

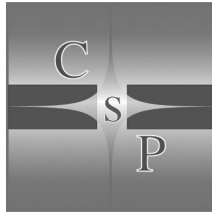
Translation and Censorship  
in Different Times and Landscapes



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Edited by

Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz



Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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Teresa Seruya,  
President of the Conference  
2007

# FOREWORD

Translation as a teleological activity *par excellence* is to a large extent conditioned by the goals it is designed to serve, and these goals are set in, and by, the prospective receptor system(s). Consequently, translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture *into* which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text, let alone the source culture.

—Gideon Toury

## 1.

The topic of censorship linked to translation is by no means unexpected, if one takes into consideration the “novelty claim” Gideon Toury has attached to the role played by any translation in its target system. Semiotically speaking, “translation is as good as initiated by the target culture”, due to “a certain deficiency in the latter”, which always “entails some change [in it], however slight (...)” (Toury 1995: 27). Beyond the mere introduction of the target text, this change also stems from the fact that translation “tends to *deviate* from [the] sanctioned patterns [of the target culture], on one level or another (...)” (*Ibidem*: 28).

Censorship in Translation Studies (in general, as well as in Portugal) has not so far been assigned the importance it deserves. It was this lack of attention to a less well-known chapter of the discipline that encouraged the organization of the Lisbon Conference on “Translation and Censorship. From the 18<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present Day”. Some relevant and very fruitful research has been carried out in Spain by the project TRACE, which has published several books on censorship of literature, theatre and films during Franco’s dictatorship. Another important contribution to the visibility of the subject was the Forli conference (University of Bologna) on “Translation in fascist systems: Italy, Spain, Germany” (April 2005)—where Portugal was left out, for lack of information on the part of the organization, although the Portuguese dictatorship was the longest in modern Europe (1926-1974). On the other hand, only recently and slowly has Translation Studies gained an international dimension in this country.

After the call for papers for the Lisbon Conference (early Spring 2006) two other related events were announced, one in Arles and the other at the University of São Paulo (Brazil), within the convention of the ICLA–International Comparative Literature Association (Summer 2007), not to mention the very recent publication of the first book on the topic, which includes a theoretical introduction and several case studies from various contexts and media, but again with no interest in Portugal (Billiani 2007).

Enlarging the historical and geographical scope of the topic was one of the main goals of the Lisbon Conference. Just by looking at the history of translation in Europe can we state that censorship goes along with this history. The chapter concerning the Bible translation alone shows how censorship could, at times, turn into official murder—in only one decade influenbiased by(1536-1546) John Tyndale and Étienne Dolet were sentenced to death because of their translational work. On the other hand, however, translators themselves are not innocent agents in the whole process of translation. A striking example of censorship exerted by the translator upon the author can be found in the French translator Nicolas Perrot d’Ablancourt’s justification for cutting and altering his source text by Lucian (1706; *apud* Lefevere 1992: 35-37). The difference between the two examples is surely one between life and death. This is why the concept of censorship has to be defined in such a way as to avoid being either too broad, and hence possibly mixed up with manipulation (which translation as rewriting is in some way), or too narrow as it is used when referring to institutionalized censorship (e.g. in fascist and communist systems). As it often happens when an object is observed from a close viewpoint, our conference has indeed contributed to make clear how diverse and complex the many faces of censorship are, and how they range from the selection of the text/film to be translated, the stage G. Toury names “culture planning” (Toury 1999), to several forms of self-censorship.

## 2.

Our call for papers prompted a wide response from several continents and countries, dealing with different contexts and times. The papers now approved for publication also reflect this diversity, although the Iberian presence (first two chapters) is more visible than others.

CHAPTER I is an almost complete novelty in the topic (see Seruya 2006). It introduces the official censorship to of translations during the Portuguese dictatorship. **Seruya & Moniz**’s study is a follow-up of a paper delivered in Graz (2005) dealing with banned translated literature

mainly in the 1940s. The present study moves forward to the 1950s and begins with the political and cultural characterization of the decade. Its scope was enlarged to foreign books, since they were approved or banned by the Censoring Commission having their prospective translation in mind. A quantified analysis of several aspects of the *corpus* precedes a presentation of the most common arguments for the ban (propaganda, sexual morality, speculation, discomfort in relation to National Socialism and democracy, among others). They can be regarded as a sort of *mise en abîme* of the prevailing ideological values of that time.

Following this more general approach, **Ana Teresa Santos** presents a case study on the censorship of W. Faulkner's *Sanctuary* (1931), whose first translation into European Portuguese was published in 1958, after the Brazilian one had been banned. Santos discusses several passages of the 1958 text, where much of the sexual violence and perversion present in Faulkner's realistic novel is deleted. The Portuguese readership would have to wait until 1973 to read a full version of the source text.

Criticism to Salazar's overseas policy was one of the regime's taboos. The case presented by **Gabriela Terenas** deals with the banned Brazilian translation (1967) of Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (1963). About twenty works by this famous specialist in Portuguese Studies were translated after 1928. Terenas reconstructs the whole controversy about the book and the context of its translation and prohibition, which has to do not only with expressed doubts about Salazar's statements on the good principles of Portuguese colonization and its support by some Portuguese historians, but also with the Brazilian political and cultural context at the end of the 1960s.

Theatre is an activity prone to attract the censors' attention, due to its public setting. And indeed it was kept under surveillance since 1927 through a specific censoring commission, the General Inspectorate of Theatres. **Rui Pina Coelho** writes about the eleven Shakespeare plays staged in Portugal between 1927 and 1974, informing about the circumstances and agents involved in each performance/ translation, including the ordeals with the referred commission. Special attention is given to *Anatomia de uma História de Amor* [*Anatomy of a Love Story*], an adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was eventually approved, although with cuts. The performance (Lisbon, 1969) included a video projection dealing with the events of May '68, as well as some Brechtian techniques introduced by the director and actress Luzia Maria Martins. Coelho comes to the conclusion that the introduction of the Portuguese public to the Epic Theatre and to political theatre "was made under the veil of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*".

Shakespeare is also the main subject of **Fran Rayner**'s study, although her main goal is to advocate the collaboration between Translation and Performance Studies, since only the conjunction of both uncovers the full context of a production. She analyses two cases from the 1960s, Rebello's *Dente por Dente* [*Measure for Measure*] (1964) and Monteiro's *O Amansar da Fera* [*The Taming of the Shrew*] (1967). Although it is clear that censorship did have major implications in the two performances, they, on the other hand, represent significant attempts to modernize the Portuguese theatrical repertoires. Another important conclusion relates to the bureaucracy of censorship: it was sometimes "brutal", but also "incoherent and awkward".

In her paper, **Christine Zurbach** discusses the interaction between translation and censorship as cultural practices within the target culture, more precisely the Portuguese theatrical life of the 1970s. Having been chosen for the season of 1971-1972, Witkiewicz's play *The Mother* was to be staged in March 1972, but it was eventually banned, although the Portuguese translation was published in the same year, together with the documents relating to the banning of the performance.

Finally we learn about a very typical institution of Salazar's *Estado Novo*, the theme park for children "Portugal dos Pequenitos", in Coimbra, built as a nationalistic promotion and propaganda of the Portuguese colonial empire. **Alexandra Assis Rosa** analyses the area called "Overseas Nucleus" with its eleven overseas provinces. In some cases, the visitor is introduced to them through "two generations of plaques", the most recent of which was rewritten after 1974 for ideological reasons. This phenomenon of intralingual translation is then discussed in its relation with censorship, by both the colonial supporters and their revolutionary successors.

CHAPTER II is dedicated to Spain. It starts with **Ibon Zenekorta**'s new line of research within the TRACE project. Its novelty stems not only from its subject—the translation of philosophy—but also from the implicated source language, German, (so far TRACE had focused on English-speaking theatre, cinema and narrative). Zenekorta mentions the difficulties in the institutionalisation of modern philosophy in Spain, because it was seen as a challenge to religion as "an ideological framework for social realities". The reception of modern German philosophy could thus be considered a modernizing force in Spain between 1850 and 1936. In 1939 it was no longer a priority of the new regime. The study gathers information about translations of German philosophy under Franco. The author describes the methodology used to deal with, and to contextualize and interpret, the results obtained. The

reception of I. Kant is his main focus, but Marx and Nietzsche are referred to as well. He also comments on the censors' opinions about several translations of Kant.

**Glòria Barbal** introduces us to the Francoist censorship of Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*, a film that drew the censors' attention, due to its religious themes. It was the catholic priest Staehlin who introduced Bergman into Spain. According to the available sources, he must have played some role in the final dubbing presented to the Spanish audience. Barbal gives and comments on examples of censorship taken from the VHS version she had access to.

Different approaches to translation must prove adequate to the particular case under observation. **Olga Castro Vázquez** explains, in an incisive introduction, why scholars have been paying more and more attention to ideology in Translation Studies, refusing taken-for-granted notions such as the view of the translator as a neutral bridge or as an invisible or objective agent. Her position is particularly adequate to her case study, the English and Spanish translations of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*, the "first landmark in the modern feminist upsurge". Her *corpus* is extended to encompass translations in the USA and the Anglophone world, as well as Spanish-speaking Latin America and Spain. The concept of "paratranslation/ paratranslator" (Garrido) proves particularly fruitful as, besides the translator, it includes in the analysis other agents such as sponsors, patrons and editors, all sharing the responsibility in the final product.

The common interest of the two following papers is self-censorship. **María del Carmen Camus** extends the practice of self-censorship to all literary production during Franco's dictatorship, but her specific purpose is to study the use of pseudonyms as a form of self-censorship. Her *corpus* consists of the translations/translators and pseudotranslations/pseudotranslators of the narrative of the West ("Westerns") under Franco. Attention is drawn to the international phenomenon of the use of pseudonyms in the popular novel circulating in a mass-market. Different kinds of censorship (political, economic, governmental) are commented on and illustrated.

The translation of sex-related matters is prone both to censorship and to self-censorship, since what is at stake is "not only grammatical or lexical accuracy". **José Santaemilia**, who has recently edited a book on the subject (*Gender, Sex and Translation. The Manipulation of Identities*, 2005), presents us with a thorough analysis of the translation of the word "fuck" into Spanish and Catalan in both Bridget Jones' novels by Helen

Fielding, by pointing out some interesting differences between the two languages of the same country.

Self-translation (or auto-translation) is a recent topic in Translation Studies and has much in common with adjacent areas such as Comparative Literature or the Sociology of Literature. **Helena Tanqueiro** and **Patricia Lopez-Gay** are members of the research group AUTOTRAD (University of Barcelona). In their study they focus on self-censorship within self-translation, defined as “limitation or censure that one imposes on oneself when the self-translator is translating from one culture into another”. Their example is Jorge Semprún’s translation of *Federico Sanchez vous salue bien*, but they also refer to the book *Piccolo Karma*, by Carlo Coccioli, an Italian writer living in Mexico.

Finally we learn how some editors keep on editing censored translations after the restoration of democracy in Spain. **Cristina Gómez Castro** describes the context of these practices in narrative but also in some films. People were not aware of the fact until a journalist denounced it as late as 1991. Her two main examples of how changes imposed by censorship survived the years are Mario Puzo’s *The Godfather* and W. Peter Blatty’s *The Exorcist*.

CHAPTER III introduces a more international dimension in the analysis of censorship procedures. **John Milton**’s case study on Brazil’s first book club founded in 1943 (under the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas) starts with broader information about institutional censorship in different periods of the Brazilian history in the 20th century and with an overview of the story of Clube do Livro as a publishing house. He then gives examples of different forms of censorship in works by, among others, Rabelais, Dickens, Gorki and Charlotte Brontë. These forms include elimination of scatological elements, of political references and of descriptions of racial characteristics.

From a Latin American dictatorship we move on to a former European communist dictatorship. **Jaroslav Spirk** writes about the censorship of translations and translation theory in communist Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1989. Following a brief overview of the major historical events in the given period, translations from English, French, German, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese into Czech are considered. The paper also deals with the issue of censorship as accounted for by the Czechoslovakian theorists of translation, Jirí Levý and Anton Popovič.

It is not common to have access to credible, firsthand information about China. **Nam Fung Chang**’s paper describes the ways in which state censorship operates in present-day China. Two main areas draw the censors’ attention: anti-Marxist and anti-China sentiments, and explicit



descriptions of sex, including moral taboos, such as extra- and/or pre-marital sex. Examples are drawn mainly from Hilary Clinton's *Living History*, Mandla Langa's short story "A Gathering of Bald Men", Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita*, and David Lodge's *Small World*. Chang also addresses other questions such as the censors' identity, how far censorship is admitted, and how state control is exerted on publishers subject to different pressures: the translational requirements of completeness and faithfulness, the market norms of competition, the satisfaction of public demand (consumers and their economic power) and the official ideology, backed up by the power of the state.

The repression of heteroglossia is another sub-topic that eloquently illustrates both "the polymorphous nature of censorship" and "its slipperiness when applied to translations" (Billiani 2007: 3). **Hilal Erkazanci**, drawing on Bourdieu and Bakhtin, studies her topic within the political act of language planning in Turkey, where it aims to silence non-standard language varieties in favour of linguistic purism. She analyses the discourses on standard Turkish, how they influence translational strategies and act as an implicit censoring apparatus for the translators who deal with heteroglossic texts and are thus led to internalise standardisation. Her examples are drawn from Turkish translations of Cockney dialect and from the Scottish novel *Trainspotting* by Irvine Welsh.

One of the many covert heads of the hydra of censorship is presented to us by **Natalia Olshanskaya**. Her case study is the Ukrainian edition of the newspaper *Weekly Mirror*, which is published in Ukrainian, Russian and English. Drawing on Bourdieu and H. Paul Grice, she analyses how certain subjects such as the war in Iraq or the outcome of the 2004 elections in Spain (linked to the bombings in Madrid and the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Iraq) undergo different forms of censorship depending on whether the translations are packaged for American and Western audiences or for Eastern European readers. Besides the most common practices of deleting phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and even blocks, she also comments on, and illustrates, other forms of censorial mechanisms aimed at the manipulation of meaning through subtle changes in vocabulary and grammar. Information transfer from the East to the West and from the West to the East is thus involved in a fabric of power relations, whose aim is to attract mass readership and win their support.

CHAPTER IV presents four case studies from the European history of censorship in the 18th and 19th centuries. **Maria dos Anjos Guincho** scrutinizes the translation of Ovid's *Heroides* by the Portuguese writer, translator and physician Miguel do Couto Guerreiro (1720-1793),

following an informative description of the state and Church bodies that exerted censorship in Portugal since the 16th century. She also discusses the blurred frontiers between censorship and self-censorship: writers and translators, who were well acquainted with the behaviour and arguments of the different political and religious censors, would willingly introduce all sorts of changes into the source text, for their main goal was to get their work published. Such cases can be labelled as self-censorship. On the other hand, though, as in the case of Guerreiro, they would not give up their moralizing duty, and so the question of manipulation and ideology in translation is also addressed by Guincho.

**Eterio Pajares's** paper addresses the same period (Enlightenment) and, because it is about 18th century Spain, it refers to similar censorship levels. In fact, novels in Spain were submitted to the double filter of government and Inquisition. The genre of the (foreign) novel was particularly prone to mistrust, as it was linked with the corruption of customs. Pajares's examples are taken from the English narrative fiction: Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and Edward Young's *Selected Works*. Censorship by the Church, or the Inquisition, had other purposes and sometimes surprising results, as in the case of sexually related matters. As an illustration of Iberian convergences, Pajares also analyses how the translator can become a conscious/unconscious collaborator with the censors, so as to achieve the final goal of being granted *imprimatur*.

**Rita Maia's** main interest is the Portuguese reception of the picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*. A few years after the first edition, the novel was banned in Spain. Expurgated versions circulated later. Maia analyses a few Portuguese translations of the 18th and 19th centuries, some based on censored Spanish versions, others having French as the source language (1838, translated by António José Vilale), which, considering the source context of the *belles infidèles*, also accounts for its many versions.

Although censorship was officially abolished in England in 1695, the requirement of decorum, that eventually led to self-censorship, never ceased to be active in many contexts. An eloquent example is the translation of literature for children. This is the main focus of **Viggo Pedersen's** study, which concentrates on Victorian translations of Hans Christian Andersen. He draws on examples from the two best-known translators of that time, Caroline Peachey and Henry Dulcken. Both the author and his translators never suffered persecution from public authorities, but the literary climate in 19th century Britain and in Denmark did not allow freedom of expression

This volume aims to bring a significant contribution to the knowledge about translation and censorship in very different geographical and time contexts. In a very obvious manner this topic confirms how right Toury is in viewing translation as a teleological activity. It becomes very clear how censorship goes hand in hand with translation, not only in dictatorial regimes or in a distant past, but also nowadays, and in countries deemed as democratic. This set of studies also discusses different forms of censorship, thus attempting to clarify a concept that is far from being unequivocal.

Lisbon, November 2007  
Teresa Seruya



**CHAPTER ONE**

**TRANSLATION & CENSORSHIP  
IN PORTUGAL: THE LONG NIGHT  
OF *ESTADO NOVO***



# FOREIGN BOOKS IN PORTUGAL AND THE DISCOURSE OF CENSORSHIP IN THE 1950S

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**Abstract:** This paper is part of a larger project dealing with translation and censorship during the Portuguese dictatorship. As regards the 1950s, we start with some historical and political information about the decade (known as “the *lead* years”), followed by a description of the members and the procedures of the Censoring Commission, in collaboration with the political police and the post office. Global information about the books read by the Commission is also given. The main goal of the paper is to analyze speech regularities in the discourse of the censors, which gives a vivid idea of the prevailing ideological values of the regime, especially regarding propaganda, sexual morality, philosophical attitudes (speculation, realism) and the democratic access to books. These were the main fields where books were banned.

## 1. Introduction

This paper is a follow-up to the German version presented at the Conference “Translation and Interpreting as a Social Practice” held at the University of Graz in 2005 (Seruya 2006: 317-328). Both papers are part of a wider research about translated literature under the dictatorship that governed Portugal for 48 years (1926-1974). The listing of these translations is almost compiled whereas the project *Intercultural*

*Literature in Portugal (1930-2000): A Critical Bibliography* is taking shape.

The paper presented in Graz focused mainly on the 1940s. Now we move forward to the 1950s. Considering that the percentage of literary books, among the total amount of foreign books submitted to the Censoring Commission, is quite low, we have decided to enlarge the scope of the study and include foreign books. This can be justified if we bear in mind that the decision of approving or banning a book was clearly a decision about its *circulation* and hence about its prospective translation. Other reasons, however, motivate us: if quite a lot has already been said and written about the censorship of national literature, very little is known about the banned or approved foreign literature (Azevedo 1999). We will present a systematised and quantified study of the latter. We also intend to bring to light, and therefore make credible, the study of the real procedures of Censorship, though we are fully aware that part of the whole circuit has still to be reconstructed, namely as far as before and after the judgement of the Censoring Commission is concerned, that is, how did the political police (*PIDE*–*Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado*) or the post office (*CTT*–*Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones*) find out about *the* books? What did actually happen to the censored copies? This question is related to another one that we consider relevant: what was the real reach, the real efficacy of the ban—since it cannot be compared, in terms of visibility and public impact, to the censorship imposed on plays or films, not to mention the press?

Another purpose is to look more closely at the texts of the reports, i.e., at the argumentation and lexicon of the reader/censor and the decision-taker, whose opinions not only were often dissimilar but were sometimes antagonistic, in order to identify and analyse speech regularities.

## 2. Political and cultural characterisation of the 1950s: from the “*Iron* years” to the “*Lead* years”

As demonstrated in relation to the 1940s, it seems possible to delineate an identity in relation to the 1950s, which followed the so called “*Iron* years” and the enforcement of António Ferro’s “Spirit Policy”.<sup>1</sup> Not

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<sup>1</sup> “Ferro” means literally “iron”. “Spirit Policy” [Política do Espírito] was the name given by Ferro himself to his cultural policy as head of the propaganda office (1933-1949). As a very talented journalist and intellectual coming from the Portuguese Modernism, Ferro (1895-1956) defended a nationalist art supported by



irrelevant was the fact that, once Ferro's efforts to attract writers and artists to the regime had failed, he was dismissed by Salazar himself in the early 1950s, with no public justification (Ó, *apud* Rosas 1994: 454). Moreover, Salazar deplored the lack of national artistic talent:<sup>2</sup> "we don't have nowadays famous painters or architects who have won converts, and both the theatre and the literary production have not been able to enlarge their horizons" (Garnier *apud* Ó, *Ibidem*).<sup>3</sup> His will to change would even allow friendly relationships with his political opponents, as long as they were talented, even if they were "enemies of the regime" (*Ibidem*). The subsequent events, however, would contradict such statements, since the directors of the propaganda office (*SNI-Secretariado Nacional para a Informação*), for example, were "career bureaucrats or men without any close connections with the leading members of the intelligentsia", who "did nothing but manage current affairs and stifle all the initiatives taken by Ferro" (*Ibidem*).<sup>4</sup> According to the art historian José Augusto França, one of the milestones of the decade was also the shock caused by the appointment, by Francisco Leite Pinto, the Minister of Education, of the painter Eduardo Malta to succeed the late Diogo de Macedo in the administration of the Contemporary Art Museum (França 1991: 485s).

Among other outcries, that shock was materialised in a petition, signed by 200 personalities in the fields of art and literature of the time, from multiple ideological and aesthetic sectors. Moreover, the publishing of this petition was forbidden by the Censorship (*Ibidem*: 597).

In political terms, this decade had also its own identity. Reference books eloquently qualify this decade as the "Lead years" (1950-58). This expression refers to the apparent political calm plodding since 1949, when the regime, through the outcome of that year presidential elections (Carmona vs. Norton de Matos) achieved the reestablishment of "order" in "the streets" and of "peace in the minds", after a ruthless police action (Rosas 1994: 408). In other words, once the oppositions were defeated and

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the state, aiming at the improvement of the aesthetic taste of society and of the people and helping to create a favourable atmosphere for all artists (see Ó 1999).

<sup>2</sup> All quotes originally in Portuguese, either from the bibliography or from the censorship reports, are our own translation. For the sake of readability, English glosses will be used in the text and the majority of Portuguese quotes will be included in footnotes. This applies to all the papers included in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> "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."

<sup>4</sup> "burocratas de carreira ou figuras sem contactos sérios no meio intelectual [que se] limitaram a gerir e deixar morrer as iniciativas encetadas por Ferro."

disbanded, once the apparent unity was re-established, and under the effects of the “cold war” context, the “grey and apparent almost apolitical drowsiness of a monotonous life” was restored in the country (*Ibidem*: 503).<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, as stressed by Rosas, as a result of the Western support not only to the foreign policy but also to the dictatorship itself, Salazar’s regime “seemed even to gain a certain political and ideological arrogance”<sup>6</sup> achieved through a vigorous revival of the “anticommunist, corporative, catholic, nationalist and ultraconservative” discourse, expressed by the regime’s jargon (*Ibidem* ).<sup>7</sup> One of the most significant *corpus* for the study of this “regime jargon” is precisely the discourse of the censors working at the headquarters of the Censoring Commission. As we will see, their speech regularities allow us—and this is a good starting point—to consider the performance of the Commission as a sort of *mise en abîme* of the prevailing ideological values.

The 1958’s presidential election, associated with the phenomenon known as the “Delgado’s earthquake”, signals “the beginning of the end of Salazar’s regime” (*Ibidem*: 523).<sup>8</sup> Among other phenomena revealing the accumulated tensions under the mentioned “apparent calm” are the well-succeeded students’ strikes in December 1956 and January 1957. On the other hand, due either to the internal division of the opposition, or to the “rather soft” attitude of Trigo de Negreiros leading the Home Office, there is a less severe intervention of the political police (Rosas 1994: 518). Furthermore, the new emigration surge and the industrial development at that time have also contributed to “a certain pacification of social tensions” (*Ibidem*).<sup>9</sup> In short, when evoking today the year of 1960 and the assault upon the ship *Santa Maria*, commonly known as the “Dulcinea operation”, or 1961 and the beginning of the colonial war, we can, undoubtedly, draw the historical and political boundary lines of the 1950s.

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<sup>5</sup> “modorra cinzenta e, à superfície, quase despolitizada de uma vida sem surpresas.”

<sup>6</sup> “parecia mesmo retomar certo arreganho político e ideológico”

<sup>7</sup> “anticomunista, corporativista, católico, nacionalista, ultramontano”

<sup>8</sup> In the end of his already mentioned book on *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX (1911-1961)* [*Art in Portugal in the 20th Century (1911-1961)*], José Augusto França depicts the greyness of this decade, at least in political terms. The columns of the graph refer to “political facts”, “cultural facts”, “artistic facts” and “art abroad”. In the 1950s, the only political facts which are mentioned are the integration of Portugal in the UNO in 1955 and, in 1958, the referred campaign for the presidential elections lead by Humberto Delgado (França 1991: 616-620).

<sup>9</sup> “para um relativo abrandamento das tensões sociais”

### 3. The study *corpus* and the procedures of the Censoring Commission<sup>10</sup>

It is worth noting here that the most relevant legislation concerning Censorship was produced in the 1930s and 1940s (see Rodrigues 1980 and Ó 1999). In fact, it was in 1944 (Decree no. 33454, February 23) that the Censorship became officially an organ of political training and propaganda. The Censoring Commission was part of the SNI which, in turn, was under the direct supervision of Salazar. The 1950s did not bring relevant legislative changes to the procedures of the Censoring Commission, whose members were mainly Army officers.<sup>11</sup>

However, what really arouses our curiosity, the big question, is the starting point of the process, i.e., how and how systematically did PIDE and CTT know about the books? Some answers were found while reading the reports: books displayed or visits to bookshops (Sá da Costa and Bertrand in Lisbon), where the title/topic and/or the cover of the book could be decisive. The procedure of the CTT can only be explained by the violation of private mail, following instructions given to the Post Office clerks concerning suspicious signs: either the source (publishing houses,<sup>12</sup> countries), or the receiver. In some cases, not many in the 1950s though, the name and address of the receiver are specifically mentioned in the report, often names with no public relevance. Sometimes, in spite of being forbidden, the book was allowed to be delivered to the receiver (for example, *La Chine ébranle le monde* by Jack Belden or *Au pays de Staline*

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<sup>10</sup> We have decided not to publish the names of the censors, according to the archiving principles of the National Archives (IAN/TT – Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo). This applies to all Portuguese papers included in this volume. Besides, we believe that a personal identification would not be relevant for the study, although some differences in their discourses can be outlined. The general impression, however, is that the censors were a rather homogeneous group, which is not surprising either.

<sup>11</sup> For the common civilian, this double loyalty of the Armed Forces is very interesting. On one hand, there were officers performing censorship, a role played by the military since the 1926 *coup d'état*, which put an end to the First Republic (1910-1926), but on the other, it was also high-rank officers who played leading roles in important episodes of opposition against the Salazar's regime. It is enough to remind Admiral Quintão Meireles, the candidate of the conservative opposition to the 1951 presidential elections, General Norton de Matos, Humberto Delgado, Henrique Galvão, etc.

<sup>12</sup> The censor of Vera Panova's *Serioja* wrote with his own hand on the report: "Les Éditeurs Français Réunis' is considered a communist publishing house" (R5973/57—see footnote 13)).

by Fernand Grenier). There are some intriguing cases, however, since they should not have been included in the commonly censored themes (politics, religion, sex and morality). Thus, why did the CTT send for censorship Anacreonte's *Odes* (R5410/55),<sup>13</sup> or works by Sofocles and Euripedes (R5415/55), Racine (R5414/55), B. Constant (R5411/55) or a book like *Le premier amour du monde* by Fulton Sheen? The latter was quite certainly a case of suspicion aroused by the title as well as a display of ignorance about the author. It is a "Book by a well-known Catholic priest (...), a work of the highest morality and Christian postulate. Therefore, harmless." (R5578/56).<sup>14</sup> Or why was *Memorias Posthumas de Braz Cubas* [*The Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas*] by the Brazilian author Machado de Assis also intercepted by the CTT (R5085/53)? A totally absurd case is the didactic work by Dorothy Bussy, *50 Nursery Rhymes*, dealing with morphology and phonetics of the English language, eventually approved.

So, how did the Censoring Commission have access to the books? Foreign books were mostly provided by PIDE or confiscated by the CTT. There was a new agent, however, in 1953, the Customs Services. Books originally written in Portuguese (either from Portugal or Brazil) were "presented" for censorship, i.e., publishers, as well as authors themselves, sent their books for approval. Books in Portuguese or Portuguese translations were quite often "requested" for censorship. One single case of report was registered (1951) and in another case (1959) it was the Commission that bought the book. One book in 1952 and two books in 1954 were offered to the Chairman of the Commission.

We can say that the Commission worked hard, since *about* 1897 books (we say *about* as a large number of reports is missing) were read during the whole decade: about 469 in Portuguese; 996 in foreign languages (mostly French, Spanish and Italian); 268 Portuguese translations and 159 Brazilian translations. 1957 accounts for the highest number of books read by the Commission (274), whereas the lowest number was registered the following year (111).

Analysing the percentage of approved and banned books, we can draw the following tables:

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<sup>13</sup> Such references shall be read as: Report number/ Issueing Year; the book titles will be reproduced as they appear on the reports; when in Portuguese, they will be translated; all quotations from the reports are our translation.

<sup>14</sup> "Livro de um ilustre sacerdote católico (...) obra da mais alta moral e apostolado cristão. Sem inconveniente, portanto."

	Approved	Banned
National literature	35%	12%
Literature in French	33%	58%
Portuguese translations	20%	7%
Brazilian translations	7%	10%
Literature in Spanish	3%	7%
Literature in English	2%	4%
Literature in Italian	-	2%

Table 1-1: Approved and banned books according to language

It is no surprise that the largest percentage of books read by the censors were in French, either originals or translated texts, considering the long tradition of French language and culture hegemony by that time.

What subjects/books were submitted to censorship? We divided them into “Literature/Culture”, “Politics/Ideology”, “Moral/Sex”, “Religion”, “Didactics” and “Other” (sociology, medical sciences, monographs, etc.). Although there are no clear boundaries among these types, we were able to confirm that literature, politics and moral/sex related matters were thought to be the most inconvenient and labelled as “social dissolution” subjects.

	Approved	Banned
Literature/ Culture	50%	38%
Politics/ Ideology	15%	32%
Morals/ Sex	3%	18%
Religion	5%	2%
Didactics	1%	-
Other	26%	10%

Table 1-2: Approved and banned books according to subject

Who were the censors? We cannot say that 100% of them were Army officers because some reports do not mention any rank or name. Only five can be considered as members of the permanent body of censors throughout the decade. Other members, however, had a regular activity for several years, while others had a reduced or occasional participation. In

general terms, we can say that there was a regular group of about twenty censors.

The predominant ranks were lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant-colonel and, by the end of the decade, colonel, seemingly due to promotions occurring in the meantime. Only in 1959 did we find a report signed by a second-lieutenant.

From their reports, we can infer that they were quite diligent in their work. Some books were approved provided that some excerpts/whole pages (thoroughly listed) were removed. Their arguments also reveal deep knowledge of political and/or philosophical issues. This contradicts somehow the common idea that they were dull. It is also important to bear in mind that most of them could read French, English, Spanish, Italian and German, an ability displayed by only a minority of the Portuguese population of that time.

#### 4. Assessment criteria of the Censoring Commission

- There were no authors or themes to be *a priori* and categorically rejected. Each case was special. For example, subjects as the URSS and Stalin, or authors as Gorki, Pitigrilli, Sartre, Camus, Bertrand Russel and Brecht, could be either banned or approved; there is, however, an interesting exception: surrealism and its authors (Aragon, André Breton) were always firmly banned.
- Several factors were taken into consideration, such as the image of the regime (Colette),<sup>15</sup> the fact that certain topics were already known through the press, or that the author was a classic, well-known in Portugal (Balzac, Dostoievsky, Gorki, Hemingway), which incidentally did not prevent some of their books from being banned.
- The pronouns “we”/ “us” were used very often when expressing judgements and opinions in order to convey the idea of a

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<sup>15</sup> Colette’s *Chéri* was banned in 1950 because it contained “much pornography and illustrations”. Fifteen years later the book was again presented for censorship, but the ban was then cancelled (6/5/1965), not only because times were more “daring in the field of immorality”, but also “considering she is a very famous writer, a member of the Goncourt Academy and of the Royal Academy of Belgium, to whom the French government paid homage through an official funeral.” [atendendo a que se trata de uma escritora consagrada, membro da Academia Goncourt e da Academia Real da Bélgica, a quem o governo francês prestou especial homenagem promovendo-lhe funeral oficial.] (R 4484/50)