 87);

“I was no pope. I could not boast infallibility.” (Brontë, [1857] 1955, p. 165)

Likewise, references to the eugenic inferiority of the Flemish have disappeared:

(...) 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, [1857] 1955, p. 86)

“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, [1857] 1955, p. 58)

The Clube do Livro seems anxious to avoid any kind of racial stereotyping. After M. Pelet gets drunk and insults Crimsworth in Chapter XX, the description of Pelet as “a thorough Frenchman, the national characteristic of ferocity had not been omitted” is also left out, as are the nationalities in “French politeness, German good-will, and Swiss servility” (Brontë, [1857] 1955, p. 210).

There is a similar softening of the description of poverty to be found in Britain. The Clube do Livro version omits the sections in italics in the following passage:

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 bare 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, [1857] 1955, p. 208, emphasis added)

5. Two works from Romania

The zeal with which the Clube do Livro clamped down on any work even apparently remotely connected with the Soviet Union was so excessive that it was almost amusing, and we might assume that this same zeal would have been applied to works from other

countries in the Soviet bloc. However, in September 1968 and August 1970 the Clube do Livro published two works from Romania, translated by writer and journalist Nelson Vainer, a Jewish Romanian immigrant to Brazil who had also published a collection of Romanian short stories with the left-wing publishing house Civilização Brasileira, mentioned earlier. Vainer had been an official visitor to Romania in 1964, invited by the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Other Countries, and again in 1966 at the invitation of the Romanian Writers’ Union (Jianu, 1968, p. 6).

In order to appreciate just how curious this publication decision was, it is worth lingering a little on the contents of these two works. The 1968 work is called *O caminho do céu e outras novelas romenas* and its title story, by Nicolae Jianu (1916-1982), describes the harsh conditions in a zinc mine, where women also work. The story tells how the heroine is crushed to death by falling rock, and her lover, a fellow miner, attempts to find a way out of the mine and up to the “céu”, both sky and heaven. As for the other stories in the collection, *O desconhecido* by George Calinesco (1899-1965) reflects corrupt local elections in the early years of the 20th century; *O pão* by Francisc Munteanu (1924-1993) depicts the hunger of a Romanian refugee in the Second World War in Hungary; *O girassol* by Ion Agirbiceanu (1882-1963) describes how the patience, beauty, and stoicism of young peasant woman Stana defeats her shrewish mother-in-law; *O inocente* by Tudor Arghezi (1880-1967) relates the life in prison and death of Maria Nikifor, wrongly accused of theft, and her baby son, born in prison; and finally *O idílio* by Nicolae Velea (1936-1987) narrates the tragic love affair of workers at a cooperative in contemporary Romania.

In the other work, *Um pedaço de terra* (Stanco, 1970), by Zaharia Stanco (1902-1974), the adopted daughter, Constantina, is beaten up by her husband and sent to claim her patch of land from her adoptive parents, who also beat her. The novella is full of physical violence and alcohol abuse, to the point of depicting the six-year-old neighbour Gengis as dying of an excess of plum brandy. But despite the harsh peasant realism of the story, the sun shines and there is hope for the future. Vainer’s Introduction ends on a positive note, framing the novella as a very humanistic work and backgrounding the social criticism: “uma visão artística profundamente pessoal (...) mensagem firme de confiança e otimismo (...) flui um lento hálito de piedade e de amor (...) pergunta, pelas profundas razões que norteiam os não menos profundos mistérios da Vida e da Morte” (Vainer, 1970, pp. 8-9).

All the contributors to these two volumes are “official” approved writers. Stanco, or rather Stancu, was Romanian Prose Writer of 1948 for his work *Desculț* (*Barefoot*), translated into more than 30 languages, which describes the tragic life of peasants on the Danubian plain at the beginning of the 20th century. Another of his works, *Os Mastins* (1952), outlines the peasant revolt of 1907, which led to the deaths of 11,000 peasants. He was director of the National Theatre in Bucharest, the President of the Romanian Writers’ Union, and a member of the Romanian Academy. Nicolae Jianu was a widely published prose writer and translator from Russian, Hungarian, and Slovak, while George Calinesco, or Călinescu,¹ was a Romanian literary critic, historian, novelist, scholar, and journalist,

¹ Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Călinescu (Accessed: 8 September 2020).

considered one of the most important Romanian literary critics of all time and one of the outstanding figures of Romanian literature in the 20th century. He outwardly adhered to the new Communist ideology after 1947. Francisc Munteanu was mainly a filmmaker, while Ion Agirbiceanu, or Agârbiceanu,² was an Austro-Hungarian-born Romanian writer, journalist, politician, theologian, and Greek-Catholic priest. Agârbiceanu spent his last decade and a half under a communist regime that outlawed his church. However, at the end of his life the government bestowed honours upon him. Tudor Arghezi,³ a well-known poet, was initially considered as decadent by the Communist regime but later rehabilitated and awarded numerous titles and prizes, as well as celebrated as the national poet on his 80th and 85th birthdays. Nicolae Velea was a well-known author from the school of social realism.

So during the Brazilian “anos de chumbo” (the most repressive years of the dictatorship in terms of censorship and the negation of civil rights), we find that the Clube do Livro published two volumes of stories by Romanian writers highly regarded by the Communist regime, at the same time as it paid close attention to eliminating details in *Tempos difíceis* which might carry a socialist message, and even translating “The Red House” in *O tesouro de Silas Marner* as “The Yellow House”. How can this apparent contradiction be explained?

As mentioned above, although works from Russia were censored, much less attention would have been paid to Soviet satellites such as Romania. Besides, in this period, Ceaușescu was following an independent foreign policy, which challenged the authority of the Soviet Union and helped him to become relatively popular in the West. For example, he refused to take part in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces and even actively and openly condemned the invasion. Secondly, unlike the Civilização Brasileira publishing house, the Clube do Livro would not have been a major target for censors. Thirdly, as we have seen, important framing devices were used in the Introductions, ignoring any social critique and concentrating on the humanity, optimism, and messages of hope for the future that the work may contain. A fourth reason may have to do with the political shift of the director of the Clube do Livro, Mario Graciotti (1901-1993), a doctor who moved into literature and translation in the 1930s, penning a number of volumes of short stories, novels, and travel books.⁴ He set up the Clube do Livro in 1942, together with Luis L. Reid and Waldemar L. Rocha. Significantly, Graciotti was also one of the founding members of the Ação Integralista Brasileira, a party which had many things in common with Benito Mussolini’s Fascists though they had no clear contact with the Nazis. Ideologically they defended private property and combatted communism; they wished to rescue Brazilian culture and were highly nationalistic; they believed in a strict moral code and

² Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ion_Agârbiceanu (Accessed: 8 September 2020).

³ Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tudor_Arghezi (Accessed: 8 September 2020).

⁴ Among the awards he gained were the prestigious Prêmio Jabuti for Editor of the Year in 1960 and for the Essays category in 1963. In 1968 he was elected to the São Paulo Academia de Letras and worked together with José Maria Machado and Samuel Ribeiro on the *Inteligência* magazine (1935-1942), which brought together and translated news articles on current affairs from foreign sources.

authority and a hierarchical structure of society. Their symbol was the sigma, “Σ”, and they used the Fascist salute and wore green shirts. At the same time, they refuted economic liberalism and the internationalization of humanity. Portugal had abandoned its colony, Brazil, and they felt that it was up to Brazilians to (re)create its greatness. The *integralismo* was admired by many of the ruling elite and middle-classes, including dictator Getúlio Vargas, initially in office from 1930 to 1945, and its emphasis on Brazilianness was taken up by a number of intellectuals who found employment in the Vargas government, such as poets Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, and Manuel Bandeira; painter Cândido Portinari; and musician Heitor Villa-Lobos.

However, in the Prefaces to the works published by the Clube do Livro we get no idea of Graciotti’s Fascist sympathies. Indeed, around the time the Clube do Livro published the two works from Romania, it also published works by authors with socialist sympathies: in 1966, Émile Zola’s *La Fortune des Rougnon*; in 1967, Zola’s *Madame Neigeon* and Jack London’s *The Call of the Wild*; in 1968, Franz Kafka’s *The Great Wall of China*; in 1969, *Shunko*, Jorge Abalos’ novel about Quechua-speaking Indians in Argentina, and Ayres Câmara Cunha’s *Nas selvas do Xingu*, on the life of the Xingu Indians in Mato Grosso, Brazil, in addition to the already mentioned *Tempos difíceis*.

The Clube do Livro also published a novel by Jarbas Passarinho (1920-2016), *Terra encharcada* (1968), on the afflictions of regions of northern Brazil. Passarinho was one of the most important officers in the military government (1964-1985) and in the transition to democracy. His government portfolio included Minister of Labour (1967-1969), Minister of Education (1969-1974), Minister of Social Security (1983-1985), and Minister of Justice (1990-1992).

Indeed, it seems that the two Romanian works fit in to a great extent with many of the realist and regionalist works that the Clube do Livro was publishing at the time, and, with their humanistic framing, the fact they were not targeted by censorship, and the respectability of the prize-winning Mário Graciotti, it perhaps becomes less surprising that these works were published.

6. Final words: Censorship is porous

Considerable research has been done into censorship of translations in totalitarian regimes in the 20th century (for example, see Merino-Álvarez and Rabadán (2002) and Vandaele (2002) for Franco’s Spain; Rundle (2000) and Fabre (2007) for Fascist Italy; Sturge (1999) for Nazi Germany). One element these studies have in common is that they show how it was not possible for the regimes to introduce blanket censorship. Despite the harshness and xenophobia of the regimes, works from enemy countries, usually popular fiction or children’s works, were published even as hostilities were taking place. This was often a case of allowing the publisher which supported the government and published government propaganda to make a profit to pay for these expenses. Fabre (2007, p. 44) gives us an example from Italy:

Milton, J. – How to translate “The Red House”

Translation Matters, 2(2), 2020, pp. 131-143, DOI: https://doi.org/10.21747/21844585/tm2_2a8

As late as 1941 or 1943 some publishers continued to publish works by foreign authors from unfriendly nations even in the severely regulated sector of children’s literature, such as Mark Twain, E. R. Burroughs, Louise May Alcott, and Pamela L. Travers (the author of *Mary Poppins*).

An army of censors is an expensive luxury. And these censors may not always support the cause of the government they are working for. Indeed, they may let certain works through the net, especially those such as the Romanian works, which, on the surface, and from the Introduction or Preface, may seem harmless. As in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and ultra-Catholic Spain, the censorship of the 1964-1985 military dictatorship was porous.

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TRANSLATED LITERATURE AS SOFT PROPAGANDA: EXAMPLES FROM OCCUPIED NORWAY (1940-1945)

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ABSTRACT: Among the cultural fields censored under the Nazi rule of occupied Norway (1940-1945) during WWII, translated literature stands out as the most strictly controlled part of the literary field, censored by the Norwegian Literature and Library Office. Moreover, the Reich Commissariat (the highest German authority in occupied Norway) used the field of translated literature as a site for soft propaganda, here understood as subtle messaging, in contrast to hard propaganda, which is cruder and more heavy-handed. Aiming to investigate how the Reich Commissariat influenced the field of translated literature, this article presents findings from archival research focused on correspondence directly or indirectly involving the Reich Commissariat, taking into consideration textual and contextual features of the books and authors discussed. The article concludes that the Reich Commissariat had various ways of influencing publications of translated literature, being both overtly and covertly involved in publishing processes.

KEYWORDS: Soft Propaganda, Censorship, Translation under Occupation, Translation Policies, Occupied Norway

1. Introduction

On April 9, 1940, Nazi German forces invaded Norway. The country remained occupied for five years until its liberation on May 8, 1945. During the occupation, the highest-ranking German authority in the country was Josef Terboven, appointed “Reich Commissary for the Occupied Norwegian Territories” by Adolf Hitler on April 24, 1940.¹ Terboven’s organization was called the Reichskommissariat (the Reich Commissariat, henceforth RC) and had departments for administration, the national economy, technology, and popular enlightenment and propaganda.² The latter encompassed most fields of propaganda, such as sports, education, media, arts, and literature. The RC’s departments supervised and controlled the corresponding departments of Vidkun Quisling’s Norwegian Nazi government, which had its own ministries governing overlapping fields. Hence, the literary field was not only under the RC’s scrutiny; it was also controlled by the Ministry of Culture and Public Education, specifically its sub-department for literature, the Literature and Library Office (henceforth LLO).³

The LLO’s control is most commonly understood as operating through the post-publication censoring of national literature. However, while publishing houses managed to avoid a stricter regime of pre-publication censorship for national literature (Ringdal, 1995, pp. 122-123), the LLO did manage to instate pre-publication censorship for translated literature. This regulation meant that publishers were obliged to seek permission from the

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¹ In German: Reichskommissar für die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete. All translations into English are mine.

² Title of departments in German: Hauptabteilung Verwaltung, Hauptabteilung Volkswirtschaft, Hauptabteilung Technik, Hauptabteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda.

³ In Norwegian: Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet; Litteratur- og bibliotekkontoret.

LLO for each foreign book they wanted to publish (Formo, 1998; see also Solberg, 2018; Solberg, forthcoming). The remaining LLO archives show that the development and implementation of this regulation happened under the RC's influence (Solberg, forthcoming) and that the Commissariat's literary branch played a more active role in the field of translated literature than previously acknowledged.

This article focuses on how the field of translated literature was controlled in ways that go beyond basic censorship, shedding new light on how the RC influenced and encouraged the LLO and publishers of translated literature. It furthermore shows that the LLO and the publishers themselves often initiated contact with the RC on different matters. The findings from the LLO's archives analyzed in the present article are thus categorized according to participants and direction of communication:

- I. The RC contacts a publisher with a suggestion for a publication for which the publisher then applies to the LLO for permission to publish.
- II. The RC contacts the LLO with a suggestion for publication for a Norwegian publishing house.
- III. A publisher contacts the RC, seeking approval for the publication of a certain book before applying to the LLO for publishing permission.
- IV. The LLO contacts the RC with questions or information about an application from a publisher.

By investigating the various ways in which the RC was involved in publication processes, this article aims to fine-tune our understanding of how the field of translated literature in occupied Norway was controlled, and to show how it was used by the RC as a site for soft propaganda (Huang, 2018; see also section 2).

In the next section, the notions of soft propaganda and hard propaganda are presented and related to two competing views on propaganda in Nazi Germany. The following sections describe the archival material and methodology used in the study, before presenting, analyzing and discussing cases illustrating the four above-mentioned categories of communication.

2. Theoretical, contextual and historical backdrop

When it comes to the control of a cultural field, such as the field of translated literature, one can distinguish between censorship, on the one hand, and propaganda, on the other. Censorship can be described as the act of removing “unwanted” elements – be it parts of or entire works – while propaganda is the act of adding “wanted” elements, through more or less bombastic messages, with the aim of convincing the receiving public of an ideological position. We can further distinguish between *hard propaganda* and *soft propaganda*. Huang (2018) describes soft propaganda as a sleeker and subtler type of message than what is conveyed with hard propaganda. Receivers of soft propaganda may not realize that the message they perceive is propaganda, although the intended effect of the message is to alter the attitudes or convictions of its audience. Somewhat simplistically, one can perhaps say that soft propaganda is propaganda that does not present itself as

such; its mission is covert, and therein lies its strength. Huang (2018, p. 1034) states that hard propaganda may backfire due to its being “crude and heavy-handed”, since that may create resistance in the population. Soft propaganda might thus be more efficient in influencing the receivers’ political and social attitudes.

This distinction was known to the Nazi German authorities in charge of propaganda. According to Barbian (2013, p. 102), there were competing views on the matter of propaganda between the German Foreign Office and the then newly established Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda already by 1933. In the Foreign Office’s view, the work for German culture abroad “did not (...) involve ‘propaganda’ in the traditional sense” but a “scrupulous observation of the mood toward Germany abroad” (Memorandum “Cultural Policy”, 1 March 1933, cited in Barbian, 2013, p. 102). In a memorandum from 30 November 1940, the Foreign Office’s and the Propaganda Ministry’s approaches to literature abroad are further compared, cited here in Barbian’s words (2013, p. 104):

[It] compared the Propaganda Ministry’s understanding of “cultural propaganda” to the feverish activity of an itinerant preacher or a missionary. Whereas the Propaganda Ministry “always tries to set up large, prestigious events,” the Foreign Office puts its faith in “tenacious, quiet, and well-camouflaged propaganda and cultural work,” aiming to create a positive attitude toward cultural events among the foreign country’s population.

In the context of translated literature in occupied Norway, one can see that both methods were applied. There were, on the one hand, publishing houses openly collaborating with Nazi authorities, publishing hard propaganda requested by the Nazi party or the RC. On the other hand, as we shall see below, there were publishers – both openly collaborative ones as well as “neutral” ones – publishing works requested from them, either directly by the RC or indirectly via the LLO acting on orders from the RC. Whereas only the first group of publishers can be said to be instrumental for hard propaganda in the form of literature, both groups were instrumental for the publication of soft propaganda in literary form. Translation seems to have been central to soft propaganda, since literary translations were a way of disseminating German literature abroad and of spreading ideas and views that the authorities adhered to. The field of translated literature in Norway was furthermore vulnerable to control of this sort because of strict regulation, which included costly pre-publication censorship (cf. Formo, 1998; Solberg, 2018; Solberg, forthcoming). Publishing what the RC wanted would in this context be a way of being guaranteed permission to publish.

An expression of the RC’s view on translation and translated literature may be found in *Norwegische Bibliographie. Die Bücher des Jahres 1942*, a 1943 compilation by Fritz Meyen, with a foreword by Alfred Huhnhäuser. Both worked at the RC; Meyen was in charge of literature at the RC’s department for popular enlightenment and propaganda, alongside Heinz Finke, who corresponded with publishers and the LLO (Ringdal, 1995, p. 108; Solberg, forthcoming). Huhnhäuser was the Ministerial councilor of the RC’s School

department.⁴ In addition to giving an overview of books from or about Germany published in Norway in 1942 and vice versa, the bibliography contains four parts covering the previous (1) Norwegian translations of German literature from 1814 to 1941, (2) German translations of Norwegian literature from 1730 to 1941, (3) Norwegian books about Germany from 1814 to 1941, and (4) German books about Norway from the same period.

In his introduction to the bibliography, Huhn Häuser complains about what he believes to be an imbalance in the German-Norwegian cultural exchange. He describes how the Norwegian book market was influenced by and connected to Great Britain in the years before WWII, and claims there was a negative attitude towards Germany because of what “Jews and communists have said” about the country (Huhn Häuser, 1943, pp. 5-6).⁵ He writes that German literature in Norway before the war “showed a Germany that had long been a thing of the past” (p. 6),⁶ and states that most of that literature “belongs to the type of writing that is forbidden in Germany” (p. 9).⁷ Furthermore, he makes the accusation that since 1933 “German literature is increasingly represented by non-Germans [*Nichtdeutschblütige*: “those not of German blood”] and opponents of the new Germany” (p. 7),⁸ and he finds Germany to be “very neglected” in libraries (p. 5).⁹

As an example of the British presence and influence in Norwegian literature before the war, Huhn Häuser presents the case of a cheap world atlas that had been produced in England and therefore focused precisely on England (11 pages for England, one page for Germany). His interpretation is that “nothing can explain the connection between England and Norway at the time better than this atlas” (Huhn Häuser, 1943, p. 6).¹⁰ As a result of the Norwegian-British connection demonstrated by the atlas, he claims, “one saw Germany through the eyes of the English, and then formed one’s judgment” (p. 6).¹¹

Huhn Häuser (1943, p. 5) points out that the public libraries ought to be able to show the intellectual capacities of a foreign country, but that that would require the local publishers to have provided “the necessary literature, especially in the form of translations”.¹² On this note, he later adds that “the libraries [in Norway] bought what the publishers offered them” and that these publishers were “little interested in German things and, with their production of post-war German literature, they gave an image of a non-

⁴ In German: Schulabteilung; sometimes also Abteilung Schul- und Bildungswesen.

⁵ Source text (ST): “Juden und Kommunisten haben uns von Deutschland erzählt”.

⁶ ST: “zeigte ein Deutschland, das längst der Vergangenheit angehörte”.

⁷ ST: “denn abgesehen von den seit 1940 erschienenen Büchern gehört das meiste zu dem in Deutschland verbotenen Schrifttum”.

⁸ ST: “vom Weltkrieg an und besonders seit 1933 das deutsche Schrifttum in immer zunehmendem Masse durch Nichtdeutschblütige und Gegner des neuen Deutschland vertreten wird”.

⁹ ST: “sehr stark vernachlässigt war”.

¹⁰ ST: “Nichts kann wohl besser die damalige Verknüpfung Norwegens mit England erläutern als gerade dieser Atlas”.

¹¹ ST: “Man sah Deutschland durch die englische Brille und bildete sich danach sein Urteil”.

¹² ST: “Voraussetzung dafür ist allerdings, dass die einheimischen Verlage durch Bereitstellung der notwendigen Literatur vor allem in Gestalt von Übersetzungen die erforderlichen Brücken geschlagen haben.”

existent Germany, or a Germany disfigured by hatred” (p. 6).¹³ The importance Huhnhäuser attributes to translation, as a means of either strengthening the bonds between peoples and cultures or as a way of ignoring or misrepresenting a country, is telling, and provides a backdrop against which we can analyze the RC’s involvement in the publication of translated literature in occupied Norway.

3. Material and method

The main source for this investigation into the RC’s role in the field of translated literature in occupied Norway was the archival material left behind from the LLO. It is kept in Norway’s National Archives, specifically series 3415, box 76, which, among other things, contains a file with applications for the publication of translated literature. Sadly, these records are not complete. Many of the documents have been lost; some were destroyed just before the capitulation, while others were lost in the years after the occupation, when the archive was used as a source of information for the subsequent trials. However, those that remain still show there was contact, cooperation and communication between the RC and the LLO, and between the RC and publishers.

Research into what remains of the RC archives has not yielded any fruitful results relevant to this matter, and thus the primary source to all of the findings presented here is the LLO archive. It is not unlikely that there will have been more instances of RC involvement than what is found in the archives, and – looking back at what was published during the occupation – one might speculate about what publications were the results of such involvement. Yet, the LLO archives are the only source of documented instances of the RC influencing publications of translated literature in occupied Norway.

As regards the methodology, the material was first cataloged, and all correspondence that directly involved the RC or otherwise referred to the RC’s involvement was sorted according to the above-mentioned categories. The correspondence was then analyzed in light of its nature and its relation to the books and authors in question, as well as the ideological implications of these works and the RC’s opinions in each case.

4. Analyses of four cases

Although the LLO archives do not contain any correspondence going directly from the RC to publishers or vice versa, it is still possible to find traces of such correspondence. One of the ways in which this evidence presents itself is when a publisher uses their contacts with the RC in the application to the LLO for permission to publish a certain book. As briefly mentioned above and more elaborately described in Solberg (forthcoming), the LLO was in charge of the pre-publication censorship of all translated literature during the occupation. The publisher would thus send an initial application containing the name of the author and the name and address of the translator, the title of the book and the number of copies to

¹³ ST: “Die Büchereien aber kauften, was die Verleger ihnen boten. Diese waren an deutschen Dingen nur wenig interessiert und gaben durch ihre Produktion des deutschen Nachkriegsschrifttums ein Bild eines nicht vorhandenen oder eines durch Hass entstellten Deutschland.”

be printed, as well as a sales budget and the permit from the foreign publisher. If the preliminary permit was granted, the publisher would then have the work translated before they could send it to the LLO for final approval. Applications for the preliminary permit sometimes included more than the required information. Some described the work in more detail, highlighting what might please the censors (Solberg, forthcoming). Some would attach recommendations, and yet others would mention that the RC had contacted them regarding the book they were now applying for the permission to publish.

4.1 Category I: The RC contacts a publisher. Case: *Amaryll* by Otto Voigtel

One of the publishing houses that mentioned the RC's involvement in their application for preliminary permission was the medium-sized Nasjonalforlaget. On March 3, 1942 they applied for the permit to publish *Amaryll*, by Otto Voigtel. The publishing house wrote that the RC had sent them the book and that this was why they wanted to publish it (application signed 3 March, 1942).¹⁴ According to Meyen's *Norwegische Bibliographie*, Voigtel was born on October 28, 1912 (Meyen, 1943, p. 18). Apart from this, there is no other information about him to be found in Norwegian sources; this was his only book published in Norway.

Amaryll is a romantic novella of about 100 pages, described by a newspaper as "one of this year's books for young girls" ('Høstens bøker', 1942, p. 3).¹⁵ The book presents the dentist Dietrich Lorenz, who lives in Berlin but has a strong attraction towards nature and the outdoors. It is 1939; Dietrich is 26 years old and engaged to Christa, a wise and reliable woman who during the course of the book gives Dietrich permission to be with Lore, a young girl whom he calls Amaryll. Dietrich first meets 17-year-old Lore on one of his hikes. He falls in love at once although she ignores him, asks him to go away whenever he follows her around, and in general tries to make herself unlikable in his eyes – but to no avail. He insists on spending time with her, writes to her and befriends the family she works for. When war breaks out, Dietrich is called to the front, but comes back for a short visit on leave. At this point Dietrich kisses Lore, and her feelings suddenly start to change. When he leaves for the front, she writes to him for the first time. His reply is signed "Your soldier" (Voigtel, 1942, p. 99).¹⁶ She then writes to him again proclaiming her love and her desire to "become a real woman some time, and have children" (p. 101),¹⁷ but the letter does not reach the front before he dies during combat in France.

Although there are obvious ideological undertones to this book, it is not hard propaganda; it does not paint direct or crude images of an enemy or attitude. Nor does it try to impose, in an overt and direct manner, its view on the readers to win them over, but the fact that the RC took the initiative to suggest the title means that the publication needs

¹⁴ In the application, Knut Bach is mentioned as the translator, but in the published book as well as in Meyen's bibliography, the translator is said to be Mimi von Krogh (quite possibly a pseudonym).

¹⁵ ST: "En av årets ungpibe bøker".

¹⁶ This and the following quote from *Amaryll* are translations into English from the Norwegian target text (TT): "Din soldat".

¹⁷ Norwegian TT: "bli en virkelig kvinne noen gang, og få barn".

to be evaluated with its potential propaganda function in mind. What value could the RC have seen in *Amaryll*? The book represents German heroism packaged in a short novella about romance, written in a light and melodramatic style. Its intended readership would be young heterosexual women and girls, who, if the publication “succeeded”, would develop sympathies and positive feelings for Dietrich, the brave romantic hero of the story. Whether or not the RC intended it, it is also possible to read *Amaryll* more metaphorically, with Lore representing the occupied territory, Dietrich the occupier, and Dietrich’s persistence when Lore tries to reject him as a symbol of German persistence in occupying Norway despite being disliked and unwanted by the majority of the population. The goal, in any case, seems to be to create sympathy for a German soldier – an effect that hard propaganda could scarcely obtain, since any attempt at it would risk backfiring (cf. Huang, 2018).

It is also interesting to notice how the book was presented to the public. A note about *Amaryll* in the press claims that the “young author” had had “a remarkable breakthrough in all of Europe” with *Amaryll* (*Amaryll*, 1942, p. 4).¹⁸ There is, however, no evidence of any such thing. Indeed, the book does not seem to have been translated into any language other than Norwegian.¹⁹ The statement is probably best understood as another element of this publication’s function as soft propaganda: it seems intended to create enthusiasm for the publication, thus paving the way for the work’s propaganda function.

4.2 Category II: The RC contacts the LLO. Case: The people of the abyss by Jack London

On February 11, 1942, Heinz Finke at the RC sent a letter to the LLO: “Since [*The people of the abyss*] represents the slum areas of London and the life of the people living there in a very vivid and drastic way, and since one can assume there will be strong interest in the book due to the author’s popularity, I would like to suggest that you ask Gyldendal publishing house to publish a new edition of the work”.²⁰ Gyldendal had published *The people of the abyss* (London, 1903) under the title *Avgrunnens folk* (Inge Debes’ translation) as part of a 12-volume series in 1934-1936.²¹ As a result of the RC’s suggestion, the LLO

¹⁸ ST: “et bemerkelsesverdige gjennombrudd i hele Europa”.

¹⁹ Searches in the *Index Translationum* as well as in the national libraries of Denmark, Holland, Italy, Spain, and France produced no findings, and in the German National Library, the Norwegian translation of *Amaryll* is the only translation that comes up.

²⁰ ST: “Da dies Buch in einer sehr anschaulichen und drastischen Weise die Elendsquartiere Londons darstellt und das Leben der darin wohnenden Meschen, und ausserdem bei der Beliebtheit des Verfassers ein starkes Interesse für das Buch anzunehmen ist, möchte ich Ihnen nahelegen, den Gyldendal-Verlag aufzufordern, eine Neuauflage des Werkes herauszubringen”.

²¹ The series contained translations into Norwegian of *A daughter of the snows I-II* (*Sneens datter I-II*, transl. Ben Horne; see London, 1935b, 1935c), *The abysmal brute* (*Bokseren*, transl. John Grieg-Müller; see London, 1935d), *Burning daylight* (*En klondykehelt*, transl. Nordahl Grieg; see London, 1934), (parts of) *Smoke Bellew tales* (*Hvor gullfeberen raser*, transl. Gunnar Reiss-Andersen; see London, 1935e), *Adventure* (*På eventyr*, transl. John Grieg-Müller; see London, 1935f), *Hearts of three I-II* (*Tre hjerter I-II*, transl. Theodor Berge; see London, 1935g, 1935h), (other parts of) *Smoke Bellew tales* (*Det store vidunder*, transl. Gunnar Reiss-Andersen; see London, 1936), *The people of the abyss* (*Avgrunnens folk*, transl. Inge Debes; see London, 1935a), *Michael, brother of Jerry* (*Michael*, transl. Ben Horne; see London, 1935i) and *John Barleycorn* (*Kong Alkohol*, transl. Odd Hølaas; see London, 1935j).

sent a letter to Gyldendal, requesting a new edition of the book. The publishing manager Harald Grieg had been arrested (Ringdal, 1995, p. 113), so it was the acting publishing manager, Frits von der Lippe, who responded. He referred to rations and lack of materials, stating that they would only publish a new edition when “the paper and bookbinding situation” would allow the publication of the entire series (letter signed 7 March, 1942).²² In May, after Gyldendal had been put under the commissioned management of the Nazi-friendly author Knut Hamsun’s son, Tore Hamsun, they applied for permission to print the series (application signed 26 May, 1942). The application was approved and the series came out in 1943.

Jack London (1876-1916) is best known and remembered for his wilderness and adventure stories (Berliner, 2008, p. 56), but in 1902 he spent six weeks in London’s East End, where he took on the identity of an American sailor and lived among extremely poor people. In the first chapter of the book, he describes in an adventure-like style how he enters the area, which he dubs “the end of the world”,²³ dressed in old clothes to blend in (London, 1935a, pp. 11-14). Over the 200 or so following pages, London paints a horrendous picture of life in the East End, supported by accounts from the people he met in workhouses and food lines, on benches at night, quoting figures and statistics of the economic situation of the people living there taken from the news.

What he describes is a desperate situation for the people in the East End, but he is very explicit in his claim that the situation is dire in all of England (London, 1935a, p. 195, emphasis in the original): “This must be clearly understood: *Everything that is true of London with regard to poverty and decay is true of all England.* (...) The frightful conditions making London a hell also make the United Kingdom a hell”.²⁴ The “hell” he is referring to is also presented in devastating numbers (London, 1935a, p. 163): “One in every four persons in London dies on public charity, and 939 out of every 1000 on the British Isles die in poverty.”²⁵ Poverty results in hunger, a central theme in London’s account (London, 1935a, p. 196): “From the entire country the cry of hunger rises, from the Ghetto and the countryside, from prisons and dormitories, from asylums and workhouses”.²⁶

As an American socialist at the turn of the century, London was making use of the terminology and theoretical framework provided by Charles Darwin (Berliner, 2008, p. 55). According to Berliner, with regard to the theory of natural selection, “London wanted to have it both ways. He supported Weismann’s rejection of hereditary transmission of

²² ST: “når papir- og innbindings-situasjonen tillater det”.

²³ This and the following quotes from *The people of the abyss* are back-translations into English from the Norwegian TT: “verdens ende”.

²⁴ Norwegian TT: “En må holde sig klart for øie: *Alt det som gjelder for London med hensyn til fattigdom og forfall, gjelder hele England.* (...) De fryktelige forholdene som gjør London til et helvete, gjør også Det forente kongerike til et helvete”. The back-translations of London’s work are in part based on the English text, but adjusted in order to render the word choices and expressions used in the Norwegian translation.

²⁵ Norwegian TT: “Hvert fjerde menneske i London dør på forsorgen, og 939 av hvert tusen på De Britiske øer dør i fattigdom”.

²⁶ Norwegian TT: “Fra hele landet reiser hungerskriket sig, fra ghettoen og landsbygden, fra fengsel og herberge, fra asyl og arbeidsanstalter”.

acquired characteristics, but he also argued that the city breeds new species in only a few generations” (Berliner, 2008, p. 60). An example comes early on in the Norwegian version of *The people of the abyss* (London, 1935a, p. 10): “The streets were full of a new and different human race, short, lost and beer-sodden”.²⁷ London returns to this idea of “a new race” several times. According to London, an effect of this, which may have interested the RC in 1942, is that the British people, because of their poverty, would not be able to serve their country (London, 1935a, p. 152): “Brutalized, broken, and dull, the people of the Ghetto will be unable to render to England the necessary service in the world struggle for industrial supremacy which economists declare has already begun. Neither as workers nor as soldiers can they hold up when England, in her need, calls upon them”.²⁸

Central to London’s exposé is his critique of the English authorities, those in power, whom he accuses of “MISMANAGEMENT” (London, 1935a, p. 206).²⁹ It seems he cannot see any way for Britain’s government to turn things around (London, 1935a, p. 208): “the political empire to which they belong by name is perishing. The political machine known as the British Empire is done. In the hands of its current management it is losing power every day”.³⁰ And the solution: “In short, society must be reorganized, and a capable management must be put at the head”³¹ (London, 1935a, p. 208).

The RC’s eagerness to have the book published in a new edition seems paradoxical at first sight. London was an American and a socialist, and his works had been blacklisted in Nazi Germany since 1933 (Barbian, 2019, p. 242). However, Barbian (2013, p. 364) points to the fact that even the book club Büchergilde Gutenberg distributed a 12-volume series of Jack London’s works in Nazi Germany, possibly also including *The people of the abyss* (translated by Erwin Magnus as *Menschen der Tiefe* in 1928). Arguably, there are reasons for the RC to *not* want the book to be re-published, but it seems that the grim picture the author paints of London and England weighed heavier than his American identity and socialist leanings.

This case shows the RC working behind the scenes, initiating a new edition of London’s story, without being in direct contact with the publisher. The importance of this book as soft propaganda is enforced by the fact that the RC’s involvement was invisible to the publisher. The author’s position as “unwanted” in Germany, as well as his supposed popularity in Norway, may also be seen as adding to the persuasive power of the text.

²⁷ Norwegian TT: “Gatene var fulle av en ny og annen menneskerase, små, forkomne og ølkvapsete”.

²⁸ Norwegian TT: “Forråede, ødelagte og dvaske, vil ghettoens folk være ute av stand til å yde England den fornødne støtte i den verdenskamp om overherredømmet innen industrien, som statsøkonomene erklærer alt er begynt. Hverken som arbeidere eller soldater vil de holde mål, når England kaller på dem i sin nød”.

²⁹ Norwegian TT: “VANSTYRE”.

³⁰ Norwegian TT: “det politiske riket som de i navnet tilhører, går til grunne. Det politiske maskineriet som kalles Det britiske riket er ferdig. I hendene på det nuværende styre taper det i kraft for hver dag”.

³¹ Norwegian TT: “Kort, samfundet må bli omorganisert, og det må settes en duelig styre i spissen”.

4.3 Category III: A publisher contacts the RC. Case: Der schwarze Hengst Bento by Ditha Holesch

In some cases, publishers contacted the RC about works they wanted to publish. In most of these cases, the correspondence between publisher and the RC has been lost, but traces of their contact may be found in the LLO's archive. It is typical that when publishers have obtained the RC's approval for a translation, they do not hold back that information in subsequent official applications to the LLO. On the contrary, mentioning to the LLO that the RC has approved the publications seems to have increased the chances of a publication permit being issued.

One example is Kamban forlag, a publishing house that collaborated willingly with both the RC and the Norwegian Nazi Party NS, or Nasjonal Samling ["National Gathering"] (Ringdal, 1995, p. 114). On August 17, 1942 they applied for permission to publish a translation of a 1937 children's book by Ditha Holesch (1901-1992), *Der schwarze Hengst Bento*, to be translated as *Den svarte hingsten Bento* ["Bento, the black stallion"] by Per Schulstad. Kamban forlag's application follows the regular formula, but adds: "At the same time, we can announce that we have obtained the RC's approval of the translation" (application signed 17 August, 1942).³² The LLO sent the book to their children's literature expert, Cecilie Dahl. In her statement of 21 September, 1942, she writes that the book is about "a young purebred horse from a German stud farm, who is shipped to Brazil and subjected to cruel treatment there".³³ The horse breaks loose and becomes a "leader for a growing herd of horses" (statement signed 21 September, 1942).³⁴ Dahl describes the horse's "noble character, its courage and wisdom" which "leads the herd through natural disasters and saves it from captivity" (statement signed 21 September, 1942). On September 28, 1942, the LLO grants Kamban forlag permission to publish the book.

The story of Bento is easily read as an allegory of a strong and beloved leader, and the horse's character is depicted early on as being suited for leadership (Holesch, 1943, p. 15):

In few weeks it had put all the foals under its rule, most of them obeyed voluntarily, but many, especially among the stallions of the same age, had to be forced under with bites and blows. It turned out that Bento was not only the fastest and most enduring, but also the strongest. In Cora's now half-a-year-old son, all the qualities of a good leader were distinct. It even had its own herd which had submitted to it.³⁵

³² ST: "Samtidig kan vi meddele at vi har innhentet Reichskommissariats godkjenning for oversettelsen".

³³ ST: "en ung rasehest fra et tysk stutteri, som blir sendt til Brasilien og utsat for grusom behandling der".

³⁴ ST: "fører for en voksende flokk hester".

³⁵ This and the following quotes from *Der schwarze Hengst Bento* are translations into English from the Norwegian TT: "På få uker hadde den fått alle føllene under sitt herredømme, de fleste adlød frivillig, men mange, særlig blant de jevnaldrende hingstene, måtte den tvinge under seg med bitt og slag. Det syntes seg at Bento ikke bare var den hurtigste og mest utholdende, men også den sterkeste. Hos Coras no halvårsgamle sønn var alle de egenskaper utpreget som en god fører må ha. Den hadde da også sin flokk som var den underdanig".

In the Norwegian translation, the choice of word for “leader” is not neutral in this context. Its translation as “fører” connotes the German word “Führer”, with all its associations. The synonym “leder” would have been a more neutral alternative, but was perhaps dismissed due to its etymological relation to the English word “leader”. As a symptom of the markedness of “fører”, statistics from the Norwegian National Library show that “førereren” was far less used in Norway after the war than “lederen” (the en-suffix creates the definite form of the noun, thus excluding the homonymous verb “to lead” from the statistics). The turning point occurred during the occupation, with “lederen” surpassing “førereren” in 1944, despite being fairly equally distributed before WWII (see Figure 1).

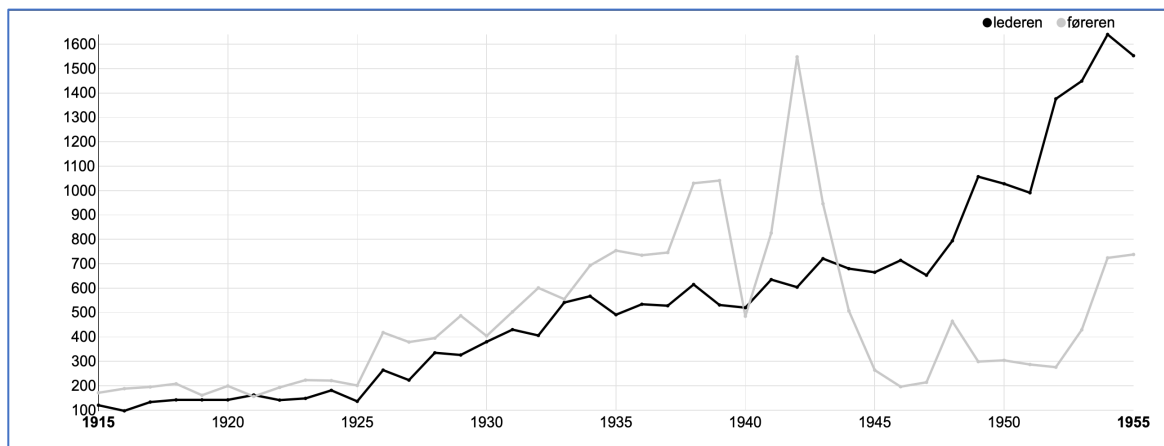


Figure 1. Absolute frequency of “førereren” and “lederen” in Norwegian newspapers (1915-1955).

Indeed, the Nazi German *Führerprinzip* (the ideology of the lone and all-powerful leader) is present in the book, as descriptions of Bento’s authoritative leadership are paired with messages of the benefits of following the leader (Holesch, 1943, p. 173): “Bento has united the herd tightly together again. Had the horses been persecuted while there was dispute among them, it would have been easy to catch at least some of them. But now they are again a solid whole with a leader to obey.”³⁶

In *Der schwarze Hengst Bento*, Holesch frequently gives the horses human-like motivations, personifying them to the point of anthropomorphism: although the author avoids giving the animals words, she describes their actions as if they were based on cognitive reasoning. Here is a rendering into English, from the Norwegian translation, of a scene during which Bento challenges a younger stallion and wins (Holesch, 1943, p. 103): “Then the herd’s leader mare runs over to Bento, lovingly snuggles up against him and sniffs him tenderly. And all the horses acknowledge the rule of the stallion as the right of the strongest. Bento circles around the herd, he trots in wide circles. He holds his head up

³⁶ Norwegian TT: “Bento har samlet flokken fast sammen igjen. Var hestene blitt forfulgt mens det var splid blant dem, hadde det vært en lett sak å fange iallfall en del av dem. Men no er de igjen et fast hele med en fører som skal adlydes”.

proudly, his eyes sparkling with the joy of victory”.³⁷ In addition to the anthropomorphism, there are two things to take note of in this passage. Firstly, the choice of words: “leading mare” being translated as “førerhoppe” and not “lederhoppe”, thus again evoking the concept of the “Führer”; and secondly, the nod to social Darwinism: “the right of the strongest” is a common though misleading Norwegian translation of Darwin’s “survival of the fittest”. On that note, it should be mentioned that the book is full of racist stereotypes based on the idea of race as decisive for undesirable attributes, such as alcoholism and animal cruelty. Most non-German characters are introduced with reference to race, as in this example (Holesch, 1943, p. 135): “Serrano is a bastard of Indian and Negro, a true cafuzo with the immorality of both races”.³⁸

The book is aimed at a young readership, with animals as the central characters and with an allegoric message of soft propaganda. Its readers may not necessarily be aware that its contents had the power to generate sympathy for an authoritative Führer-type figure, as well as negative attitudes towards racialized non-white people. The RC’s role in the matter is not crystal clear; it was not the RC that initiated the publication, but its involvement and approval nevertheless influenced the publication process. Since the book lacks literary quality, which could in theory have provoked a refusal from the LLO, the RC’s approval may have been important to the publisher. The fact that the LLO asked for a consultant’s statement may further indicate that they were not convinced of the work’s suitability but were willing to consider it – possibly due to the RC’s involvement. Unfortunately, the archival material can neither confirm nor refute this hypothesis.

4.4 Category IV: The LLO contacts the RC. Two examples

It was not only publishing houses that contacted the RC, involving them in decision-making processes and thus empowering them; the LLO did so, too. The following examples illustrate two different types of communication: the LLO asking the RC for advice and the LLO informing the RC of a decision.

In the summer of 1942, Blix, a publisher collaborating with the NS and the RC, applied to the LLO for permission to publish five books (application signed 25 June, 1942), three of which were in German: *Wenak – Die Karawane ruft: Auf verschollenen Pfaden durch Ägyptens Wüsten*, by Hansjoachim von der Esch (1941); *Pelzjäger, Prärien und Präsidenten: Fahrten und Erlebnisse zwischen New York und Alaska*, by A. E. Johann (1937); and *Lapin Hullu: Eine Winterfahrt durch lappische Wildmarken*, by Lieselotte Kattwinkel (1941).³⁹ These adventure stories aimed at a younger readership are typical of this period: they exoticize foreign others, as well as promote the stereotype of the “noble savage” – the idea

³⁷ Norwegian TT: “Da løper førerhoppen i flokken bort til Bento, klemmer seg kjærlig inntil den og snuser ømt til den. Og alle hestene erkjenner hingstens herredømme som den sterkestes rett. Bento kretser rundt flokken, den traver i store buer. Hodet holder den stolt til vær, øynene funkler i seiersglede”.

³⁸ Norwegian TT: “Serrano er en bastard av indianer og neger, en ekte cafuzo med begge rasers udyder”.

³⁹ The three books came out in Norwegian in 1943: *Karavane: på glemte stier gjennom Egypts ørkener* (transl. H. Sjøberg); *Prærie- og pelsjegerliv* (transl. Eva Thesen); and *Lapin hullu: en tur med pulk gjennom lappenes rike i vinternatten* (transl. Eva Thesen, with the author’s name changed to “Liselotte Pantenburg”).

of the “purity” of people living “outside of civilization”. Asbjørn Bjaanes at the LLO subsequently wrote to Finke at the RC, asking him to “kindly let us know whether the Reich Commissioner has any objections to these books being translated” (letter signed 6 July, 1942).⁴⁰ What prompted the LLO to ask is not certain; this was not something they did with all German books. But, as the next example also shows, the RC’s special interest in German literature was not unknown to the LLO. In any case, once the RC had been involved, its role soon became central, as a discussion about an abridged version of *Pelzjäger, Prärien und Präsidenten* arose, in which Finke, Blix, the German publishers and a consultant for the LLO became involved.⁴¹ The details of that process are beyond the scope of this article, but the fact is nevertheless worth mentioning, as it is an example of how the RC went beyond influencing what texts should be published, and even left its mark in the text itself.

The second part of this category is exemplified by a letter sent from Bjaanes at the LLO and addressed to Finke at the RC. The topic is the autobiography *Eine Kindheit* (1922), by German author and poet Hans Carossa.⁴² It is a short letter, stating only: “Gyldendal publishing house, Oslo, was upon their request given permission to publish the above-mentioned book in Norwegian translation” (letter signed 21 September, 1942).⁴³ Again, the LLO did not report every authorization given for German books to the RC, and it is difficult to identify any pattern since the archive is incomplete. In this particular example, it might be that the RC was informed because of the author’s position in Germany: Carossa was a popular poet who, despite not being a Nazi, was in 1941 appointed head of the European Union of Writers by the German Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels (Barbian, 2013, pp. 256-257).⁴⁴ Carossa accepted this position, but the European Union of Writers never became the success the German authorities had hoped for (Barbian, 2013, p. 258). Carossa had something of a paradoxical status in Germany, since he rejected the regime to some extent, while at the same time being promoted by it (he was, for example, included in Hitler and Goebbels’ list of artists exempted from military service [Klee, 2007, p. 94]). This in itself may have been reason enough to keep the RC posted about permissions to publish his work in translation. It is unfortunately difficult to determine whether the RC had asked to be kept informed or whether the LLO acted on its own initiative, based on existing archival material.

5. Concluding remarks

The archival research presented in this article shows that the RC’s involvement in literary translation in occupied Norway took various forms. The different directions of communication – whether it was the RC that contacted the LLO or publishers, or vice versa

⁴⁰ The letter was written in German: “Blix Forlag A/S hat das Departement um Erlaubnis gebeten, folgende Bücher in norwegische [sic] Übersetzung herausgeben zu dürfen: (...) Wir bitten Sie, uns mitzuteilen, ob das Reichskommissariat etwas dagegen hat, dass diese Bücher übersetzt werden”.

⁴¹ Sources: letters signed 16 July, 1942, 20 July, 1942, 2 September, 1942, 7 September, 1942, and 24 September, 1942.

⁴² The book came out in Norway in 1942 as *En barndom*, translated by Sigrid Skirstad.

⁴³ In German: “Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, har [sic] auf Antrag die Erlaubnis erhalten, das oben erwähnte Buch in norwegischer Übersetzung herauszugeben”.

⁴⁴ In German: Europäische Schriftstellervereinigung (ESV).

– are only one way of classifying this material. It is possible to investigate the RC's involvement in other ways, for instance by categorizing the findings according to the genre or country of origin of the works in question. That might be fruitful for future research. However, the method chosen here does have its uses. The finding that this was not a one-way street of communication going from the RC (the higher authority in this matter) is interesting, because it shows how some publishers as well as the LLO worked to align themselves with the RC. The contacts made on the publishers' initiative differ in nature from those made by the LLO. Since the LLO was situated above the publishers but below the RC in this particular power hierarchy, publishers could effectively level the power differential between themselves and the LLO by making an agreement directly with the RC before applying for their publication permit. Similarly, there is a difference between the RC contacting publishers directly and working through the LLO, since, in the latter case, the RC's influence on the publishing process is less overt. Such covert influence on translated publications may have been designed to strengthen the works' potential as soft propaganda. If it had been known that the initiative came from German Nazi authorities in Norway, sales could have been damaged, because the local resistance movement organized boycotts of publishers collaborating with the occupiers (cf. Ringdal, 1995, p. 118).

The LLO, with Bjaanes in charge, was extremely powerful in the field of translated literature in occupied Norway, exerting strict control over what could legally be published (Solberg, forthcoming). The archival material reveals that there was a second, powerful institution working both overtly and covertly to influence the field. The present article shows that this part of their activity was in line with the German Foreign Office's view on translated literature and its potential as soft propaganda. Since many of the documents in the RC's archives were destroyed before the end of WWII, there is now to my knowledge no archive in the country that shows what institution in Germany oversaw the RC's literary branch in Norway, although it is likely that they did report to bodies in Germany. A suggestion such as *Amaryll* may very well have come from a German institution in Nazi Germany. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the webs of communication in the field of translated literature in occupied Norway were wider and even more complex than our material suggests; the full extent of the RC's roles and involvement is yet to be determined. Nevertheless, it is clear from the LLO's archives that the RC influenced the field of translated literature in occupied Norway in a variety of ways – from openly encouraging or supporting publications to secretly giving instructions behind the scenes.

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21 September 1942. Letter from Bjaanes to Finke.

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TRANSLATING FOR CHILDREN IN THE ARAB WORLD: AN EXERCISE IN CHILD POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

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ABSTRACT: Translating under the Arab dictatorships is a perilous task, as censorship bodies control all means and forms of expression. This is particularly true for children's literature, which is a powerful tool of political socialisation. Al-Hajji's *Guide to Arab children's literature*, translated in the Arab world from 1950 to 1998, shows that no book that undermines the dominant ideology has ever been translated in this geographical context. However, if a book chosen for translation contains some elements that might be viewed as subversive, strategies are adopted that automatically annihilate any threat. This paper focuses on the Arabic translation of Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*, published in Syria in 1991, to which elements have been added that were never envisaged by the original author.

KEYWORDS: Autocracy, Translation Policy, Manipulation Strategies, Political Socialisation

1. Introduction

Censorship and manipulation are common practices in democratic and totalitarian countries alike, to varying degrees. Indeed, critical discourse analysis has shown that no discourse is free of ideology, which, according to Fairclough (1989, p. 4), is "the prime means of manufacturing consent". For this author, the primary task of any power or authority is to bring the population over to its ideology, something that may be achieved either by peaceful means or by coercion. Children's literature, both original and translated, is a means of ruling by consent (i.e. of socialising young people in order to convince them to adhere to a political system or ideology), though it may arguably be considered coercive when children are forced to read certain books in schools and penalised if they do not, as is the case with textbooks. As Van Dijk (2008, p. 115) points out, textbooks are "the only books that are obligatory reading".

When it comes to translation, the representation of the ideology of the dominant power may be overt or covert. In translation policy, where it tends to be overt, it may take the form of a resistance to translation in general (in order to prevent novel ideas entering the system) or a prohibition upon the translation of particular books or genres. It is covert when a book is subjected to certain forms of ideological manipulation during the translation process in order to subtly change or mitigate the work's ideological impact.

After the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the United States made sure that Iraqi children's textbooks were "purified" of any ideological influence from the previous regime as a way of curbing Sunni rebellion against the newly-established state.¹ As in most other Arab regimes, president Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party had used both children's

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¹ The Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party was the ruling party in Iraq from 1968 to 2003, when the USA and its allies invaded the country and overthrew the regime of Saddam Hussein, and it has also been in power in Syria since 1963. It advocates socialism and broad Arab unity to achieve progress and thwart imperialist plans.

literature and textbooks as a tool of propaganda (see, for instance, al-Hajji, 1990). In Tunisia, too, the picture of the now-deposed president Ben Ali used to feature in primary school textbooks, with a foreword that was often extracted from one of his speeches.

The present paper aims to study the sociology of translating for children in order to highlight how political regimes, and dictatorships in particular, impact the production and circulation of such cultural goods in the Arab world. I will survey translation policies under Arab dictatorships in broad terms, before focusing on Syria during the 1950-1998 period in order to examine the translation of Anna Sewell's (1991) *Black Beauty* (based on the 1987 simplified version by Swan) as a case in point. My choice of Syria is motivated by several factors. First, Syria is a good example of an Arab autocracy with a strong ideological affiliation to socialism and Arab nationalism. Second, it has a clear official policy for the translation of children's books stipulated in the 1973 Constitution (Chammas, 2004; Kanaan, 1999). Third, my own examination of a corpus of Arabic translations of children's literature in Syria has allowed me to conclude that this official translation policy is systematically enforced on the ground (Mdallel 2018, 2020).

Within the limits of this paper, I intend to use what Chesterman (2007) calls the "causal model" to analyse the factors determining translation policy, including the criteria imposed for the selection of books to be translated and the textual manipulation strategies adopted. Chesterman (2007, p. 176) argues that translation research can only provide "quasi-causal" explanations (i.e. the *probable* cause of a given translation choice or strategy), and indeed, all the interpretations that I provide in my analysis of translation policies and textual strategies should be understood in this light.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses are based on calculations given in al-Hajji's *Guide to Arab children's literature*, a three-volume bibliographical guide covering the 1950-1999 period (al-Hajji, 1990, 1995, 1999; Mdallel, 2018, 2020).

2. Translation in the Arab world

Elbadawi and Makdisi (2011, p. i) assert that "[d]espite notable socio-economic development in the Arab region, a deficit in democracy and political rights has continued to prevail". At the political level, all the countries included in this list of Arab states² were run (at least until the so-called "Arab Spring") by monarchs with absolute powers and presidents with monarch-like absolute powers. The Polity IV index, a scale of democracy which rates countries from -10 (strongly autocratic) to 10 (strongly democratic), ranks the countries of the Arab world lowest for the 1960-2002 period (Marshall, Gurr and Jagers, 2017). As Elbadawi, Makdisi and Milante (2011, p. 43) point out, the average Arab country entered the 1960s with a polity score of -5.3, which is below that of the average East Asian (-1.9) and Sub-Saharan African (-4.1) states. Freedom of expression in the Arab world was

² The Arab world comprises 22 countries, which are: Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros Island, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Oman, Qatar, Palestine, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. All these countries have Arabic as their official language, while the populations speak various forms of Arabic vernaculars.

also one of the lowest worldwide in the 1972-2002 period (Elbadawi, Makdisi and Milante, 2011, pp. 45-46).

Political powers in the Arab world control translating for children, first and foremost, by means of state-run publishers who are responsible for the implementation of a state strategy. This involves publishing only works (whether originals or translations) which are in line with state ideology and constitute effective tools of socialisation. These state-owned publishing houses then serve as models for private publishers. Al-Hajji's three-volume *Guide* testifies that there was, in the period under analysis, at least one state-owned publishing house in every Arab country, answering to the Ministry of Information or Ministry of Culture and National Guidance (as it was sometimes called in Syria). In addition to this, all Arab countries have official censorship bodies which regulate translation policy, including determining which books are suitable for translation and which are not. The state guidelines may even dictate the manipulation strategies adopted during the translation process, such as those described in the case study.

2.1 Children's books in translation

Table 1, which is based on al-Hajji's (1990, 1995, 1999) three-volume bibliographical guide, shows book production for children in the Arab world across a period of almost fifty years.

	1950-1989	1990-1994	1995-1998	Total
Children's books in Arabic (fiction and non-fiction)	6,675	2,381	3,267	12,323
Translated children's books in Arabic (fiction and non-fiction)	911 (13.64%)	236 (9.91%)	287 (8.78%)	1,434 (11.63%)
Total children's fiction in Arabic	5,019	1,587	2,694	9,300
Translated children's fiction in Arabic	911 (18.15%)	236 (14.87%)	287 (10.65%)	1,434 (15.41%)

Table 1. Children's books published in the Arab world between 1950 and 1998 (al-Hajji, 1990, 1995, 1999).³

The figures above are telling: the number of children's books published in the Arab world in almost fifty years is limited compared with those of most European countries, and although Egypt and Lebanon have together produced almost two-thirds of the total number, their combined output is far below that of Belgium, a relatively small European country.⁴ What is more, translated literature represents only 11.63% of the total number of children's books published in the Arab world, while it accounts for 80% in Finland (Oittinen, 1993, p. xx) and 50% in Italy (ISTAT, 2006).

³ The figures given are based on al-Hajji's *Guide*, after correction of the many inaccuracies found in it (see Mdallel, 2018 and 2020 for more information about these amendments).

⁴ In 1991 alone, Belgium produced 7,182 books in total, of which 44% were children's books (Hale, 1998, p. 190).

The choice of books to be translated is quite revealing in itself. It tells us about how children are conceptualised in that specific context, the function allotted to children's literature and its role as a socialising tool. It also gives us a glimpse of the way the cultural "other" is perceived, the extent to which the community is ready to communicate with this "other" and the elements it is ready to import and those it rejects. According to al-Hajji's *Guide* (1990, 1995, 1999) and my own findings reported elsewhere (Mdallel, 2018), the great majority of translated books belong to the following genres: fantasy and fable, detective novels, sports stories, American cartoons and picture books, with some 18th- and 19th-century British and American novels, romances and romantic stories⁵ destined for adolescents. These genres constitute the bulk of books translated and sold in all Arab countries.

Conversely, the genres and subjects that are *not* translated in the Arab world indicate values that decision-makers wish to avoid. Though it is difficult to make generalisations in this regard, omissions do noticeably include all types of religious stories that do not deal with Islam;⁶ all literature with a pig as main character; Jewish and Holocaust literature for children; imperialistic literature; realistic stories including secret diaries, or anything involving gay and lesbian themes,⁷ sex or nudity, juvenile pregnancy, drug addiction and domestic violence; and, in general, anything that questions the authority of parents, teachers or official institutions (al-Hajji, 1990, 1995, 1999; Mdallel, 2018, 2020).

There are regional and temporal differences as well. In the Gulf states, which remain closely attached to Islam and have never had any communist parties, no children's books were translated from Russian during the communist era. On the other hand, these countries massively translate international classics and American cartoon series, such as those of Walt Disney and Hanna Barbera, which may be considered an indirect tool of political propaganda, since aspects of capitalism and the American lifestyle are presented in them in an amusing and attractive way. However, any ideological threats they might present are neutralised prior to circulation. For example, Disney-Jawa, the Saudi company that markets Disney products in the Arab world, makes sure to remove "anything that might be deemed religiously or culturally offensive or unacceptable" (Zitawi, 2008, p. 155), before any translations of Disney stories into Arabic are published.

The situation is somewhat different in Libya. Al-Hajji's *Guide* shows that all books in this country are published by two state-run publishers, Dār 'Arabyya lil-Kitāb (15 books) and al-Munša'a al-'Amma lin-Našr wat-Tawzi' wal-'ilān (three books), and that the

⁵ Lukens (1999, p. 19) believes that romantic stories are different from romances and constitute a relatively recent development in the literature aimed at young readers: "the romantic story oversimplifies and sentimentalises male-female relationships, often showing them as the sole focus of young lives."

⁶ According to al-Hajji's *Guide*, no religious books were translated, mostly for ideological reasons and because Islamic stories were widely available in Arabic (see also the Index of Translated books in Mdallel, 2018).

⁷ This genre appeared officially in the United States in 1969, with characters clearly depicted as such. Sporadic reference to such themes, through some thinly veiled homosexual characters, were already present in the 19th century in books such as Kenneth Grahame's *Wind in the willows* (1908) and L. Frank Baum's *The wonderful wizard of Oz* (1900) (Cart, 2006). It is clear that the genre is well established in American/Western literary tradition, and its non-existence in the Arab world is religiously and politically motivated.

geographical distribution of the languages translated is quite significant, revealing Libya's political and economic alliances. One can find on their lists books displaying official propagandist ideology: three from Russia, two from the German Democratic Republic, one translated from Polish, two from Chinese, two American Indian books, one from Laos, and the rest from various African countries. It is possible that Libyan officials saw Western children's literature as a form of neo-colonialism, much as they viewed Western music, which was banned under the Gaddafi regime and has only been allowed recently since the 2011 revolution (Holder, no date).

Al-Hajji's *Guide* also mentions an important number of Arabic translations of children's books undertaken in Russia and China⁸ under the respective communist administrations, and even translations from other countries of the Eastern bloc such as Bulgaria and Albania. In the 1950- 1989 period, 59 of the 86⁹ Russian titles translated into Arabic were published in Russia and then exported to those Arab countries that had ideological affinities with the Soviet Union. Among works by Russian authors translated are K. Chukovsky's *The cockroach*, M. Gorky's *The golden hoof*, N. Nosov's series *The adventures of Dunno and his friends*, A. Barto's *The bad little bear*, A. Tolstoy's *The adventures of Buratino*¹⁰ and many of S. Marshak's books. All these authors were known for writing children's literature which toes the official party line.

2.2 The Syrian Arab Republic: a case study

Article 23 of the Syrian Constitution of 1973 stipulates: "social nationalist¹¹ education is the basis for building the unified socialist Arab society. It seeks to strengthen moral values, to achieve the higher ideals of the Arab nation, to develop society, and to serve the causes of humanity". Indeed, in two books published by state publishers, Syrian researchers Chammas (2004, pp. 119-142) and Kanaan (1999, p. 131) agree that the following values should be inscribed in children's literature:

- 1- National values, which include the set of patriotic values such as love of the motherland, freedom and independence of the motherland, sacrifice (martyrdom) for its security and independence, combating the coloniser, Arab unity and celebrating the glorious Arab past.

⁸ Ho (2004, p. 1032) states that the founding of the People's Republic of China was a defining moment in the history of Chinese children's literature, as the central feature of the new literature "was its accordance with a set of theoretical principles laid down by Mao Zedong and Marxist ideology". Accordingly, the new literature was realistic, portraying the lives of the "workers, peasants and soldiers, as well as revolutionary struggles" (p. 1032). The 1990s marked a second defining moment in Chinese children's literature, since the priority was now to "free children's stories from the didactic mode (...) inherited from the days of the Cultural Revolution" (p. 1033). This shows the extent to which political regimes interfere with writing, translating and publishing for children.

⁹ All the titles mentioned are published translations from the Russian original. Although al-Hajji had chosen to consider series as single entries, all the Russian titles included in the three volumes represent single entries except N. Nosov's *The adventures of Dunno and his friends*, which is a series of adventure stories made up of seven separate books.

¹⁰ All the listed titles are published English translations.

¹¹ Social nationalism is the ideology adopted by the ruling Ba'ath party in Syria. It is a socialist party with a strong belief in the necessity of uniting all Arab states in one nation.

- 2- Rational cultural values, including the love of science and knowledge in general and the promotion of scientific thinking.
- 3- Economic values, which include love and respect of work and workers, love of industriousness, common (socialist) property.
- 4- Social values, which include the love of others, social solidarity, cooperation, common interest, tolerance, humility, faithfulness, unselfishness, the sense of social duties, optimism, etc.
- 5- Moral values, such as cherishing goodness, truthfulness, obedience (to authorities), modesty, religion, etc.
- 6- Human values, which include individual freedom, combating injustice and exploitation and aggression, unity of Arab countries, and rejection of discrimination.
- 7- Recreational and aesthetic values, including the appreciation of beauty in general through the arts and literature, love of hobbies, love of nature, tidiness, wit, etc.
- 8- Health values, which include etiquette, cleanliness and disease prevention.
- 9- Sports values, which include the preservation of a healthy body, strength, activity, love of sport and fairness.
- 10- Personal values, such as adaptability, joy and happiness, bravery, physical appearance showing respect and prestige/might, democratic leadership and self-respect. (Kanaan, 1999, p. 264)

These values show Syria's keen interest in politically socialising its children to face the short- and long-term challenges presented by the political, military, social and economic situation. They also explain Syrian translation policies and the parameters governing the dynamics of translating for children. Many of the values listed here will be first reflected in the books accepted for translation in this semiosphere and then in the strategies of ideological manipulation adopted.

According to al-Hajji's *Guide*, 277 translations (19.31%) of the 1,434 published in the Arab world between 1950 and 1998 were published in Syria. The Ministry of Culture, also called the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance (see, for instance, entry 849 in Index I in Mdallel, 2018), is directly involved in translating for children and produced 24 translations across the period under study. Private publishers also produced books on behalf of or with the approval of the regime, often specialising in specific authors.¹²

The Syrian Ministry of Culture has translated and published many Russian books by authors known for their ideologically committed literature, such as A. Gaidar, S. Marshak, S. Prokofyeva and others. One book worth mentioning in this respect is V. Datskevich's *The little clay hut* (see entry 203 of Index II in Mdallel, 2018), which was translated indirectly from English. The book also contains other stories whose authors are not mentioned on the book cover. However, all of them extol virtues dear to the regime, such as solidarity and cooperation (*The little clay hut*), discipline and justice (*The wolf and the little white kids*) and national pride (*The green island*), or condemn greed, selfishness and individualism (*The fox and the crane*) (see Datskevich, 1994).¹³

¹² For example, the publisher Dār al-Fikr produced ten books by Russian author Sergei Mikhalkov, while Dār al-Ḥaṣād published an equal number by the Italian Gianni Rodari. Both of these children's writers were known for their communist ideology.

¹³ All titles given are back translations from the Arabic versions, except *The little clay hut* and *The green island*, which have published English translations.

3. Sewell's *Black Beauty* translated into Arabic in Syria

Many of the Western classics published in Syria and possibly elsewhere were subject to heavy manipulation, in which the theme, setting and nature of the source text were changed in translation in order to confer a didactic socialist dimension to the text. In this section, I shall look more closely at the Arabic translation of Anna Sewell's 1877 novel *Black Beauty* in Swan's simplified version of 1987, which was translated as *Al-Ġamāl al-'Aswad* ["Black Beauty"] by Adib al-Inglisi and published in 1991 by the Syrian Ministry of Culture.

A simple comparison of source and target texts shows that the work has been amply manipulated in the process of translation. For a start, the Arabic version has only ten chapters compared to the 19 in the original work, despite the fact that one of the main strategies adopted in the translation of this particular work is actually addition. Similarly, the number of characters has been cut by half, and their names (whether humans or horses) have been changed into functional ones indicating moral attributes. While the characters in the source text have common English names such as Farmer Grey, Lord Westland, Lady Westland, John Manly, Squire Gordon, Mrs Gordon, the horse Ginger, James Howard, Reuben Smith, Jerry Barker, etc., in the translation we have the following: زوجته "معطني" سائسي ["My stableman 'All-Caring'"], "تعبانا" المزارع ["Farmer 'All-Miserable'"], "جشعانا" السيد, "غطرسانا" السيدة, "مشاكسانا" ["His wife 'Troublemaker'"], "أطمعانا" السيد, "غلبانا" الحصان, "حيرانا" المهر, "زعلانا" الفرس, "تسعيانا" أمي, "مكسبابا" التاجر ["The horse 'Unfortunate'"], ["The horse 'All-Sad'"], ["The horse 'All-Perplexed'"], ["Mother 'Hard-Worker'"] and ["The salesman 'Profiteer'"]. While most of the characters in the translation correspond to characters that figure in the source text, they have been assigned actions that are rather different from those of their counterparts to the point that we no longer recognise them. Now, their actions and personalities consolidate the qualities represented by the name. These flat characters thus become tools to serve the new ideological agenda of rejecting certain negative traits such as individualism, greed, selfishness and exploitation, and encouraging the opposing values of discipline, cooperation, sharing, etc.

The setting has also been changed, with the action now situated in Damascus and other Syrian cities and villages such as Sueida, Aleppo, Homs, Antioch and Hama. These locations are introduced in the chapter entitled "Summer excursion", in which some equestrian sports typically organised in these places are described.

Excerpt 1

Arabic translation

في سهول حمص رأيتها تسابق الريح في مباريات عديدة، تذكرنا بأمجاد خالد بن الوليد. و تذكرت والدي الذي حدثني عليه أمي، عندما كان يفوز دائما – في منطقته – على زملائه الأحصنة المتسابقة معه.
(Sewell, 1991, p. 36)

Back translation

I saw them [the horses] in the plains of Homs outrunning the wind in many races, which reminds us of the glory of Ḥalid ibn al-Walīd. I also remembered my father, about whom mother talked to me. He would always defeat the other horses in the region.

Setting the action in Syria was presumably necessary to confer more credibility on the new actions and characters and enhance the didactic impact. It also enables the text to consolidate the theme of pride in belonging to an Arab nation (we should not forget that Syria, like Iraq before the American invasion, was a champion of Arab nationalism). The introduction, in the above excerpt, of the historical figure of Ḥalid ibn al-Walīd – an Arab war hero, named the “Sword of Allah” by the Prophet Mohammed – is also very significant in this respect.

The ideological stakes of the translation are made clear right away in the introduction signed by the translator. He declares that “this story is narrated by a horse of a pure Arab breed” (Sewell, 1991, p. 6), which is not in the source text. Later on, he points out that Black Beauty “did not submit to the injustice inflicted on him by his ‘aristocratic’ owner Mrs ‘All-Arrogant’ who was so rude giving him unfair orders” and “showed much resistance and was victorious in the end” (p. 6). Thus, the introduction highlights two pillars of the official state ideology in Syria – Arab nationalism and socialism – which are further developed in the translated story.

The translator has also added elements of plot, action and character. For example, in the following extract, concerning a fire in the stables, material has been added which shifts the responsibility away from the human perpetrator to Black Beauty himself.

Excerpt 2

Source text

An hour after that, a man came to the hotel on a horse. One of the hotel grooms brought the horse to the stable.

At Birtwick Park nobody ever smoked in the stables, but this man was smoking... I slept, but I soon woke up again. I was very unhappy, but I didn't know why I was unhappy. I heard Ginger. She was moving her feet and I heard her smelling the air.

Then, I smelt the smoke too.

(Sewell, 1987, p. 15)

Arabic translation

لا أكتكم سرا بأن سبب الحريق الذي سأقصه عليكم كان من جراء اعتقادي بأن التدخين يعين على التفكير. ولقد نشأ عندي هذا الاعتقاد عندما رأيت الأحصنة البيضاء الجامحة في سهوب 'السهل الأزرق البعيد' على جهل كبير بأصول تناول الطعام والماء. عندما رأيتها تقتلع الأعشاب من جذورها إذا نهشت و تحدث صوت الغرغرة إذا شربت. وقد تأكد لي ذلك عندما قال لي أحد الأحصنة هناك بأن الجماعات في تلك المنطقة، لا تتعاطى التدخين أو المخدرات...

لذلك اشتريت قبل عودتي من المزرعة عددا من السجائر مع قداحة غازية. و عندما انتهت محاضرة معلمي عن "ضريبة الحياة" أخذت مكاني في الإسطبل، قبل المبيت، و شرعت بالتدخين عساه يساعدي على فهم المحاضرة... عساه يحسن حدة صوتي .. عساه يحل عقدة من لساني . غير أنني انتهيت من سيجارتي الأولى دون أن أشعر بالأشياء التي عللت نفسي بها. قلت: سيجارة واحدة لا تكفي، و ربما تأتي لي ما حلمت به من السيجارة الثانية. و رميت بعقب السيجارة فوق التين المكون إلى جانبي و استأنفت التدخين بالسيجارة التالية التي أوجعت صدري، بدلا من فض مغاليق فكري. شعرت بضيق نفسي و تذكرت قول والدتي بأن السيجارة عكاز النفوس المكروسة التي تطلب المزيد من السجائر كلما ازدادت كروسة. ندمت على ما فعلت و خلدت إلى النوم، عساني أرتاح من هذه التجربة السخيفة، إلا أن الرقاد لم يرحني. فقد انبعث دخان كثيف من جهتي، أفاق برانحته الكريهة معظم الدواب في الإسطبل.

(Sewell, 1991, pp. 51-52)

Back translation

To tell you the truth, the reason why the fire broke out [in the stable] is my firm belief that smoking helps people to think. What made me think so is seeing the white horses in that “Far

Blue Plain” ignorant of the ways of proper eating and drinking. I saw them uprooting grass and making nasty sounds when they drank. I was even more convinced when one of the horses told me that these horses never smoked or took drugs...

So I bought some cigarettes and a gas lighter before returning to the farm. When my master’s lesson about “the price of life” was over, I sat in the stable and started smoking hoping that it would help me understand the lecture, improve the quality of my voice and grow more eloquent. However, the first cigarette was finished without anything I wished happening. I wondered: one cigarette is not enough and maybe I can get what I wish after smoking another. Then, I threw the tip of the cigarette onto the hay near me and I kept smoking till my lungs were aching instead of clearing my mind. I was almost suffocating and I remembered my mother’s words as she used to tell me that smoking was the remedy of wicked souls, the more they smoked the more miserable they got. I regretted what I had done and went to bed to have some rest. Sleeping offered me no relief. Smoke coming from my side filled the stable with its awful smell and woke everybody up.

After this, the story continues as in the source text, describing the horses’ terror at being surrounded by flames. However, the way the fire is quenched and its repercussions are very different. In the source text, two of the horses are badly injured, although the stableman was there to help, while in the translation it is the stableman who saves all the horses, except Black Beauty himself, who is badly injured. Then, an investigation is started, at the end of which Black Beauty recognises his errors and is found guilty and sold to another master. This is a very different outcome to what happens in the source text.

These alterations betray a conscious decision to manipulate the text in order to achieve clear ideological goals. The added material serves to condemn all forms of addiction and clarify some of the misconceptions the young might have about the positive effects of smoking. The plot change, in which all the horses escape unscathed except Black Beauty, is also very significant: as the setting of the story is now Damascus and other Syrian cities, letting these anthropomorphic horses get hurt with no one coming to their rescue would damage the image of the state and its institutions in the eyes of the child reader. The incident also introduces notions of justice and punishment. Black Beauty, who is presented in the translation as the cause of this fire, is the only horse hurt, and he is sold to another master to show young readers that punishment is necessary when citizens err. He himself acknowledges the justice of this on pages 52-53, saying:

أنا لا ألومه على ما فعل، لأن أمانة العمل تقتضي ذلك.

Back translation

I do not blame him for what he did, his responsibility as a master compels him to do so.

Other additions that have been made in the translation include a whole new chapter devoted to a character called “Farmer All-Miserable” and his family, who embody a number of negative traits rejected by the regime. The following excerpt describes an episode in which Black Beauty and his master visit the house of one of the new characters, which has been added in the Arabic version:

Excerpt 3

وكما حدثتكم سابقا وصلت عربتنا إلى بيت قريب معلمي، المزارع الثري، السيد "تعبانا" وقت الظهيرة [...] ثم قادني إلى اسطبل حيواناته الصغير، لقد فوجئت [...] باتساخ تلك المزبلة بالأحرى. كانت الرائحة الكريهة تنبعث منها. علف الحيوانات فيها مبعثر هنا وهناك [...] ظننت أن السانس المسؤول عن هذه الأمور، مريض أو مشغول بأمور مستعجلة أخرى. إلا أن الحصان الملقب "بغلبانا" [...] أعلمني أن السبب في هذا الإهمال، هو أن سيده "تعبانا" يتشاجر – دائما – مع زوجته السيدة "مشاكسانا"، دائما. لذلك فإنه لا يجد متسعا للالتفات إلى حيواناته... هي الفرس "زعلانا" والمهر "حيرانا" و الحصان "غلبانا" قلت: و أين سانسكم؟ قال الأخير: يغادر المزرعة متى يريد و يعود إليها متى يريد، لا يحاسبه أحد في الحقل. قلت: و ماذا يعمل أولاد "تعبانا"؟ و أجابني متهكما: إنهم عديدون، و لكنهم لا يطيعونه. و لعل السبب في ذلك أن الزوجة "مشاكسانا" لا تحترم زوجها "تعبانا" أمام الأولاد.

(Sewell, 1991, pp. 31-32)

Back translation

As I have told you before, the carriage stopped at the house of my master's wealthy relative, Mr "All-Miserable", at noontime (...) then he took me to his small stable or rather his waste dump. The dirt in the place surprised me (...), and bad odours came out of it. The animals' food was scattered everywhere (...). I thought that the stableman in charge was sick or had gone for some business. However, the horse named "Unfortunate" (...) informed me that the reason of all this nonchalance was that his master "All-Miserable" had frequent quarrels with his wife "Troublemaker", and that was the reason why he had no time to take care of his animals; the horse "All-Sad", the horse "All-Perplexed" and the horse "Unfortunate". "Where is the stableman?" I asked. He said: "he leaves and comes back to the farm when he wishes, with no one supervising him". "What about the master's children?" I asked. He answered derisively: "they are many but they never listen to their father because his wife 'Troublemaker' does not show any respect for him in their presence."

The didactic and even propagandist message in the above extract is obvious, as it establishes a clear link between wealth and certain negative values and behaviours ("my master's wealthy relative Mr 'All-Miserable'"), such as greed, broken family ties, laziness, disobedience, disrespect and lack of discipline.

4. Conclusion

Al-Ingilisi's translation of Sewell's *Black Beauty* closes with the following statement:

إذ كان معلمي الجديد يحفظ كرامتي و أحفظ كرامته.
يحاسبني و أحاسبه.
يعاتبني و أعاتبه.
يسامحني و أسامحه.
(Sewell, 1991, p. 66)

Back translation

My new master preserves my dignity and I preserve his dignity as well, he holds me accountable and I hold him accountable as well, he blames me and I blame him as well and he forgives me and I forgive him as well.

This is ultimately what the translation is all about: to show that the regime is against class society and that all citizens are equal. However, whether this vision is implemented on the ground or not is another story. As we have seen, cultural activities in general, and publishing and translating books in particular, are subject to rigorous state mechanisms

which ensure that only compliant forms of expression are allowed to reach their target public. All the values transmitted by al-Inglisi's translation of *Black Beauty* are those the regime is keen on inculcating in the pliable young.

In the first half of 2011, the Arab world witnessed a number of uprisings or revolutions against dictatorships, which in some cases had an immediate impact on book publishing and translation. In Tunisia, where the process began, the banning of the Ministry of Information was the first demand of all journalists, writers and even laymen and women, and only a few days after the departure of the deposed president, dozens of books which had once been forbidden began to be exhibited in bookshop windows. Since then, the Tunisian discursive environment has drastically changed. We will have to wait until the end of the war in Syria to see how the situation will evolve there. Studying the catalogue of books translated and the textual strategies adopted in them will be one way of gauging if things have really changed in the aftermath of the raging war.

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BOOK REVIEW

THE GREAT UNSAID

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Translation under Fascism, edited by Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 285 pp, 106.99€ (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-230-20354-9, 67.40€ (e-book), ISBN 978-0-230-29244-4.

Translation Under Fascism, published in 2010, was one of the first works to place translation at the centre of the study of fascism, remaining one of the classics on this subject to this day. The book contains a compilation of essays that examine the nature of censorship and its effect on translation under four authoritarian regimes: Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Francoist Spain and Salazarist Portugal. Both editors have extensive experience in the area where translation and fascism overlap and their choice of contributors, an eclectic and interdisciplinary group of researchers, lecturers, historians, artists and translators, helps the reader to look at translation from different perspectives and contextualise it within the literary, artistic and cultural realities of each regime.

Recognising that translation had consistently been overlooked in research on the cultural milieu and context of fascism, this book was a first step towards filling this gap, defending that translation can provide valuable insights into the inner workings and cultural policies of fascist regimes. Under fascism, translation was often viewed as a tool for national renewal and cultural expansion abroad. The relationship between fascism and translation was often a difficult one: translation could be a means to enrich one's culture, but too much translation could be regarded as a weakness that undermined the country's cultural prestige. Translation also brought with it the threat of "cultural pollution", since it was a way for unwanted ideas and ideals to cross both borders and languages and "infect" the country. The book raises this important and often overlooked aspect of racism and "racial purity" and their relationship with translation, more specifically in Germany and Italy.

In addition, translation played a relevant role in the history of publishing, since foreign fiction was often more successful than domestic fiction. This created a cultural and literary power struggle involving both the regime and national authors, who claimed that these poorly-written, cheap translations, easily available to a broader audience, were a threat to the integrity of both culture and language. This meant that the publishing industry had to find a way to balance the economic success brought by these popular translations with the publishing of national authors and books approved by the regime.

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The forms of censorship employed by the four regimes are also explored in depth. Each regime had its own methods, which were employed through different processes, in different areas of culture, with different degrees of flexibility. Sometimes strict guidelines were provided, but the rules of censorship would mostly vary from censor to censor and throughout the years, thus promoting a climate of instability and fear. Authors, publishers and translators were often also expected to “self-censor”, which was considered a “voluntary” form of censorship. However, if they failed to comply, their livelihoods, freedom or even lives would pay the price.

Even though the book does not dwell too much on the semantics and complex definition of the term “fascism”, it does make sure that the reader is aware of what is meant by it. The editors recognise the shortcomings of using the same label to define all four regimes, and explain that they “use the term ‘fascist’ speculatively, therefore, with a view to initiating a productive comparison of the four regimes through the lens of translation history” (p. 5). Moreover, their use of the term “is informed by a body of historical research which, while making all the necessary distinctions, includes these regimes in the debate on comparative fascism” (p. 5).

The book is divided into four parts. Part I is an introduction by Rundle and Sturge, where they lay out the reasons for compiling these articles, explain their main objectives, and provide an overview of the book and its main themes. Part II provides a bird's-eye view of the history of translation in each of the four regimes, offering the necessary context and allowing the reader to better situate the relationship between translation and censorship within its respective socio-historic context. These chapters analyse the number of translations published, the most frequent source languages, the target languages into which national works were translated, percentage of translations within the literary market, the cultural, political and literary relationships between countries, the mechanisms of censorship imposed and the different strategies employed by translators and publishing houses in order to circumvent them.

Jeroen Vandaele’s “It was what it wasn’t: translation and Francoism” is a particularly interesting chapter. Vandaele offers a very thorough analysis of censorship and translation of different media and makes a very interesting connection to Translation Studies, touching on Evan-Zohar’s polysystems theory and Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*. He also suggests areas of research that still need to be explored and raises some interesting questions, some of which in relation to the possible effect of translation on the fascist system. He also gives one of the best examples of why translation can be such an important means to further our knowledge of the cultural reality of fascism:

First, what makes translation special among other interpretive “acts of meaning” is its relative explicitness. In translation, a written or spoken end product bears testimony to the interpretation that has taken place; for a researcher in cultural studies a translation has the advantage of constituting a materialized trace of interpretation not provided by other forms of cultural production. The original text offers an explicit point of comparison against which to measure cultural (in this case, translational) practice. Secondly, translation allows us to

study what does not exist in a given system, although it could in principle have existed. Translation is a means to study the *non-dit*, the cultural unsaid. (p. 89)

Part III is a collection of interesting case studies that explore more specific facets of translation raised in the previous chapters and dive deeper into certain issues of translation under fascism. Mario Rubino's "Literary exchange between Italy and Germany: German literature in Italian translation" analyses the translation of German works, especially literary fiction, in Italy, as well as the cultural and political relationships between these two countries. Francesca Nottola's "The Einaudi publishing house and fascist policy on translations" focuses on the history of the Einaudi publishing house in Italy and how both the political context and censorship affected its translation and publishing process. It explores Giulio Einaudi's turbulent relationship with the regime and how he fought to publish translations under heavy censorship. Frank-Rutger Hausmann's "French-German and German-French poetry anthologies 1943-45" again raises the issue of translation as a means of cultural expansion and a measure of cultural strength, by examining the story of two poetry anthologies compiled by the German Institute in Paris, with the aim of establishing a form of cultural cooperation between Germany and occupied France. Rui Pina Coelho's "Safe Shakespeare: performing Shakespeare during the Portuguese fascist dictatorship (1926-74)" provides a very interesting study of the concept of censorship and describes the theatre scene in Portugal during the first half of the 20th century, focusing on the choice and translation of Shakespeare's plays for a Portuguese audience during the Estado Novo regime.

Part IV contains the closing chapter of the book, Matthew Philpott's "The boundaries of dictatorship", which highlights the lessons that can be learned from the preceding chapters and explores the concept of "boundaries" from different perspectives: the boundaries imposed by censorship, the boundaries crossed by translation, the boundaries that divide but also connect ideas, cultures and historical events.

Coelho ends his article on a note of hope, with the manifesto written by theatre professionals after the revolution that ended the dictatorship. The last paragraph reads: "Those among us who belong to the generation that was sacrificed by the outgoing regime during their most creative years salute the new generations who are coming of age and fervently desire that their recently won freedom will never be lost again" (p. 229). How many other artists, writers, publishers and, of course, translators patiently waited for better days during those dark times of fear and censorship? How many embody the hope that those times never return? As Rundle and Sturge put it in the Introduction, "translated works are magnets for censorship" (p. 7), so it is worth remembering that translation can often be the canary in the coal mine. Therefore, the analysis of censorship in translation is an important tool not only to study the values and mechanisms of past authoritarian regimes but also present ones. What novel, more subtle forms of censorship might it reveal? Which of the old ones are still rampant or returning? How is the manipulation of the translated text affected by the values of the target culture and its historical context? When does this manipulation stop being localisation and start to become censorship?

Oliveira, B. – The great unsaid

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Vandaele argues that a study of what is left out of a translation, what he calls the “cultural unsaid”, is a good insight into what the Francoist culture actually was. I wonder, if we were to look at contemporary translations, what would the unsaid say about us?

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BOOK REVIEW

LUZES E SOMBRAS DA TRADUÇÃO EM PORTUGAL

Marco Neves*

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Misérias e esplendores da tradução no Portugal do Estado Novo, Teresa Seruya, Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2018, 350 pp, 14,50€, ISBN 9789725406236.

Teresa Seruya é um nome maior dos Estudos de Tradução em Portugal. A obra em apreço (que inclui textos com a coautoria de Maria Lin Moniz) confirma essa posição cimeira, ao apresentar um conjunto de estudos essenciais à compreensão do fenómeno da tradução em Portugal, mas também ao permitir delinear alguns dos caminhos dos Estudos de Tradução em Portugal, uma área de estudo que, como Seruya reconhece, se caracteriza pela juventude.

O tema do volume enquadra-se nos projectos de investigação dirigidos pela autora no Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Cultura (CECC) da Universidade Católica Portuguesa: “Intercultural literature in Portugal 1930-2000: a critical bibliography” e “Tradução e censura durante o Estado Novo”. Em 2009, a autora fora já coorganizadora (em conjunto com Maria Lin Moniz e Alexandra Assis Rosa) de um volume colectivo com o título *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo* (Lisboa: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009). O novo livro desenvolve os temas e apresenta-nos o estado actual da investigação sobre a história da tradução durante o Estado Novo – note-se, no entanto, que o volume abrange também épocas mais recentes e estabelece princípios historiográficos válidos para o estudo da história da tradução de todas as épocas.

O livro inclui artigos publicados anteriormente ou apresentados em conferências, alguns dos quais são agora revistos e traduzidos, e está organizado numa estrutura explicitada pela autora – do geral para o particular. Inclui ainda textos de enquadramento que dão coerência ao todo.

A primeira parte da obra – “Para uma história da tradução em Portugal” – começa por um capítulo dedicado a questões metodológicas, historiográficas e filosóficas sobre a escrita de História da tradução. Uma das áreas que é particularmente iluminada por um maior investimento na História da tradução é a História literária, objecto do segundo capítulo. O estudo das traduções permite radiografar a história cultural do Estado Novo, nas suas vertentes situacionista e oposicionista.

O terceiro capítulo aborda as ideias sobre tradução em Portugal, olhando também para as décadas mais recentes. Fica demonstrado o pouco capital cultural que é atribuído

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à leitura de traduções em Portugal, bem como a imagem negativa que o trabalho dos tradutores tem entre muita da opinião publicada.

Sabendo-se como a bibliografia de Gonçalves Rodrigues (*A tradução em Portugal*, 5 vols., Lisboa: INCM e ISLA) termina em 1930, o quarto capítulo apresenta o trabalho de criação de uma bibliografia crítica sobre tradução no Portugal do Estado Novo, mostrando resultados concretos da investigação desenvolvida neste âmbito pela autora e a sua equipa.

O quinto capítulo aborda de forma mais genérica o tema da tradução durante o Estado Novo, sendo a republicação (traduzida) de um artigo anteriormente incluído no volume *Translation under Fascism* (editado por Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 117-144).¹ Nele, Seruya tenta não só identificar como corrigir a ausência de Portugal na historiografia internacional da tradução.

No sexto capítulo, Seruya aborda não a circulação de traduções em Portugal, mas sim as traduções de textos de Salazar noutras línguas. Já o sétimo capítulo descreve as relações editoriais entre Portugal e o Brasil durante o Estado Novo. São capítulos que demonstram como a investigação sobre a tradução em Portugal se desdobra noutros temas que iluminam as complexas relações culturais entre as sociedades.

Os últimos três capítulos da primeira parte abordam as políticas que enquadram as escolhas de obras para colecções ou antologias. O oitavo capítulo analisa as colecções literárias publicadas entre os anos 40 e 70; o nono, as traduções de literatura extraeuropeia, ou melhor, a relativa ausência de traduções de literatura extraeuropeia; e o último capítulo (um artigo publicado pela primeira vez neste volume), as colecções publicadas no período imediatamente a seguir ao final do Estado Novo, entre 1974 e 1980, permitindo comparar as duas épocas.

A segunda parte – “Tradução e censura” – começa por uma pequena introdução de duas páginas, que são, no entanto, muito importantes para compreender alguns dos caminhos da investigação que se fez e que se faz em Estudos de Tradução (o que também se pode dizer das páginas introdutórias da primeira parte).

O primeiro capítulo cartografa a coexistência da planificação da cultura nacional e da publicação de literatura internacional, particularmente durante a década de 40, que circulava à margem da dita planificação, mas sujeita à censura.

O segundo capítulo analisa o discurso da censura nos relatórios de aprovação ou rejeição de publicações. Seruya mostra como os termos escolhidos pelos censores para descrever as obras iluminam os pressupostos ideológicos da censura. O capítulo oferece ainda dados quantitativos muito relevantes para conhecer a cultura literária do Portugal do Estado Novo.

O terceiro capítulo mostra como os testemunhos da Guerra Civil de Espanha foram filtrados pela censura. Um exemplo de factos esclarecedores apresentados no capítulo é a decisão censória perante um livro sobre a perseguição dos católicos bascos: *Le cas des*

¹ Este artigo é objecto de recensão por Bárbara Oliveira neste número.

catholiques basques, de J. de Hiriartia, acabou por ser proibido, percebendo-se como a defesa do nacionalismo franquista, considerado equivalente ao nacionalismo português na base do Estado Novo, sobrepunha-se à possível solidariedade com os católicos bascos. Esta decisão é um indício de uma hierarquia ideológica em que os valores religiosos se subordinam aos valores nacionalistas.

O quarto capítulo aborda, de forma particular, a actuação da censura perante obras escritas por mulheres sobre a Guerra Civil Espanhola. O capítulo seguinte faz também uma análise particular, desta feita, das traduções de obras de Bertold Brecht, enquanto o capítulo sexto aborda as obras de Simone de Beauvoir.

A segunda parte do livro termina com um estudo sobre a eficácia (ou falta dela) da actuação da censura em Portugal.

Uma palavra de apreço para a cuidada bibliografia final e ainda para a lista de obras de Seruya, que permite conhecer o percurso da autora no âmbito dos Estudos de Tradução em Portugal.

Os textos publicados no volume caracterizam-se por uma sólida fundamentação, tanto na argumentação como nos dados apresentados. Sublinhe-se ainda a escrita clara e rigorosa. Note-se que alguns destes artigos foram apresentados em eventos de outras áreas de estudo. A sua solidez argumentativa e os dados apresentados são, assim, um contributo inestimável para a divulgação do conhecimento sobre tradução entre especialistas de outras áreas, que tenderão, muitas vezes, a desvalorizar o trabalho deste campo de estudo recente. Se os Estudos de Tradução se caracterizam, pela sua própria natureza, por uma forte interdisciplinaridade, muitas outras áreas de estudo ganhariam em dar mais atenção aos resultados das investigações em tradução.

A tradução enquanto actividade profissional aproxima culturas e línguas diferentes – já a investigação em História da tradução ajuda-nos a compreender o nosso próprio país e a sua complexa relação com o Outro. Seruya pergunta: “como começar a escrever a história da tradução em Portugal?” (p. 18). Este volume mostra que essa história já começou a ser escrita e que o trabalho já realizado pela autora (e não só) é uma base sólida e fecunda para investigações futuras.

Sobre o autor: Marco Neves é docente na Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa e investigador do CETAPS. É tradutor, gestor de projectos e autor de livros na área das línguas e cultura. É doutorado em Estudos de Tradução.

BOOK REVIEW

“CANIVETES SUÍÇOS” OU HUMANOS QUE TRADUZEM EM CONTEXTO BÉLICO

Isabel Araújo Branco*

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Lenguas entre dos fuegos: intérpretes en la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939), Jesús Baigorri Jalón, Granada, Editorial Comares, 2019, 232 pp, 21,37€, ISBN 978-84-9045-840-2.

¡Otra maldita novela sobre la Guerra Civil! é o irónico título do romance publicado em 2007 por Isaac Rosa, um dos mais destacados escritores espanhóis contemporâneos. Irónico, porque dá voz a uma certa saturação do público em geral face a uma avalanche de narrativas sobre o conflito que opôs, em Espanha, partidários do governo republicano eleito e sublevados nacionalistas-fascistas entre 1936 e 1939, num conflito que se transformou num prelúdio da II Guerra Mundial. Mas, apesar da profusão de novelas e romances, Rosa considera que continuam a ser necessárias obras sobre o tema, “novelas que iluminen las muchas zonas de sombras que todavía existen en aquellos años –y en su prolongada onda expansiva: dictadura, transición y democracia–”, ficções que “nos ayuden a saber de dónde venimos, quiénes somos, cómo hemos llegado hasta aquí, y cómo podemos transformar nuestro tiempo” (p. 14) – como lemos em “Y pese a todo, necesitamos más novelas sobre la Guerra Civil”, prólogo a *La Guerra Civil como moda literaria*, de David Becerra Mayor.

Um leitor menos atento poderia fazer um comentário semelhante ao do título de Rosa ao deparar-se com *Lenguas entre dos fuegos: intérpretes en la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939)*, de Jesús Baigorri Jalón, dado o volume de estudos de carácter historiográfico sobre o conflito já existente. Contudo, chegará rapidamente à mesma conclusão que Rosa, dado que este livro é inovador e aborda um tema relevantíssimo, fruto de uma investigação árdua e impressionante levada a cabo pelo seu autor – docente da Universidade de Salamanca e um dos maiores especialistas do mundo em história da interpretação de conferência –, que se reflecte nas dezoito páginas finais de referências bibliográficas e que incluem 33 arquivos físicos e digitais espanhóis, franceses, alemães, russos, ingleses, suíços, italianos, norte-americanos, holandeses e suecos. Esta investigação foi dificultada também pela falta de fontes em relação ao trabalho de tradução oral que foi desenvolvido por intérpretes de ambos os lados do conflito ao longo de três intensos anos, num ambicioso projecto que pretende reconstruir a história da actividade da interpretação num cenário particular, em que se torna ainda mais evidente como a língua é um instrumento de guerra, especialmente num contexto que envolveu milhares de estrangeiros, de dezenas de nacionalidades, integrados nas Brigadas Internacionais de apoio à II República e na Legião

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Condor e Bandeira irlandesa (entre outros) em intervenção a favor dos nacionalistas. Como comenta Baigorri Jalón, “muchas acciones llevadas a cabo a diferentes niveles y en muy distintos entornos no habrían podido tener lugar sin intérpretes” (p. 7).

Este é, pois, um livro importante para compreender de outro prisma o complexo panorama da Guerra Civil, conflito com repercussões directas e indirectas em Espanha e no resto do mundo, e que acaba por se tornar especialmente pertinente hoje em dia, com a crescente onda de extrema-direita na Europa e noutras partes do planeta. Escrito de forma clara e apelativa, esta obra é dirigida a um público geral e não apenas a académicos, abordando temas variados e relevantes, apresentando exemplos esclarecedores e introduzindo os inúmeros matizes existentes naquele intrincado cenário e que se revelaram cruciais no dia a dia de quem intervinha no conflito. Baigorri Jalón utiliza a imagem do canivete suíço para caracterizar os intérpretes em campo, pelo facto de não se limitarem a fazer tradução oral, mas ampliando as suas tarefas em função das necessidades concretas que se colocavam nos contextos em que se integravam. Aliás, ser intérprete não tinha de ser a função inicial ou principal do indivíduo, sendo esta missão tantas vezes assumida de forma improvisada. Este livro aborda aspectos tão diversos como as línguas traduzidas e as técnicas utilizadas; as condições de trabalho; o pagamento de salários e outras compensações; a formação e a selecção de intérpretes; a integração em unidades civis ou militares; a forma como se improvisavam soluções; os choques culturais e a superação de clichés; as reflexões éticas; a actuação na frente de guerra, nos hospitais, nos tribunais, nas prisões e nos campos de concentração; a actividade em geral sem registo escrito que se transformaria em anónima.

É possível apresentar uma tipologia de intérpretes envolvidos na Guerra Civil? Não é fácil, dada a heterogeneidade encontrada entre os mais de mil indivíduos identificados, mas o autor vai esboçando uma caracterização colectiva muito clara ao longo do estudo, de modo que no último capítulo, quando resume os traços gerais que estas pessoas partilham, as suas particularidades são já claras para o leitor. Há civis com formação em tradução integrados na hierarquia militar, mas igualmente operários ou outros trabalhadores com poucos conhecimentos académicos, pessoas cultas, contrabandistas e filhos de migrantes, entre muitos outros. Em geral são jovens (como jovens são a maioria dos combatentes) e homens, mas há um número “excepcionalmente significativo de mujeres, en particular entre el limitado contingente soviético” (p. 162), especialmente quando comparada “con la escasa presencia de mujeres en esas funciones lingüísticas en conflictos bélicos previos” (p. 163).

Neste ponto reside outro aspecto que se revela de particular interesse para o leitor em 2020, nomeadamente o espanhol, vivendo numa sociedade marcada por fortes movimentos feministas e pela recuperação de escritoras, artistas e intelectuais espanholas precisamente da época sobre a qual trata este livro (a II República e a Guerra Civil), como é o caso de “Las Sinsombrero” ou o exemplo particular de Luisa Carnés. Entre outros temas, encontramos, pois, em *Lenguas entre dos fuegos*, diferenças culturais e sociais entre pessoas de diferentes nacionalidades, nomeadamente em relação à forma como a mulher

é encarada por espanhóis e soviéticos e os diferentes direitos e práticas sociais, como o pagamento (ou não) de salário e de subsídio de maternidade.

Nos últimos anos tem vindo a ser defendida por diversos historiadores, sociólogos, críticos, jornalistas e políticos a necessidade de repensar a História de Espanha, em particular a Guerra Civil, rescrevendo-a de modo a torná-la cada vez mais polifónica e a incluir aqueles que foram tradicionalmente excluídos: perdedores, mulheres, presos, exilados etc. Este livro contribui também para isso. Recordemos, em conclusão, as palavras de Baigorri Jalón:

(...) el triunfo de los rebeldes y su permanencia en el poder durante cuatro décadas significó la plasmación en la historiografía española de una versión oficial de la historia que solo dio voz a un bando e impuso el silencio a los vencidos, hasta en sus hogares, donde durante décadas se habló entre susurros vacilantes solo en momentos en los que se superaba un miedo crónico. De ahí que durante muchos años tuviéramos que aprender sobre nuestra propia guerra a partir de las investigaciones llevadas a cabo en el extranjero, que –por razones obvias– no siempre eran de fácil acceso en las bibliotecas de los departamentos de Historia Contemporánea de la España franquista.” (p. 11)

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