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Translation in  
Anthologies  
and Collections  
(19th and 20th Centuries)

*edited by*

Teresa Seruya

Lieven D'hulst

Alexandra Assis Rosa

Maria Lin Moniz

■ LIBRARY

Translation in Anthologies and Collections  
(19th and 20th Centuries)

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### **Volume 107**

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Edited by Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa  
and Maria Lin Moniz

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# Foreword

As conspicuous forms of culture planning and intercultural exchange processes, anthologies and collections are, thus, well-known gateways for the introduction of foreign literary and non-literary texts and subjects to a target culture and, as such, privileged areas of research for both Translation and Reception Studies. This volume focuses on the status of collections and anthologies as spaces for intercultural encounters, forms of creative rewriting, as domestic offers of a partial canon for a given area of a foreign culture, be it an author, nation, literary genre, scientific domain, or other. Such a promising and seldom researched area opens up several paths to further research both in terms of the external and internal history of translation, including case studies and theoretical proposals. This volume organizes such different research paths into three different sections, preceded by a general overview of the subject. The first section considers the discursive – textual, peritextual, metatextual – features of translation anthologies and collections, as well as recent scholarly approaches towards anthologizing practices. The second one concentrates on the editorial policies that take part in processes of national and international canonization and image building. The third section is devoted to the many different forms and strategies of censorship conveyed by anthologies.

**Section I: Discursive Practices and Scholarly Agency** opens with an overview and future avenues for research about translation in anthologies and collections, the background and significance of this topic for several disciplinary areas. **Lieven D’hulst’s** contribution chooses a genre perspective for the analysis of several definitions by contemporary dictionaries and encyclopaedias as well as a corpus of French translation anthologies and collections (1810–1840). D’hulst suggests that the concepts of collection and anthology have fulfilled a historical role as prototypes applicable to both originals and translation and discusses several features of their editorial and translational genericity. The introduction of the short story in English to a Portuguese reader is analysed by **Alexandra Assis Rosa** based on the analysis not only of regularities regarding the external history of short story anthologies in Portugal but also of the role of peritextual discourse introducing this genre. Based on Lambert and Van Gorp’s model for translation description, **Marta Pinto** focuses on the metatextual information and the macro-level comparative analysis of the first anthology of classical Chinese poetry translated into Portuguese, in 1890, in order to describe how this anthology was indirectly



translated from the French edition by a Portuguese translator who could not speak or read Chinese, but, nevertheless, managed to become a national success. **Martha Cheung's** paper discusses the manifold roles played by a contemporary translation scholar and/or postcolonial translator by focusing on their positionality and agency as well as on the necessary negotiation of identity and representation in a 21st-century project of anthologizing Chinese discourse on translation. This section ends with a contribution by **José Antonio Sabio Pinilla**, offering a critical review of the role played in Translation Studies by fourteen anthologies of texts on translation theory, published in the Iberian Peninsula between 1987 and 2009. This paper addresses multiple questions, such as historiographic positions underlying the choice and presentation of the texts, canons of translation theory represented by the anthologies, rivalries between different Iberian cultural systems and the objectives of the anthology compilers.

**Section II: National and International Canonization Processes** opens with a discussion by **Ana Maria Bernardo** about the concepts of world poetry and about the process of national and international canonization based on a study of Portuguese and German anthologies of world poetry, performed within the framework of the Göttingen cultural approach. **João de Almeida Flor** considers the circuit of translated (para)literatures, in the stages of production, distribution and consumption in Portugal, based on the analysis of catalogues by very prestigious late 19th-century editors. Considering a selective corpus of short story translation anthologies, **Vanessa Castagna** takes a closer look at the role of the prestigious Portuguese editor, *Portugália Editora*, during the 1940s and 1950s in order to consider its influence in the formation of a literary canon. **Hanna Pięta** offers a description of the translation market of Polish literature in Portugal between 1855 and 2009, thus contributing to the overall knowledge of cultural exchanges between two (semi)peripheral cultures/languages by means of the analysis of publishers' strategies and policies as evidenced by a corpus of translated literature from Polish into Portuguese. **Teresa Seruya** ends this section with an analysis of the role of Empire in the national identity disseminated during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship in Portugal (1933–1974) as well as of Portuguese Orientalism in the composition of anthologies of Indian, Chinese and Japanese short stories, to unveil and discuss the de-historicized, universalized and stereotyped cultural image they create and disseminate.

**Section III** groups six contributions under the title **Selection and censorship**. The first paper by **Patricia Odber de Baubeta** pays particular attention to the collection *Série 15*, published by a well-known publishing house in Portugal before the 1974 Revolution and aimed at young children and teenagers, in order to bring forward concepts such as 'crossover' literature, 'double-crossing' or 'disneyfication',

and to reflect on the minor status accorded to children and juvenile literature. Understanding the political and ideological criteria underlying the organization of an anthology of German poetry in France during its Occupation is **Christine Lombez**'s purpose, whose paper reveals how as expected the negotiation of the roles of occupier and occupied is a far from innocuous process. The following two papers revolve around the concept of pseudotranslation of different genres in Francoist Spain. **Cristina Gómez Castro** studies how science fiction narratives and horror tales were imported from North America and introduced in 1970s Francoist Spain through translation. Despite Censorship's tight control, as revealed by the censors' reports, this kind of literature achieved great success and even encouraged Spanish writers in the production of similar pseudotranslations. **Carmen Camus** explores Far West narratives also published in Franco's Spain and included in collections and anthologies disseminating translations of American Westerns but also a significant number of pseudotranslations. The microtextual analysis of one of these short stories is used to reveal that, even when the official censorship hand was not felt, translators and publishers resorted to self-censorship, pre-emptively avoiding any problems with the authorities. **Ibon Uribarri Zenekorta** describes the situation in early 19th-century Spain concerning the circulation of philosophical texts, fiercely controlled by censorship, and shows how the collections of translated texts on modern secular philosophy were used to fight the dominant Catholic ideology and its conservative values. The (dis)similarities concerning the publishing industry in two dictatorial regimes from 1949 to 1974 – Estado Novo in Portugal and Socialism in Hungary – are presented and discussed by **Zsófia Gombár**, whose paper ends this section and offers a comparative study of the reception of translated British literature in both countries, and discusses their respective political and cultural agendas.

## Acknowledgments

The essays in this volume originated in the International Conference *Translation in 19th- and 20th-century anthologies and collections* (Lisbon, 6–7 May 2010). Both research centres responsible for organizing this conference – CECC (Research Centre for Communication and Culture, Catholic University of Portugal) and ULICES-CEAUL (University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies) –, as well as the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), deserve our sincere thanks.

Thanks are due also to the Benjamins Translation Library series for welcoming our book proposal in the series.

The Editors



## INTRODUCTION

# Translation anthologies and collections

## An overview and some prospects

Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa,  
and Maria Lin Moniz

### 1. Anthologies, collections and the post-modern condition

Collecting and display [e.g. in museums] are “crucial processes of Western identity formation” (Clifford 1994: 220); one could as well say collecting and display [e.g. in literary anthologies] are recognized processes of cultural identity formation, in an inclusive way: criss-crossing both a national and an international component. In the words of Essmann and Frank: “Anthologies and collections can do for texts what museums do for artefacts and other objects considered of cultural importance: preserve and exhibit them, by selecting and arranging the exhibits, project an interpretation of a given field, make relations and values visible, maybe educate taste” (Essmann and Frank 1991: 66). Similarly to museums, anthologies and collections also reflect selection and structuring processes. As configured corpora, they are “enlightening and memorable ways of transmitting culture within a country, or of transferring it internationally” (Frank 1998: 13).<sup>1</sup>

However, if museums have been lately an intensive object of research, the same cannot be said about the vast and varied field of collections and anthologies and even less about the subcategory of translation anthologies. They have been part of a “shadow culture” and systematic interest on them is very recent (Essmann and Frank 1991: 68; Frank 1998: 13). Inaugurated in the 1990s with the publications by the famous Sonderforschungsbereich “Die literarische Übersetzung” based in Göttingen, this interest for anthologies seems to have grown only recently with a spate of publications, among which Barbara Korte (2000) and Patricia Odber de

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1. The definition of configured corpora presented by Frank justifies the joint consideration of museums and anthologies: “corpora whose constituent elements stand in some relation to each other either in space (in a book, or an exhibition hall, for example) or in time (in a series of books or performances). The arrangement, the configuration, creates a meaning and value greater than the sum of meanings and values of the individual items taken in isolation” (Frank 1998: 13).

Baubeta (2007) are cases in point. Intriguingly, neither the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd edition, 2009), nor the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (vols. 1 and 2) include entries on anthologies.

However, anthology is more than “a form of publication with distinctive features of texts and paratexts” (Korte 2000: 32), it is a genre in line with a postmodern atmosphere. A very brief survey of titles included in selected national libraries online catalogues proves that the publication of volumes explicitly mentioning the word *anthology* in the title shows a predominant increase throughout the 20th century, although exceptions also occur probably due mostly to WWI and II consequences upon editors and printing in general.

**Table 1.** Number of volumes published in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany and the UK including the word anthology in the title (ant(h)ologia, antologia, anthologie, Anthologie and anthology)

Decade of publication	Portugal	Spain	France	UK	Germany
1900s	1	26	90	227	8
1910s	7	79	187	441	25
1920s	14	146	351	855	76
1930s	18	185	285	959	95
1940s	81	362	242	998	61
1950s	85	515	374	1219	122
1960s	105	879	415	2157	269
1970s	192	1552	456	2621	377
1980s	274	2231	715	2086	671
1990s	338	2433	1273	3074	676
2000s	520	3386	1501	3139	1235

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As stated above, it is mostly in the 1990s and 2000s that this interest for anthologies, as instances of selection and structuring, seems to grow. Apparently, collecting, selecting, storing, displaying, combining the heterogeneous, participating in canon construction, deconstruction or reconstruction are all operations that fit in the postmodern condition and its “concern with fragmentation and wholeness, and its alleged crisis of value and evaluation” (Korte 2000: 3). Indeed, anthologies attest to their timeliness. Especially at a moment when “personal and communal identities are claimed to be increasingly threatened by processes of fragmentation and differentiation, Western culture appears particularly inclined to all forms of collecting, storing and displaying the collected as means of constructing and

exhibiting identity” ((Korte 2000: 2–3)). Paradoxically, or maybe not, it is also at a moment when there are almost unlimited possibilities of collecting and storing – knowledge as well as texts – that questions of value, evaluation and selection become even more pressing.

## 2. Defining an anthological class

If the etymology of the terms “anthology” and “collection” is taken into account, the above-mentioned ideas of selection, evaluation and reconfiguration, central as they are to the postmodern condition, are present from the start. The term anthology has evolved from the Greek word *anthologia*, (from *anthos* “flower” + *-logia* “collection”), a word denoting a flower-gathering, a garland or bouquet of flowers. Based on the comparison of small beautiful poems to flowers it came to mean metaphorically “a collection of the flowers of verse, i.e. small choice of poems, esp. epigrams, by various authors” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 1: 510). Its meaning is therefore associated with a selection and re-arrangement of small literary texts. The term collection is originally Latin *collectio(n-)* or *collection(em)* from *colligere* to denote “the action of collecting, or gathering together”, which seems to stress the idea of rearrangement and only implicitly offers the meaning of selection (*OED*, vol. 3: 478).

The terms anthology and collection are used interchangeably and tautologically in several definitions (“an anthology is a collection...” and “a collection is an anthology”), and they are also used to refer to a single volume or to a series of volumes including mainly literary texts, but also music pieces, films or works of art, in general. According to Lieven D’hulst, criteria for defining the “anthological object” are needed: “linguistic, geocultural, generic, historical, thematic” (D’hulst, in this volume). Given the difficulty in drawing borderlines, it might prove useful to offer a prototypical definition of the conceptual core of anthology and neighbouring notions (such as collection, or album) as an “anthological class”, a dynamic generic construct (see D’hulst, in this volume) or even as an additional literary mode, thus transcending epochal and linguistic limits, as well as creating a “metalinguistic tool” for the lexicologist. Along similar lines, Patricia Odber de Baubeta suggests the consideration of anthology (in one volume) and macro-anthology (in several volumes) (2007: 29). As stated by Essmann and Frank, the difference between a series or collection and an anthology “is, quite pragmatically, a matter of magnitude: an anthology is what you can carry home in one hand” (Essmann and Frank 1991: 67). A prototypical definition of anthology would require the further consideration of physical, institutional, formal, semantic and functional features, among others.

Focusing on such a conceptual core, the definitions for anthology and collection seem to share the notions of **deliberate selection** of (especially literary) texts or extracts from longer works, based on quality or representativeness of a wider corpus, and **deliberate recontextualization** in a “configured corpus”, which creates a new global meaning different from the mere sum of the meanings of its parts (Frank 1998: 13; Baubeta 2007: 14, 34).

Essmann and Frank stress the difference between a database or archive and an anthology (and one might add a collection), using the above mentioned criteria of selectiveness and structuredness. An anthology is selective whereas a database or archive, on the contrary, aims at completeness or at least comprehensiveness. Furthermore, they also add that similarly to museum catalogues and exhibitions, anthologies and collections are “ways of giving structure to (branches of) the respective culture” (Essmann and Frank 1991: 67).

Several parallels may be drawn between anthologizing and translation as two forms of rewriting. As means of selecting, structuring and transmitting culture nationally or transferring culture internationally, anthologies and collections are evidence of the “prejudice of perception” since they tend to reflect, create and project an image of the best poetry, short story, authors (of a nation or in the world) as well as of the relations between national literatures. As such, they are “a history of literature in microcosm” (Baubeta 2007: 14), “barometers of taste” (Naaijens as quoted by Baubeta 2007: 25) or “a miniature canon” (Kilcup as quoted by Baubeta 2007: 22). The interpretation and evaluation underlying this projected image are either explicitly present in titles, subtitles, blurbs, prefaces, notes, commentaries or postfaces, or implicitly embodied in the selection itself. As evidence of the “prejudice of perception”, and as such similarly to translation (Hermans 1999: 95), the motives, criteria, functions and aims explicitly or implicitly underlying anthologies and collections as rewrites (Lefevere 1992) gain interest for the study of both the formation of cultural identity and of intercultural relations, the creation, development and circulation of national and international canons, and the process of canonization of texts, authors, genres, disciplines and sometimes even concepts. Similarly to translation, anthologization in the relation with the past offers the possibility of rediscovery and afterlife, or, in H.M. Enzensberger’s words on his *Museum der Modernen Poesie* (1960) the aim of an anthology is: “Vergangenes nicht mumifizieren, sondern verwendbar machen” (Enzensberger 1960 quoted by Essmann and Frank 1991: 67).

### 3. Functions, purposes and types

Several functions, besides “making available and usable anew”, are attributed to anthologizing and collecting, among which the notion of culture planning features prominently. Associated with their role as tools of static and dynamic canonization, anthologies and collections may be considered tokens of culture planning, a notion put forth by both Gideon Toury (2002, 2003) and Itamar Even Zohar (2002) and defined as a “deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by ‘free agents’ into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar 2002: 45). Additionally, anthologies and collections may be ascribed several different functions within both intra- and intercultural dynamics.

Culture planning seems to function as a convenient umbrella for several possible functions and purposes for anthologies and collections. Among such sometimes opposed functions, the following are worth mentioning: pleasure purposes, educational purposes (either as teaching anthologies directed at young readers since the 18th century and created with the explicit purpose of educating taste or associated with the dissemination of mainstream ideological, political, social, ethical, aesthetical, and moral values); preservation purposes (representativeness of a given literature; anthologies work as a repository or means of creating a national cultural memory and canon as well as a universal canon (Bloom)); innovation purposes (re-evaluation of texts and canon as well as introducing novelty into a system); protection purposes (literary production of minorities tends to become available and known by means of anthologies, since it seldom reaches autonomous publication or a wide reading public); structuring purposes (as a means of structuring a branch of culture); accessibility purposes (to make a structured selection available to a wide reading public); dissemination purposes (to make literary and textual models available so that they may become productive); subjective purposes (particularly powerful or prestigious cultural agents use anthologies to disseminate personal predilections although often implicitly claiming a certain representativeness and excellence); profit purposes (certain anthologies and collections aim to meet a generalized taste or preference with the purpose of making profit for a publisher). As such, anthologies and collections become very important first order objects for the study of the underlying criteria for selection and restructuring, the underlying taste of individual agents or of the community they belong to, of publishing and book-market mechanisms, of fluctuations in cultural importance, as second order objects.

All of the above mentioned purposes and functions do not work independently of different types of anthology. Programmatic anthologies, for instance, tend to have an innovation purpose whereas survey anthologies aim at functioning as representative repositories of a given literature, genre, author or period.



However, if for taxonomical purposes function and type are considered separately, a few categories of anthology may be mentioned. First, general literary anthologies, and collections as well, differ from those restricted to a certain theme, genre, author, period or artistic movement. Second, translation anthologies and collections may have only one or several source languages and cultures, in which case they are called bilateral or multilateral (world literature) anthologies and collections, respectively. Third, national or regional anthologies and collections do not involve translation, unless a nation has more than one recognized regional language. Fourth, an additional terminological distinction is drawn between publisher and translator anthologies. As a rule, a publisher anthology is a selection of already existing translations, the copyright of which is held by the publisher. A translator anthology is a selection of translations already produced by a translator or specifically produced for the purpose of that anthology (Essmann and Frank 1991: 84; Frank 1998: 14). Finally, structural criteria implemented in different reconfigurations of a selection of texts may also be considered another parameter for distinguishing types of anthologies, different types of *mixtum compositum*.

#### 4. *Mixtum compositum*: selection and recontextualization

Deliberately put together as “configured corpora” or *mixtum compositum* to serve the interests and aims of an editor and/or a publishing house, anthologies and collections are often mentioned to be compiled based on perceived quality/excellence/ importance and representativeness (Frank 1998: 14; Baubeta 2007: 22).

The most comprehensive list of selection criteria for the compilation of anthologies is offered by Patricia Odber de Baubeta:

[t]his [an anthology’s] selection could be made for any number of reasons: in order to convey a particular message (moral, religious, sentimental, ideological), to illustrate a theme (see, for example, all the Christmas anthologies that have been published in Portugal over the years), or exemplify a particular mode of expression, a literary school or artistic trend, to allow the anthologist to share his or her favourite poems or stories with the reading public, to present readers with what are purportedly the best or most beautiful lyrics, the most moving or even the most terrifying short stories, or allow a publishing house to foreground its authors.

(Baubeta 2007: 34)

Further criteria are also added, such as: “... country of origin of the works, the language in which they were originally written, the period to which they belong, their genre or theme” (Baubeta 2007: 42), as well as a certain targeted readership (general public, men, women, mature reader, scholars, readers with professional

interest, or sexual orientation), distinct political (maintaining status quo during dictatorship) or religious motivation (Christmas, devotion to the Virgin Mary, the passion of Christ) (Baubeta 2007:43). Even the category of “opportunist anthology” is created for those selections that take advantage of a particular date or occasion (Football, Mother’s Day, Valentine’s, Christmas) (Baubeta 2007: 44).

However, besides deliberately applied criteria, some constraints may also apply to the selection and reconfiguration of items by an anthologist, such as: his/her own skills, copyright issues, available funds, commercial considerations, interference from publisher, censorship, or an editor’s collection of translated texts, and translator’s skills, in the case of translation anthologies (Frank 1998; Baubeta 2007:22).

Recontextualization criteria are seldom considered. As a matter of fact, most of the above mentioned selection criteria are also applied to the internal organization of anthologies and collections. The most common among such principles of organization are: alphabetical (according to the name of authors) or chronological order (according to the date of birth of authors or date of text publication), structural (according to periods, cycles or stages of change of a given literature or genre), poetological (according to forms, genres and subgenres), thematic (according to subjects) as well as national and linguistic principles.

As such, any anthology or collection is always more than the parts that the anthologist has selected. It is produced, edited, published and received as a *mixtum compositum* whose assembled parts have entered a new relationship, have been woven together to form a new textual fabric. Each item is decontextualized by selection and recontextualized by structure. As such, any text or excerpt is, or can be, de- or re-historicized, -ideologized, and -politicized.

Based on the choice and implementation of such selection and recontextualization criteria another notion of authorship is created: that of the anthologizer as secondary author. As stated above, such a secondary authorship is, on the one hand, explicitly present in the peritext (titles, subtitles, blurbs, prefaces, notes, commentaries or postfaces). And it has become unnecessary to underline the way such peritextual thresholds will constrain the way any item included in the anthology or collection is read and the way the anthology or collection as a whole is received. On the other hand, this secondary authorship is also implicitly embodied in the text selection, reconfiguration and structuring of the anthology or collection.

## 5. Dynamism and relationality

Little research has been devoted, it seems, to the proper place an anthology occupies among the large set of manipulative forms that literary texts undergo when they enter what Anton Popovič and Francis M. Macri have called processes of “literary synthesis”:

The types of literary synthesis are collection, anthology, author (as sum of all texts), literary group, trend, generation, minority literature, national multilingual literature, ‘metropolitan literature’, supranational literature, ‘European’ literature, and world literature. (1977: 126)

Yet, the particular place of the anthology among such “consolidated wholes” depends on numerous factors, e.g. physical properties or features (e.g. anthologies refer to written texts rather than to oral ones, such as public readings), or institutional ones (e.g. anthologies are predominantly produced by authors or translators while collections are more likely initiated by publishers or controlled by state agencies). Such features are no doubt building stones of a prototype definition of an anthology, together with semantic, formal and functional features to which we will devote more attention further on. Of course, these properties may change in time so that the place of an anthology within a taxonomy of manipulative forms is by no means a fixed or stable one.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it a very specific one: for instance, the anthology category covers literary texts as well as non literary, in contradistinction with typically literary forms such as genres (novel, drama, and the like).

It is interesting to note for the present discussion that recent genre theory has been moving away from the understanding of genres as a priori and stable discursive categories, to which individual texts may be ascribed, towards a view that takes into account both generic changes and complex and variable interactions between the participants of the communication process (a.o. authors, readers, and publishers; for an overview see J.-M. Schaeffer 1989 and J. Frow 2005). Consequently, genres are to be understood as dynamic clusters of “genericity features” that may change in time, while at the same time they are recognized as “genres” by groups of authors, readers and critics that may also attribute different functions, meanings or values to them.

When applied to our case, the preceding view implies that we tentatively consider anthologies as clusters of elements that authors, readers and publishers may recognize as more or less salient for the anthology category. It also implies that

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2. The taxonomy being itself a changing historical construct.

these clusters may change in time and that different groups may privilege different elements. From here on, it seems also possible to distinguish two historical principles that are characteristic for such clusters, i.e. the principle of *dynamics* and the principle of *relationality*. Both displace the focus of our concern, away from the so-called “core” features (as registered by dictionaries of literary terms, often by means of a tautology, e.g. “an anthology is a collection of...”).

The first principle, dynamics, highlights the interplay between the constituent elements of the communication process in which literary anthologies come into being. As to the first principle it applies to the variable combinations of elements such as authorship, genre, themes, language, editorship and readership, some combinations being more foundational or prominent than others at given moments in time. Thus, while anthologies of the work of one (or more) authors may tend to privilege also a single genre and a single language, at other moments they happen to apply different combinations: for instance, *renga*, a genre of Japanese collaborative poetry, has given rise to a European variant in sonnet form that makes use of both plurilinguism and translation (Paz et al. 1979). As may be expected, the most interesting aspects to be studied are perhaps the shifting combinations of features, and the reasons underlying the changes. Viewed from such an angle, it is questionable whether translation anthologies should be approached as a different category or as a specific subset of the overall anthology category: they simply offer a slightly different combination of elements, a fact that may occur as well within non translation anthologies.

It is at this point that the second focus comes under our attention, relationality, i.e. the variable relation between anthologies and other so-called synthetic forms. This focus highlights, then, the relation between anthologies and these forms (including genres). For the study of these relations, one may envisage the recourse of several disciplines. As one may recall, the translation anthology category, in particular, has benefited from considerable attention by scholars in comparative literature. Anthologies indeed count among the most revealing carriers of literary influences: more than isolated translated works they exhibit the selection and ordering principles applied to imported literary works and these principles are also often commented upon by the anthologists, be these translators, literary critics or publishers (cf. Kittel 1995). This being said, it is no doubt perilous, so far, to attribute specific functions to translation anthologies in comparison with other carriers (such as single translations, reviews, critical essays, travelogues and so on) within the process of intercultural and, more precisely, interliterary exchange: considering the latter, it is far from sure, for instance, whether anthologies belong to the early phase of exchange and precede the import of complete works rather than that they support the canonization of already imported genres, authors and

the like. One should not jump too fast to easy conclusions, here, that would be based on too limited sets of examples.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, the two quoted principles of dynamics and relationality are not unconnected, on the contrary. Taking again the case of translation anthologies, it should not be forgotten that the latter are not only framed by intercultural relations: they are always dependent on intracultural dynamics as well, the most obvious component being here the language one: by definition, translation anthologies are produced in the same target language as other target language works or constructs, reducing thus the distance between the two categories. Still, as already pointed out, while the recourse to the same language may facilitate the integration of given authors, genres, styles or themes, the latter components may, also and at the same time, stress their difference and suggest as a consequence more contrast or distance in spite of the shared language. In other cases, it is precisely the translation component that is charged of creating specificity; publishers may for that reason decide to create proper collections of translation anthologies. And yet, once again, even such institutional initiatives do not necessarily preclude the possibility of a less dynamic or less differential attitude on the side of the reader.

All in all, a historical study of anthologies is strongly advised – if it is not the best possible means – to understand the interplay between the dynamics and relationality principles as they meet in given corpora. Even if most of the contributions in this volume concentrate on 19th and 20th century translation anthologies, it is useful to remind that previous – and no doubt also later – periods have used different and ingenious solutions that reveal to a no lesser extent the concomitance of the dynamics and relationality principles. The following example of relationality is typical of pre-modern times (Buzon 2011): the *Amadis de Gaule* is the name given to French collections of books published between 1540 and 1615 (in Paris, Lyon and Antwerp); they combine translations and adaptations with other non translated works within a continuously expanding synthetic form, that reduces the specificity of the translation (or foreign) component. This sort of combination is at the same time used as the basis of new combinations, such as the *Thresor d'Amadis*, a shortened compilation taken out of the larger collection, and issued between 1559 and 1606. Finally, this latter compilation has been adapted in new versions and also translated into English (1567) and German (1597). Such complex traditions are no doubt among the most revealing carriers of intercultural exchange processes.

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3. One may recall here the debates about the role of early translations, often considered as predominantly target-oriented in comparison with retranslations that would be more source-oriented: historical research has amply demonstrated how precarious the generalization of such hypotheses is (see a.o. Koskinen and Paloposki 2010).

## 6. Future perspectives

More viewpoints may be added to the historical approach of anthologies and collections. In addition to the concern for the position and properties of translation anthologies, the question of the latter's denomination and the relation to the term's meaning is no doubt appealing as well. Yet, both the semasiological and onomasiological approaches face the need to contextualize the relations between the terms and their corresponding concepts.

To consider but one viewpoint, in the case of a semasiological approach, for instance, the meaning, but also the frequency of terms such as anthology or collection may change in time and space. Searches in lexical corpora attest of rather considerable variations, as the following scheme, based on the vast Wikipedia corpuses,<sup>4</sup> may exemplify:

**Table 2.** Frequency of terms for anthology and collection in English, Dutch, French and German in Wikipedia Corpus

		Number of lexical items	Absolute frequency	Normalized frequency
English	anthology	267.119.115	3311	12.40
English	collection	267.119.115	27594	103.30
Dutch	anthologie	30.814.129	17	0.55
Dutch	bloemlezing	30.814.129	153	4.97
Dutch	reeks	30.814.129	2800	90.87
French	anthologie	39.159.927	219	5.59
French	florilège	39.159.927	20	0.51
French	chrestomathie	39.159.927	5	0.13
French	recueil	39.159.927	1428	36.47
French	collection	39.159.927	3015	76.99
German	Anthologie	103.213.448	355	3.44
German	Reihe	103.213.448	13365	129.49

Within the total number of lexical items that make up a given Wikipedia corpus the absolute frequency of the searched terms is then transformed into a normalized frequency, i.e. a measure that allows the comparison between different corpora by weighing the frequency in function of the global size of the corpus. In other terms, if we take 1.000.000 items as the reference unit, then the figure 12.40

4. Many thanks to Ludovic Denoyer and Patrick Gallinari, authors of the XML corpus based on Wikipedia for allowing access to the latter and to Hendrik De Smet (Research Foundation Flanders, KU Leuven) for having compiled the results.

means that the term “anthology” has an average occurrence of 12.40 in each group of 1.000.000 items of the English Wikipedia corpus. Seemingly, then, “anthology”, “anthologie”, “Anthologie” are much less frequent terms than “collection”, “reeks” or “Reihe”. No doubt that one of the reasons is that the former set is less polysemic than the latter, which would imply the need for further searches, notably by taking into account lexical collocations (e.g. “book collection” vs. “art collection”). Of course, similar searches in other corpora (more or less colloquial, more or less oriented towards literature, etc.), or searches in corpora fitting other periods of time may yield different results as well.

All in all, it seems that several interesting lines of future research open up for the study of translation anthologies. Be it the understanding of the place of anthologies among other forms of literary synthesis, the historical poetics of anthologies, the intercultural function of anthologies, all research topics solicit comparative viewpoints. This implies also that comparison extends to the entire field of modes of interliterary and intercultural transfer. Some of the interesting questions that may come up are: to what extent do translation anthologies carry different functions than single translated works or literary criticism, among other text types, might fulfil? Do they enter the literary field rather than the schooling system? The idea that translations are typical instances of intercultural rather than intracultural canonization may have been strengthened at recent times, when the concept of translation has been profiled by academics (often also authors of anthologies) as an interlingual discursive practice.

Nowadays, it does not make much sense any more to stress the peculiarity of the “inter-” against the “intra-” cultural dimension of anthologies, or limit the concept of anthology to cover discursive practices only (as the success of the anthology concept in the music industry may amply illustrate, or the collection concept in the arts business). Interacting cultures seem to have become less utterly “distinct” in a globalizing world. Since literary and cultural systems overlap, they also carry the traces of each other. This is conspicuous in language use: not only do literary texts become plurilingual, their translations also become plurilingual (Mus and Vandemeulebroucke 2011). Future research on anthologies should therefore invest more in cooperative research between literary historians and specialists in translation and transfer studies, among other disciplines.

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SECTION I

**Discursive practices and scholarly agency**



# Forms and functions of anthologies of translations into French in the nineteenth century\*

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This contribution opens with a proposal to approach the concepts of “collection” and “anthology” from a generic viewpoint that includes a.o. features of editorial and translational genericity. Both concepts are then replaced in their historical context, i.e. the French 19th century. Definitions, descriptions, synonyms and similar terms are drawn from contemporary dictionaries and encyclopaedias, such as the *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe siècle* by Pierre Larousse. Viewed from a historical angle, the concepts of anthology and collection appear to have served as prototypes, more particularly as interdisciplinary and multifunctional categories covering a large array of conceptual and terminological variants applied to both original and translated groupings of texts. The last part of the paper gives a detailed account of French translation anthologies and collections during the period 1810–1840: it is shown that these forms adapt with great flexibility to the different disciplines, languages, genres and publishers that make use of them.

## Introduction

It would be inappropriate to suggest a general procedure for the study of anthologies of translations in our modern time: the scale of the domain which covers a large range of discursive practices (literary, historical, scientific etc.) as well as the great diversity of the anthological forms and functions certified by these practices argue against such an idea, especially if one also wishes to take into consideration a number of different language areas. Obviously, this holds for the study of any other

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\* A slightly different version has appeared in French in *Avatars de Janus, essais d'histoire de la traduction* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013).

historical period, including the one I intend to apply to French translation anthologies and collections during early Romanticism. Nevertheless, I will allow myself to open this contribution with a theoretical question, which is, more often than not, reduced to the rank of an introductory question in historical studies of anthologies: what exactly is the discursive status of the notions of anthology and collection? Effectively, it seems to me that a discussion about this status can further two methodological issues of historical work, first the constitution of the object, i.e. a corpus of anthologies and collections, second the selection of the parameters for the latter's analysis. I will then attempt to provide applications, however embryonic they may be, for the corpus of anthologies and collections of translations that appeared in France during the initial decades of the nineteenth century.

### 1. The anthology: a genre?

Let me reformulate the quoted question in a more concrete form and reduce its scope to cover anthologies only (even if the sharing line between anthologies and collections, which I will come back to, is rather thin): is the discursive status of an anthology that of a genre? If one accepts such a categorisation, one inevitably exposes oneself to an avalanche of critical considerations about the notion of genre itself, something that we know to be increasingly abandoned in favour of the notion of "genericity" (J.-M. Adam & U. Heidmann 2004). This latter notion, of prototypical value, searches to reassess the notion of genre traditionally understood as a category to which one can simply relate concrete works to:

Il s'agit d'aborder le problème du genre moins comme l'examen des caractéristiques d'une catégorie de textes que comme la prise en compte et la mise en évidence d'un processus dynamique de travail sur les orientations génériques des énoncés. Ce travail s'effectue sur les trois plans de la production d'un texte, de sa réception-interprétation et sur le plan intermédiaire très important de son édition. (2004: 63)

Yet, if genericity or generic dynamism covers a set of recurrent properties attributed to utterances, it may also cover, perhaps, these properties as attributed to larger groupings of similar utterances. Let us consider the case of the short story: when a concrete short story is spontaneously related to the genre of the short story by its author or by its reader, it may occur that an anthology of short stories, being the most common form in which short stories are presented to the reader and certainly so to today's reader (consider the short stories of Maupassant, Poe or Villiers de l'Isle Adam), is endowed, in turn, with an important coefficient of genericity or more precisely with a genericity that is unique to the short story. Put another way,

without being a 'genre' in the traditional sense, like the short story, the anthology of short stories possesses generic properties, which distinguish it from other sorts of anthology. In fact, there is certainly no lack of examples of such anthological configurations that are endowed with generic specificity. For instance, the frequent gathering of fables into anthologies of fables has led to the coining of the term *fablier* (book of fables) which refers precisely to an anthology of fables.

However, the generic dynamism doesn't only affect the text. For example, if the *fabuliste* is the author of fables, in turn, he imbues himself with generic traits, i.e. with auctorial genericity (J.-M. Schaeffer 1989: 151–152). In the same way, readers can impose their own interpretive genericity when they apply a different interpretive chart to that initially conceived by the author. Adam and Heidmann give the example of *Blue Beard*, which was read in a largely different manner to *Sleeping Beauty* in the 17th century. Whilst the latter is part of the fantasy genre, the former is read, through the inter-discourse of social education that was cultivated at the end of the century, as a bloody tale close to the chronicles, which circulated at this period.

Correlatively, if the genericity of an anthology doesn't allow it to be drawn into the category of the text, one should also consider the distinctive traits of an anthologist or a reader or an anthological critic. For example, how does the anthologist of fables differ from the anthologist of short stories? How does the anthologist of literary works differ from the anthologist of historical, philosophical or humoristic texts? Through the criteria of choice and structuring of works? Through the discursive stands adopted in relation to the system of reception such as the stand of the initiator, the mediator, the intellectual, the teacher, etc.? Further still, in virtue of which criteria does the reader or the literary critic attribute to a given literary anthology innovative, conservative or rather patrimonial functions, to name but a few?

Finally, other instances, such as the publisher, equally play a vital role in the anthological process, particularly when they initiate or steer the latter, but also when they decide upon the very denomination of the chosen category. More often than not, there seems to be an unequal balance, here, between auctorial and editorial or institutional genericity. For instance, in French literature, the *recueil* (album) or the *collection* are widely understood as institutionally steered forms of gathering texts or groups of texts. Yet, the preceding does not imply, once again, that these *recueils* or collections are deprived of discursive genericity as may be demonstrated by the "Collection de romans grecs" from the Parisian publisher Merlin (1822–1825) or by the "Collection du panthéon littéraire" published by Desrez in 1836. Both are in some ways groupings of groupings, the institutional genericity preserving also discursive genericity. As a consequence, it is important

to remember, at this point, the dynamic relationship into which the different quoted categories of genericity engage themselves.

Now, what happens when we introduce, in addition to all these categories, that of 'translation'? It is worth mentioning that the question was hardly studied yet, mainly because for a long time, critics, historians and theoreticians considered that translation didn't strictly speaking belong to the category of the genres (L. D'hulst 1995, 1997): a translation does nothing more than transpose words in as much as a translated novel is a novel and not a genre in itself. However, if one defines 'translational genericity' as a new subcategory that covers textual, editorial, translatorial and interpretive features, it may be hoped that it will prove fruitful for the analysis of the specificity of anthologies of translations. In fact, without being neglected,<sup>1</sup> such an analysis requires the combination of several paths. I will come back to this point later in this study.

Further, if we are to choose the path of a historical study, the question of the historical methods needs to be considered, notably, how should one deal with the issue of the constitution of a corpus? For example, should one start by looking at a number of criteria by which the anthological object is to be delimited: linguistic, geocultural, generic, historical or thematic criteria (cf. E. Fraisse 1997)? This will lead to a number of variable complements: an anthology 'of Francophone – African – narrative poetry – of the 20th century – dealing with slave memory', for instance. While solely taking into consideration the possible combination of complements, does one account the possible variation of the initial category, that is to say, of the notion of 'anthology' itself? Effectively, not only is this notion surrounded by similar and competing notions, its use also correlates to a certain extent with the selection of one or more of the quoted criteria. Thus, when sticking to the French language and limiting myself to the nineteenth century, I should already mention an impressive number of connecting terms: *recueil*, *chrestomathie*, *extraits*, *fleurs*, *florilège*, *collection*, *choix*, *couronne*, *compilation*, etc. Without a doubt, patient comparative analysis would be required in order to describe the network of relationships between these terms (if there is more than synonymy) as well as between the latter and their complements. It is obvious that such a study largely supersedes the constitution phase of a corpus.

Of course, one could equally and more particularly concentrate on one of the aforementioned terms and consider it as a prototype, which would best – or sufficiently – represent the 'anthological' category. In this case, the chosen term would no longer belong uniquely to the language-object of the period. It would equally become a metalinguistic tool in the hands of the scholar, notably that

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1. I should refer here to a number of targeted works that we owe to several researchers at Göttingen University (e.a. H. Essmann 1992; H. Kittel 1995).

of the historical lexicologist.<sup>2</sup> The latter could therefore take two paths: the path which aims at reconstituting the conceptual core that is common to the different neighbouring terms<sup>3</sup> or that which aims at recognising the individual semantic features of each of these.

These are the types of questions that one can make room for when establishing a corpus of anthologies. As said earlier, they belong to the methodological phase of the historical study. This is also the phase that I have chosen to tap into in the second part of this contribution, successively looking into the frequencies, definitions and uses of the category of anthology as well as the frequencies and titular characteristics of the anthologies and collections of translations.

## 2. The anthology in the nineteenth century

It is difficult, even in this electronic age, to obtain a precise or reliable account of the frequency of terms, which are applied to the notion of anthology or to neighbouring notions. Let's consider, to start with, repertories founded on a lexical approach in context. To achieve this, an analysis of the occurrences of the terms found within utterances of a certain length is performed. The first source consulted is the LexoTor database, which reunites the nineteenth century collections of the Lisieux electronic library in France, constituted of several hundreds of texts from diverse genres ([http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/langueXIX/lexotor/lexotor\\_tact.htm](http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/langueXIX/lexotor/lexotor_tact.htm)).

A simple online request gives the following results: *chrestomathie* (1), *anthologie* (8), *extraits* (63), *recueil* (250), *collection* (381).<sup>4</sup> These proportions correspond more or less to those that the Frantext database, which is larger in size, gives

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2. An intermediary case is represented by the researcher who himself elaborates anthologies that he accompanies with conceptual analysis; this genre is very popular in translation studies and notably in those which have a didactic aim and frequently accompany introductions to the discipline (for an overview, see notably P. Ordóñez-López 2009).

3. It is in this way, for example, that Alain Viala defines the notion of *recueil* as “une collection de textes indexés par au moins une propriété commune. L'unité peut en être soit générique, quand ils relèvent d'un même genre (recueil de poèmes, de nouvelles, etc.), soit génétique, quand ils émanent d'un même auteur ou groupe d'auteurs (une anthologie des poètes français définit un groupe d'auteurs, par leur nationalité). La forme typique à nos yeux est celle où les deux critères se combinent: le recueil de poèmes d'un même auteur, fait par lui de préférence, que j'appellerai le 'recueil personnel'. À partir de ce type idéal, toute une gamme de variantes est possible” (1998: 15).

4. It is to be noted that this figure includes non language objects such as engravings.



(almost 4,000 texts; cf. <http://www.frantext.fr>). For the period 1800–1900, the results are the following: *chrestomathie* (3), *anthologie* (33), *extraits* (286), *recueil* (560), *collection* (1061, same restriction). Of course, this data does not distinguish between the textual and paratextual occurrences of the terms (which, of course, includes the title of the listed works). They are a simple but somewhat 'blinded' indication of the relative success of a handful of terms that are applied to the categories of anthology and collection.

To list the occurrences of terms within the titles of anthological works more precisely, it is necessary to consult bibliographies. To achieve this, the *Catalogue collectif de France* (<http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/servlet/LoginServlet>) is, without a doubt, the most performing instrument so far to class the titular occurrences of the anthological terms (taking all disciplines together) relative to the period 1800–1900: *chrestomathie* (41), *anthologie* (125), *extraits* (1224), *recueil* (5548), *collection* (3232). The gap between this and previous referencing is clear: it demonstrates the accentuated hold of editorial categorisation with regard to the titles containing one of the last three terms mentioned (*extraits*, *recueil*, *collection*).

A third modality of making an inventory concerns definitions proper, descriptions, examples as well as synonyms. There is no contest, the richest source from the nineteenth Century is Pierre Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel* (1866), a sum of contemporary debate and knowledge. It should not come as surprise that the definitions and descriptions of the terms that apply to the notions of anthology and collection as well as to related notions are not always clearly distinct. Let us take a look at the term *anthologie* to start with (t. 1, pp. 426–429):

Dans un sens tout particulier, Recueil de morceaux choisis dans les œuvres des poètes : L'ANTHOLOGIE grecque, latine, française, etc. M. de la Rochette nous donnera-t-il enfin cette ANTHOLOGIE ? (P.-L. Cour[ier].) *Encycl.* Le mot anthologie signifie, en général, un choix de pièces de vers ou de prose dans une langue quelconque, mais il est employé particulièrement pour désigner divers recueils d'épigrammes grecques. [...] Les littératures orientales sont très-riches en anthologies, dont voici les titres pompeux : la Perle du monde, le Temple de feu, la Fleur des poèmes, la Couronne des fleurs, etc. [...] Du reste, la plupart des langues ont leur anthologie. L'Anthologie française a revêtu le caractère de la nation ; c'est un recueil de couplets joyeux et satiriques, publié en 1765 par Meusnier de Querlon et Jean Mouet. [...] Anthologie est un des mots les plus heureux que nous ayons empruntés à la langue riche et poétique d'Homère. Comme il signifie littéralement bouquet de fleurs, il est de nature à se prêter à un nombre infini d'emplois. En effet, le mot fleur n'exprime-t-il pas la quintessence de toute chose ? [...] Eh bien, l'heureux mot anthologie dit encore plus et mieux que tout cela : il signifie fleur de la fleur. S'il en est ainsi, quel terme plus convenable pourrions-nous employer pour qualifier *ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans des choses*

*excellamment bonnes, la mythologie, l'histoire, la littérature ? C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que le Grand Dictionnaire va faire usage du mot anthologie, pour offrir à ses lecteurs une quintessence des fleurs latines, historiques, mythologiques et littéraires.* ANTHOLOGIE LATINE. Nous donnons ce nom aux phrases expressives, significatives, aux mots heureux que Virgile, Horace, Cicéron, Ovide, etc., ont créés, et qui ont enrichi notre langue et notre littérature. [...] ANTHOLOGIE HISTORIQUE. Choix de mots ou phrases célèbres, d'origine historique, qui ont pour ainsi dire passé en proverbe, et sur lesquels on trouvera des explications aux mots en italiques. [...] ANTHOLOGIE MYTHOLOGIQUE. Recueil de noms ou de faits mythologiques, auxquels le théâtre, le roman, le journal etc., font de fréquentes allusions, et que l'on trouvera soit aux noms propres, soit aux mots qui expriment l'idée principale. ANTHOLOGIE LITTÉRAIRE. Choix de phrases ou de mots empruntés à la comédie, à la tragédie, à la poésie épique, à la littérature en général, que leur forme vive et piquante a rendus l'objet de nombreuses applications, et dont on trouvera l'explication tantôt aux mots en italiques, tantôt aux mots qui sont l'objet d'un renvoi.

In this long but largely abridged quotation, it is interesting to note the wavering between the definitions with a *high generic coefficient* (the “anthologie grecque”, for instance, being composed of poetic texts) and the definitions *with a low generic coefficient* (the “choix de pieces en vers ou en prose”). In the first case, the term is combined with a great number of epithets and complements that seem to have the purpose of structuring the field of application of the term.

Now let us come to the term *collection*. Here is the definition given by Larousse (t. 4, p. 600):

Particulièrement. Recueil de plusieurs ouvrages qui traitent de la même matière: COLLECTION des Pères de l'Eglise, des conciles. COLLECTION des bollandistes. COLLECTION des Mémoires de l'histoire de France. // Recueil de passages extraits des auteurs : Faire des COLLECTIONS. Ce jeune homme a fait une bonne COLLECTION de tout ce que ces ouvrages renferment de meilleur. (Acad.) Syn. Collection, compilation, ramas, ramassis, rapsodie, recueil. Une collection est la réunion d'un grand nombre de choses du même genre, comme des tableaux, des médailles, des coquilles, des minéraux. Le recueil suppose moins de choses, et elles sont choisies avec plus de soin, de manière à former un volume, un tout. La compilation est une œuvre littéraire composée de morceaux pillés ça et là, mais ces morceaux sont cousus ensemble, de manière à former un tout qui peut n'être pas sans mérite. Ramas et ramassis expriment la réunion faite un peu au hasard de choses qui n'ont pas une grande valeur, et ramassis enchérit dans ce sens sur ramas: tout y est mauvais, il n'y a eu aucun discernement dans le choix. Rapsodie ne se dit que des choses littéraires, et il suppose l'incohérence, la bigarrure, plus encore que la mauvaise qualité des morceaux. [...] Il n'est pas

de nation qui possède, comme la France, un nombre aussi considérable et aussi précieux sous tous les rapports de Mémoires particuliers. En général, tous ces écrits sont remarquables ; ceux que ne recommande pas leur mérite littéraire sont souvent utiles, grâce aux renseignements nombreux qu'ils renferment. Ils constituent une branche importante de la littérature française ; quel que soit leur titre: Mémoires, Journal, Souvenirs, Vie, Chronique, Lettres, Négociations, Histoire, Commentaires, ils instruisent l'historien ou charment le littérateur [...].

Here is the definition of the term *recueil* (t. 13, p. 803):

Assemblage, réunion d'actes, de pièces, d'écrits, d'ouvrages en prose ou en vers, de morceaux de musique, d'estampes, etc. : RECUEIL de lois. RECUEIL d'éloges, de discours. RECUEIL de pièces de théâtre. RECUEIL de poésies, de chansons. RECUEIL d'anecdotes. RECUEIL d'opéras, de vaudevilles.

Then finally, here is that of the term *bibliothèque* (t. 2, pp. 688–689):

Collection de livres classés, disposés dans un certain ordre. [...] Recueil, assemblage de livres traitant d'une même matière ou formant un ensemble encyclopédique : La BIBLIOTHÈQUE héraldique de M. Joannis Guigard. BIBLIOTHÈQUE des enfants. // Collection de livres traitant de matières spéciales et dans un but déterminé : BIBLIOTHÈQUE des sciences. BIBLIOTHÈQUE des chemins de fer. BIBLIOTHÈQUE de la jeunesse. BIBLIOTHÈQUE de campagne. BIBLIOTHÈQUE populaire. BIBLIOTHÈQUE des dames et des demoiselles. [...] Fig. Bibliothèque rose, Choix de livres traitant de matières légères. // Bibliothèque bleue, Choix de contes bleus, populaires, d'almanachs, etc. [...] Après ce long article consacré au mot Bibliothèque, et surtout à la partie bibliographique, contentons-nous d'ajouter qu'un grand nombre de recueils scientifiques ou littéraires ont également pris ce titre. Nous en citerons quelques-uns: Bibliothèque commerciale, par Peuchet [...]; Bibliothèque des pasteurs, de 1804 à 1805 (4 vol. in-8°); Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal, par Deleuze et de Puysegur (1817–1820, 8 vol.).

If these definitions testify the frequent resort to synonyms, they also are concerned with highlighting distinctive features, often by referring to concrete examples. However, it would be perilous to identify a system in Larousse's methods. For sure, the selected concepts cover themselves partly as far as their extension is concerned: the anthology is a union of pieces of verse and prose, the collection is a union of entire works, the *recueil* covers the two previous meanings (pieces and entire works), whilst a *bibliothèque* corresponds more to a collection. As far as the generic status of the works grouped is concerned, it seems to be dominantly discursive, possibly even literary for the anthology, on the contrary to the other aforementioned concepts.

Beyond these few distinctions, which, we must remember, remain very approximate, it would be difficult to reference other traits that could testify of a specific modelling of the notion of anthology. The latter therefore seems to be weakly structured, at least when compared with other modes of discursive organisation such as established genres: it hardly seems to be subject to explicit rules or circumstantial analysis and further research is required, specifically from contemporary encyclopaedists, lexicographers, historians and critics to better apprehend the contents of the anthological concept in the nineteenth century.

### 3. An inventory of the anthologies and collections of translations in the French language (1810–1840)

In light of what has been stated so far, one understands that a simple repartition of the anthologies into two categories, that of the original works in their target language (or in another language) and that of the translations in this same language (or in another language<sup>5</sup>) does not take the large range of textual, editorial, and interpretive features shared by one category and the other into consideration. Consequently, to apprehend the formal or functional specificities of anthologies of translations, it would be necessary to be able to demonstrate the specific nature of their discursive (e.g. translatorial vs. auctorial) and institutional properties and this so for a representative sample of them. However, as I announced earlier, I will be mainly concentrating on questions of methodology, those that are brought about by the inventory of anthologies and collections of translations that appeared in France in the nineteenth century, more precisely between 1810 and 1840.

The following data are extracted from one of the rare electronic bibliographies at our disposal (K. Van Bragt et al. 1996). As a consequence we will base our investigation on titles only, which doesn't always reveal the anthological character of the listed work. The data therefore have a forcibly approximate value but at the same time they extend to all of the disciplines covered by the bibliography.<sup>6</sup>

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5. We are not capable, for the time-being, of calculating with any precision the proportion of works published in languages other than French in France at this period.

6. *Théologie, Jurisprudence, Sciences et Arts, Belles-Lettres* and *Histoire*. These disciplines are equally those which are identified by the *Bibliographie de la France*, source of the electronic directory (which covers for the period 1810–1840, almost 12000 translations in total).

### 3.1 Anthologies

It is remarkable that the term *anthologie*, so to speak, only appears rarely in the titles: only 8 occurrences which conform, for the majority of them (5 out of 8), to the definition given by Larousse: “Recueil de morceaux choisis dans les œuvres des poètes.” The titles are as follows: “anthologie latine,” “anthologie arabe,” (3) “anthologie russe,” “anthologie sanscrite,” “anthologie grec-français,” “anthologie grec-latin-français.”

More frequently, we find “morceaux choisis” (61 occurrences), presented in a variety of ways: “choix de morceaux choisis,” “morceaux extraits de,” etc. They can be applied to a larger palette of genres.

Even more frequently we find *recueil* (187 occurrences), a term often used in relation to a neighbouring term, such as *morceaux*, which underlines the complementarity if not the synonymy of the two terms: “Chrestomathie ou Recueil de morceaux choisis de la Bible, avec des notes grammaticales et étymologiques” (1836). There is more: in the following example, three terms coalesce: “Beautés, ou Morceaux choisis des œuvres morales de Plutarque, recueil des plus belles réflexions de ce philosophe, sur des sujets qui intéressent les hommes de tous les âges, et principalement la jeunesse avec les notes” (1817). This example seemingly confirms the preceding analysis of Larousse’s definitions: at a period when the conventions of ‘genres’ are still powerful, the variable content of anthological notions requires a kind of overstatement of denominations, destined to compensate for their instability.

However, in return, the recurring use of the denominations and their application to groupings of specific texts ends up producing a certain coefficient of genericity or even leads to a profusion of sub-categories, such as the very numerous prayer anthologies presented as follows: “Heures choisies, ou Recueil de prières pour tous les besoins de la vie, avec des instructions et pratiques pour toutes les fêtes de l’année” (1822). There are more than likely dozens of such sub-generic denominations. They are often characteristic of minor discursive practices, weakly ruled over on the formal side. Here is a sample extracted from the database, limited to the letter ‘a’: *analyses, anecdotes, antiennes, antiqités, arguments, articles, auteurs, aventures*.

Finally, there is room to underline the contrast between the modern meta-language where the term *anthologie* is most regularly used and the language of the period, where it appears to be somewhat rare. It is suitable herein to give it a principally heuristic reach, like a prototype covering several sorts of text groupings.

Now let’s consider the coupling of the two anthological denominations *morceaux* and *recueil* with their source languages. The first term applies itself in

priority to the translations from two ancient languages (Latin: 20 occurrences, Greek: 15 occurrences), these translations often being presented in bilingual versions, undoubtedly for didactic reasons. Thirdly, comes English (12 occurrences), then, far behind, are Hebrew, Italian and German (3 each). It is worth noting that the extracts translated from English are borrowed from English compilations that are either older or contemporary. Here are two eloquent examples: “*Beautés du Spectateur, du Babillard et du Tuteur, par Addison, Steele et autres écrivains distingués, ou Recueil des morceaux les plus intéressants extraits de ces trois ouvrages par Hamonière*” (1819); “*Album britannique, ou choix de morceaux traduits des recueils annuels de la Grande-Bretagne, orné de douze gravures anglaises, publié par les éditeurs de la Revue britannique*” (1830). It is equally worth noting again the co-occurrence of several anthological categorisations (see my italics) in a different order.

Do the *recueils* reveal the same proportions? Modern languages taken together have the upper hand (English: 31 occurrences, German: 18 occurrences) over the ancient languages (Latin: 32 occurrences, Greek: 12 occurrences). The difference can be partly explained by the large number of *recueils* in prose translated from English and German which originate in either classicism or children’s literature, classed in the category of educational books. This doesn’t prevent the fact that the majority of translated *recueils* are prayer books. It is therefore important to remember once again that the denominations are in direct relation to the other determinants of translation like the source languages, or the disciplines.

### 3.2 Collections

A large number of translations form part of *collections*, that is to say, groupings of works that seemingly are the outcome of a publisher’s initiative. It is worth noting the extreme variation of the titles and the unequal proportions of the collections both in terms of the number of titles that they cover and their shelf life. Let’s consider the example of the *bibliothèque*. I have listed up to 43 collections named in this way for the period 1810–1840, the vast majority of them being accompanied by either an adjective or a complement. Here is the list:

- Bibliothèque pour tous: 1813 (1 title)
- Bibliothèque des dames chrétiennes: 1820–1825 (9 titles)
- Bibliothèque d’une maison de campagne: 1820–1822 (100 volumes)
- Bibliothèque en miniature pour la jeunesse: 1823 (1 title)
- Bibliothèque chrétienne: 1823 (6 volumes)
- Bibliothèque du XIXe siècle: 1824 (69 volumes)
- Bibliothèque catholique: 1824–1828 (3 titles)

- Bibliothèque religieuse: 1824 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque des romans modernes, anglais et américains: 1825 (3 titles)  
 Bibliothèque française: 1825 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque latine-française: 1825–1840 (49 titles)  
 Bibliothèque portative de l'officier. Classique de l'histoire: 1826 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque populaire: 1826 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque industrielle: 1827 (3 titles)  
 Bibliothèque choisie: par une société de gens de lettres: 1829–1830 (10 titles)  
 Bibliothèque des amis des lettres: 1830–1835 (19 titles)  
 Bibliothèque classique latine-française à l'usage des maîtres: 1833 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque classique grecque-française à l'usage des maîtres: 1835 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque philosophique des temps modernes: 1835 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque du séminariste: 1835–1837 (2 titles)  
 Bibliothèque économique et périodique des meilleurs romans: 1835 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque instructive et amusante: 1835 (3 titles)  
 Bibliothèque d'auteurs classiques: 1836 (2 titles)  
 Bibliothèque des familles: 1836–1838 (7 titles)  
 Bibliothèque de la jeunesse chrétienne: 1837–1840 (12 titles)  
 Bibliothèque d'éducation universelle: 1837 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque ecclésiastique: 1837–1840 (3 titles)  
 Bibliothèque économique de l'enfance et de la jeunesse: 1837 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque des personnes pieuses: 1837 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque de l'Ouest: 1838 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque anglo-française: 1838 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque pour cinq francs: 1838 (1 title)  
 Bibliothèque du jeune âge: 1839 (4 titles)  
 Bibliothèque religieuse, morale et littéraire pour l'enfance et la jeunesse: 1840 (2 titles)  
 Classiques français, ou Bibliothèque portative de l'amateur: 1823–1829 (5 titles)  
 Nouvelle bibliothèque portative des voyageurs: 1817 (1 title)  
 Nouvelle Bibliothèque catholique: 1828–1838 (4 titles)  
 Nouvelle bibliothèque universelle des romans pour la ville et la campagne: 1829–1830  
 (6 titles)  
 Nouvelle Bibliothèque latine-française et grecque-française: 1833 (1 title)  
 Nouvelle Bibliothèque classique grecque-française: 1835–1836 (3 titles)  
 Nouvelle Bibliothèque classique latine-française: 1837 (1 title)  
 Petite bibliothèque d'ouvrages curieux: 1826 (1 title)  
 Petite bibliothèque des écoles primaires: 1835 (1 title)

In total, these 43 collections are made up of 220 titles which correspond to an average of 4.8 titles per collection. If we divide out the collections into decades, we obtain the following results:

1810–1820: 2  
 1820–1830: 18  
 1830–1840: 23

If we were to affine further these results, it would be necessary to distinguish between disciplines, genres, source languages etc., but it would above all be necessary to consider the proportions that the translations take up within the entire production of *bibliothèques* in French. It seems that for the most part, the *bibliothèques* indeed unite both original and translated texts. Yet, the database does not allow for this kind of check.

In addition to the term *bibliothèque*, we come across several other denominations, of which here is the list in alphabetical order. In the majority of the cases, the term designating the collection is followed by a supplementary qualification.

Collection: 128 titles  
 Encyclopédie: 3  
 Extr[ait(s)]: 10  
 Histoire(s): 10  
 Lectures: 6  
 Lettres: 29  
 Manuel: 11  
 Mémoires: 24  
 Mélanges: 2  
 Œuvres: 395  
 Nouvelle(s) [...]: 132  
 Opuscules: 47  
 Pièces: 3  
 Répertoire: 18  
 Romans: 105  
 Section: 10  
 Série: 25  
 Société: 22  
 Théâtre(s): 29  
**Traductions: 8**  
 Traités: 19  
 Voyages: 6

It is remarkable that these titles alternately include more text oriented and more publisher oriented genericity. We can also notice the large number of Œuvres (such as the “Œuvres de W. Scott”, for example), a category which seems to come to the forefront at the end of the period studied: this should undoubtedly be compared with the growing number of publishing companies trying to benefit



from the growing tendency to integrate a number of major authors into a literary Pantheon. As for the specific translational designations, they appear 134 times in the titles of the collections but, more often than not, in derivative forms such as this: “Collection portative des voyages, traduits des différentes langues.”

Last of all, we also witness the appearance of a specific translation collection entitled: “Traductions de tous les chefs-d’œuvre classiques” (work by Tasso, Juvenalis, Goethe, Publius Syrus, Cervantes, Gonzaga, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus). This collection seems to be the only one of our listing that makes the translation category clearly evident. Once again, it is too early to consider interpretations on the specific nature of this configuration but if it concerns an editorial strategy, it is equally linked with maintaining the perennial status of the Pantheon of classical literature.

### 3.3 A closer view at a collection

As we have seen, editorial strategies seem to be more prominently active in collections than in anthologies. Let us have a closer look at such a strategy, by analysing the selection and presentation techniques of a “Collection des meilleurs romans français et étrangers” launched in October 1826 by the Parisian publisher Jean Dauthereau. The Prospectus lists the works to be issued, the main generic features, and informs on the price and format of the books.

30 “romans français” (in 71 volumes) and 12 “romans étrangers” (in 29 volumes) are planned for publication within a time span of two years. For both categories, only safe values are withheld, i.e. works that belong mainly to the canon of 18th century novels. But the publisher also takes into account other parameters, such as women writers, other periods, an array of national traditions, themes and generic variants. The list follows an alphabetical order (that will not become the order of publication):

Mme Cottin, *Claire d’Albe*, *Malvina*, *Amélie de Mansfield*, *Mathilde* et *Élisabeth*

Mme de Graffigny, *Lettres d’une Péruvienne*

Mme de Lafayette, *La princesse de Clèves*

Marguerite de Navarre, *Contes choisis*

Mme Riccoboni, *Fanny Butler*, *Milady Catesby* et *Ernestine*

Mme de Staël, *Corinne*

Mme de Tencin, *Le comte de Comminges*, *Le siège de Calais*

Cazotte, *Olivier*

Fénelon, *Télémaque*

Florian, *Nouvelles*, *Gonzalve de Cordoue*, *Estelle et Némorin*, *Galatée*

Hamilton, *Les Mémoires du comte de Grammont*

Lesage, *Gil Blas de Santillane*

Marivaux, *Marianne*  
 Marmontel, *Contes moraux*  
 Mirabeau, *Lettres à Sophie*  
 Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*  
 Prévost, *Manon Lescaut*  
 Rousseau, *Nouvelle Héloïse*  
 Tressan, *Roland furieux*  
 Voltaire, *Romans choisis*  
 Boccace, *Contes choisis*  
 Fielding, *Tom Jones*  
 Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*  
 Gessner, *La mort d'Abel*  
 Goethe, *Werther*  
 Goldsmith, *Le ministre de Wakefield*  
 Inchbald, *Simple histoire*  
 Johnson, *Rasselas*  
 Lope de Vega, *Romans choisis*  
 Sterne, *Voyage sentimental*  
 Swift, *Voyages de Gulliver*  
 \*\*\*, *Choix de contes orientaux*

It should not come as a surprise that most of the titles correspond to existing groupings within other collections bearing similar titles, such as the ones issued at the same time or slightly earlier by Lebègue, Gosselin and Werdet (Olivero 1999: 91). This applies in particular to the translations, mostly reissues. For instance, *Le Ministre de Wakefield* is republished in the version by the marquise de Montesson (1767), whereas the *Voyages de Gulliver* are in Desfontaines version of 1727 and *Roland furieux* in the one by the comte de Tressan (1780). In numerous cases, the name of the translator is even lacking: *Tom Jones* is probably in La Places version (1750), the *Voyage sentimental* in the one by Frénais (1769).

The selection criteria remain implicit, a fact that may seem odd for a 21st century reader, who cannot but ascertain the lack of uniformity in style, or of thematic, linguistic, or historical lines. Yet, one should avoid projecting generic criteria that are common for the novel of the 1850's, when the genre has established a stronger tradition, upon the first decades of the century. The Prospectus itself seems to invoke the absence of tradition<sup>7</sup> to justify the free combination of works:

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7. Cf. also the following definition of the novel: it is “un genre bâtard, c'est-à-dire libre, où les esprits naturels se sont réfugiés comme dans un champ d'asile pour échapper à la férule d'Aristote et aux exemples des anciens” (*Annales universelles des sciences et des arts*, septembre 1826: 516).

Le roman appartient à tous les siècles, à tous les pays. Nous le retrouvons dans la Grèce et dans l'Italie, sous la tente de Charlemagne et dans le caravansérail de l'Arabe, sur les monts de l'Écosse et dans ces plaines d'Ibérie teintes de sang de tant de peuples. Nous le voyons chez nous se colorer successivement de la rude naïveté du moyen âge, du ton alambiqué des Calprenède, des d'Urfé, des Scudéry, du charme enfin, et de la grâce des Lafayette et des Tencin.

(*Journal général de la littérature de France*, 1826:255)

The novel is not yet a “national” genre, it is rather a crucible of several European traditions. In addition to the discursive features that allow for such transnational groupings, reader sensitivity is invoked:

Publier dans un format commode, économique et portatif, les meilleurs romans français et étrangers, c'est donc venger le goût de l'inondation de tant de romans absurdes, rendre un véritable service à la littérature, et bien mériter surtout des dames, à qui cette collection s'adresse de préférence. (Prospectus)

The targeted public is indeed composed of women, a fact that may be explained by the growing success of this genre among female readers during the Restoration.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, the discursive logic is deemed compatible with the editorial one. First, most of the novels are bestsellers, a category identified by M. Lyons (1987:85–86) as representing at that time at least several thousands and even tens of thousands of copies (e.g. *Télémaque* by Fénelon or *Robinson Crusoë*). In addition, the editorial logic induces a preference for elder versions (mostly 18th century ones) by deceased translators and based on work by deceased authors. But even when translators are still alive, remuneration is rarely provided (the translator's invisibility on the title page is a way of eluding the issue); Defauconpret, a very well-known translator of a.o. W. Scott, is an exception even if the cost for his translations has no doubt been shared with other publishers. As a consequence, the transnational, unbound poetics of the novel seemingly matches the editorial logic.

The collection embodies the interplay between discursive and editorial policies. Still, it is not a stable form, the initial list being modified by inclusion, such as *Le doyen de Killerine* (Prévost) and *Le roman comique* (Scarron). At the approach of the “year of Walter Scott”, i.e. 1830, marking a peak in his success in France, other novels are added. The collection even extends into a “Suite à la Collection des meilleurs romans français et étrangers”, comprising new titles such as *La nature et l'art* by Elisabeth Inchbald (1828) or *l'Histoire de Gérard de Nevers et de la belle Euriant, sa mie* by le comte de Tressan (1828). All this testifies of the pragmatic viewpoint of the publisher.

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8. The novel “[...] permet l'évasion totale, multipliable à l'infini, dans les mondes les plus divers” (A. Sauvy 1985:448).

Finally, the price of the volumes is kept below the standards of the epoch, each costing 1 fr. Subscriptions are thus taken at 100 fr., books acquired separately cost 1,25 fr. Clearly, subscriptions address the very popular “cabinets de lecture”, whereas the small format (in-32, i.e. 7 cm length, 5 cm width) is equally symptomatic of the lower position of the genre in the literary field: it is the format of the portable book, the “livre pour tous”.

#### 4. Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn at the end of this panoramic analysis of the field of French anthologies and collections. To start with, it is highly unlikely that the concepts and the anthological terms applied to translations differ largely from those that are applied to the anthologies of so-called original works of the target language. The anthologies of translations will therefore have all their interest in being approached in a comparative way, which brings them closer to other modalities for the grouping of texts deployed within the target culture (anthologies of imitations, pastiches, portraits, critical texts but also albums of poetry, historical essays etc.). At this point, there seems to be little evidence that translational features of anthologies and esp. of collections amount to some sort of specific genericity, apart from the translatorial genericity systematically replacing the authorial one, a replacement that can only be approached through careful comparative discursive analysis of source and target texts.

Secondly, the principles of choice and ordinance of the units that the anthologies cluster, either pieces to the scale of the work or works to the scale of the collection seem to depend on decisions that are both auctorial and editorial. From this point on, we are at leisure to understand the anthological activity as a practice whereby discursive and institutional strategies meet and connect. The latter do not necessary lead to thought-out balances, they are hesitant to handle the two positions, the most common case being that of a structure “x of y”, “x” being the anthological designation which is little regulated or invested with a hyperonymic value, “y” being the anthological designation that is more regulated or invested with a hyponymic value. Therefore, the typical example is this one: “*Recueil de fables, tirées principalement de celles d’Ésope et de La Fontaine*” (1811).

Finally, the preceding leads us to believe that even in terms of their functions, anthologies of translations pursue a number of aims that they share with anthologies of original works. From this point of view, several ‘families’ of anthologies can undoubtedly be identified, or the case being, designated through distinct qualifications: those that reproduce the classical canon, those that serve to support literary renewal, those that serve to bring the national patrimony back into view etc., with

one crucial difference, i.e. that the anthologies of translations are not only part of national literatures and cultures: they are also the carriers of exchanges between literatures and cultures and thus should also, in the longer run, be approached from a due intercultural transfer approach.

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# The short story in English meets the Portuguese reader

## On the 'external history' of Portuguese anthologies of short stories translated from English

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This paper aims to research how intercultural exchanges contributed for the development of the short story in Portugal, notably to consider interference especially by English-language literary systems through the indirect channel of translation. For this purpose, it focuses on the external history of the translation into Portuguese of the short story in English, taking its publication in anthologies as a form of creative rewriting, adaptation or manipulation, as André Lefevere put it.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: firstly, it provides answers to questions such as whose and which short stories, when, where, by whom, why and how short stories in English were selected, translated and presented to the Portuguese reader. The cartography of such a territory is based on the presentation and analysis of a selection of data (available at the Portuguese National Library archives) regarding the introduction of the short story in English through translations published in anthologies. Secondly, resorting to Gérard Genette's definition of peritext, i.e. paratextual elements pertaining to the book, this paper analyses the role played by peritextual discourses in a selection of anthologies. This analysis is expected to yield insights into how such anthologies introduced the short story in English to a public reading it in Portuguese version.

## Introduction

In the introduction to the 1981 volume *Nineteenth Century Short Stories*, the editor Peter Keating states:

The short story is the first literary form in which American writers excelled, and the first in which their critical theories predominated; *the influence of Poe's work especially spread throughout nineteenth-century Europe, and if towards the end of the century French, Russian, and British writers emerged to challenge American supremacy that merely emphasized the reciprocal nature of the exchange.*

(Keating 1981: 19; my emphasis)

This paper offers a report on the initial stages of a research project that aims to contribute to research on how intercultural exchanges may have influenced the development of the short story as a literary genre in Portugal. The focus will be on the influence of short stories in English, given what Peter Keating calls the “American supremacy” in this literary form.

To researchers in Translation Studies, statements such as the one quoted above quickly bring to mind Itamar Even-Zohar's famous formulation that:

[t]here is not one single literature which did not emerge through interference with a more established literature; and no literature could manage without interference at one time or another during its history. (Even-Zohar 1990: 59)

In his well-known paper “Laws of Literary Interference”, Even-Zohar, the pioneer of Polysystem Theory, not only affirms the existence of cross-fertilization amongst so-called national literatures but goes even further, declaring that all national literatures are dependent upon such intercultural interference, no matter how established they might be.

Going back to Peter Keating's text, we might ask how American critical theories on the short story as literary form can possibly “predominate” without translation? Similarly, how is an author's influence to “spread”, how can British, French and Russian authors “challenge” American supremacy in this regard, and how can such exchanges occur and be reciprocal without resorting to some form of interlingual transfer? Translation is of course one of the most important indirect channels for such exchanges or interference, to use Even-Zohar's words. The juxtaposition of Peter Keating's introductory note with the quotation from Even-Zohar raises unexpected questions about the influence of translation upon the development of the short story as a literary form.

Whereas statements abound about the importance of intercultural exchanges for the development of literary forms and their poetics, it is not so easy to find studies on the role played by translation in such exchanges. This is because, when

such assertions are made and read, few stop to consider – let alone research – how translation (as an indirect channel of cultural interference) may have contributed to these exchanges, by facilitating the importation of works and genres, conditioning their development, reactions to them and the reader's text. It is also due to the well-documented efforts of literary historiography to create a national literary unconscious, which, as Pascale Casanova points out, tended to follow 19th-century nationalizing trends in appropriating other literatures and literary histories without any reference to translation (Casanova 2004: 103ff).

Although the case of Portuguese literature is not explicitly referred to in the quotations given above, they are clearly applicable to this particular national context. As a consequence, several questions come to mind. For example, did Portuguese culture experience interference from short stories in English? When and how did this take place? Did it occur directly or via translation? What authors and short stories in English were translated into Portuguese? When and by whom? How were they presented to the Portuguese reader? How were they received? What repercussions did this have upon non-translated literary production in Portuguese?

However, before research can even begin to find answers to these questions, it is necessary to undertake a preliminary mapping of those English short stories that have been translated into Portuguese.

Within the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies, this paper wishes to contribute to such a mapping by focusing on their publication in anthologies, defined as “a compilation of self-standing poems or short stories, deliberately selected and organized in such a way as to serve the editor's purpose” (Baubeta 2007: 34). Whether positively defined as “barometers of taste” (Naaijkens 2006: 509 cited by Baubeta 2007: 25) or vigorously dismissed as “pre-packaged creatures of consumer capitalism” (Banta 1993: 331 cited by Baubeta 2007: 21), they are here considered as a form of publication with various identifiable functions, which bring together in a single volume poems, short stories or excerpts of longer works following a process of selection and organization by an anthologist, according to a set of principles and subject to contextual motivations and constraints. As such it corresponds to a particular form of creative writing, or rewriting, as defined by André Lefevere in his 1992 work *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, where the following comment is offered on rewriters and rewriting:

Whether they produce translations, literary histories or their more compact spin-offs, reference works, anthologies, criticism, or editions, rewriters adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time. (Lefevere 1992: 8)



Therefore, anthologies are a privileged site for intercultural exchanges and seem particularly apt to provide insights into the thresholds that mediated (in this case) the presentation of the short story in English to a Portuguese readership.

This paper has two main purposes. The first is to present and analyse a selection of bibliographic data regarding the publication of the short story in English in Portugal, as translations included in anthologies. This preliminary step towards an external history of translation is needed in order to start providing answers to questions such as: when, where, by whom, and how short stories in English were selected, translated and presented to the Portuguese reader in anthologies. Further studies may supply information concerning the “dominant ideological and poetological currents” that may have played a role in the way such works were presented to the Portuguese reader through translation and anthologization. The second aim is to present the initial stages of the analysis of a selection of verbal elements included in the peritexts of a few anthologies. For this purpose, it uses Gérard Genette’s definition of the peritext (elements pertaining to the book, such as title, subtitle, preface, postface, notice, foreword, notes, blurbs, book cover, dust jacket, or flaps [Genette 1997]), in order to try to discern regularities and amass information needed to supply further answers as to why and how short stories in English might have been thus selected for translation and anthologization in Portugal.

## 1. External history of translation

But first it is important to clarify what is meant by an external history of translation. Especially since the 1980s, there has been a great deal of interest amongst translation scholars in the history of translation. This has been organized in accordance with several different parameters, such as text-type (Bible translation, literary translation, technical translation, etc.); moments of great translational activity (such as the School of Toledo); power relations or institutional relations (colonization, conquest), and gender (women translators), to mention but a few (Bernardo 2001: 128).

However, a distinction needs to be made between the history of translation theory and the history of translation practice. The former focuses explicitly on the theorization of translation produced by translators in prefaces and translators’ notes, as well as by researchers and critics in reviews and critiques of translation. The latter, on the other hand, concentrates on who translated what, when, how, and in what cultural, social, political, and institutional contexts.

During the 1980s and 1990s, a highly significant research project on the history of literary translation practice (the “Göttingen Sonderforschungsbereich. Die literarische Übersetzung – 1985–1997”) was undertaken by a special research group based in Göttingen, Germany, who suggested a further distinction within

the history of translation practice, namely between the internal and external history of translation.<sup>1</sup> The internal history of translation is defined as the analysis of textual-linguistic features of translated texts in terms of their successive reformulations through retranslation, of how textual-linguistic features are maintained or shifted, and of the motives underlying such shifts. The external history of translation, on the other hand, focuses on identifying the works that have been translated, and establishing when and by whom, the publishers involved, the frequency of retranslation, and the circumstances under which this took place. Based on such data, regularities and tendencies may become discernible (Bernardo 2001: 129). The research group also suggested the importance of identifying source texts that have been subject to successive retranlations. These are called “comets”, while successive retranlations are the comet’s “tail” (“Kometenschweife”), which becomes the object of further research.

Only after this external history has been initiated can work begin on the internal history, since a cartography of translated works is needed in order to obtain a macroscopic view. That is to say, it is important to first get the wider picture, identifying comets and comets’ tails, before applying a microscopic view and researching their textual-linguistic make-up.

This paper will, therefore, focus on the external history of translation practice by studying the publication of anthologies of short stories in English translated into Portuguese. The first step in this direction is to obtain a bibliography of translated works.

A search of the Portuguese National Library online catalogues for “antologia” [anthology] and/or “conto” [short story] revealed that these words appear not only in volume titles but also in the titles of collections or series. Indeed, the fact that “antologia” is used for both volumes and collections is interesting in itself, and is supported by the fact that Portuguese dictionary definitions of anthology (“antologia”) tend to resort to the Portuguese word for collection (“coleção”), revealing at the very least a blurring of the two concepts. Interesting though such terminological queries may be, they clearly fall outside the scope and aims of this paper. Thus, research proceeded by checking the volumes for further titles in the most prominent collections, without any limits in terms of date of publication. A modest corpus of bibliographic records was amassed, involving eight collections by seven different publishers, corresponding to a total of 140 titles. It includes over 18 source languages that were identified irrespective of whether the stories were translated directly from such source languages or indirectly through an intermediate language (usually French).

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1. On the Göttingen research project, see also Bernardo (in this volume).

## 2. Volume categories: Anthologies and collections

As has already been mentioned, the organization of this list of bibliographical records required consideration of at least two different categories: “anthology” understood as a collection or series, and “anthology” understood as a single volume.

### 2.1 Anthology as collection or series

The first category corresponds to volumes with only one source language and works by only one writer because their titles explicitly mention the name of the writer whose short stories have been included in the volume. In this case, it was especially the collection or series as a whole that functioned as an anthology, or even as a macro-anthology.<sup>2</sup> Although controversial, this category has been included because, as we have seen, some of the collections by the publishers Arcádia, Atlântida and Portugália include the word: “antologia” [*anthology*] in their title.

### 2.2 Anthology as single volume

The second category comprises volumes that publish works translated from one source language only but by different authors, as announced by titles such as: *American Short Stories*. Other volumes publish works translated from different source languages and by different authors, since their titles make reference to a particular subcategory of short stories such as *Fantasy Stories*. This may call for a separate third category, however, as in both cases volumes functioned as anthologies.

The first category is predominant in the corpus when we consider short stories in all source languages and short stories in English only (see Table 1).

The analysis of this corpus of 140 titles will pay special attention to the 51 volumes that may be identified as having one source language only (English) and include stories by one or more authors.

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2. As suggested by Patricia Odber de Baubeta, these collections or series may be considered macro-anthologies (2007: 29). However, the single-author volumes in such collections were excluded from the author’s 2007 ground-breaking work *The Anthology in Portugal. A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century*. Bern: Peter Lang.

**Table 1.** Number of volumes in each volume category

Volume categories	Source language	
	All-SL	English
1 SL – 1 author	90	41
1 SL – n authors	39	10
n SL – n authors	11	–

### 2.3 Source languages

First, this paper will consider all 140 volumes included in the eight collections in the corpus for a global preliminary analysis. Table 2 shows a quantitative analysis of source languages of short stories translated and published in volume for the first time, since no reeditions or reprints were considered. This list of 140 titles includes: English, French, Portuguese, Russian, Italian, German, Spanish, Catalan, Hungarian, Indian language, Romanian, Chinese, Slavonic language, Asian language, Bulgarian, Japanese, Polish, and Swedish short stories, as well as eleven titles that publish a selection of stories with different source languages.<sup>3</sup> The first remark is that volumes including translated short stories represent over 92% of the total number of volumes in the corpus.

Interestingly, the list heads in the corpus correspond to the nationalities mentioned by Peter Keating in the initial quotation (i.e. American and British, French and Russian), to which Portuguese short stories may also be added, thereby proving that national works were already standing shoulder-to-shoulder with foreign imports. As expected, this list is headed by English as a source language with 51 titles that comprise works by mainly British (22), followed by American (13), Irish and New Zealand writers. Therefore, short stories in English seem to have been prominent in the selection of source texts. This might be explained by the supposed supremacy of American authors in this genre (see Keating 1981: 19), were it not for the predominance of British authors in the corpus under analysis. This aspect therefore deserves further attention at a later stage of this project.

Considering the role translation has played in the volumes and collections included in the corpus (translated volumes represent over 92% of volumes in the corpus), it may yield important information about the position occupied by foreign national literatures in the Portuguese cultural scene. Thus, further research is also needed into this aspect, which may follow the Göttingen special research

3. On anthologies on China, Japan and India see also Seruya (in this volume).

**Table 2.** Source languages

Source language	Number of volumes	Percentage
English	51	36.43%
French	17	12.14%
Portuguese	11	7.86%
Russian	10	7.14%
Italian	7	5.00%
German	6	4.29%
Spanish	6	4.29%
Catalan	3	2.14%
Hungarian	3	2.14%
Indian language	3	2.14%
Romanian	3	2.14%
Chinese	2	1.43%
Slavonic language	2	1.43%
Asian language	1	0.71%
Bulgarian	1	0.71%
Japanese	1	0.71%
Polish	1	0.71%
Swedish	1	0.71%
Selection of languages	11	7.86%
Total	140	

project format. According to this research group, the main tendencies may be ascertained through a quantitative analysis of data with the purpose of determining the relative prestige of each foreign national literature in the target system.<sup>4</sup> Such a study falls beyond the scope of the initial stages covered by this report but will be considered in subsequent phases of this research project.

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4. The following parameters are considered: (1) the number of national literatures represented in each anthology; (2) the number of pages devoted to each national literature in each anthology; and (3) the average number of pages devoted to each national literary system in the anthologies.

### 3. Date of publication

#### 3.1 Global analysis

If the date of publication of the 140 titles in the corpus is considered, the publication of short story anthologies seems to have been concentrated into the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s with a very clear predominance in the fourth and fifth decades of the 20th century (see Table 3).

**Table 3.** Date of publication of volumes including short stories translated into Portuguese

Decade of publication	Number of volumes
1920	–
1930	–
1940	48
1950	43
1960	24
1970	3
1980	–
1990	–
2000	5
No publication date	17

From the 1940s, there seems to have been a special interest in short stories, in the authors that produced them, and in canonizing the genre through anthologization. The fact that, in 1933, the *Oxford English Dictionary* included the short story as a distinct narrative form for the first time (Flora 2003:38) may also have contributed to this, as it indicates that the short story was growing in dignity and gaining ground as a genre.

However, these data deserve further interpretation in the light of both the history of the short story and the history of anthologies in Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century. The 1940s seems to have been a “golden decade” for anthologies in Portugal, and also for anthologies of translated texts. This trend can also be interpreted, within the framework of Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory, as a reaction to a vacuum of original production perceived by leading intellectuals of the time. According to Baubeta, in her 2007 work *The Anthology in Portugal: A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century*:

the *presencistas*' belief that Portuguese literature had stagnated (...) may explain the proliferation of translation anthologies that began to appear in 1940s Portugal, a time when the world had been turned upside down and, according to Lobo-Vilela, the publishing world found itself 'numa fase de ebulição, numa espécie de corrida cega'. (Baubeta 2007: 111)<sup>5</sup>

A very brief survey of titles included in the Portuguese National Library online catalogue shows that the number of volumes explicitly mentioning the word "ant(h)ologia" [anthology] in their titles increased dramatically in the 1940s, indeed (as happens again in the 1990s).

**Table 4.** Number of volumes published in Portugal including the word "antologia" [anthology] in the title<sup>6</sup>

Decade of publication	Number of titles including "ant(h)ologia"
1900s	1
1910s	7
1920s	14
1930s	18
<b>1940s</b>	<b>81</b>
1950s	85
1960s	105
1970s	192
1980s	274
1990s	338
2000s	520

It would be interesting to gauge the role played by translation in these figures, by establishing the proportion of the total number of anthologies that are translated.<sup>7</sup>

5. "In a stage of ebullition, in a sort of blind race." (My translation)

6. For similar data on Spain, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, see the paper by the editors (in this volume).

7. The data so far amassed do not allow for such a comparative analysis because the global numbers included in this table represent volumes published in Portugal that include the word "antologia" in the volume title (including first editions, reprints, and reeditions, as well as prose fiction, lyric poetry and other non-literary genres), whereas the corpus under analysis includes only first editions of titles in eight collections, selected because of including the words "antologia" and "conto" in volume and collection titles. Consequently, the two sets of data lack comparability.

### 3.2 Short stories in English

This same chronological tendency is also visible when short stories in English are considered alone; once more, it was in the forties and fifties that the majority of such works were translated and published for the first time.

**Table 5.** Date of publication of volumes including short stories in English translated into Portuguese

Date of publication	Number of volumes	
	All SL	English-SL
1920	–	–
1930	–	–
1940	48	17
1950	43	18
1960	24	5
1970	3	–
1980	–	–
1990	–	–
2000	5	2
No publication date	17	9

This tendency is remarkable, as, during the time span covered by the corpus analysed by decade in Table 5 (the 20th century, and especially the period up to 1950s), research often mentions a general background of very intensive translation of French source texts. It is only after the 1950s that the general numbers of translation from English are said to have risen in Portugal.

So our first remark is that, against this general background of translation of predominantly French source texts, there seems to have been a special interest in the short story in English to justify this opposite tendency. Overall, there is more than double the number of source texts in English than French. In the 1940s, the number of English language short story volumes is more than four times higher than the number of volumes dedicated to French short stories (17/4), and this tendency is maintained in the following decades, although with less striking proportions (18/6 in the 1950s and 5/3 in the 1960s).



#### 4. On paratexts

Moving from the analysis of information found in bibliographical records to the consideration of paratexts, Gérard Genette in his well-known 1987 work *Seuils* defines paratexts as the verbal and non-verbal messages that accompany a text and thereby both present it and make it present for consumption in book form. Genette goes on to suggest that paratextual messages may vary in status in accordance with their location, date of appearance and disappearance, mode of existence (verbal vs. non-verbal), sender, addressee and function (Genette 1997: 4–5).

The second part of this paper aims to present the initial stages of an analysis of the way translated short stories were introduced to the Portuguese reader in anthologies by selecting paratextual messages based on their location, mode of existence and addressee. In terms of location, it will consider messages included within the same volume as the text (i.e. the first paratextual subcategory of peritext, excluding epitexts). As for mode of existence, it will select for analysis verbal messages only and exclude illustrations. Regarding the addressee, only verbal messages that are addressed to the public in general will be considered (i.e. the public paratext, considered different from private and intimate paratexts). Within the public paratext a further distinction is called for, motivated by Genette's identification of a first category of messages that are addressed to the public in general, and of a second category of messages that are addressed "more specifically or more restrictively only to readers of the text" (Genette 1997: 9). So this paper considers paratexts addressed to the public in general in the form of covers, spines, flaps and blurbs, which include the names of publishers and collections, volume titles, and names of authors. It therefore excludes the second category of paratexts addressed to the public, which comprises prefaces, postfaces, notes, bios of writers, titles of source texts, which are only received by actual readers of the volumes and will deserve further attention in subsequent stages of this research project.

##### 4.1 Publishing houses

Table 6 shows the publishing houses that stood out from the preliminary survey of online records because of the collections and anthologies of short stories they published, consequently included in this corpus.

Of these, the ground-breaking influence of Portugália in the Portuguese cultural scene should be stressed, despite the fact that it was neither the pioneer in the production of anthologies nor the record-breaking publisher in terms of

**Table 6.** Publishing houses, collections and number of volumes

Publishing house: Collection title	Total number of volumes	Number of volumes – English as SL
Arcádia: Antologia [Anthology]	22	3
Atlântida: Antologia do Conto Moderno [Anthology of the Modern Short Story]	29	12
Edições Gleba: Contos e Novelas [Short Stories and Novellas]	24	6
Sirius: Série Contos e Novelas [Short Stories and Novellas Series]	8	3
Livros do Brasil: Miniatura. Pequenas Jóias Literárias dos Maiores Autores [Miniature. Little Literary Gems of the Greatest Authors]	23	15
Padrões Culturais Editora: Coleção Leituras Perfumadas [Collection Scented Readings]	7	4
Portugália: Antologias Universais. Conto. [Universal Anthologies. Short Story]	22	4
Portugália: Contos Universais [Universal Short Stories]	5	4
Total	140	51

the number of English language short story volumes published.<sup>8</sup> As Baubeta points out:<sup>9</sup>

For three decades [from the 1930s onwards] this publishing house [Portugália] dominated the market for anthologies and had an unquestionable impact on Portuguese cultural life. Portuguese publishing houses produced significant numbers of anthologies of short stories, with a clear preference for foreign (Anglo-Saxon) short stories, and lyrical poetry (Portuguese) throughout this period. (Baubeta 2007: 142–145)

Chronologically, the interest in the publication of Portuguese anthologies and collections dedicated to the short story seems to have started in the 1920s with a volume by the publisher Figueirinhas. Edições Sirius and Gleba clearly take the

8. On the role played by the publisher Portugália, see Castagna (in this volume).

9. The first anthology listed in the final catalogue of Baubeta (2007) is: 1907. *Como cahem as mulhers. Narrativas de amor e paixões pelos mais notáveis escriptores contemporâneos. Anthologia de amor*. Ribeiro de Carvalho and Morais Rosa (org.). Lisboa: Antiga Casa Bertrand.

lead in the 1940s (with the publication of 15 volumes) before *Portugália* joins the race with a first volume in 1943, and *Atlântida* does so too in 1945. If we consider the three central decades, in the 1940s, publication is lead by *Gleba* (24 volumes), followed by *Atlântida* (9 volumes); the 1950s are dominated by *Atlântida* (11 volumes); and in the 1960s, *Arcádia* takes the lead (10 volumes), closely followed by *Atlântida* (8 volumes). Among the above-mentioned publishers, *Livros do Brasil* (with mostly undated volumes) and *Atlântida* stand out as the publishers leading the translation and publication of short stories in English, and therefore deserve special attention in subsequent stages of this project.

## 4.2 Translators and anthologists

Although stressing the influence of publishing houses, Baubeta also draws attention to the importance of a few names for the anthologization and canonization of both prose fiction and poetry, devoting sections to a selection of them. Focusing on the anthologization and canonization of Anglo-American prose fiction, the most significant figure seems to have been João Gaspar Simões (1903–1987), founder and literary editor for *Portugália Editora* between 1942 and 1945, where he was responsible for the “*Antologias Universais*” series, as well as for several anthology volumes published by *Arcádia*, *Sírius*, and *Empresa Nacional de Publicidade*. Also worthy of mention is the poet João Cabral do Nascimento (1897–1978), who was also a prolific translator and anthologist of English-language short stories and Portuguese poetry, producing several volumes for *Portugália*, *Editorial Minerva*, *Livraria Bertrand* and *Editorial Verbo*.<sup>10</sup> Another important name is Victor Palla (1922–2006), who (co-)produced several anthologies for *Portugália*, *Coimbra Editora*, *Livros do Brasil* and *Atlântida*, which, with the exception of *Coimbra Editora*, are also present in the corpus under analysis.<sup>11</sup>

The consideration of a list of translators and anthologists in these collections is striking first and foremost because of the diversity of translators who only seldom translate more than one volume/author, secondly because of the apparently special cases of two collections.

Collection “*Atlântida. Antologia do Conto Moderno*” [*Atlantis. Anthology of the Modern Short Story*] publishes twelve volumes by English language authors (in a total of 29 volumes), including works by John Steinbeck, Dorothy Parker,

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10. On Cabral do Nascimento, see also Castagna (2009).

11. Baubeta (2007) also considers the influence of anthologists of poetry and Portuguese short stories such as José Régio (1901–1969), Jorge de Sena (1919–1978), Adolfo Casais Monteiro (1908–1972), Guilherme de Castilho (1912–1987) and José Augusto França (1922–).

Erskine Caldwell, William Saroyan, Somerset Maugham, William Faulkner, Virginia Woolf, D.H. Lawrence, Edna Ferber, H.G. Wells, Katherine Mansfield, and Rudyard Kipling. This collection becomes more interesting if we jointly consider these English language authors together with the names of translators/preface writers. Among the names signing translations and/or prefaces, those of poet and literary critic João José Cochofel (1919–1982), literary critic and theorist Rui Feijó, Victor Palla (1922–2006) (all closely related to the politically and socially committed neorealist circles) easily explain the choices of Steinbeck, Caldwell and Hemmingway. Added to this, the committed approaches by Manuel Barbosa (1905–1991), Manuela Porto (1908–1950), José Palla e Carmo (1923–1995), and by the modernist (and “presencista”)<sup>12</sup> as well as founder and director (1942–1945) of the publisher Portugália, João Gaspar Simões (1903–1987), leave little room for doubt about the culture planning underlying this collection.

The second special case seems to be the collection “Antologias Universais. Conto” [Universal Anthologies. Short Story] by Portugália, because of the prominence given to the names of translators/preface writers, mentioned as “prestigious writers”. Among them one finds the famous poet Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935), the poet and literary editor Tomás Kim, the essay writer and literary critic Guilherme de Castilho (1912–1987), or the main ideologue of the second Portuguese Modernist movement, the poet José Régio (1901–1969).

The contribution of the extensive list of translators and anthologists represented in the corpus deserves further attention, especially when jointly considered with the selection of authors and works in each collection and anthology and the public paratexts (especially prefaces). However, as already mentioned, such considerations fall without the scope of this preliminary study.

### 4.3 Collection titles

The titles of collections by the seven publishers included in the corpus have been organized into four groups, according to the information they offer. A first group includes titles that only mention the fact that they are a series or collection that anthologises works by several authors, e.g. *Antologia* [Anthology] (Group A). A second group of titles makes explicit reference to both anthology and short story, and as such are clearly presented as a collection that anthologizes short stories, e.g. *Antologia do Conto Moderno* [Anthology of the Modern Short Story], a

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12. The second Portuguese Modernist movement was called *Presencismo* and is diametrically opposed to *Neorealism* in the defense of art free from all committed approaches. The coexistence of high-profile neorealist and “presencista” names in this collection therefore becomes an even more interesting line of research.

title where the adjective “modern” disambiguates the very diffuse use of “conto” in Portuguese) (Group B). A third group of collections can only be inferred to anthologize but explicitly mention literary genre (short stories and novellas), and may include instances of canonization by reference to “universal short stories”, e.g. *Contos e Novelas* [Short Stories and Novellas] or *Os Contos Universais* [The Universal Short Stories] (Group C). Another group includes collection titles that do not mention either literary genre or the aim to anthologize (and these collections were recovered during the second stage of our research because the volume titles they include explicitly mention “conto” [short story] (Group D).

Opaque collection titles that do not mention either “conto” or “antologia” are also present in this corpus and are worth further attention. The first one, “Leituras Perfumadas” can be translated as *Scented Readings*, a title that may be interpreted as exclusively addressed to a female readership. The second collection title in this group “Miniatura. Pequenas Jóias Literárias dos Maiores Autores” may be translated as: *Miniature. Little Literary Gems by the Greatest Authors*. Here the use of both the noun “gems” and the adjective “greatest” in the title canonize the works and authors, respectively. One cannot but wonder whether this might be a publisher’s wink to the reader, reminiscent of Henry James’ definition of the short story as “little gem of bright, quick, vivid form” (quoted in Flora 2003: 58).

Moving on to a quantitative analysis of collection titles, those that mention both “conto” and “antologia” ([short story and anthology]; Group B) seem to be predominant, if we consider all SLs; if we consider only short stories in English, it is group D with opaque collection titles that is predominant.

**Table 7.** Number of volumes in each category of collection titles

Category of collection titles	Number of volumes	
	All-SL	English
A. Antologia	22	3
B. Conto + Antologia	51	16
C. Conto	37	13
D. Opaque title	30	19
	140	51

It might prove interesting to dwell upon the way these collection titles may be interpreted to implicitly identify their addressees, as is the case of “Leituras Perfumadas” [Scented Readings] mentioned above, and to explore the reactions of Portuguese readers when confronted with them in terms of their own reading preferences. However, such research goes beyond the scope of the preliminary report presented in this paper.

#### 4.4 Volume titles

Volume titles may also be grouped into five different categories according to the information they convey. The first group includes titles that only mention the literary genre of “contos” [short stories], e.g. *Contos*, by Gleba (Group A). A second group encompasses volume titles that mention the literary genre together with the nationality of authors (Group B). These titles clearly present the volumes as anthologies of the short story introducing them to the reader by nationality and sometimes also mentioning a chronological scope. They sometimes also contribute to the canonization of works through the use of adjectives like “classic”, superlative forms of adjectives such as “the best”, or the canonization of authors mentioned as “masters” of this literary genre. The titles in this second group include: *Contos Americanos, Século XIX* [*American Short Stories, 19th century*], *Contos Ingleses Modernos* [*Modern English Short Stories*], *Uma Viagem aos Contos Clássicos Ingleses* [*A Voyage through Classic English Short Stories*], *Os Melhores Contos Americanos* [*The Best American Short Stories*], *Mestres do Conto Americano Moderno* [*Masters of the Modern American Short Story*], and *Histórias Fantásticas Inglesas e Americanas* [*English and American Fantasy Stories*]. A third group of volume titles (C) mention the literary genre and the author’s name, possibly because the author is also or predominantly known for works belonging to other literary genres, e.g. *Os melhores contos de Aldoux Huxley* [*The Best Short Stories by Aldous Huxley*] or *Os melhores contos de Somerset Maugham* [*The Best Short Stories by Somerset Maugham*]. Titles included in the fourth group (D) only mention the name of authors, e.g. *Katherine Mansfield*, or *Três encontros com H. James, Twain e Melville* [*Three encounters with H. James, Twain and Melville*]. Titles in the last group (E) include the Portuguese title of the first or only short story included in the volume, e.g. *Duas ou Três Graças* [*Two or Three Graces*] or *O Crime de Lord Artur Savile (e outras novelas)* [*Lord Arthur Savile’s Crime (and other novellas)*] without mentioning the author’s name.

It is interesting to see how some collection and volume titles try to disambiguate the use of the very diffuse Portuguese designation “conto”, which also covers the English “tale” and may also be used for oral, folk tales, and children’s stories. They do this by modifying it with the adjectives “moderno” [modern] or “contemporâneo” [contemporary] to ensure that it is understood as referring to the literary form established during the 19th century.

In terms of a quantitative analysis, for SLs other than English, titles that include a reference to the literary genre “conto” [short story] followed by the nationality of the authors are predominant possibly because it was important to mention that narrative, not poetry, was anthologized in the volume. As for volumes publishing

translated versions of short stories in English alone, the most common type of title includes only the title of story, or only the name of author, as shown in Table 8.

**Table 8.** Number of volumes in each category of volume titles

Type of title	All-SL	English	Other-SL
A. "Conto/s"	15	3	12
B. "Conto" + nationality	40	9	31
C. "Conto" + Author's name	13	4	9
D. Author's name	30	13	17
E. Short story title	43	22	21
	141	51	90

This is interesting because it seems both English-language authors and works were already so well known that they did not require any sort of introduction regarding literary genre. The opposite is the case for other source languages, where the literary genre and nationality are presented in the volume title, while authors and story titles are only mentioned inside the volume, in a table of contents or introductory note (where that exists).

#### 4.5 Source text authors

Regarding authors, and focusing only on the English-language translations in this corpus, the 51 titles dedicated to the short story in English include works by 72 English language authors, as shown in Table 8. The numbers included in this table refer to the number of volumes in which the author is selected for publication (irrespective of the number of short stories actually translated and published). This table in Table 9 excludes a long list of authors that were selected for publication only once.<sup>13</sup>

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13. Authors translated only once in the corpus are: Aiken, Conrad; Austin, William; Barclay, Florence; Baring, Maurice; Beerbohm, Max; Benét, S. V.; Benson, E. F.; Bowen, Elizabeth; Buck, Pearl; Canfield, Dorothy; Cather, Willa; Chesterton, Gilbert K.; Chopin, Kate; Christie, Agatha; Crawford, Marion; Dane, Clemence; Dates, H. E.; De La Mare, Walter; Defoe, Daniel; Ferber, Edna; Gilbert, G. R.; Halward, Leslie; Hardy, Thomas; James, M. R.; Joyce, James; Kipling, Rudyard; Lamb, Charles; Lamb, Mary; Lardner, Ring; London, Jack; Morgan, Charles; Munro, H. H.; O'Connor, Frank; O'Flaherty, Liam; Oppenheim, E. Phillips; Porter, Katherine Ann; Saki; Scott, Walter; Shaw, Bernard; Sitwell, Osbert; Stevenson, Robert Louis; Trollope, Anthony; Waugh, Evelyn; Welty, Eudora; Wilder, Thornton; and Woolf, Virginia.

The list heads most often selected for translation into Portuguese are: Somerset Maugham (7), Aldous Huxley, Katherine Mansfield, Oscar Wilde (5), James Hilton, D. H. Lawrence, Edgar Allan Poe, and H. G. Wells (4).

**Table 9.** English-language authors selected for translation and publication

Author	Number of volumes
Maugham, Somerset	7
Huxley, Aldous	5
Mansfield, Katherine	5
Wilde, Oscar	5
Hilton, James	4
Lawrence, D. H.	4
Poe, Edgar	4
Wells, H. G.	4
Anderson, Sherwood	3
Faulkner, William	3
James, Henry	3
Melville, Herman	3
Parker, Dorothy	3
Saroyan, William	3
Steinbeck, John	3
Twain, Mark	3
Caldwell, Erskine	2
Dickens, Charles	2
Gaskell, Elizabeth	2
Greene, Graham	2
Harte, Bret	2
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	2
Hemingway, Ernest	2
Henry, O.	2
Irving, Washington	2

This list suggests several possible lines of enquiry, which are especially relevant if we consider them in the light of Baubeta's statement that: "[i]t was through the translation anthology or anthological collection that the majority of Portuguese first came into contact with these authors" (2007: 119). It would be both interesting and profitable to try to understand the criteria used for selecting authors for inclusion (such as consideration of awards and prizes); the criteria for grouping these authors, rather than others, in a specific collection or volume; the criteria for selecting and organizing works by each author; the identity of the person performing this selection; the presentation of the selection and organization



criteria (the translator is also often responsible for the selection and preface); the authors and stories that have been retranslated (i.e. comet's tails); those that have been reprinted, etc. It would therefore be interesting to find out exactly how these authors were introduced to the Portuguese reader, which means that further research on the paratexts of these volumes is certainly to be included in further stages of this project.

## 5. Further research

This report on the initial stages of an exploratory study of eight collections by seven publishers, including 140 titles, has so far yielded more questions than answers, as might be expected. Who translates? Who is responsible for this selection? Who are the editors and anthologists behind such anthologies? What was the status of the translator (sometimes also in charge of the selection, bibliographical notes and preface)? Was s/he an author, a professional translator, an academic? Which stories were selected for translation, for retranslation, for reprints? What criteria are mentioned as motivating the selection? What criteria motivated the combination of particular authors and stories in a single collection or volume? Is there a common rationale, ideological, poetological trend to be found in the work of translators and/or anthologists involved in each collection? How is the genre presented, defined and discussed in peritextual statements? Were these volumes the translation of English language anthologies, and therefore a result of a previous selection carried out elsewhere by other agents? Or given the general dependence on the French editorial market in these decades, were they translations of French anthologies? What international networks may be uncovered by such research? How many reprints were there? What authors were subsequently reprinted and/or retranslated? When? Why? For how long were such volumes available on the market? How were these stories and authors received in the target culture? What repercussions did this have in periodicals? What repercussions were there in non-translated works by Portuguese-language writers? What part was played by foreign short stories in translation? Did translated short stories effectively contribute to a renewal of Portuguese literature or were they, on the contrary, marked by strong constraints imposed by the target system? Were short stories predominantly a flexible and open genre, an imported genre or were they an indigenous, stable and closed genre (Lambert et al. 1985: 160)? These are just a few questions among the many that might be addressed by research group projects interested in unravelling the contribution of such publications to the Portuguese cultural scene within the wider network of international relations. Further work would also be needed in order to create a larger corpus, including sub-corpora corresponding to a binary

division between translation anthologies and anthological collections (as suggested by Baubeta 2007: 119) or considering further subcategories, such as those mentioned above in Section 3 (one volume, one source language, and one author; one volume, one source language, and several authors; or one volume, and several source languages and authors).

This report has hopefully showed that further research into paratexts, texts and their contexts is needed in order to extract relevant information on the exchanges between the short story in English and the Portuguese target culture, with the ultimate aim of mapping the development of the short story as a literary genre in Portugal. Literary studies also identify important directions for further study, including the consideration of periodicals, known to be a very important means for the dissemination of this literary form. In “The Problematics of Form: History and the Short Story” Barry Menikoff states:

Serious work on the short story – and by short story I mean the form as it emerged in the later nineteenth century – requires scholarship into newspaper and magazine publishing, the role of literary agents (...) and syndicators (...), the records of book publishers, author’s fees, magazine’s editorial policies, length limits, etc. (Menikoff 1984: 130)

Given the oft-repeated importance of intercultural exchange for the development of the short story, this list seems incomplete without a reference to scholarship in Translation Studies. The quotation by Even-Zohar used at the beginning of this paper goes on to state:

It has been substantiated that interference is the rule rather than the exception, whether it is a major or a minor occurrence for a given literature. It is only when the invisible processes of interference are discovered that its overwhelming presence can be fully recognized and estimated. (Even-Zohar 1990: 59)

A history of the short story would indeed benefit from research projects on exchanges between the influential short story in English and other target cultures besides the Portuguese. Indeed, a study of the multilateral exchanges between a constellation of source and target cultures might identify in detail how translation as an indirect channel of intercultural interference has contributed to the development of this literary genre, as well as yield important information about the role played by anthologies and collections in this process. Ongoing research projects dealing with this topic will undoubtedly produce further studies, since there is still much to be done to uncover the role of translation in the development of the short story as a literary form.

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## *Cancioneiro Chinez*

### The first Portuguese anthology of classical Chinese poetry\*

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Referred to as a collection of (indirect or mediated) translations or lyrical adaptations, António Feijó's *Cancioneiro chinez* (1890), literally the Book of Chinese Songs, is the first anthology of classical Chinese poetry translated into Portuguese. It was translated from Judith Gautier's *Le Livre de jade*, which, since its publication in 1867, has been reprinted five times (1902, 1908, 1928, 1933, and 2004) and extensively translated into several European languages. Widely popular among the late nineteenth-century French audience, *Le Livre de jade*, which recent research has shown to collect mostly mistranslations and pseudotranslations, combines a selection of what Judith Gautier considered to mirror China's best poetry with her own notion of an oriental aesthetics.

Briefly turning to the Orient in search of new poetic possibilities, António Feijó (1859–1917) had no knowledge of the Chinese language and was never in China, which did not prevent his *Cancioneiro chinez* from achieving national success. This collection allowed the poet to keep pace with French literary modernity and introduced Portuguese audience to new poetic material, thus allowing him enough leeway for poetic experimentation.

Based on José Lambert and Van Gorp's model for translation description, our study sets out from a two-tiered textual approach: one focused on meta-textual information (front cover, collection title, and preface) and the other on a macro-level comparative analysis (special focus on text division and formal structure). Both analyses will permit us to understand not only the impact of *Cancioneiro chinez* on a socio-cultural context highly influenced by French culture and language, but also the poet's approach to a mediated translation of an exotic language.

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## Introduction

In the nineteenth century the lure of things oriental made Europeans turn to the East and write on oriental otherness, whose literature they would endeavour to translate for European readers. Especially during the second half of the nineteenth-century the West started facing a crisis in poetry that called for its revitalisation, to which the importation of Chinese poetry would greatly contribute. Hervey de Saint-Denys (1832–1892) with his *Poésies de l'époque des Thang* (1862) and, most particularly, Judith Gautier (1845–1917) with *Le Livre de jade* (1867) were leading authorities in the translation of Chinese poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Drawing on the theoretical framework of Descriptive Translation Studies this article aims to take a brief look at the nineteenth-century Portuguese literary panorama in order to understand through a specific case study the impact of Judith Gautier's translation on a socio-cultural context highly influenced by French culture and language.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Source context

The French sinologist Muriel Détrie acknowledges Hervey de Saint-Denys's *Poésies de l'époque des Thang* as “the first book to appear in the West offering an extensive anthology of the poets of the Golden Age of Chinese poetry as well as an historical survey of its poetics” (1991–1992: 45). Rendered rather literally, this poetry translation is similar to a documentary in style, and it contrasts with the exotic suggestiveness of another anthology of classical Chinese poetry, *Le Livre de jade*.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Louis Bouilhet (1822–1869) should also be cited for his *Dernières chansons* (1872) and their oriental tone. In English language mention should be made of *Poeseos Sinensis Commentarii: On the Poetry of the Chinese* (1830) by John Francis Davis (1795–1890) and *Gems of Chinese Literature: Verse* (1884) by Herbert Giles (1845–1935), who organised the first English anthologies of Chinese poetry. James Legge (1815–1897) also translated the Confucian canon, including the *Shi Jing* (*The She King, or The Book of Ancient Poetry, Translated in English Verse, with Essays and Notes*, 1876).

2. Nineteenth-century Portuguese intellectuals referred to this phenomenon of high French influence and imitation as ‘francesismo.’ Eça de Queiroz's posthumously published essay “O Francesismo” (1912) is probably the most emblematic of the time on this cultural peculiarity. For further information see: Álvaro Manuel Machado. 1984. *O “Francesismo” na literatura portuguesa*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

3. Détrie further adds that Saint-Denys's translation lacks “poetic qualities: d’Hervey-Saint-Denys [*sic*] translated line by line in a very prosaic way, without the slightest concern about meter, rhythm, rhyme, euphony, and so on” (1991–1992: 48).

Signed under the nom-de-plume Judith Walter, *Le Livre de jade* was published one month after the Paris World Exhibition in 1867.<sup>4</sup> By then the daughter of Théophile Gautier was only eighteen years old and had been learning the Chinese language for nearly four years with the Chinese tutor Tin-Tung-Ling, to whom she dedicates the first edition of her collection and whose poems are also included in the volume.<sup>5</sup>

Symptomatic of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries' predilection for *chinoiserie*, *Le Livre de jade* is Gautier's first published book. Together with Ezra Pound's *Cathay* (1915), it is considered one of the "formative texts in the genealogy of Western modernism" (Bradbury 2005). Its unforeseen success, both among French readers and literary critics, launched the young writer on to the French literary scene and paved the way for a promising career that would culminate in her admission as the first woman into the Académie Goncourt in 1910.

The popularity and enduring influence of *Le Livre de jade* can be described by a set of variables, of which I would like to stress its "allusive rather than descriptive, suggestive rather than informative" poetry (Détrie 1991–1992: 49). The selection of poems was based on the Chinese collection available at the Imperial Library in Paris rather than on Saint-Denys's previous choices, from which she distances herself by combining what she considered to be China's best poetry with her own notion of an oriental aesthetics. The success of the book explains its subsequent editions in 1902, 1908, 1928, 1933, and more recently 2004.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Some of the poems included in the volume were first published in the journal *L'Artiste* under the title of "Variations sur des thèmes chinois" by Judith Walter. A note follows the name: "Ce pseudonyme transparent cache la fille d'un grand poète, femme deux fois femme, par la beauté et par la poésie. Dans son article sur le nouveau livre de Figuiet, elle a prouvé qu'elle avait, par sa pensée, fait le tour du monde visible et invisible; aujourd'hui, en traduisant les poètes chinois mieux que ne le ferait Stanislas Julien, elle prouve que c'est pour la femme que le mot impossible n'existe plus" [This transparent nom-de-plume veils the daughter of a great poet, twice a woman for her beauty and poetry. In her article on the new book by Figuiet, she proved that she had, through her thoughts, made the tour of both the visible and invisible worlds. Having translated, today, the Chinese poets better than Stanislas Julien, himself, would she prove that the impossible word no longer exists for women] (Walter 1864: 38; our translation).

5. Despite our awareness of William Germano's distinction between collection and anthology – "a collection is 'a gathering of new or mostly new writing,' whereas an anthology is 'a gathering of previously published, or mostly previously published, work'" (as cited by Leo 2004: 4) –, both terms are here used indistinctly. Not only does 'anthology' etymologically refer to a collection of poems (Leo 2004: 2), as is the case in point, but most of the poems that are part of *Le Livre de jade* and of its Portuguese version were literary novelties.

6. During our research we were unable to find substantial evidence confirming the existence of the 1908 edition, even though the literature does not question it. There were also intralingual rewritings. The more obvious are *Poèmes de Chine* (1887) by Émile Blémont (1839–1927), *La Flûte de jade: poésies chinoises* (1920) by Franz Toussaint (1879–1955), and *Autres Poèmes d'après*

This book was also extensively, although not totally, translated into other European languages. Many of its poems were published either in a book or as part of wider literary collections (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Le Livre de jade and its (partial) translations*

Date	Target language	Target text	Translator
1870	PT	“Lyra chinesa” in <i>Falenas</i> (Rio de Janeiro: B. L. Garnier)	Machado de Assis
1873	GER	<i>Chinesische Lieder aus dem Livre de Jade von Judith Mendès</i> (Munich: Theodor Ackermann)	Gottfried von Böhm
1882	IT	<i>Il libro di Giada – echi dell’estremo Oriente recati in versi italiani secondo la lezione di J. Walter</i> (Florence: Successori Le Monnier)	Tullo Massarani
1890	ENG	<i>Pastels in prose</i> (New York: Harper & Brothers)	Stuart Merrill
1890	PT	<i>Cancioneiro chinez</i> (Oporto: Magalhães & Moniz)	António Feijó
1903	PT	<i>Cancioneiro chinez</i> (2nd ed.) (Lisbon: Tavares Cardoso & Irmão)	António Feijó
1905	GER	<i>Chinesische Lyrik</i> (Munich: R. Piper)	Hans Heilmann*
1915	GER	<i>Dumpfe Trommel und beraushtes Gong: Nachdichtungen chinesischer Kriegslyrik</i> (Leipzig: Insel)	Klabund [pseudonym of Alfred Henschke]
1918	ENG	<i>Chinese Lyrics from The Book of Jade</i> (New York: B. W. Huebsch)	James Whitall
1918	RUS	<i>Farforovyi pavil'on</i> [The Porcelain Pavilion] (Petersburg: Giperbore)	Nikolai Gumilev

*le chinois* (1937) by Paul Claudel (1868–1955). Émile Blémont lists at the end of his *Poèmes de Chine* the main books he based his translations on. In addition to *Le Livre de jade* and Saint-Denys’s *Poésies*, he also includes: *Choix de contes et nouvelles traduits du chinois* by Théodore Pavie, *La Chine familière et galante* by Jules Arène, *Les Chinois peints par eux-mêmes* by the General Tcheng-Ki-Tong, and Confucius’s *Le Livre des vers* translated by Guillaume Pauthier (*Le Chi-King, ou livre des vers* [1872], which is part of the second volume of *Bibliothèque orientale: chefs d’œuvre littéraires de l’Inde, de la Perse, de l’Égypte et de la Chine*). In 1903, Count Charles Zaluski published *Fleurs fanées, poésies étrangères traduites ou imitées en vers français*, which includes two poems “d’après la traduction de Judith Walter” [according to the translation of Judith Walter] (1903: 47), namely “Le Cormoran” and “Les Deux flûtes” both by Li-Tai-Pé.

Date	Target language	Target text	Translator
1920	ENG	<i>A Garden of Bright Waters. One Hundred and Twenty Asiatic Love Poems</i> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)	Edward Powys Mathers
1927	GER	<i>Der Porzellanpavillon</i> (Berlin: P. Zsolnay Verlag)	Max Fleisher

\* Based on Hans Heilmann's *Chinesische Lyrik*, Hans Bethge published in 1907 *Die chinesische Flöte: Nachdichtungen chinesischer Lyrik* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag), and in 1908 Gustav Mahler used seven poems from the latter to compose *Das Lied von der Erde*.

The famous Brazilian novelist Machado de Assis (1839–1908) seems to have been the first to venture into the translation of *Le Livre de jade* with eight poems included in his poetry book *Falenas* (1870).<sup>7</sup> In Portugal, the poet António Feijó (1859–1917) was the one to take up this challenge with his *Cancioneiro chinez*.

This collection of translations was published in 1890 shortly after Feijó's arrival from Brazil, where he had been carrying out diplomatic duties since 1886. Prior to the book's publication, some of his translated poems had already been published in local periodicals, the first translated poem dating back as far as 1884. António Feijó was certainly no sinologist; he had no knowledge of the Chinese language and was never in China. Brazil, Argentina and Sweden were the closest he ever came to the Far East. *Cancioneiro chinez* was António Feijó's only book of poetry to be published twice during his lifetime.<sup>8</sup> Indeed in 1903, one year after

7. These eight poems were: "Sad heart talking to the sun. (Imitation of Su-Tchon)," "The willow leaf (Tchan-Tiú-Lin)," "The poet laughing (Han-Tiê)," "To a woman (Tchê-Tsi)," "The emperor (Thu-Fu)," "The fan (De-Tan-Jo-Lu)," "The flowers and the fir trees (Tin-Tun-Sing)," "Reflections (Thu-Fu)." Different versions of these poems were later included in *Cancioneiro chinez*. In his letters to Luiz de Magalhães, António Feijó, who had no Chinese language skills, refers to the inaccuracy of the translations by the Brazilian author: "Machado de Assis has only translated 8 poems, which were to him the most remarkable. I am much further ahead than him. His translations are all in blank verse and thus bad, and even less accurate than mine, except for the four-line stanzas 'Sad heart talking to the sun' that he has imitated in an exceptionally beautiful manner" (Letter [85] 22 October 1885 – Feijó 2004a: 112–113). Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Portuguese are mine and only the translated text is included.

8. António Feijó only authored poetry books. The prose works containing his signature are either non-literary prose, such as the report *A Instrução popular na Suécia* (published twice, in 1897 and 1901), or translations. Not only did he translate one of August Strindberg's plays (for further information see footnote 24), but also travel narrative letters written from 1789 to 1802 by the Swedish chaplain Carl Israel Ruders (1761–1837). Originally published between 1805–1809, *Portugisisk resa beskrifven i bref till Vanner* was translated as *Viagens em Portugal 1798–1802*. These letters were irregularly published in 52 issues of the Portuguese newspaper



the publication of the second version of *Le Livre de jade*, he handed in to a Lisbon publishing house the manuscript for the re-edition of his *Cancioneiro*, still based on the first edition of *Le Livre de jade*.

With regard to this French version, the Japanese musicologist Fusako Hamao (1995: 85–86) has identified a translation pattern and systematized it as follows:

1. Long Chinese poems are often divided into sets of shorter poems and only then translated into French;
2. Proper nouns are often turned into common nouns, and geocultural or historical allusions are suppressed;
3. Overuse of adjectives indicating colour;
4. Tendency to add words, phrases, or whole sentences;
5. Free arrangement of sentence order;
6. Unreliable, and faulty, authorship attributions, which Gautier tried to correct from edition to edition.

This translational behaviour gives rise to a domesticated translation in which local colour and historical allusions are reduced to the minimum, and symbolic images are instead expanded and reinforced.<sup>9</sup> These translation shifts or idiosyncrasies have made it difficult to confirm the authorship of the poems included, especially because from the first to the second editions more poems were added and authorship attributions corrected. This phenomenon of ‘authorial counterfeit’, as Apter would call it (2006: 220), conveys the idea of an unreliable translator. A growing number of scholars have actually claimed that certain poems result from the translator’s own imagination. Fusako Hamao prefers to speak of mistranslations (which echo the seventeenth-century *belles infidèles*), whereas Ferdinand Stocès refers to

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*Diário de Notícias*, between 1906 and 1912. Only in 1981 were they published in book form by Castelo Branco Chaves. Both translations from Swedish were published anonymously. Could the source languages and different linguistic skills have influenced disparate translational attitudes? It is enough to say that António Feijó mastered the French language, whilst his translations of Swedish literature were didactic and language-learning oriented.

9. Historical allusion and intertextuality are some defining features of Chinese poetry. The symbolist poet Camilo Pessanha (1867–1926) translated directly from the Chinese language into Portuguese eight elegies from the Ming dynasty. He says of his translation that “the sensorial or musical element [...] is absolutely inconvertible. [...] One of the most flagrant characteristics of Chinese poetry [...] lies in that exaggerated taste for historical or literary allusion that makes numberless passages, and even entire poems, have a double meaning – one superficial and direct, and another mentioned or symbolic, erudite and deep. [...] [E]ven the imprecision of the language, which in literary Chinese is such a fundamental quality [...] is in the poetic diction aggravated by its epigraphic concision [...], in which the best elegance determines the almost complete suppression of the words describing the logical relations” (Pessanha 1993: 77–78).

‘pseudotranslations,’ which he defines as the mingling of “very free interpretations, variations or adaptations with a hearty dose of pure invention that bear no relationship to the Chinese originals” (2004: 14).<sup>10</sup>

The lack of knowledge of the Chinese language, which prevented Feijó from accessing the Chinese originals, was never an obstacle to his translation project nor is this linguistic handicap ever mentioned in his letters. António Feijó assumes Gautier’s *Livre* as an unquestionable authority; hence *Cancioneiro chinez* incorporates some of its pseudotranslations as well as the mediated features pointed out by Hamao.

Having set the background for our descriptive approach to *Cancioneiro chinez*, our analysis will be divided into two sections based on Lambert and van Gorp’s model for translation description (1985): one focused on metatextual (or preliminary) information and a second section on macro-level comparative data.<sup>11</sup>

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10. Contemporary of Judith Gautier, Adolphe Thalasso argued for assimilation and he considered *Le Livre de jade* to be the best example of this trend: “[L]’assimilation est indispensable au traducteur. Elle est sa vertu fondamentale: assimilation dans l’ensemble et le détail; assimilation de la physionomie et du caractère; assimilation des mots, des expressions, des images; assimilation des pensées, des sentiments, des sensations. // *Le Livre de jade*, de Judith Walter (pseudonyme de Mme Judith Gautier); est, pour moi, l’idéal de cette traduction. [...] Il procure au cœur et à l’esprit des joies que ne leur offriront jamais ni la traduction lourde, traînante et souvent incompréhensible du mot à mot, ni la traduction littéraire embarrassée, ‘enchinoisée’ de noms de fleuves, de villes et de montagnes qui distraient, qui désunissent à tout instant la pensée du lecteur de la pensée du poète et empêchent, à chaque ligne, l’enchantement poétique d’opérer” [Assimilation is crucial to the translator. It is his/her main virtue: assimilation of the whole and of detail; assimilation of physiognomy and character; assimilation of words, expressions, images; assimilation of thoughts, feelings, sensations. // *Le Livre de jade*, by Judith Walter (nom-de-plume of Mme Judith Gautier) is, to me, the ideal of this kind of translation. [...] It seeks joy in the heart and spirit that a heavy, dragging and more often than not incomprehensible word-to-word translation will never be able to offer. Neither will the awkward, literal, ‘enchinoisé’ translation of the names of rivers, towns and mountains that keep distracting, detaching the reader’s thought from the poet’s thought and with every line preventing the poetic enchantment from working its magic] (1906: 25; our translation). As regards Du Fu’s translated poems, William Hung says that “Judith Gautier [...] has fourteen poems attributed to Tu Fu, two of which [‘Promenade le soir dans la prairie’ and ‘A Huit grands poètes qui buvaient ensemble’] are highly deformed translations of genuine poems [...]. Of the others, it can be said that they merely reflect the creative imagination of a talented [...] woman. I can find none of these twelve poems in any Chinese text, either among the authenticated poems or among Tu Fu’s pseudo-poems” (as cited by Stocès 2004: 17).

11. Our study is grounded on the target-oriented culturalist model theorised in translation studies by Gideon Toury: “[C]oncrete texts in languages other than the target’s are not part of necessary equipment for launching research [...] even if none is used, the study will still pertain to Translation Studies as long as the assumptions of their temporal preexistence and logical priority are taken into account” (1995: 34). Since we are not familiar with the Chinese language

## 2. Metatextual information

### 2.1 Front cover

The first edition of *Le Livre de jade* is decorated with Chinese characters that reveal the exotic subject matter of the book. These ideograms are immediately followed by the title of the book and the name of the translator-compiler, “par Judith Walter” [by Judith Walter]. Neither the front cover nor the title page gives any clue on the translational nature of *Le Livre de jade*. Indeed that piece of information is only provided after the title of each poem, which is followed by the formula ‘selon’ [according to] plus the name of the Chinese poet.

The front cover of the first edition of *Cancioneiro chinês* does not differ much. At the top are the translator’s name and the title of the translation, followed by the name of the author of the preface included in the volume. The front cover of the second edition is plain and presents almost the same layout and information.

Similarly to the French version, the label ‘translation’ is nowhere to be found in either edition, nor is there any mention of António Feijó as translator or Judith Gautier as the author-compiler of the source anthology.<sup>12</sup> Was the poet deliberately trying to hide the translational nature of his recent poetic creation? His friend Luiz de Magalhães argues that “translation, adaptation or imitation, this beautiful book is, in any case, a superior work” (1922: 213). The phrase ‘in any case’ seems to underline the negative connotation attached to translation, thus shedding light on the omission of that key word. Furthermore, since the Portuguese audience was unfamiliar with the Chinese poets translated, the inclusion of Feijó’s name signified for the reader a kind of guarantee of quality.

In both editions of *Cancioneiro chinês* only at the end in the table of contents listing the poems included do we actually come across revealing information. Each title is followed by the name of the Chinese poet identified in *Le Livre de jade* between brackets. This post-textual disclosure might easily go unnoticed by a less attentive reader, who would then remain oblivious to the translational nature of the volume.

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and indirect translation is our object of study, we will not consider the so-called originals (that is, the Chinese poems Judith Gautier selected, compiled, and translated) so as to prove that second-hand translations are a “culturally relevant phenomenon,” as well as “more than a mere legitimate object for research” (Tourey 1995: 130).

12. Based on the literary reviews published in the 1890s, our research shows that most reviewers were aware of the fact that *Cancioneiro* was a partial translation of Judith Gautier’s *Le Livre de jade*, although that source was quite often suppressed.

## 2.2 Collection title

The title *Cancioneiro chinez* not only reveals its anthological character, but it simultaneously points to the formal structure of the Galician-Portuguese *cancioneiros* [songbooks]. On the one hand, it echoes one of the first poetry collections in Chinese literature, the *Shi Jing* (or *Shih Ching*), literally ‘Classic of poetry’ or, as some have suggested for the Portuguese language, ‘Cancioneiro chinês,’ which is a canonical collection of 305 songs from the first half of our Christian millennium (Cheng 1982: 16; Jingming 2001: 28).<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, as a medieval structure par excellence, the *cancioneiro* is traditionally defined as a “book that contains lyrical pieces (sometimes accompanied by melody) compiled according to a certain criterion that gives them unity” (Brea 1993: 113).<sup>14</sup> *Cancioneiro chinez* shares these features and also incorporates musical rhythm. And musicality is one of the main traits of Chinese poetical language (Cheng 1982: 16–17), which the title of the Portuguese version preserves, thus suggesting that the free rendition of the French source title was not by accident.

The link between classical Chinese poetry and the Portuguese medieval structure requires further investigation that is beyond the scope of the present article. The *Cancioneiro* would profit from being studied as a double exoticising exercise: spatially, for it suggests an oriental Other, and temporally, since it evokes a historical tradition the Romantic imagination cultivated in search of a national mythical origin.

## 2.3 Preface

In the nineteenth century it was common for translators to take advantage of peritextual devices to theorise about their translation practice.

The discourse of the translator Feijó is nowhere to be found in his *Cancioneiro*, for it only includes a preface written in French and specifically related to the French

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13. It is our conviction that António Feijó must have been aware of the cultural and literary value of the *Shi Jing*, for his letters suggest that he deeply researched into Chinese culture. They also suggest that he may have been acquainted with the *Shi Jing*, most probably through Guillaume Pauthier (1801–1873), who was the most well-known nineteenth-century French translator of Confucius’s works, including *Le Chi-King, ou livre des vers*, as mentioned in footnote 6.

14. González Cuenca offers a miscellaneous criterion: “[A] song book is when several poetical texts [are] independently recognised in a manuscript or printed support, that is, codex or book, even though it may be miscellaneous [miscellaneous referring to the combination of poetry and prose]” (2004: 32 n. 24).

source text by the General Tcheng-Ki-Tong. This writer was asked by Feijó himself, through the mutual friend Count S. Mamede, to comment on *Le Livre de jade*.<sup>15</sup> It does not therefore contribute to the visibility of the Portuguese translator nor does it show the importance of his translation task.<sup>16</sup> This preface together with a French epigraph from Joris-Karl Huysmans's novel *À Rebours* (1887) – "...quelques extraits de ce délicat *Livre de jade* dont l'exotique parfum de ginseng et de thé se mêle à l'odorante fraîcheur de l'eau qui babille, sous un clair de lune, tout le long du livre" (Feijó 1890: n.p.) ["some selections from that delicate *Livre de jade* whose exotic perfume of ginseng and of tea blends with the odorous freshness of water babbling along the book, under moonlight" (Huysmans 2004: Chapter 14)] – are the only direct references to *Le Livre de jade*, although there is no explicit allusion to the translational link between the French and the Portuguese collections.

Despite the difficulties this non-translated preface may have posed to the reader, it illustrates the reader profile implied by *Cancioneiro chinês*, which conceives of its readers as educated and fluent in French.<sup>17</sup> The absence of passing comments, footnotes or biographical notes also conveys the expectation of a well-informed and competent readership, one that can grasp the full significance of oriental poetry, symbolism, and imagery without peritextual apparatus.

### 3. Macro-level data

#### 3.1 Text division

From the macro-level point of view, in terms of text division, both the source and target collections are arranged thematically, though they diverge in terms of quantity and thematic criteria. The 1867 edition of *Le Livre de jade* included 71 poems by 22 poets, whereas the first edition of the *Cancioneiro* comprised 48 poems by 17 poets, almost all from the Tang dynasty (618–907).

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15. "I had an idea: the colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong, [...] author of the book *Les Chinois peints par eux-mêmes*, is a friend of Count S. Mamede. Today I wrote him asking him to get in touch with the colonel to ask him to write an article on the *Livre de jade* by Judith Walter, so as to serve as preface to a Portuguese translation of that book. What do you think of this idea?" (Letter [93] December 1885 – Feijó 2004a: 122–123).

16. António Feijó will wonder whether or not to keep this preface in the second edition of *Cancioneiro chinês*, for he says it "has no value whatsoever" [Letter [378] 11 March 1902 – Feijó 2004b: 36]).

17. A similar impression of cultural congruence between Eastern and Western cultures is visible in contemporary translations of short stories (see T. Seruya in this volume, p. 171–186).

The first edition of the French collection is divided into seven sections: “The Lovers” (17 poems), “The Moon” (9 poems), “Autumn” (12 poems), “The Travellers” (6 poems), “The Wine” (8 poems), “The War” (7 poems), and “The Poets” (12 poems).<sup>18</sup> For Muriel Détrie this thematic distribution is “disproportionate to that which it occupies in Chinese poetry generally but almost all the favourite topics of Chinese poetry are represented” (1991–1992: 50). As for the high number of love poems, she argues that “Judith Gautier s’est plus conformée au goût français qu’à la tradition poétique chinoise où l’amour, rarement idéalisé, occupe une moindre place que l’amitié” [Judith Gautier complied more with the French taste rather than with the Chinese poetic tradition where love, rarely idealized, plays a minor role than friendship] (Détrie 1989: 313; our translation). *Cancioneiro chinez* shows a similar distribution (see Table 2).

Table 2. Poem distribution

Section	Number of poems included from the source text
The Lovers	16
The Moon	6
Autumn	8
The Travellers	4
The Wine	5
The War	4
The Poets	5

The inclusion of such a significant amount of love poems, combined with the medieval tone conveyed by the title, would also gain into being equated with the Galician-Portuguese lyrical tradition, particularly in close connection to the so-called *cantigas de amor* and *cantigas de amigo*, which Feijó seems to use as a model for his translation.<sup>19</sup>

*Cancioneiro chinez* is divided into four parts, each corresponding to a rather common criterion for organising Far Eastern anthologies: the season cycle (Braga 2003: 11; Jingming 2001: 26). Each season comprises 12 poems that were selected on the basis of a personal criterion of formal perfection or, in Feijó’s words, “love of perfection” (2004a: 231), which is repeatedly summed up as:

18. The second edition of *Le Livre de jade* shows significant differences regarding the first edition, particularly the inclusion of more poems and the addition of the section “Court.”

19. *Shijing – Cancioneiro chinês visto numa perspectiva ocidental* (2000) is one of such attempts of bringing together Chinese classical literature and Galician-Portuguese literature.

To me, a verse *is not good* if I can *make it better*. [...] [A]s long as I have the means to make it more perfect, I mean, more musical, more colourful, more expressive or unexpected, I should not content myself with it. [...] My principle consists, then, in that each artist must exhaust efforts to do *the best he can*.

(Letter [163] 4 August 1890 – Feijó 2004a: 234; italics in the original)

I had many other poems to add, but had to change my mind because they were not yet completely *purified* and *refined* [...]. As for the rest of the book, I polished it up as much as I could, with that fervour of whom has adopted as an artistic principle that a verse is never good *tant qu'il peut être mieux*.

(Letter [381] 21 May 1902 – Feijó 2004b: 41; italics in the original)

These aesthetical tenets of prosodic perfection and formal beauty will echo throughout the poet's overall literary production.

### 3.2 Prose poem *versus* rhymed verse

Although we have already discussed the formal structure of *Cancioneiro chinez* elsewhere, one cannot bypass such a question without contrasting the use of the prose poem by Judith Gautier with António Feijó's predilection for *quadra popular* [popular quatrain].<sup>20</sup> The French translator cultivates an innovatory form that Baudelaire had already acknowledged in his *Poèmes en prose*.<sup>21</sup> This structure is,

20. On the formal contrast between prose poem and verse, see our introductory article available at [http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/Pub\\_Marta\\_Pinto.pdf](http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/Pub_Marta_Pinto.pdf).

21. In *Le Poème en prose. De Baudelaire jusqu'à nos jours*, Suzanne Bernard refers to the role of translation in the strengthening of this genre: "C'est dans les traductions que le public français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle a cherché, bien souvent, à contenter des aspirations poétiques qui ne trouvaient plus d'aliments dans les exercices purement formels des versificateurs; c'est par les traductions que les écrivains français ont fait les premiers essais de 'poèmes en prose' [...] l'évolution de la langue poétique amorcée par les traductions d'Ossian devait d'abord se préciser, appuyée sur un mouvement plus large d'émancipation intellectuelle et de retour au lyrisme" [Translations were, most of the times, the source for French eighteenth-century audience to appease the poetic aspirations that no longer found nurture in the poets' purely formal exercises. It was through translations that the French writers made the first attempts at 'prose poems' [...] the evolution of the poetic language initiated by the translations of Ossian should be made clear, based on a larger movement of intellectual emancipation and return to lyricism] (1959: 24–29; our translation). Bernard even alludes to Gautier's Parnassian poems as: "[M]ouler inconsciemment ses propres idées poétiques sur le modèle des brefs poèmes chinois qu'elle a traduits dans le *Livre de jade*, et appliquer à un thème tout psychologique la même concision que Li-Taï-Pé ou Thou-Fou apportaient à peindre leurs paysages" [To unconsciously mould her own poetic ideas based on the model of brief Chinese poems that she translated in the *Livre de jade* and invest a

however, replaced by a rigid scheme of rhymes and metre in *Cancioneiro chinez*, as we can see in the following example:

ST: “L’Ombre des feuilles d’oranger” in *Le Livre de jade* (1867: 7)

La jeune fille qui travaille tout le jour dans sa chambre solitaire est doucement  
émue si elle entend tout à coup le son d’une flûte de jade;  
Et elle s’imagine qu’elle entend la voix d’un jeune garçon.

TT: “A Sombra da larangeira” in *Cancioneiro chinez* (1890: 5)

A donzella que vive desde a infancia  
a trabalhar na alcóva recatada,  
se uma flauta de jade ouve a distancia  
fica toda a tremer, sobresaltada.

É que n’aquella musica suave  
pensa logo escutar, doce e distante,  
a voz serena, como um trilo d’ave,  
d’alguem que deve ser moço e galante.

Back-translation of the Portuguese TT: “Under the shadow of an orange tree”

The lady who since her childhood/works in the secluded alcove/if she hears a  
jade flute far off/she all trembles, startled.//In that sweet and distant song/she  
thinks she hears, sweet and distant,/the calm voice, like the trill of a bird,/of  
someone who must be young and gallant.

At a time of strong French influence that would lead most translators to translate in conformity with the French source text, the Portuguese poet-translator paved the way for a ‘popular domestication.’ Chinese poetry was bent to suit the decasyllabic quatrain with an a/b/a/b rhyme scheme, which means the Portuguese translator took a liberating step from the source poetics. André Lefevere argues that “[t]he struggle between rival poetics is often initiated by writers, but fought and won or lost by rewriters. Rewritings are also a perfect gauge to measure the extent to which a poetics has been interiorized” (1992: 38). From this perspective, António Feijó rewrites innovatory poetic material according to a traditional poetics, indeed struggling against the French prose poem and against adequacy to French central literature.<sup>22</sup>

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completely psychological theme with the same concision that Li Tai Pé or Du Fu would employ when painting their landscapes] (1959: 341–342; our translation).

22. This canon subversion could be expanded in the light of the poet’s status as one of “the most remarkable poets of the modern generation” (Feijó 1903: 130).



#### 4. Translation impact factor

Writers are rewritten when their work passes from one literature into another, just as they are rewritten inside a given literature. (Lefevre 1985:235)

As regards the impact factor of the Portuguese translation, and notwithstanding the lack of critical reviews of the second edition of the *Cancioneiro*, António Feijó opened up the literary system to an extra-European culture; he introduced thematic novelty into his literary production and the national literary system, thus achieving an informative and formative goal.<sup>23</sup> The influence of *Cancioneiro chinez* on non-translated works of Portuguese literature is, however, hard to assess. António Feijó fabricated an anthology out of indirect Chineseness or, if you will, *chinoiserie*-in-translation. The poet described his goal as follows:

Frankly I just want to take my place among the *mineurs*. That is why I gave a final brush to the Chinese poets. And I am just waiting for a good-humoured moment to finally organise a new volume of verses that do not seem bad at all.

(Letter [139] 23 May 1888 – 2004a: 194)<sup>24</sup>

António Feijó has clearly put considerable effort into his Chinese translations. His preliminary and macro-level decisions confirm his awareness that the greater the degree of indirectness or mediatedness, the more shifts will be found between the primary source text and the most recent target text. It is our contention that

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23. As regards the 1903 edition of *Cancioneiro chinez*, let us briefly quote the poet's remarks on the silence of the press: "The press has been absolutely silent. If I had to judge the merit of the work based on its reception, there would be nothing left but to burn down all the volumes that were not sold. [...] The rest is being sold in Brazil, to where most of the 2nd edition of the *Cancioneiro* was sent and ordered *d'avance*" (Letter [402] 7 July 1903 – Feijó 2004b: 72). Conversely, this edition was a marketing success in Brazil: "If the book bore my name on, I could certainly guarantee in Brazil the sale of many hundreds of volumes, as was the case with the second edition of the *Cancioneiro*" (Letter [458] 12 January 1906 – Feijó 2004b: 137). In 1915 he was actually made correspondent member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

24. In 1906, fifteen years after having been transferred to Stockholm, António Feijó anonymously published August Strindberg's play *Lycko-Pers resa. Sagospel i fem akter* in Portuguese as *A Viagem de Pedro Afortunado*. In the introductory text to this play, the anonymous translator – for he simply signs "The Translator" – claims this translation to fulfil the educational purpose of language learning, which differs much from the purpose of *Cancioneiro chinez*. "I translated [...] basically to learn the Swedish language [...] with the grammatical interpretation of the text [...] that the Portuguese readers would forgive the flaws of the translation because of the pleasure that it would provide them with, thus opening them up to the desire of knowing, although imperfectly, such a curious work and yet not translated into language whatsoever" ([Feijó] 1906: n.p).

to avoid such disparity, António Feijó conceived of an ideal original or, to quote Emily Apter (2006: 213), a ‘simulated originality’ (see Figure 1).

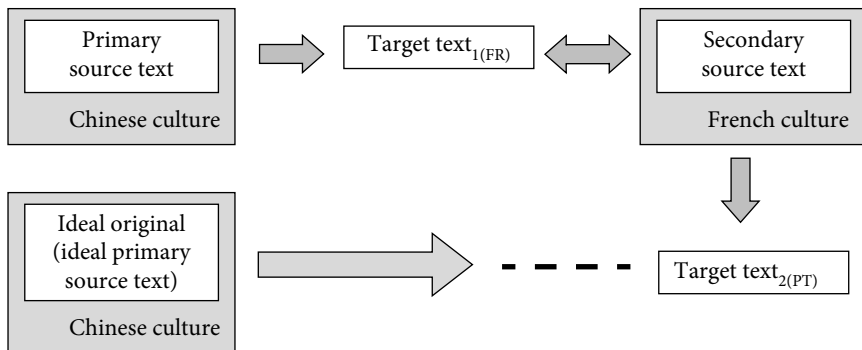


Figure 1. Simulated originality

Figure 1 shows that for any mediated translation of an unknown, exotic language most translators will tentatively simulate an original *in absentia*, that is, an ideal original as dissimulated in the mediated text and/or filtered by the translator’s personal research on the Other-in-translation. As we hope to have shown, the Portuguese poet did engage in the study of Chinese literature and culture; it is enough to quote his letters or Jordan Herbert Stabler’s introduction to *Songs of Li-Tai-Pè*: “[D]uring the six years in which he [Feijó] was engaged on his book, he read greatly in French and Portuguese in connection with Chinese literature and made a careful study of the works of the Jesuit missionary fathers” (1922: 4).

Borrowing Apter’s words once more, mediated translation could be defined as “a kind of ‘test tube’ text of simulated originality, a text, if you will, that is unnaturally or artificially birthed and successfully replicated” (2006: 213). Even as a fact of the target culture (Toury 1995: 24), any translation is expected to be based on some kind of original, a pre-existing text which it acts upon. Cannot then an original, when ideally profiled, also be a fact of the target culture?

Despite the aesthetic tenets underlying *Cancioneiro chinez*, this translated anthology seems out of place within António Feijó’s overall literary production, for never again did he directly engage with such an oriental *topos*; there was no appropriation of that oriental content for recreating and reinventing his own poetry. Some scholars refer to it as a “circumstance work” (Kim 1948: 439), but how circumstantial could it have been when the poet-translator spent almost twenty years (1884–1903) polishing up his “dear Chinese,” as he would call them (Feijó 2004a: 177 and 203)?

Moreover, the period in between the first and second editions was greeted with the partial translation of *Cancioneiro chinês* into other European languages. In 1895 Göran Björkman (1860–1923) rendered into Swedish some poems by the Portuguese poet, of which five Chinese songs.<sup>25</sup> In 1922, Herbert Stabler translated into English the Portuguese translations of Li Bai's poems included in the *Cancioneiro*. Since *Cancioneiro chinês* had no canonicity except from a *chinoiserie* fashion perspective and for including the work of canonical Chinese poets, one wonders whether the number of rewritings and reprints of a nineteenth-century work of literature should be a criterion for determining literary centrality or contribution to canon formation.

## 5. Concluding remarks

The sinologist A. C. Graham claims, in his introduction to *Poems of the Late T'ang*, that “[b]eyond a certain point one cannot reconcile the demands of translation and of poetry” and that “[p]artial reconciliation is possible because at least one element in poetry, imagery, can function effectively in another language” (1965: 32). The success of Judith Gautier's *Le Livre de jade* is greatly due to its exotic imagery. Through it Chinese poetry found its way from the European literary periphery towards the centre, when Chinese was and still is one of the less translated languages worldwide (Chunshen 2004: 332). Although its Portuguese translation was considered a “true literary jewel and poetical preciousness” (Feijó 1903: 134), it did not, however, have the same centripetal effect.

*Cancioneiro chinês* allowed António Feijó enough leeway for poetic experimentation and transgression. He formally experimented with *orientalia*, through which he diversified his poetic repertoire and guaranteed his status as an updated poet in tune with French modern literature. In spite of posing many more questions than those sketched out here, *Cancioneiro chinês* constitutes a milestone of Orientalism in Portugal, where the role of translation in divulging and consolidating *orientalia* is yet to be determined.

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25. *Dikter* includes the section “Kinesiska dikter,” which contains the poems: “Skeppet I fjeran” [“The cormorant”], “Fiskaren” [“The fisherman”], “Kejsaren” [“The emperor”], “Den röda blomman” [“The red flower”], and “I höstetid” [“Sad heart talking to the sun”].

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# Academic navel gazing? Playing the game up front?

Pages from the notebook of a translation anthologist

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What are the excitement, burden and responsibilities of a postcolonial translator and/or translation scholar in an age of globalization? The excitement, I believe, lies in a heightened awareness of what we can do and achieve. We can play many more roles than the traditional one of an efficient cross-lingual cross-cultural communicator, or a dispassionate manufacturer of cultural products. We can choose to be a cultural mediator, an innovative image-maker, or an architect of a project of political and/or ideological import, to name but just a few of the new possibilities open to us. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that possibilities carry with them the burden of choice, even of divided loyalties. The agency of a translator entails responsibilities, the heaviest being the responsibility to know why one is doing certain things in the first place, and to be articulate about it.

This essay analyzes how positionality and agency function in a translation project – the compilation of an anthology, in English translation, of texts registering the thoughts and ideas about translation in China, from ancient times to the early twentieth century. Volume one, entitled *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation, Volume 1: From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project*, was published in 2006, and the sequel, which covers the period from the 13th century to the early 20th century, is under preparation. Attention is focused on a single project because it telescopes many of the ethical, ideological and political issues which a postcolonial scholar has to handle, especially those of identity and representation. The essay also discusses a topic which lies at the heart of all attempts at anthology-making – the construction of knowledge (of the Self or of the Other) and the importance of the personal, the experiential and the introspective in such a venture.

## 1. Academic navel gazing?

For over a decade, I have been deeply preoccupied with the question of how, as a non-Western scholar, I should conduct translation studies in an age of globalization. The developments in technology and the fluid, non-stop and unstoppable movement of capital across time zones and of people across national boundaries – all features associated with globalization – have accelerated the breaking down of divisions between peoples and enhanced the possibility for intercultural communication and genuine intercivilizational dialogue. Nonetheless, divisions remain, a most disturbing of which is the division between the West and the non-West. Here, as in my recent article (Cheung 2011), I am using Naomi Sakai's definition of "the West" as a "cartographic category" (Sakai 2005:201) denoting "the geographic areas imagined to constitute the West – mainly Western Europe in the nineteenth century, with North America being added later in the twentieth century" (Sakai 2005:194). Sakai also argues, rightly I think, that because of modernization as a historical development and because of the process of "developmental teleology", it is generally believed that the West has gained the power "to expand and radiate towards the peripheries of the world", with the result that "the representation of the world became hierarchically organized into the West and the Rest, the modern and its others, the white and the coloured" (Sakai 2005:202) and, in the context of this discussion, also the global and the local. Where the knowledge economy is concerned, the West has also come to be regarded as centres of power where theories and models are produced for consumption by local academics keen to be part of the global community.

As a category, I think that "the West" is a gross generalization and a biased discursive construction, just as "the Orient" is also a gross generalization and a biased discursive construction. As Bonnie Marranca has pointed out, even the part of "the West" called "Europe" was not an undifferentiated entity, but a world of diverse cultures, encompassing Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Arabic, Teutonic, Slavic, Nordic, Celtic, Gypsy, and Semitic peoples, to choose only a sampling of those who, historically, have created the idea of Europe" (Marranca and Dasgupta 1991:9). But since I am dealing with the historical and personal circumstances in which the categories "the West" and "the non-West" impinged on my consciousness and became a problem to be solved, it is necessary to retain the use of such a category while bearing in mind that there are "no neutral, uncontaminated terms or concepts", only "compromised, historically encumbered tools" (Clifford 1997:39).

A natural reaction to the sense of non-entity inflicted by the label "the Rest" or "the non-West" is to assert one's identity. That indeed was my first reaction. I wanted to assert my Chineseness in my attempt to make my voice heard in the international arena of translation studies. In the process, however, I found

myself confronted with a number of difficult questions. What exactly do I mean by “Chineseness”? What do I have to do to establish that position, not only in terms of my own research but also in terms of the ideological stance and discursive strategies to be adopted? How should I guard against academic sinocentrism on the one hand and the essentialization of Chinese culture on the other? At the same time, I was and still am keenly aware that the burden and responsibility of being a Chinese scholar, or for that matter, a non-Western scholar, is that while one has to find one’s voice and speak to the West, one must not lose touch with one’s own point of location, whether that is China, Africa, Latin America or other places away from the centre. Otherwise, one runs the risk of being dismissed as a “cultural comprador” or a self-serving academic who is interested only in amassing cultural capital for oneself by making an exhibition of things Chinese/non-West. On this point, I always keep in mind an image used by the painter Wu Guanzhong [吳冠中] (1919–2010), for the title of his collection of essays on art, *A Kite on Unbroken String* [風箏不斷線]. Reflecting on how he is continuously *Searching East and West* [東尋西找集] (the title of another collection of his essays), blending Chinese and Western elements in order to enrich both painting traditions and be enriched by them, Wu says

if an art work is compared to a kite, the kite must leave the ground to rise to the sky. But the line cannot be broken. This line is like the line of the matchmaker who connects the work with the sentiment of the people that may be ten thousand feet apart....  
(Wu 1998 as cited by Chu 2002: 48)

I think that a non-Western scholar would want her work to be like a kite, to leave the ground and rise to the sky. But “the line cannot be broken”. There must be a point of connection with the ground.

This image of a kite on an unbroken string reminds me of the position I should adopt in pursuing translation studies in an age of globalization. A more direct way of expressing this point is to stress the need to “Think global, Act local; Speak glocal”, which can be briefly explained as “engage critically with the theories and concepts disseminated from the West, work on local materials, publish in both the global language (English, arguably) and one’s local language (Chinese, in my case)”. Over the years, and especially through the experience of compiling *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation* (hereafter “the *Anthology*”), I have discovered another way of putting this motto into practice. In this article, I would like to theorize that experience. Hence the title of this article could be “Think global, Act local, Speak glocal: A Case Study Approach to Translation Studies in an Age of Globalization”.

I said “could be” because another title obviously is already in place: “Academic navel gazing? Playing the game up front?: Pages from the notebook of a translation



anthologist?”. Titles in academic publications serve as a framing device. Why do I want to use this device twice? What additional perspective(s) do I want to introduce to frame my discussion?

## 2. Playing the game up front?

The easier and faster flow of ideas, often hailed as a laudable feature of globalization, is in fact a half-truth. A more accurate representation of the truth is that the flow of ideas is mostly one-way: from the West to the non-West. The globalized scholarship that has emerged cannot be characterized as the cross fertilization of ideas brought about by more frequent contacts between cultures or by a greater respect for cultural diversity, but in fact has been governed by a conception of knowledge that has gained ascendance in the West since the scientific revolution. That conception of knowledge – which is grounded epistemologically on positivism, methodologically on the scientific paradigm, and discursively on what Lawrence Venuti calls “authoritative plain English” (1995:5) – is now so dominant it has invalidated other conceptions of knowledge and become part of the mindset of intellectuals in general, irrespective of the cultural background and intellectual tradition to which they belong. Rationality reigns supreme; rhetoric is frowned upon, the plain style is preferred; textured, nuanced presentation gives way to the linear unfolding of argument and the voice of disinterestedness. The personal and the experiential are banished to the realm of the private, the anecdotal and the narcissistic, not to be discussed without some signalling of its deviation from the norm – as I am signalling it now by the use of the heading and the “official” title.

I am, however, not making an apology or a plea for tolerance with this signal. The title, which highlights the personal and the introspective in the statement “Pages from the Notebook of a Translation Anthologist” whilst allowing for the possibility of dismissing these elements (as academic naval gazing) or of respecting them as ethical signposts (playing the game up front), is rather an attempt to invite the reader to re-think the question of what constitutes knowledge. I do believe that the future of humanity would be that much poorer if the conception, processing, production, circulation and consumption of knowledge were to be ruled by just one single epistemological model, no matter how useful that model has been and still is. Surely, even a scientist would not object to this position: I believe in what I see with my eyes, but that doesn’t mean that what I don’t see does not exist!

### 3. More on the personal, the experiential, the introspective

A non-Western scholar who finds the category “the Rest” or “non-West” disturbing/humiliating and who is anxious to protect, affirm, or assert her identity will find a special appeal in anthology-compilation. It allows her to address simultaneously a number of issues over which non-Western scholars usually have little or no say. These include issues such as canon formation/re-formation, image-making, identity construction, representation, mediation, intervention, and translation of culture. I will discuss some of these issues with reference to the translation project I am working on. It is an anthology, in two volumes, of discourses on and about translation in China, from ancient times to the early twentieth century, and most of the texts are being translated into English for the first time. The first volume, entitled *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation, Volume 1: From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project*, was published in 2006. The second volume, which covers the thirteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, is close to completion. In other words, I am talking specifically about translation anthologies.

Armin Paul Frank has pointed out that there are different kinds of anthologies: some are thematic in orientation, some general literary anthologies; some are collections of one’s own literature, others are collections of a foreign literature, or of world literature<sup>1</sup>; some are in translation, and others are not (Frank 2001). Translation anthologies are different from anthologies of texts in their own language. The readership is different, the purposes they serve are different, the constraints faced by the anthologists are different, and so are the conceptual frameworks employed by the anthologists. The considerations for compiling translations anthologies will vary, too, depending on whether the anthologist is selecting from materials already available in translation, or whether the anthologist, like me, is putting together materials *for* translation into the target language.

In spite of these differences, I do think that the issues I mentioned just now, especially those of representation, identity construction and the politics of intervention, are issues of common concern. It is therefore possible to focus on a single project and theorize that experience in a way that could throw light on the complexities involved both in the making of anthologies and in attempts at translating culture – Chinese culture, or for that matter, any other culture.<sup>2</sup> The introspective

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1. See Bernardo in this volume.

2. See Cheung (2007) for an in-depth discussion of how Kwame Anthony Appiah’s concept of “thick translation” can be developed into a theoretical approach towards the representation of culture in translation and how that approach has been applied to the actual practice of translating Chinese concepts of translation in the *Anthology*. See also Cheung (2009) which is a companion piece to the present article.

mode of discourse (highlighted in the subtitle “Pages from the Notebook of a Translation Anthologist”) is used because I believe that where anthology-compilation is concerned, indeed where knowledge production is concerned, both the body and the mind should be trusted, must be trusted in order to achieve a holistic view. Specifically, the introspective mode of discourse serves two purposes. First, it enables me to explore more thoroughly – now that volume one of the Anthology has already been completed and published and volume two is close to completion – some of the fundamental underpinnings and concepts and my motivations for the project. In so doing, I hope to be able to establish the necessary relationship between the Anthology as a fact (it is now a material object) and the explanation of this fact, which is a definition of theory to which I subscribe. Second, it enables me to understand the forces that have given me the impetus to undertake such a project, and to be open and honest with the readers about the purposes that I want the Anthology to serve. Antoine Berman, whose name is often associated with discussions about the ethics of translation, would call this “playing the game up front”. This happens to be my own ethical principle and I have deliberately adopted it for the title of this article.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. A postcolonial imperative

Why can't the subaltern speak? Why can't the subjugated Other assert their right of self-representation? They are trapped in situations of unequal power relations – yes. Decolonization of the mind does not necessarily follow the decolonization of a place – correct. But even then, someone must make a start somewhere, sometime, somehow. Perhaps I can be that someone? The Anthology project was born of this postcolonial imperative. So, when I talk about the complexities of translating, it is from this particular postcolonial perspective of self-representation, not the perspective of someone assuming the right to represent, to speak on behalf of, the dominated Other. I must remember this: the part should not be taken for the whole.

There were of course moments of doubt. Can I do it, not being a native speaker of English? Should I do it? What do the textbooks on translation say? Translate into your mother tongue, not into your second language. Should I go against that advice? If I do, what are the implications – ideological, theoretical

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3. Berman's idea of showing respect for the reader, as explained by Sherry Simon in *Gender in Translation*, is “Translators have all the rights as long as their game is played up front” (Simon 1996: 36). I have found particularly useful the section “Ethics and the translating subject” from which this quotation is obtained.

and epistemological? A lot, probably, but these implications have yet to be fully explored because mainstream theorizations about translation are almost exclusively grounded on the perspective of the Self representing the Other and on a hierarchical view of language that is quite out of touch with the realities of language use in the postcolonial world and in an age of globalization.

This is not to say that the Self can represent herself better or more adequately. As Aijaz Ahmad puts it so cogently,

The tendency in cultural criticism is to waver constantly between cultural differentialism and cultural hybridity. [...] Each culture is said to be so discrete and self-referential, so autonomous in its own authority, as to be unavailable for cognition or criticism from a space outside itself, lest the outsider be seen as a bearer of that Enlightenment rationality which is said to be colonizing and repressive *tout court*. The ideational logic of this cultural differentialism is to privilege self-representation over all other kinds of representation and to treat self-representation as a moment of absolute authenticity, as if between the self and its representation there could be no moment of bad faith or false consciousness.

(Ahmad 1996: 289)

Ahmad's warning should be heeded and one would do well to guard against a narcissistic view of the Self. One can do that by remembering that self-representation also entails problems – a *different* set of problems perhaps, but nonetheless problems. Who, or what, is the Self that one is representing? A national literature? A tradition? A culture? Does that Self have a core of definable essence? Is it continuously evolving? Or is it a discursive construct, an imaginary community? For an anthologist dealing with large entities such as national literature', 'tradition', or 'culture', these are particularly challenging questions. Equally challenging is the question of legitimacy. If the project – like mine – is self-initiated rather than commissioned by a patron, then what claims can the anthologist make to the right to select the parts that are going to represent the entity as a whole? The entity 'China' for example, or Chinese culture. I have, in an earlier article, explained how I interpreted the Self represented in the Anthology. It was a position that must have struck those with strong nationalistic sentiments as heresy:

To me, 'Chinese' is a word with floating meanings; it is a levitational word, so to speak. Certainly, I am not using it to refer to a single, homogeneous, monolithic entity. I am not even using it simply as an indicator of a certain ethnic origin. Rather I am allowing myself a measure of strategic flexibility when I use it, especially with reference to my translation project. In real terms, this means that although some of the texts selected for translation are excerpted from the work of ethnic Chinese, non-Chinese will not be excluded as long as (a) they had Chinese as one of their language pairs and their views are related to translation in

the Chinese context; and (b) they had been centrally involved in the production of translated texts (in Chinese) and their views are related to such a process or such a mode of production. This is not an attempt to subsume non-Chinese under the label Chinese for the all too obvious purpose of discursive nation-building. Neither is it an effort to invent a Chinese translation tradition richer and grander than it actually is. (Cheung 2003: 391)

Later on, in the Introduction to the Anthology, the point is made again, with an added emphasis: “The term ‘Chinese’ is used with a measure of strategic flexibility because, in the view of the present writer, the notion ‘Chinese’ is a construct, albeit a necessary construct, and the myth of purity is better debunked than perpetuated” (Cheung 2006: 18). This last point is made with reference to the Anthology. But, replace the word “Chinese” with another ethnic label and the statement serves just as well as a thesis for a vigorous theoretical debate about the question of identity, especially cultural identity, whether or not the making of an anthology is involved.

Why did I find the term “Chinese” problematic? Why can’t I take it as given? Anthologists have to deal with the question of inclusion and exclusion. Why can’t I just get on with the job? Why did I suffer so acutely from such an anxiety of representation? And why do I think that “the myth of purity is better debunked than perpetuated”?

## 5. What am I trying to do with the anthology project?

I had thought that the compilation of the Anthology was a postcolonial imperative, an attempt to assert the right of self-representation as a personal act of resistance against subjugation and hegemony. But perhaps another imperative was also at work: I wanted the Anthology to have an impact not only on the target culture but also the source culture. But I was not aware of this intention because descriptive translation studies (DTS) has told us, I had thought quite rightly, that translation is a fact of the target culture, meaning that it will primarily, if not exclusively, make its impact felt in the target culture. Perhaps DTS has been theorizing from the perspective of the Self representing the Other rather than that of the Self representing the Self? Perhaps the part has been taken for the whole and the result was a premature epistemological closure so that I was not aware of my own intention to intervene in the source culture?

Why did I want the Anthology to function in both the target culture and the source culture?

Looking back, I think the reason is to be traced to the colonial space of Hong Kong in which I have been situated for a large part of my life. Hong Kong was a

British colony from 1842 to 1997. Part of the legacy of British colonialism is that many Hong Kong people feel that they are marginal beings, always at odds with the ethnic label – they are not-British, even though many of them carry a British passport, and while they would not say that they are not-Chinese (the double negative is intentional), they would see themselves as different from the Chinese in the PRC. Many have expressed the worry that although one colonial master was gone, there was no guarantee that there would not be another, perhaps not colonial in international terms, but just as colonial in terms of the ideological subjectification the people of Hong Kong would experience. The result was an identity crisis which even today has not been fully resolved. The Anthology, which follows the practice of anthologists on the Chinese mainland to include non-Chinese in the formation of a Chinese tradition of theorizations about translation, but which seeks to represent this tradition both in its historical context and from a contemporary perspective encompassing both Western theories and Chinese scholarship, departs from the mainland practice of identity construction, which is grounded on the claim that Chinese translation theories are characterized by “a system of our own” that is unique, separate and distinct from others. In this sense, the Anthology project is at once an attempt to solve the problem of identity on a personal level and also an attempt to intervene in debates on the Chinese mainland about future directions for the development of Chinese translation studies and, in particular, about the need to assert Chineseness in Chinese translation studies.<sup>4</sup>

At the personal level, the Anthology turned out to be a therapeutic project. It allowed me to dispel the sense of crisis surrounding the issue of identity by working through the problem, not running away from it. By this I mean that I used the space provided by the Anthology to problematize the notion of Chineseness, and thus to understand better the relation between ethnicity and identity. Is it a necessary relationship or a mistaken notion of necessity? The Anthology features the heterogeneity of the Chinese tradition of discourse on translation at the level of translated texts. At the paratextual level, it cites historical documents and writings of scholars past and present to show that Chineseness is *not* traceable to an originary presence, or a single identifiable source. The reading and research involved in creating the Anthology has had the effect of transforming a piece of heavy emotional baggage into an intellectual asset, into more in-depth knowledge about the self/Self and into a strategic tool that has allowed me to “think global, act local, and speak global”.

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4. See Cheung (2011) for a detailed discussion of this debate and an examination of this debate against the macroscopic background of the cultural politics of the Chinese mainland in the post-Cultural Revolution era.

But, as I mentioned, the Anthology is also meant to serve a function in the source culture. I wanted to put to positive use the perspective from the fringe that is often regarded as the curse of the marginal being. The space at the fringe is, as Homi Bhabha has noted, “not the space of a celebratory, or utopian, self-marginalization” (Bhabha 1990: 4), rather it is imposed marginalization and it bestows on its inhabitants a heritage of inferiority. For them, the space at the fringe is an existential reality that is often filled with anxiety. At the same time, as Homi Bhabha has also pointed out, the space at the fringe is also the space for experimentation, subversion, transgression, heresy, and productive hybridity (Bhabha 1990). This means, then, that marginality can be reconceptualized and the negative energy of anxiety can be converted into positive power. In real terms, this means that in addition to functioning in the target culture as a potentially effective force against Eurocentric bias in theorizations about translation, the Anthology can perhaps also function in the source culture and participate in the cultural politics of China, not least by opening up possibilities for a radical re-reading of traditional Chinese discourse on translation. This way, rather than to “Think global, Act local, and Speak global”, I can “Think global, Act local, and Speak *glocal*”.

Let me explain what I mean with a quotation. It is entry 67 of the Anthology. The author is Xuan Zang (600–644 CE), a seventh-century Buddhist monk considered by many to be the greatest translator of Buddhist sutra in China.

...In the Tang Dynasty [618–907CE] the eminent Xuan Zang 玄奘 set down five guidelines for not-translating a term [and using a transliteration instead].

First, if a term partakes of the occult, it is not-translated. For example, “*tuólúóní*” 陀羅尼 [pronounced “*tuó-luó-ní*” in Chinese, meaning “mantra” or “magic spell”; “*dhāraṇī*” in Sanskrit].

Second, if a term has multiple meanings, it is not-translated. An example is “*bójiāfan*” 薄伽梵 [pronounced “*bó-jiā-fàn*” in Chinese; “*bhagavat*” in Sanskrit]. In the *Fan* [Sanskrit] language, this term has six meanings [namely sovereignty, glory, austerity, name, fortune and honour].

Third, if the object represented by a term does not exist in this part of the world, that term is not-translated. An example is “*yánfú shù*” 閻浮樹 [pronounced “*yán-fú-shù*” in Chinese, the character “*shù*” 樹 being the Chinese generic name for “tree”; “*jambu*” in Sanskrit]. In actual fact, no such tree exists in our land [China].

Fourth, if a past rendering of a term has become established and accepted, the term is not-translated. An example is “*ānòu pútí*” 阿耨菩提 [pronounced “*ā-nòu-pú-tí*” in Chinese; “*anubodhi*” in Sanskrit]. The term is not untranslatable, but ever since the time of Kāśyapa-Mātanga 迦葉摩騰 (d. 73 CE) [who, according to tradition, accompanied the first envoys back to China in 64 CE], its *Fan* [Sanskrit] pronunciation – “*ā-nòu-pú-tí*” 阿耨菩提 – has always been kept.

Fifth, if a term elicits positive associations, it is not-translated. An example is “*bōrē*” 般若 [pronounced as “*bō-rē*” in Chinese; “*prajñā*” in Sanskrit], which carries a sense of authority and has weight. But when the term [“*prajñā*”] is semantically translated into “*zhīhui*” [meaning “wisdom”], its meaning becomes lighter and shallower. There are other similar examples of benightedness [...]. All these names are mundane and bad; they should be covered up and not-translated [remaining in transliteration]... (Cheung 2006: 157–158, translated by Diana Yue)

The commentary carries five points. Points 4 & 5 are quoted below:

(4) The term “not-translate” was used in Buddhist writings before Xuan Zang 玄奘 (as for example by Fa Lin 法琳, entry 62), but Xuan Zang, by setting down his five guidelines for “not-translating” a term (*wúbūfān* 五不翻), immortalized the expression, as it were, and made it one of the most frequently used expressions in traditional Chinese discourse on translation. It should be noted that “*būfān*” 不翻 [not-translate] does not mean “transcription”, whereby a term from one language is transported – whole, intact and morphologically unchanged – into another language. Rather, it means “transliteration”, that is, rendering a term by re-presenting its pronunciation in Chinese characters. This distinction is not always made in English-language writings about Xuan Zang.

(5) More importantly, it should be noted that the character “*fān*” 翻 has another meaning. It means literally “to turn (something upside down)”. The two meanings of “*fān*” – “translate” and “turn (upside down)” – are worth exploring for their theoretical implications. What, for example, is the relation between these two meanings? Does it mean that translation must, first and foremost, involve a turning over of semantic meaning to the reader/receptor? If there is only a turn at the level of sound, does it mean that translation has not yet taken place and it is thus a not-translation? Or should we say that translation, in order to be translation, must conceal even as it reveals? In other words, that it must remain, as it were, “unturned”, “not-translated” in some parts? Is this not the deeper theoretical implication of Guideline One for not-translating terms belonging to the occult? On the surface, the guideline suggests that it is not advisable to translate spells and mantras because in those days it was believed that these were most powerful when recited in the source language, or in sounds imitating (closest to) the source language. But at a deeper level, does the presence of transliterations in translations – past and present, east and west – not hint at the possibility that translation is, perhaps by its very nature, never exhaustive, because there will always be something in the source text that remains unturned, not-translated?

(Cheung 2006: 158–159)

The commentary shows that the standard approach in China – of eulogizing the achievements of Xuan Zang and citing the source passage of this entry as an example of his contribution to discussion on the techniques of translation – can be



supplemented. The passage does not have to be read simply as a treatise on how and when transliteration should be used. Interesting findings can be obtained by taking a more theoretical approach – towards the nature of translation, for example, hinted at by the rhetorical questions used in point 5 of the Commentary quoted above. This emphasis on theoretical exploration – a consistent approach I have employed in the commentary section and in the Introduction – is aimed at scholars of Chinese translation studies who have little or no patience for traditional Chinese discourse on translation and are ready to consign it to oblivion for being weak in theoretical thinking. My hope is that they will see the value of re-reading and reinterpreting traditional Chinese discourse on translation by relating the material to contemporary theoretical concerns, and produce new thinking on or about translation that would allow them to speak on equal terms with scholars from the West.

I would like to underline the importance of this attempt to speak to the Chinese readership. I am all too aware that by translating into the global language of English such a large body of primary and secondary material, I run the risk that the Anthology would contribute to the imperial archive and help theorists in the metropolitan centres to produce grander and more inclusive theories for consumption by the rest of the world, China included. But it is a risk worth taking if the Anthology, with the commentary, annotations and Introduction, can help to make the historical material accessible and interesting, not just to those who are proficient in classical Chinese, but also to researchers who might feel hampered by their lack of training in classical Chinese to embark on research in traditional Chinese discourse on translation. There are a large number of such researchers on the Chinese mainland, and outside it as well, for classical Chinese these days (except for graduates of Chinese studies departments) is no longer a standard part of the training of an educated Chinese.

The Anthology seeks to disrupt the trend of cultural disinheritance, reopen the border of what has become closed territory to many, thus making it possible for a new structure of knowledge to emerge, even if it takes a long time.

I want a kite on an unbroken string

The Anthology is also meant to speak to the target culture readership. By making available for study a whole tradition of discourse on translation that has remained separate and independent from the West, and by pointing out in the commentary topics on which Chinese and Western views might clash, complement each other, bounce off each other to produce fresh insights or understanding at a deeper level, I hope that the Anthology will gain from the West a due measure of respect for

local articulations. Then at least there *might* be a possibility that a mode of thinking and theorizing about translation could emerge that is unmarked by Eurocentrism, or sinocentrism, or, for that matter, ethnocentrism as a whole. The possibility of such a development is real if scholars from translation traditions spanning the West and the non-West could engage with one another in a genuine dialogue.

I would like to stress the importance of joint exploration, for I do believe that the future of our discipline lies in healthy collaborative research. The Anthology project, conceived initially as a postcolonial imperative, is carried to completion by a vision. It is the vision that the Anthology would open new horizons and new routes for the development of a mode of translation studies that cherishes heterogeneity and celebrates cultural diversity, and in which scholars, locally situated as we are, can all “Think global, Act local, and Speak glocal” – in whichever way(s) we choose to interpret and practice it.

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion, I will only say that I have tried as much as I can to “play the game up front”. But have I managed to show that there are more paths to knowledge than one? Will my readers accept my view of knowledge, which rejects the Cartesian separation of mind from body and is based on an emphasis on the value, much cherished by the Chinese, of harmony between *yin* and *yang*, between the affective and the cognitive? Have I managed to show the importance of being in touch with the personal, the experiential, the introspective? Will my readers dismiss this self-reflexive exercise as academic navel-gazing, as complaints from the margins, or worse – as “Sound and Fury”? Or will they take it seriously and to heart? Will they be persuaded that the introspective mode of discourse can be combined with the theoretical mode to produce a better appreciation of the complex and ideologically loaded issues involved in the making of a translation anthology?

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# Las antologías sobre la traducción en la Península Ibérica

## Revisión crítica

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The objective of the present paper is to critically review the role played in Translation Studies by fourteen anthologies of texts on translation theory, published in the Iberian Peninsula between 1987 and 2009. After presenting the works themselves, I will try to answer the following questions: What types of anthologies have been produced? Which underlying historiographic positions are revealed as a function of the choice and presentation of the texts? Which canons of translation theory do the anthologies represent (which texts are repeated and, therefore, considered classics)? Do any obvious rivalries exist between different cultural systems (Spanish, Catalan, Galician, Portuguese)? What did the compilers intend to achieve by rewriting the texts in their anthologies? And finally, what role do these anthologies really play in Translation Studies today?

## Introducción

Los Estudios de Traducción han tenido en la Península Ibérica una implantación progresiva y desigual. El estudio de la traducción se remonta en la Universidad española a los años setenta del siglo pasado, pero no fue hasta los años ochenta cuando se crearon las bases para su consolidación como disciplina académica. Con la promulgación del Real Decreto 1385/1991, de 30 de agosto, por el que se establecía el título universitario oficial de Licenciado en Traducción e Interpretación, así como las directrices generales propias de los planes de estudios, la disciplina se consolidó en el sistema español de enseñanza superior. En la actualidad hay veintitrés centros universitarios que imparten la licenciatura o están implantando el grado, sin contar aquellos que también imparten posgrados, másteres y cursos de doctorado.

En Portugal, la situación es diferente: son bastantes las universidades privadas y públicas que ofertan cursos de traducción pero dentro de departamentos y facultades de lenguas y literaturas o institutos de lenguas y administración (Magalhães 1996; Hermida 2003). Así, aunque la traducción se estudia oficialmente en Portugal desde los años ochenta del siglo pasado, los Estudios de Traducción no gozan todavía de autonomía académica pues no son un área de conocimiento independiente. Esta circunstancia ha provocado que la investigación en este campo se resienta y que el volumen de libros, congresos y revistas sea mucho menor que en España, a pesar de que la bibliografía es ya considerable. A este respecto, son reveladoras de la situación actual las palabras con que João Ferreira Duarte presenta la *Bibliografia Portuguesa de Estudos de Tradução – TradBase*, un proyecto desarrollado en el ámbito del programa de estudios de posgrado en *Estudos Comparatistas* de la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad de Lisboa y que hoy está integrado en el *Centro de Estudos Comparatistas*:

O notável crescimento académico que a (inter)disciplina de Estudos de Tradução tem manifestado nos últimos anos em Portugal é um facto inegável e documentável. Acompanhando tendências internacionais e respondendo também a factores políticos e económicos, os Estudos de Tradução têm-se institucionalizado em licenciaturas e pós-graduações por todos os subsistemas do ensino superior no país, dando origem a um conjunto já apreciável de trabalhos de investigação (...). Existe hoje, portanto, em Portugal um terreno pedagógico e científico sólido, um potencial público utilizador em expansão (dentro e fora da academia) e um acervo documental no campo que carece de recolha, sistematização e tratamento, não só a fim de funcionar como instrumento indispensável à investigação, mas também com o objectivo de contribuir para a criação de um sentido de comunidade sem o qual nenhuma área do saber pode progredir.

En efecto, la institucionalización de los Estudios de Traducción ha ido acompañada de un movimiento editorial que ha convertido este campo de conocimiento en uno de los más dinámicos de las llamadas Humanidades. En la conferencia de apertura del curso académico 1999–2000 de la Facultad de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universidad de Granada, el profesor Santoyo refería que todo ese movimiento estaba sirviendo para “reclamar [a los estudios de traducción] una condición propia y autónoma, condición que desde fuera se le niega”, esto es, para afirmarse frente a otras áreas afines donde tradicionalmente han estado reclusos: la enseñanza de lenguas, la filología o los estudios de literatura comparada. Pero, sobre todo, comentaba Santoyo, toda esa actividad estaba sirviendo de trampolín para dar “ese inminente e inevitable salto adelante que hace tiempo se ha dado en Alemania, Países Bajos, Canadá o Estados Unidos” (Santoyo 2000: 13–14). Sin dejar de señalar este hecho, Anthony Pym ha subrayado en cambio la falta de proyección internacional de toda esta investigación apuntando algunas causas:

One of the reasons for this is obvious enough: many of the publications, including those to be addressed here, are heavily subsidized and are printed by university presses that are relatively unconcerned with distribution and sales. Many, including the random sample that has fallen to us here, are thinly disguised conference proceedings, edited with few visible selection criteria, very roughly organized in terms of thematics, and strung together without minimal scholarly apparatuses such as abstracts, notes on authors, or indices of names and subjects.

(Pym 2001:288–289)

## 1. Las antologías sobre la traducción: un fenómeno de moda

Dentro de toda esta producción destacan por su número y variedad las antologías, que pueden considerarse un auténtico fenómeno de moda en el ámbito europeo de los Estudios de Traducción (Lambert 1993:91). Estas obras reúnen y ponen al alcance del lector los textos más representativos de la reflexión traductora a lo largo de la historia y “constituyen la base documental de la metatraductología histórica” (Lépinette 1997:24). Su aparición obedece a la doble necesidad de cubrir un vacío y dotar a la disciplina de una perspectiva histórica. Este fenómeno ha tenido especial incidencia en el ámbito peninsular donde en el espacio de veintidós años (desde 1987 a 2009) han aparecido catorce antologías que recogen textos pertenecientes a diferentes lenguas, incluidas todas las de la Península Ibérica con la única excepción del euskera.<sup>1</sup> Son, por orden de año de publicación:

1. Santoyo, Julio-César. 1987. *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: Antología*. Bellaterra: EUTI de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
2. Vega, Miguel Ángel. (ed). 1994. *Textos clásicos de teoría de la traducción*. Madrid: Cátedra [2ª ed. ampliada 2004].
3. Lafarga, Francisco. (ed). 1996. *El discurso sobre la traducción en la historia. Antología bilingüe*. Barcelona: EUB.
4. López García, Dámaso. (ed). 1996. *Teorías de la traducción. Antología de textos*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.
5. Pais, Carlos Castilho. 1997. *Teoria diacrónica da tradução portuguesa. Antologia (Séc. XV-XX)*. Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.
6. Bacardí, Montserrat, Fontcuberta, Joan y Parcerisas, Francesc (eds). 1998. *Cent anys de traducció al català (1891-1990). Antologia*. Vic: Eumo.

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1. Aunque muy interesantes, no se estudian en este trabajo las antologías que recogen textos literarios traducidos al vasco: Zabaleta, José M<sup>a</sup>. 1984. *Euskal itzulpenaren antologia (I)*. Lazkao: Itzultzaile Estola; y Auzmendi, Lurdes y Biguri, Koldo. 1996.1998.2002. *Itzulpen Antologia*. Donostia: EIZIE, 3 vols.

7. Catelli, Nora y Gargatagli, Marieta. 1998. *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio. Escenas de la traducción en España y América: relatos, leyes y reflexiones sobre los otros*. Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal.
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9. Gallén, Enric, Llanas, Manuel, Ortín, Marcel, Pinyol i Torrens, Ramón y Quer, Pere. 2000. *L'art de traduir. Reflexions sobre la traducció al llarg de la història*. Vic: Eumo.
10. Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2003. *Babel entre nós. Escolma de textos sobre a traducción en Galicia*. Vigo: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo.
11. Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2006. *Babel ibérico. Antología de textos críticos sobre la literatura portuguesa traducida en España*. Universidade de Vigo: Servizo de Publicacións.
12. Dasilva, Xosé Manuel. 2008. *Babel ibérico. Antología de textos críticos sobre a literatura espanhola traduzida em Portugal*. Universidade de Vigo: Servizo de Publicacións.
13. García Garrosa, M<sup>a</sup> Jesús y Lafarga, Francisco. 2004. *El discurso sobre la traducción en la España del siglo XVIII. Estudio y antología*. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger (Problemata Literaria 61).
14. Cartagena, Nelson. 2009. *La contribución de España a la teoría de la traducción. Introducción al estudio y antología de textos de los siglos XIV y XV*. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, Vervuert (Medievalia Hispanica, 13).

Estas antologías deben distinguirse de las antologías de textos traducidos o antologías de traducciones (Gallego Roca 1996: 41–45; 306–308; Pym 1998: 90–91; Frank 2000: 13–16) y de las antologías poéticas (Ruiz Casanova 2007a). Sin embargo, comparten las características derivadas de la *forma* antología por lo que la definición clásica de Claudio Guillén, salvo la oración “interviniendo en la recepción de múltiples poetas”, es aplicable a todas:

La antología es una forma colectiva intratextual que supone la reescritura o reelaboración, por parte de un lector, de textos ya existentes mediante su inserción en conjuntos nuevos. La lectura es su arranque y su destino, puesto que el autor es un lector que se arroga la facultad de dirigir las lecturas de los demás, interviniendo en la recepción de múltiples poetas, modificando el horizonte de expectativas de sus contemporáneos. (Guillén 2005: 375)

Es común que esta “forma colectiva intratextual” aparezca bajo la denominación de *género*. Ello se debe a que prima la idea de selección, rasgo compartido por todas las antologías con independencia de los textos que las compongan:

(...) si se entiende por *género* un *architexto* o texto de textos, como hace Gérard Genette (*Introduction à l'architexte*), probablemente cabría en dicha definición la antología, como también puede situarse en los límites difusos de forma y género.”  
(Ruiz Casanova 2007b: 54)

Pero la antología debe entenderse sobre todo como *libro* y no como simple acumulación de textos o “mera enciclopedia de consulta” (Ruiz Casanova 2007a: 162); desde este punto de vista, la antología de textos teóricos sobre la traducción es un tipo de obra histórica con una especificidad propia.

## 1.1 Tipos de antologías

Siguiendo la clasificación de Lépinette (1997: 18–34) para las obras históricas, las antologías de textos sobre teoría de la traducción pueden dividirse en dos grandes grupos en función del período temporal y los espacios culturales que abarcan. Conviene señalar antes que, a pesar de las semejanzas, no hay dos antologías iguales:

### 1.1.1 *Generales*

Tratan la traducción a lo largo de la historia desde los primeros documentos traducidos hasta nuestros días. Pueden subdividirse en generales de carácter universal o generales de una tradición o de carácter nacional:

- a. Antologías generales de carácter universal: Vega (1994), Lafarga (1996), López García (1996) y Gallén et al. (2000).
- b. Antologías generales de una tradición: ámbito hispánico, Santoyo (1987) y Catelli/Gargatagli (1998); ámbito ibérico, Dasilva (2006, 2008).
- c. Antologías generales de carácter nacional (Portugal): Pais (1997) y Sabio/Fernández (1998).

### 1.1.2 *Parciales*

La división se establece en función de un doble eje cronológico y espacial que se limita a un siglo o dos siglos como máximo y a un ámbito nacional y lingüístico: Bacardí/Fontcuberta/Parcerisas (1998) para el catalán; Dasilva (2003) para el gallego; García Garrosa/Lafarga (2004) y Cartagena (2009) para el castellano.

La mayoría de las antologías han sido publicadas por editoriales universitarias y son obra de profesores universitarios por lo que su función didáctica e investigadora es bien patente. La antología de Vega, que coincide con la transformación de las escuelas universitarias en facultades de traducción e interpretación durante el curso 1993–1994, va dirigida a estudiantes y estudiosos con el objetivo de “que



el traductor ya en activo o el que todavía se está formando sepa de dónde viene y adónde debe ir, para que no repita los mismos errores” (Vega 1994: 14). Lafarga, por su parte, considera que la historia de las traducciones puede constituir para la historia de la literatura y la literatura comparada un útil instrumento de enseñanza y de investigación (Lafarga 1996: 13). Todavía más marcado es el componente didáctico de la antología de Gallén et al., que va dirigida a “un públic ampli, sobretot universitari” y está pensada “com un instrument de lectura i de consulta per acompanyar les explicacions de l’aula” (Gallén et al. 2000: 11). Por último, Cartagena no duda en afirmar que el objetivo principal de su antología es “poner a disposición de los estudiantes y estudiosos de la traducción y de filología hispánica un sólido material de apoyo sobre el tema tratado” (Cartagena 2009: x).

Conviene notar el paralelismo entre la institucionalización de los Estudios de Traducción y lo sucedido en la Historia literaria tal y como recuerda Pozuelo Yvancos refiriéndose a Romero Tobar, quien

subrayó el momento decisivo de la reforma de planes de estudio realizada por Pidal en 1845, que fue la que consagró la independencia institucional de los estudios de Historia literaria y que dio lugar a la publicación masiva de textos instrumentales, antologías y manuales de apoyo. (Pozuelo Yvancos 2000: 127)

Así, la proliferación de publicaciones, entre ellas las antologías, en la creación y el desarrollo de la historia literaria se constata también en el caso de la traducción, especialmente a partir de los años noventa del siglo pasado.

## 2. Las antologías sobre la traducción: revisión crítica

En un primer momento se tratan los conceptos de *reescritura* y *selección*, claves en toda antología, para después estudiar otros aspectos de estas obras históricas a partir de su concepción como libro.

### 2.1 La reescritura

El concepto de *reescritura*, presente en la definición de Guillén y desarrollado por Lefevre (1992), es clave para entender el fenómeno de las antologías. Al igual que otras reescrituras, como la edición de textos, la traducción o la historia literaria, la antología es un procedimiento que permite reformular el pasado desde el presente; o, más concretamente, “desde los intereses del presente”, como señala Talens, porque “no se instituye para recuperar un pasado, sino para ayudar a constituir y justificar un presente” (Talens 1994: 137 citado por Pozuelo Yvancos 2000: 40). En el proceso de reunir, seleccionar y reeditar, la antología surge como un medio para

reconstruir nuevos discursos o potenciar otros ya instituidos (Vidal Claramonte 1998: 55). El discurso de esta reescritura está siempre marcado por unas condiciones ideológicas: el caso más evidente del corpus es la antología de Catelli/Gargatagli. Esta antología es un original intento de recopilación de los textos de los “otros”, denominación bajo la cual se incluyen todas las culturas minoritarias, la hispanoamericana, musulmana, judía, que han sufrido la exclusión continuada por parte de la cultura occidental. Las autoras presentan una amplia selección de textos, ordenados cronológicamente durante un período histórico de diez siglos, los cuales comparten la característica de haber sido poco difundidos, o más bien olvidados, en la historia de la traducción del ámbito hispánico. Su objetivo es reconstruir con un estilo narrativo y una escritura ideológica una tradición de la cultura hispánica excluida para “mostrar que las estrategias de la omisión [de los ‘otros’] existieron y que fueron necesarias porque la traducción es sobre todo literatura política” (Catelli y Gargatagli 1998: 19).

Otra característica común a la mayoría de las antologías es proporcionar una perspectiva histórica de las ideas sobre la traducción y de los diferentes sistemas culturales implicados; así, la reescritura pretende mostrar un pasado desconocido que genere conocimiento para el presente de la disciplina: Vega (1994: 13–14) adopta el punto de vista humanista para hacer “memoria histórica” y rescatar la teoría cautiva del pasado reivindicando un espacio propio para la traducción; Lafarga (1996: 13) considera que la mirada retrospectiva es necesaria “para una mejor comprensión de los fenómenos actuales y de la reflexión contemporánea”; López García (1996: 19) afirma que las reflexiones de los traductores “no dejan de traer enseñanzas para quien las lee hoy”; Sabio/Fernández (1998: 7) señalan la necesidad de fundamentar los estudios de traducción desde un punto de vista histórico; finalmente, Gallén et al. (2000: 11) desean que su antología “ajudés a reconèixer la qualitat històrica de la traducció i de les reflexions a què ha donat lloc, condició imprescindible per reclamar-ne la vigència”.

## 2.2 La selección

El principio de selección define la orientación historiográfica de la antología. El principal criterio invocado por los antólogos es la representatividad de los textos: los textos procuran ser representativos de la variada tipología que ha adoptado históricamente el pensamiento sobre la traducción y de su carácter de clásicos (Lafarga 1996: 15); la originalidad consiste en dar a conocer textos de la tradición occidental junto con otros de otras tradiciones (árabe, china, rusa) cuyo valor “es, precisamente, el de la representatividad; pensamientos parecidos se han expresado en diferentes lugares y en muy diferentes épocas” (López García 1996: 18);

los textos son representativos de la variedad de formas que adoptó el discurso sobre la traducción “prestando mais atenção ao conjunto de relações e influências entre eles, do que ao valor literário ou didáctico dos textos traduzidos” (Sabio y Fernández 1998: 17); a los valores argumentativos y expositivos de los textos, se suma la representatividad de los testimonios recogidos durante veinte siglos (Gallén et al. 2000: 9–10); el criterio principal de la selección de *Babel entre nós*, como reflejo de la historia literaria y cultural gallega, “foi a vontade de ofrecer unha serie de documentos representativa de cómo foi vista a traducción en Galicia a través do tempo” (Dasilva 2003: 8). En este sentido, como señaló Sánchez Robayna, conviene recordar que las antologías “son mapas, no territorios”, es decir, las antologías son representaciones, cartografías (Ruiz Casanova 2007a: 24).

Pozuelo Yvancos (2000: 126) ha notado con acierto el estrecho vínculo que existe entre antología, historia y pedagogía como la base del sistema de canonización. La antología configura un canon selectivo, transmite una herencia de pensamiento, legitima una especialidad y proporciona una perspectiva histórica. Las antologías generales de carácter universal ofrecen un conjunto de textos que pretende mostrar el discurso sobre la traducción a lo largo de la historia. Vega y López García recogen una muestra amplia de textos de la tradición occidental y de otras tradiciones (92 y 70, respectivamente); en cambio, las antologías de Lafarga y Gallén et al., ambas bilingües, son mucho más selectivas (45 y 32 textos, respectivamente) en consonancia con su objetivo didáctico. ¿Cuál es el canon occidental representado en las cuatro antologías de carácter universal? ¿Qué corpus mínimo encontramos? Los textos sagrados pertenecen a Cicerón, San Jerónimo, Lutero, Vives, Dryden, D’Alembert, Schleiermacher, Humboldt, Goethe, Mme de Staël, Benjamin y Ortega y Gasset. A estos nombres que aparecen en todas las colecciones, aunque recogidos en traducciones diferentes en cada antología, pueden añadirse los textos de Bruni, Cartagena, Dolet, Du Bellay, Fray Luis de León, D’Ablancourt, Huet, Marmontel, Tytler o Pope, entre los que se incluyen nombres de la tradición española, poco frecuentes en otras antologías elaboradas fuera de la Península Ibérica, y también otros en función de la procedencia y formación de los antólogos (por ejemplo, autores catalanes en Gallén et al., autores alemanes en Vega, autores portugueses en López García). Así, la selección refleja tanto la procedencia como la formación de los antólogos.

Las antologías de Santoyo, Pais y Dasilva intentan reaccionar ante el desconocimiento de sus respectivas tradiciones (española, portuguesa y gallega), pretenden cubrir una laguna y por eso prima en ellas la necesidad de rescatar del olvido nombres y textos: “la primera intención de la presente antología ha sido, precisamente, la de recoger y recopilar estos materiales, terminar con su dispersión y presentar por primera vez un *corpus* de teoría y crítica traductoras” (Santoyo 1987: 20); la antología de Pais, que aparece como “uma recolha de fontes”,

responde ante todo a una necesidad: “se os tradutores portugueses de épocas remotas fossem conhecidos, se os seus textos, em que nos transmitem um modo de proceder, fossem lidos, comentados e ensinados, esta publicação não teria razão para existir” (Pais 1997: 17); la de Dasilva (2003: 7) reúne “un rico mostrario de textos críticos” disperso (210 textos en total), con un afán memorialístico para facilitar el conocimiento de la traducción en Galicia. Por el contrario, la antología de Bacardí/Fontcuberta/Parcerisas (1998: 13) pretende ofrecer buenos modelos de lengua catalana y por ello selecciona 56 textos que presentan “moltes planes, d’estils diversos, de bona prosa”.

Otra cuestión importante es la relacionada con la naturaleza de los textos. Las antologías recogen textos literarios que se presentan en su inmensa mayoría de modo fragmentario; abarcan un amplio abanico de asuntos y obedecen a una reflexión excéntrica y circunstancial; y por lo general, salvo los “clásicos”, son textos poco conocidos. Este hecho plantea graves problemas de interpretación pues, como bien señaló D’hulst (1995: 19–23), los textos no son transparentes y su simple inclusión en el conjunto no asegura un correcto entendimiento; es decir, el investigador debe plantearse la reconstrucción de las relaciones entre los textos y sus condiciones de funcionamiento histórico. Esto no se ha tenido debidamente en cuenta por los antólogos: salvo las antologías de Catelli/Gargatagli, Sabio/Fernández, García Garrosa/Lafarga, Cartagena y, en parte, la de Gallén et al., los textos no aportan suficientes claves de lectura para ayudar a su comprensión.

Por último, todas las antologías adoptan el orden cronológico como primer criterio para presentar los textos menos las de Sabio/Fernández y Gallén et al.: la primera da prioridad a una estructuración en función de las formas discursivas que adoptó la reflexión en Portugal; la segunda agrupa los textos en cinco bloques bien diferenciados y después aparecen los textos ordenados cronológicamente.

### 2.3 Los antólogos

Los antólogos son los responsables de la selección de los textos. Su reescritura obedece a diferentes propósitos: proporcionar una serie de textos clásicos; dar a conocer una determinada tradición; llamar la atención sobre la importancia del estudio histórico; establecer relaciones entre diferentes sistemas literarios; reivindicar un marco peninsular en la investigación histórica, etcétera. Cartagena, Catelli, García Garrosa y Lafarga son profesores de filología y los restantes son profesores de traducción pero con una formación filológica y humanística, por lo que puede decirse que este tipo de obras es una contribución de la filología a los estudios de traducción. No ha de extrañar por consiguiente que la mayoría de las antologías vayan dirigidas a estudiantes o estudiosos tanto de traducción como de filología o literatura comparada, pues los textos son por lo general literarios

y entroncan con aspectos que trascienden los estudios de traducción para adentrarse en la historia de la cultura.

En el proceso de reactivar la memoria de los lectores seleccionando y rescatando del olvido textos mediante su reedición, el antólogo adopta diversas funciones: es autor, es editor y, en las antologías plurilingües, es también traductor, labor en la que es ayudado por otros traductores (como ocurre en las antologías de Vega, Lafarga y López García). Los antólogos suelen invocar, además, la flexibilidad que les ofrece la *forma libre* antología para seleccionar y reeditar los textos: unas veces aparece como “criterio personal” (Santoyo) o “subjetividad” (López García); otras veces como “libertad e imprecisión de lo fragmentario” (Catelli/Gargatagli).

## 2.4 Los títulos

Los títulos son normalmente largos, incluyen referencias al tiempo y al espacio cultural que abarcan y presentan el contenido historiográfico de la antología. Sin embargo, son pocos los autores que explican su elección. Lafarga justifica en la presentación de su antología el concepto central: tras descartar “reflexiones sobre la traducción”, “ideas sobre la traducción” o “pensamiento traductor” con los que se refleja el modo en que debería traducirse según los distintos autores de los textos, que prefiere a “teoría” o “teorías sobre la traducción”, pues remiten a una concepción estructurada y sistemática de los problemas del traducir, el antólogo opta por “discurso de la traducción” porque muestra mejor la tipología textual que ha adoptado la reflexión a lo largo de la historia y el modo en que se ha traducido (Lafarga 1996: 14). Esta opción es la elegida también en su otra antología elaborada con García Garrosa y en la de Sabio/Fernández.

El término “teoría” es el preferido por los antólogos: Vega (1994: 20–21) reconoce la dificultad terminológica que encierra el concepto “teoría de la traducción” y la variedad de textos que la incluyen, de los que selecciona los “textos clásicos”, los consagrados; López García (1996: 15) pretende reflejar con “teorías” el carácter fragmentario de la reflexión y la naturaleza excéntrica de la propia teoría procedente de diferentes tradiciones; Santoyo (1987: 20) considera que el corpus seleccionado contiene una “teoría y crítica” de la traducción; Pais (1997: 21) precisa que la “teoría diacrónica” se centra en la “teoría do tradutor”.

Por su parte, Gallén et al. (2000: 11) inciden sobre todo en las “reflexiones” que incluyen en la fórmula “L’art de traduir” con la que se apunta a una actividad que puede ser aprehendida y enseñada; Bacardí/Fontcuberta/Parcerisas omiten cualquier concepto y resaltan la referencia temporal “Cent anys”; Dasilva se decanta por “Escolma de textos sobre a traducción” con lo que destaca la idea de

selección amplia de textos de la tradición gallega, y, en su *Babel ibérico*, opta por “textos críticos” de literatura traducida con lo que incide en la recepción literaria a través de la traducción entre ambos sistemas culturales. Finalmente, Catelli/Gargatagli se inclinan por “Escenas de la traducción”, que potencia el carácter narrativo de la antología y refleja dos escenas excluidas en la formación de la cultura hispánica: la escena mestiza de las tres culturas medievales, borrada por la historiografía posterior, y la escena progresivamente despoblada de las culturas autóctonas en América.

Aparte de las antologías centradas en un periodo de tiempo (García Garrosa/Lafarga y Cartagena), cuyo carácter parcial permite un estudio más profundo de los textos, solamente encontramos dos antologías en las que hay un esfuerzo por explicar y trascender el carácter denotativo o descriptivo del título y son precisamente las antologías que presentan los títulos más extensos. La antología de Sabio/Fernández sugiere una guía de lectura (discontinua y desigual según cada momento histórico) de la historia de la traducción en Portugal en el subtítulo, “o proveito, o ensino e a crítica”, el cual refleja la lectura interpretativa que proponen los autores para el periodo seleccionado. Por su parte, la antología de Catelli/Gargatagli (además de la idea de “escenas” que informa del carácter narrativo) incluye un guiño al lector; *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio* debe entenderse como evidencia de la tesis fundamental del libro: Covarrubias al hablar de tabaco en su *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611) omite a los amerindios, propone a Plinio como fuente y considera que el tabaco es diabólico, de ahí la omisión y la consideración diabólica del otro en una cierta tradición de la cultura española, que las autoras intentan rescatar y de la que son reflejo la heterogeneidad de textos que aparecen en la última parte del título: “relatos, leyes y reflexiones sobre los otros”.

## 2.5 Introducciones y presentaciones

Junto al título hay en todas ellas un aparato paratextual que contribuye a perfilar la autoría del antólogo y a construir el libro como tal (Ruiz Casanova 2007a: 162). En ese aparato, en el que deben incluirse las notas biográficas o bio-bibliográficas, la presentación de los textos seleccionados y los apéndices, hay que destacar las introducciones y las presentaciones.

La introducción en las antologías generales de Santoyo, Vega, López García y Pais adopta la forma de ensayo sobre la historia de la traducción del periodo abarcado. Puede aparecer como historia abreviada que pretende situar al lector en las claves historiográficas de la tradición occidental (Vega 1994: 15–57) y presentar algunas metáforas de la historia de la teoría de la traducción en tradiciones menos conocidas (López García 1996: 20); o bien, junto a una breve historia de

la “tradicción” española e hispanoamericana con especial incidencia en los textos y autores de los últimos veinte años, proponer una periodización (Santoyo 1987: 14–15) o esbozar una primera aproximación histórica de la traducción en Portugal que se presenta como un punto de partida para futuras investigaciones (Pais 1997: 20).

Las presentaciones suelen dar cuenta de la selección y del procedimiento seguido por el antólogo. En este apartado es donde hallamos una serie de tópicos a modo de justificación (o *captatio benevolentiae*) como, por ejemplo, los límites del espacio (Gallén), la eliminación de textos parecidos (Bacardí, Dasilva, García Garrosa/Lafarga) o los lamentos por el carácter subjetivo de la selección que no agrada a todos y que forma parte del “melancólico destino de las más de las antologías” (López García 1996: 23).

Cuatro antologías se diferencian del resto por el tipo de contextualización y estudio de los textos seleccionados: por un lado, las antologías de Sabio/Fernández y Catelli/Gargatagli, por otro lado, las antologías de García Garrosa/Lafarga y Cartagena. Las dos primeras no hacen una síntesis de la historia en sus respectivas introducciones, sino que presentan los fundamentos teórico-metodológicos y los criterios adoptados para desarrollar posteriormente los objetivos particulares de cada antología: Sabio/Fernández dividen los textos, siguiendo el modelo de la antología de D’hulst (1990), en tres grupos representativos de las formas discursivas que adoptó la reflexión en Portugal, y cada grupo lleva una introducción que sirve de guía de lectura de los textos; en la antología de Catelli/Gargatagli, cada texto va antecedido de una presentación y el conjunto de presentaciones puede entenderse como una historia fragmentaria que da cuenta de las estrategias de omisión de los otros. El nexo común de ambas antologías es que no pretenden ser canónicas y proponen una interpretación de los textos seleccionados. Las dos últimas antologías acotan un periodo de la historia de la traducción en España, lo que les permite estudiar con mayor profundidad los textos antologizados: García Garrosa/Lafarga reconstruyen el discurso de la traducción apuntando su importancia para el conocimiento de la historia cultural del siglo XVIII; Cartagena, por su parte, estudia la concepción de la teoría de la traducción en los siglos XIV y XV para decantar la norma ideal de estos dos periodos y valorar la contribución de España.

En un punto intermedio surge la antología de Gallén et al.: cada uno de los cinco bloques que la componen va precedido por una introducción obra de un autor diferente, que también se encarga de la traducción de los respectivos textos.

### 3. Conclusiones

Las antologías sobre la traducción publicadas en la Península Ibérica durante los últimos veintidós años son una consecuencia de la institucionalización de los Estudios de Traducción. El grueso de antologías (ocho en total, si contamos la de Gallén et al.) aparece en los años noventa del siglo pasado, precisamente cuando estos estudios se transformaron en España en licenciatura. Esta circunstancia sirvió para potenciar el contacto entre profesores e investigadores de toda la Península y culminó en febrero de 2003 con la creación en la Universidad de Granada de la Asociación Ibérica de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación (AIETI), que tiene entre sus objetivos incentivar la reflexión, el estudio, la investigación, la docencia y el intercambio científico en este campo en el ámbito ibérico.

La aparición de estas antologías se debe también a otras dos razones: llenar un vacío cubierto en otras lenguas y proporcionar una base histórica a una disciplina en desarrollo. Además, el hecho de que la antología sea una *forma libre* favorece su proliferación: pese a las semejanzas, no hay dos antologías iguales.

Las antologías generales de carácter universal presentan una organización diferente de los textos seleccionados: a la acusada tendencia eurocéntrica de las antologías bilingües de Lafarga y de Gallén et al., se contraponen la selección más amplia de Vega y la todavía más universal de López García. Las antologías de Santoyo y Pais, que se centran en una tradición, difieren de las de Catelli/Gargatagli y Sabio/Fernández porque estas se alejan del carácter acumulativo e instituido de aquellas y ofrecen una perspectiva menos canónica y más interpretativa. Por otra parte, las antologías de Bacardí y de Dasilva reflejan el carácter periférico de la reflexión peninsular: Bacardí/Fontcuberta/Parcerisas seleccionan textos catalanes que son ejemplos de estilo literario, modelos dignos de seguir; Dasilva, textos que reflejan la situación del gallego como “lengua minorizada” y la configuración del sistema literario gallego en contacto con los sistemas literarios vecinos (castellano y portugués, sobre todo). Además, las dos antologías que forman el *Babel ibérico* de Dasilva recopilan un importante número de textos críticos de la comunicación entre España y Portugal (2006) y Portugal y España (2008) a través de la actividad traductora y la recepción literaria lo que permite reconstruir el desarrollo histórico de los contactos entre ambos países. No obstante, el carácter fragmentario de los textos y su pertenencia a la historia de la cultura es un obstáculo para su entendimiento; por eso, las antologías que proponen una guía de lectura (Catelli/Gargatagli, Sabio/Fernández, Gallén et al., García Garrosa/Lafarga y Cartagena) son las más interesantes desde el punto de vista pedagógico. A ello se añaden otros problemas relacionados con la variedad de versiones para un mismo texto (por ejemplo, la *Carta a Pammaquio*) que encontramos en las antologías generales de carácter universal.



Como apoyo a la enseñanza y a la investigación, las antologías son de especial interés para las asignaturas de teoría e historia de la traducción. En este sentido, estas obras nos recuerdan que la traducción es una actividad que hunde sus raíces en el pasado; proporcionan a estudiantes e investigadores un conjunto amplio de textos de la tradición occidental y del resto de las tradiciones de la Península Ibérica; muestran asimismo la íntima vinculación de la traducción con otras prácticas culturales y potencian el conocimiento de los contactos entre diferentes sistemas literarios. Sin embargo, la abundancia de antologías contrasta con el poco peso de la historia de la traducción en los planes de estudios de la era Bolonia.

Por último, las antologías de textos teóricos sobre la traducción son el espacio donde coinciden intereses de áreas de conocimiento afines (filología, literatura comparada y traducción) y donde se pone en evidencia la competencia entre los sistemas lingüísticos del ámbito peninsular descubriendo las tensiones entre la periferia (gallego, catalán y portugués) y el centro (castellano).

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SECTION II

**National and international  
canonization processes**



# Poetry anthologies as *Weltliteratur* projects

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Following the cultural approach developed in Göttingen (1982–1995), four contemporary anthologies of world poetry, two Portuguese and two German, are analysed. The quantitative and qualitative parameters applied to the anthologies in question provide insights into the different concepts of world poetry underlying the many configurations of national and foreign literatures at a time when the literary canon is more or less stabilised and translation has assumed its invaluable role in the specific task of cultural transfer represented by world poetry anthologies.

## 1. Purpose

The aim of this paper is to compare four contemporary anthologies of world poetry, two of them published in Portugal and the other two in Germany: *Rosa do Mundo* (World's Rose) (2001, Lisbon), *Poesia de 26 Séculos* (Poetry of 26 centuries) (2001, Porto), *Museum der modernen Poesie* (Museum of Modern Poetry) (2002, Frankfurt a. M.) and *Die Erfindung der Poesie* (The Invention of Poetry) (2009, Frankfurt a. M.)

A translational cultural methodology is used for the analysis, based on some of the lines developed in Göttingen in the *Sonderforschungsbereich Die literarische Übersetzung* (a special research project on literary translation) from 1982–1995. Some quantitative as well as qualitative conclusions will be drawn regarding two main areas: how far these anthologies embody *Weltliteratur* (world literature) projects and the kind of statistical interpretations that can be derived from the available data (see Table 1).

## 2. Translation as the backbone of a *Weltliteratur* project

Viewed from the outside, translations tend to be considered a necessary evil, a last resort that has to be used when compiling an anthology of literature from two or more cultures.

Anthologies of world poetry are deemed to be translation anthologies to an even greater extent. How is their compilation affected by the prevailing (or absent) tradition of translational culture in the target context? In minority language contexts such as the Portuguese, translations tend to be accepted as an inevitable expedient required to provide access to foreign authors, and their quality is often disregarded. In contrast, in countries where the translational culture is well-developed, more attention is paid to the selection of translations for an anthology with regard to quality.

One may ask how translation affects the target literary system and what kinds of shifts it may entail within the self-regulatory literary system in order to account for its inner dynamics. If the literary system is conceived of as a polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990), then its nature lies somewhere between a closed system (with a restricted, non-expandable stock of elements, a stable, hierarchical canon and centripetal regulation) and an open one (without any rigid structuring and without norms). Bearing in mind that these concepts are not to be considered as opposites but rather as a cline, the literary polysystem still offers some scope for innovation and creativity within the semiotic square of normativity presented by Dirk de Geest (1992). According to Dirk de Geest, the norms of the literary system are expressed within two deictic poles, a positive and a negative one, each incorporating two further distinctions, the former covering what has to be expressed (obligation) as well as what may be said (non-prohibition), and the latter comprising what must not be said (prohibition) and what does not have to be said (non-obligation). In other words, the operations of the literary polysystem are regulated by four mechanisms relating to what is prescribed, prohibited, permitted and tolerated.

### 3. Anthologies – Design and theoretical implications

Certain questions arise when compiling a poetry anthology.<sup>1</sup> When more than one translation of the same poem is available to the anthologist in the target culture, which selection criteria are used? What kinds of constraints operate in this context – copyright, aesthetic value, availability, temporal context of the translation, a foreignizing vs. domesticating translation strategy, political background, the translator's personal taste and status, or easy comprehension by the target reader? What role does tradition play in the design of anthologies of world poetry? Are there noticeable discrepancies in anthologies of different cultures

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1. For a thorough investigation of this topic, see Essmann 1992, Essmann/Schöning 1996 and Bödeker/Essmann 1997.

and different collection norms (in Toury's sense)? How can such differences be accounted for? Which impulses may have led an anthologist to opt for a multi-lingual anthology, as in the case of Enzensberger, or for the use of illustrations, as in Schrott's case? And what surplus values do these linguistic and semiotic products bring to an anthology?

When undertaking research of this kind certain obstacles are encountered, which require explanation. First of all, a considerable number of anthologies of the desired profile, both national and multinational, must be found if a comparative analysis is to be undertaken (whereas thematic anthologies of the 'love poetry' type are excluded from this research). A major difficulty arises in locating anthologies of world poetry since most do not include this term in the title but prefer to use a catchy metaphor or some other suggestive name such as "Poetical Home Treasure from Abroad", "Picture Room", "Songs from afar", "In the Peoples' Spring of Songs" or, more recently, "The Poem itself" (Stanley Burnshaw 1960) or "A Book of Luminous Things" (Czeslaw Milosz 1996). In these circumstances, the researcher must either be familiar with certain bibliographical data concerning the type of anthology he is looking for, or else is doomed to fail. Of the four anthologies chosen, none bears the word 'anthology' in the title.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that although the tradition of anthologizing dates back to the times of the *florilegium*, it varies considerably from culture to culture. In Germany, for instance, this tradition is very well developed, documented and analysed,<sup>2</sup> whereas in other cultures, such as Portugal, a tradition of collections of this kind scarcely exists.

In addition, collections that include only binational literatures (of the French/Portuguese type) had to be discarded, as they did not have the appropriate scope for a *Weltliteratur* project.<sup>3</sup>

The most relevant questions associated with the design of a poetry anthology will be discussed here, in particular aspects relating to translation that have a bearing on the organising principles and selection criteria for this specific kind of anthology.

Undoubtedly one of the first questions has to do with the anthologist's concern to offer the most representative examples of foreign poets and poems. This is particularly relevant when several translations of the same poem are available.

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2. In the illustration of the statistical method developed in Göttingen, 16 German anthologies of world poetry published between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century are compared.

3. In order to be considered as such, at least two literatures from more than one continent must be included in the anthology. See Rühling 1996:220.



In this respect, it may be relevant to ask whether the anthologist considered his choice and which selection criteria prevailed: aesthetic value, availability, readability (with easily recognisable effects), proximity to the original or modernity, a foreignizing or domesticating translation strategy.

The anthologist's stance is also of paramount importance. Is his intention to provide a general survey of a literature, or is he mainly concerned with literary innovation? Which history of literature guides the anthologist in his options? Alternatively, does he wish to establish a new interpretation of poetry by presenting quite a different selection of mostly neglected poems, as in the case of Raoul Schrott?

Furthermore, the principles that determine the structure of the anthology may vary considerably, namely chronological order, thematic category, restriction to a single period, a genre, or one or more literatures, the anthologist's aesthetic preferences, the translators' backgrounds, the editor's web of relationships – all of which may be combined in varying degrees of importance. The alleged influence of previous anthologies on the configuration of the current one also merits consideration. Joachim Sartorius, for instance, wanted to continue Enzensberger's *Museum* and in 1995 published his *Atlas der neuen Poesie*. In this case, a previous anthology with a more restricted chronological range served as the inspiration for another.

What role does the fame of poets play in their inclusion in anthologies? In an age in which marketing strategies rely heavily on prizes and awards, how far are anthologists influenced by such trends?

Another decisive question concerns self-representation. What does the presence (or absence) of the anthologist's own national literature in an anthology of world poetry reveal about its assumed status and what rank does national literature assume within the blend of cultures which the anthology represents? Of the four anthologies examined here, two of them, namely Jorge de Sena's and Raoul Schrott's, do not include any examples of their own national literature. There may be several explanations for this. Given Schrott's main goal, that of showing the ontogenesis of several poetic forms, it may be deduced that German poetry did not make any major contribution to the origin of such processes. Moreover, if Schrott's intention is to present unknown poets to the reader, the national authors would already be accessible and could therefore be left out. Jorge de Sena's case is somewhat different. Living in exile in the United States at the time when the anthology was published, Sena may have omitted Portuguese literature not because of its lack of status or his lack of recognition of this fact, but perhaps because it was available to Portuguese readers anyway and his main goal was to disseminate knowledge of foreign literatures in Portuguese. The omission of Portuguese literature may also be interpreted as a sign of resistance to a political

regime that had led Sena into exile, as well as a kind of retaliation against the Portuguese writers' corporation.

By including in an anthology of world poetry the only poetry that is not translated (i.e. national poetry), the cultural system promoting the anthology is endeavouring to self-evaluate its own literary canon. At the same time, this self-representation expresses the image that this literature desires to reflect to outside cultural systems. In other words, in such an anthology two different sets of perspectives may coexist: the foreign and the national one (as illustrated in *Rosa do Mundo*).

As a result, certain questions arise that may be worth pursuing. Firstly, what kind of relationship is supposed to be established between national and foreign literatures – the maintenance of a certain marginal stance or exoticism in the national literature or, conversely, the upgrading of the status of the national literature by raising it to the same level as certain more prestigious foreign literatures?

Secondly, to what extent are interferences, reciprocal, bi- or multidirectional influences detectable in an anthology, when compared with previous national and foreign anthologies? Are the signs of such contact viewed as positive or negative by the target cultural system?

Thirdly, during the process of compiling an anthology the national culture is put through a selection filter, but not through the cultural filter every translation imposes. Could the sheer need to translate a certain poem function as a constraint against its inclusion in the anthology?

Fourthly, to what extent is the cultural difference of foreign poems integrated into the anthology, i.e. to what extent does the consolidation of national literature occur at the expense of the inclusion of poems that corroborate the national canon but do not stress poetic differences so much?

#### 4. Four anthologies of world poetry – Analysis

Bearing in mind that anthologies of world poetry embody reception phenomena on several levels – associated with periods, cultures and translations – their analysis must concentrate on each of these layers if the interpretation is to yield any insights in this research area. In order to illustrate the kinds of considerations that can be drawn from poetry anthologies in terms of their design, the implied cultural assessments of foreign literatures and the conditions for their reception in the target culture (the extent to which a process of domestication took place or the exotic features of the source literature were maintained), four poetry anthologies, two German and two Portuguese, were analysed.

In this research, the number of pages was not considered a reliable parameter, as a single page often contained more than one poem by different poets and the layout sometimes required a comparatively short poem to be divided over two pages, making this kind of quantitative measurement inappropriate for any specific distinctions that might be established.

Instead, the quantitative representativeness of the literatures involved, as well as the number of poems by each poet, were considered to be more reliable traits from which certain hypotheses could be drawn.

A final remark must be made regarding the number of cultures involved. Although apparently straightforward, the number of cultures included in each anthology of world literature is not unproblematic. In the particular case of *Rosa do Mundo*, the anthologist decided to include a wide range of poetry from certain cultural areas which we nowadays tend to consider belong together (for instance, six different cultures in Amazonia, four in Polynesia, five in Mongolia, four in Sudan, five in South Africa, thirty seven in North and South America, and so forth), raising the number of cultures to 249. Therefore, in order to make the original 249 single cultures compatible with the other three anthologies in which no such differentiation was made, this tribal distribution within the same geographical area was abandoned and standardised, thus creating a total of 146 cultures. Another reason for this approach was to give a more realistic and consistent perspective to the density of cultures represented in *Rosa do Mundo*.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.1 Rosa do Mundo. 2001 Poemas para o Futuro

A brief explanation of the context in which this anthology was launched must be provided in advance. In 2001, the city of Oporto was chosen as the European Capital of Culture, promoting a wide range of cultural activities. An external stimulus therefore determined the appearance of the anthology, even using the year of publication to establish the number of poems to be included (two more, in fact, than the title announced – 2003 and not 2001).

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of this anthology is the strong self-representation it displays, an interesting case that deserves some explanation as it reveals how national literature would like to be seen from the outside. In fact,

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4. One could continue to reduce the number of cultures by creating further unifying clusters, such as those formed by Latin American or African literature as a whole, which once again would increase the density of cultures included and their relative strength, but would ultimately create a distortion that could not be sustained with the other three anthologies. In Table 3, only the first 20 literatures in this anthology are listed, as they are representative enough of the concept of canon defended here.

Table 1. Anthologies and parameters of analysis

Parameters of analysis	Anthologies			
	<i>Rosa do Mundo 2001 Poemas para o Futuro</i>	<i>Poesia de 26 séculos</i>	<i>Museum der modernen Poesie</i>	<i>Die Erfindung der Poesie</i>
Date of publication	2001	1979, 1992, 2001	1960, 2002	1997, 2009
Anthologist	M. Hermínio Monteiro	Jorge de Sena	Hans Magnus Enzensberger	Raoul Schrott
Status of anthologist	Publisher	Poet and translator	Poet and translator	Poet, translator, comparatist
Publishing house	Assírio & Alvim	Asa	Suhrkamp	Eichborn
Pages (total/with poems)	1919/1816	388/249	867/376	531/281
No. poems (total)	2003	368	340	255
No. poets represented	1338	107	96	22
No. poems per poet	1	Several	Several	Several
Literatures included	146	15	20	13
National literature	yes	no	yes	no
Percent. of national lit.	6.59%	0%	14.84%	0%
Chronological range	30 centuries	26 centuries	30 years	40 centuries
Main organisational criteria	universality	anthologist's personal taste	thematic	ontogenesis of poetry
Multilingual	no	no	yes	no
Preface/Epilogue	yes	yes	yes	yes
Poet biographies	yes	yes	yes	yes
Notes	no	yes	no	yes
Index of authorities	no	does not apply	yes	yes
Translators involved	146	1	53	1(?)

Portuguese poetry is represented by 132 examples (6.59% of the total amount),<sup>5</sup> which is not surprising considering the cultural occasion that gave birth to it and the cultural affirmation of national literature it was intended to convey. Another surprise is the cultural area second in the rankings, China, represented

5. A particular note on this anthology regarding numbers: each poet is represented by a single poem, so the number of poems reflects the number of poets included. However, a considerable number of poems (665) are anonymous, which explains the discrepancy between the number of poems and the number of poets represented.

by almost as many poems as Portugal – 129 (6.44%). Spain comes third, with 121 poems (6.04%). Apart from China, it may be wondered whether the number of Portuguese and Spanish poems could be interpreted as a sign of an Iberian supremacy in terms of lyrical production, since they amount to 281 poems.

Taking the combined number of poems from the ten most widely represented literatures, a total of 926 poems is obtained (46.23 %), which leaves 1,077 poems (53.76 %) for the remaining literatures. A further 416 are represented by poems from the literatures ranked 11th to 30th. In other words, the first thirty literatures included cover 1,342 samples – two thirds of the anthology – leaving the remaining third – 661 poems – for the other 116 literatures, meaning that they clearly occupy the periphery of the world literary canon. In short, these figures could be interpreted as a kind of reinforcement of canonised poetry in general and, at the same time, visible proof of the awareness of the high status that Portuguese poetry enjoys within national boundaries but still lacks internationally.

#### 4.2 Poesia de 26 Séculos – Jorge de Sena

As the personal undertaking of a single poet in exile, this anthology exhibits quite a different design and its aims also seem to be somewhat different from the other examples. In Sena's words, it was the result of thirty years of passionate poetry translation, representing a substantial part of his creative activity, with no didactic purpose. Sena addresses both the reading public and poets alike, hoping that his anthology may allow poets to feel better integrated, not only within the universal language of poetry (Goethe's echoes of *Weltpoesie* – world poetry – are evident here), but also within the human race. Sena's goal, like Goethe's, is an explicitly universalistic one, although some important names have been left out (Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid).<sup>6</sup>

Curiously enough, Sena is aware of the proportions each subset of an anthology of world poetry should include. He himself offers some statistical data on his anthology by calculating some of its average values. Although concentrating \* on the canon of Western poetry, Sena reminds the reader that Eastern poetry represents one third of the selection and, together with Greek and Latin poets, almost half of its total, the other half belonging to the Christian Western tradition (a third of which contains poems from the 18th and 19th centuries).

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6. “Para acentuar-se a universalidade da poesia por sobre a estreiteza das histórias literárias nacionais” [In order to stress the universal character of poetry over the narrowness of the national literary histories] (Sena 2001: 16).

The chronological order of presentation (rather than any arrangement by respective literatures) also reveals a certain ontogenetic concern, which is the main structuring principle in Schrott's anthology as well. The inclusion of modernistic poetry in the tradition of the literary past is a common trait in Sena's and Enzensberger's collections.

As a poet and also a translator, Jorge de Sena could not help expressing his opinion on the translation task he faced. Sena's position is a moderate one: he asks for a compromise between the author's language and contemporary discourse, as well as a balance between archaic and modern versions. The untranslatability of poetry is declared a myth (p. 19), and he cites Goethe, stating that "Translatability is a sign of grandeur" (p. 20).

#### 4.3 Museum der modernen Poesie – Hans Magnus Enzensberger

The title chosen by Enzensberger embodies a specific programme explained in the epilogue. The designation 'museum' suggests the inevitable ageing process of modern poetry, as well as the notion of selecting the best samples of each poetic tradition (poems worth reading, poets who belong to the gallery of immortal names). Although Enzensberger wanted to avoid the term anthology due to his anticanonizing stance and preferred chrestomathy instead (wishing, in fact, to encourage other poets to continue it), he was forced to admit  *nolens volens*  that his *Museum der modernen Poesie* had become an anthology after all. Fifty years after it was first published, Enzensberger also acknowledged its eurocentrism, which he felt should be amended.

As to the canonization of the poets included in Enzensberger's anthology, it is worth mentioning the compiler's intuition regarding the quality of some of the poets chosen. In fact, six of them had already been awarded the Nobel Prize before publication of the anthology: Gabriela Mistral (Chile) in 1945, T.S. Eliot (Great Britain) in 1948, Juan Ramón Jiménez (Spain) in 1956, Boris Pasternak (USSR) in 1958, Salvatore Quasimodo (Italy) in 1959 and Saint-John Perse (France) in 1960. Even more interesting is the case of the poets included in Enzensberger's anthology who were awarded the Nobel Prize in the years following its first edition in 1960. This was the case with Giorgios Seferis (Greece, 1963), Nelly Sachs (Germany, 1966), Pablo Neruda (Chile, 1971), Eugenio Montale (Italy, 1975), Vicente Aleixandre (Spain, 1977) and Octavio Paz (Mexico, 1990). Thus Enzensberger's intuition proved correct and anticipated the poets' inclusion in the canon after they appeared in the anthology.

The impact of Enzensberger's endeavour can be measured by the number of followers his anthology inspired, with at least three poets taking up Enzensberger's

challenge. Harald Hartung published *Luftfracht* [*Air Cargo*] in 1990, an anthology of poems written between 1940–1990 and translated into German, which is not very representative due to the relatively small number of poems included and the exclusion of poets who used traditional strophic forms (indicative of neo-romanticism, in Hartung's opinion). Joachim Sartorius published his bilingual *Atlas der neuen Poesie* [*Atlas of New Poetry*] in 1995, as a series of poetic maps of the 20th century along the lines of his model, Enzensberger, but covering themes such as war, colonialism and exile, and showing a certain preference for the traditional margins. However, perhaps a few years need to elapse before Sartorius's reading can be evaluated in a more comprehensive and grounded way.

#### 4.4 Die Erfindung der Poesie – Raoul Schrott

Due to the distinctive nature of Schrott's parameters, further information is added (regarding chronological and authorial details as well as the poetic forms or features attributed to each poet or group of poets).

**Table 2.** R. Schrott's anthology (general features)

Authors	Epoch	No. poems	Poetic form / Feature
Enheduanna, Ilummiya	24th cent. BC	7	Hymn
Arquilloclus	7th cent. BC	38	Invective Iambic poetry
Sappho	7th–6th cent. BC	57	Sapphic ode
Catullus	1st cent. BC	22	Epigram
Sextus Propertius	end of 1st cent. BC	17	Elegy
Mo'allaqat	6th–7th cent.	5	Panegyric
Abu Nuwas	8th cent.	18	Lampoon
Irish Monks	9th cent.	23	Rhyme
Samuel Ha-Nagid Ibn Nagrila	11th cent.	17	Rhyme AA BB AA CC AA DD AA
Arabic poets in Sicily	11th cent.	6	Love song
Guihelm IX	11th–12th cent.	11	Courtly love
Giacomo da Lentino	13th cent.	14	Sonnet
Dafydd app Gwilym	14th cent.	14	Ode

Schrott's intention and procedure is quite different in nature. This Austrian poet and comparatist aims to show the ontogenesis of poetry by examining its origins and its progressive emancipation from the dimensions of religion, music and dance in which it was embedded. In Schrott's own view, this collection represents

the first step in the evolution of some of the most important stages of poetry.<sup>7</sup> The reader is invited to embark on the adventure of discovering how certain poetic forms have emerged in specific cultural contexts over four millennia. Most of these accomplishments have been almost completely obliterated from our memory and it is taken for granted that they belong to the very essence of poetry. It is Schrott's achievement to have plausibly traced their origin and demonstrated their subsequent influence.

#### 4.5 Main contrasting features

In addition to having been published recently, the four anthologies have other aspects in common. They rely mostly on translations, their scope is comparatively broad, the anthologists themselves were mainly poets and often translators, and the repertoire of canonized poets, especially those belonging to the Western canon, is generally stable, although almost all variations may be included in their margins. In addition, they all aim for a high level of representativeness, either in terms of literary history or aesthetics or both.<sup>8</sup>

Assuming that a comparison of the anthologies presented above is admissible, certain similarities as well as disparities emerge, revealing different types of representations of national and, above all, foreign literatures within the cultural context in which the anthologies are embedded.

Jorge de Sena's and Hans Magnus Enzensberger's anthologies share the fact that the two anthologists are both poets and translators (in the first case, Jorge de Sena translated all the poems himself and, in the second, Enzensberger translated a considerable number – 66 out of 330). This common trait once again corroborates the often-heard claim that only a poet can translate poetry. The reasons that may have led to this option – whether personal gratification, stylistic practice, or even a wish to introduce foreign literatures and poets to the national readership – must be left unanswered for the moment. In the case of Jorge de Sena, the final motive seems to have been the chief one, as he offers an ambitious chronological survey of twenty-six centuries. In contrast, Enzensberger selects a much shorter period – that of modernity between 1910 and 1945.<sup>9</sup>

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7. In his preface, Schrott (2009: 14) is the first to recognise the large number of poets missing.

8. In the last case, these collections are known by the term "Scherr-type collections", coined in Göttingen. See Rühling 1996: 226.

9. See Enzensberger's epilogue, where he expresses his concept of his work on pages 765–786, in this case page 772.



Beyond this substantial difference in terms of the time period covered by the anthologies, other discrepancies can be noted regarding the main options of the two poets. Whereas Jorge de Sena deliberately and completely suppresses Portuguese poetry (perhaps due to the fact that he was in exile in the USA, or probably due to his overriding wish to introduce foreign poetry to Portuguese readers), Enzensberger incorporates German-speaking poets with no fear of any ethnocentric reproach.

A further distinctive trait in both anthologies is Enzensberger's decision to offer original poems and their translations side by side, which makes his enterprise much more adventurous and its reading more attractive and challenging, whereas Sena only presents the translated poems.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from the statements provided by Sena and Enzensberger concerning the selection criteria applied, the reader has the impression in both cases that the aesthetic pleasure of dealing with the original poems as well as the challenge of translating them and the related sense of achievement must have played a decisive role.

Sena and Enzensberger also differ with regard to the intended status of their anthologies. In fact, the actual designation is not problematic for Sena, but it is a nuisance for Enzensberger. In his epilogue, written in 1979 and amended in 2002, Enzensberger tries to fight the designation of anthology, in vain, as he clearly acknowledges, replacing it by a term – museum – which he wanted to be understood as an adjunct to the poet's workshop ("*das Museum als Annex zum Atelier*", p. 767) that also alludes to a canonized repertoire and foregrounds the historical dimension (of both the poems and the period in question).

## 5. Concluding remarks

The anthologies of world poetry under discussion illustrate different "modes of reading" (Damrosch 2003) the map of world poetry. As reception documents, these anthologies are mediated by translations of most of the poets included in them and are therefore the result of many filters: a selection not only of cultures and poets to be included, but also of poems and of individual translations (when several translations of the same poem are available). Yet another filter may be imposed by editorial restrictions such as copyright, scope, layout and similar issues.

In addition, the documentary value of anthologies may vary from a perspective based more on literary history (Schrott) to an aesthetic one (Enzensberger and

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10. One remarkable feat is that Enzensberger translates 66 poems from a large number of languages such as Spanish, French, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, Norwegian, Swedish, Polish and Czech.

Table 3. Literature rankings for each anthology

<i>Rosa do Mundo</i> (poems/percentage)		Jorge de Sena (poems/percentage)		H. M. Enzensberger (poems/percentage)		Raoul Schrott (poems/percentage)	
Portuguese	132/ 6.59	Sanskrit	50/ 13.58	German	49/ 14.84	Greek	95/ 37.25
Chinese	129/ 6.44	English	50/ 13.58	French	44/ 13.33	Latin	39/ 15.29
Spanish	121/ 6.04	German	47/ 12.77	Spanish	40/ 12.12	Arabic	29/ 11.37
Greek	92/ 4.59	Latin	45/ 12.22	Lat.-American	27/ 8.18	Irish	23/ 9.01
English	77/ 3.84	French	34/ 9.23	American	26/ 7.87	Sicilian	20/ 7.84
Indian	76/ 3.79	Italian	30/ 8.15	Italian	25/ 7.57	Hebrew	17/ 6.66
Celtic	65/ 3.24	Greek	27/ 7.33	English	20/ 6.06	Welsh	14/ 5.49
French	63/ 3.14	Spanish	23/ 6.25	Russian	17/ 5.15	Provençal	11/ 4.31
Egyptian	63/ 3.14	Japanese	21/ 5.70	Czech	15/ 4.54	Sumerian	7/ 2.74
German	62/ 3.09	Persian	12/ 3.26	Polish	13/ 3.93		
Italian	60/ 2.99	Russian	12/ 3.26	Swedish	13/ 3.93		
N.-American	55/ 2.74	N.-American	6/ 1.63	Greek	10/ 3.03		
Japanese	48/ 2.39	Arabic	5/ 1.35	Hungarian	9/ 2.72		
American (N./S.)	37/ 1.84	Chinese	4/ 1.08	Finnish	8/ 2.42		
Mexican	35/ 1.74	Provençal	2/ 0.54	Yugoslavian	6/ 1.81		
Hungarian	34/ 1.69			Norwegian	6/ 1.81		
Romanian	33/ 1.64			Dutch	4/ 1.21		
Brazilian	33/ 1.64			Turkish	3/ 0.90		
Russian	30/ 1.49			Portuguese	3/ 0.90		
Welsh	30/ 1.49			African	2/ 0.60		

Sena) or even a combination of both (Assírio e Alvim). Each anthologist's position is determined by the function he wishes to ascribe to his anthology – either a retrospective one, as a form of preserving the past (which leads to exclusive reference to canonized authors), as in Sena's case, or a prospective one pointing to future developments (which allows for the inclusion of canonizable poets), as brilliantly illustrated by Enzensberger's collection.

Apart from substantial differences regarding the cultural, poetic and social contexts of the four anthologies, other common features can also be accounted for. All of them reveal a broad multicultural scope and can therefore be considered representative of world poetry according to their initially established aims. In three of them there is no sign of any prejudice in favour of national literature, and only in *Rosa do Mundo* is there a tendency to upgrade national literature. In the other three anthologies, national literature is either totally omitted (as in Sena's and Schrott's anthologies) or reduced to moderate dimensions. Moreover, there is no visible trace of domestication in any of the four anthologies, as most poems are translated to show their genuine strangeness.

When comparing the four selected anthologies of *Weltpoesie*, or world poetry, it may be concluded that their main interest is to present the most relevant poetry produced over the centuries to a wide audience, at a time when the literary canons have reached a more or less stable phase. However, the documentary goals of each anthology are slightly different in nature. Whereas in *Rosa do Mundo* the aim is to present as broad a spectrum of canonical Western and Eastern poets as possible, Sena's and Enzensberger's collections are based more openly on the anthologist's taste and their scope is more restricted. Schrott's collection, in contrast, is particularly concerned with what may have been the origins of specific poetic forms (rhyme, elegy, sonnet, Sapphic ode, panegyric) unveiling hidden poetic treasures and largely unknown (individual or collective) works, as well as illustrating the transition from the oral to the written mode of poetic record. Both aspects – the individual or collective nature of poetic creation and the gradual move from flexible recital, relying on memory and sensibility to rhythm, to the crystallised written record – are to a great extent absent in the other three anthologies, which are essentially intended to be read silently rather than recited aloud.

With regard to the representativeness of the Western poetic canon, it seems that *Rosa do Mundo*, Sena's and Enzensberger's anthologies largely converge in their selection, despite some quantitative discrepancies, whereas once again Schrott distances himself from the other three anthologies by emphasizing precisely those cultures which typify the least well-known, marginal areas of the poetic canon, as if searching for interstices that are lacking in the established centre of the literary system, thus shedding some light on certain literary periods in which new forms were literally invented. All four projects represent successful

examples of world poetry, displaying a different picture of the changeable relationship between the literatures involved, and leaving a large field of enquiry open for further cultural and translational research.

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# Publishing translated literature in late 19th century Portugal

The case of David Corazzi's catalogue (1906)

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*A tribute to Professor V.M. de Aguiar e Silva,  
whose ground-breaking educational programme  
is an inspiring model and example*

Applying methodologies that bring together Translation Studies and the history of books and reading, catalogues by very prestigious editors of the period are analysed with a view to characterizing the circuit of translated (para)literatures, in the stages of production, distribution and consumption.

By means of a case study, this paper attempts to understand how relations of offer and demand within the cultural market have contributed to conditioning the selection of authors, literary genres and forms, expected to be more successful and popular, and have imposed specific translational norms and adequate typographical configurations.

## Introduction

In line with the culturalist systemic paradigm of contemporary Translation Studies and their multiple projections, we are currently undertaking the critical examination of a bibliographical selection from the immense corpus of literature translated from modern languages and published in Portugal since the mid-18th century (Tourey 1995).

The final outcome of the project will allow us to reassess literary history in the light of recent comparative methods in order to situate it within the wide international framework of European and transatlantic cultures. Indeed, on the one hand the project aims at studying the importance and the application of aesthetic-literary models, which bear witness to Portugal's willingness to engage in cultural dialogues with the outside world. On the other hand, the project's goal seeks to

quantify, qualify and discuss the major social, economic and political phenomena, which condition the entire process of the reception, circulation and acculturation of symbolic goods in contemporary European history. This multilateral approach will help us to trace the flows of intercultural networking and evaluate the extent and depth of international contributions which, upon being incorporated into our intellectual heritage, will confer on it or confirm that its own identity-making specificity is at one and the same time both national and cosmopolitan (Casanova 2008).

The present paper is restricted to the period covering the late 1800s and deals with data and issues that can be used to illustrate the cross-comparison of two methodological procedures which seek to strengthen the pluridisciplinary approach to the humanities as the structuring principle of contemporary hermeneutics.

Firstly, it seems both pertinent and opportune to integrate the results ensuing from historical and philological research into the (inter)discipline of Translation Studies. This will enable us to establish, for example, interactive collaboration among Translation Studies, material bibliography and textual criticism, taking into account the fact that a diachronic assessment needs to be made of the significance of the authors', translators' and publishers' interventions during the textual layering process accompanying the various stages of literary translation.

Secondly, the recent sociological turn in Translations Studies proposes that we understand translated literature not only in terms of the intercultural transfer of verbalised symbolic heritage, but also in its material condition as a series of marketable products, assimilated by the target culture by means of its own selection, production, distribution and consumer circuits (Wolf and Fukari 2007).

According to this methodological paradigm, contemporary Translation Studies tend to be articulated with the cultural history of the publication, book trade and reading markets because, during the course of these stages, a translation-in-progress always finds itself under the pressure of various conditioning factors and multiple circumstances. Among others, we may mention, for example, the vicissitudes of international diplomatic relations and their effect upon the balance of cultural exchanges, the interplay of cultural supply and demand, advertising and promotion strategies, the pressure exerted by political and ideological constraints and, inevitably, the behaviour of all agents operating in the cultural field, by producing, legitimising, intermediating and institutionalising literary products.

So as to accomplish the practical goal of studying some of these intersections and conditioning factors where the extra-textual framing is concerned, we propose to examine a cross-section of literature consumed in Portugal at the turn of the 19th century. At the same time, we are testing a retrospective sociological approach in an effort to reconstitute the supply strategy within the literary market, and its adjustment to demand according to the expectations of current readers.

Among the various criteria that could have guided us towards a manageable *corpus* of texts suited to the time and the means at our disposal it seemed preferable to compose a representative sample of the period we were dealing with and work on a case study – the literary repertory contained in the catalogue made by David Corazzi (1843–1896), whose publishing house achieved undeniable prestige and popularity during the Late-Romantic era (Anselmo 1997).

Despite the emergence of inevitable problems, such a methodology brings certain benefits, which cannot be overlooked. Indeed, when we are working with one or more editions of a publisher's catalogue, the sheer volume and nature of the information available to us makes it feasible to glimpse at the mechanisms of book production. Thus we are able to observe the business interests backing the initiative, the sense of the project's progress, the trends characterising its geographical expansion and even the investment made in advertising campaigns, all of which allow us to evaluate the degree of respective competitive aggressiveness. By following this course of action, the active role of the publisher himself is also stressed, which confirms his vital importance within the panorama of the Late-Romantic literary institutions, a fact already duly acknowledged by well-known historians of the book and reading, like Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier.

We might as well recall that the historical context of publishing activities in the 1800s was dominated by the advent of the industrialisation of printing, which was responsible for a very significant increase in the number of printed publications. Together with innovating technology in paper making, this factor helped to cut production costs, lower retail prices to the public and encourage the reading of printed matter in widely differing geographical locations and social strata, thus establishing a broad transnational interclass space in which the circulation of translated literature was promoted.

## 1. The Portuguese context of book production in the late 19th century

In Portugal, regardless of sporadic losses and recoveries in rhythm, the changes brought about by the wave of industrialisation became much more visible precisely during the last quarter of the 19th century. Besides the growing numbers of industrial workers (totalling an estimated 35,000) and the appearance of a network of medium-sized and large companies in almost every district, the use of steam energy also became generalised even in traditional sectors such as the graphic arts.

Where the history of the book and reading is concerned, industrialisation and the resulting increase in productivity came to play a decisive role in the decision-making of Portuguese publishers. In line with an entrepreneurial mainstream strategy, their priority publications were books belonging to the literary canon



with a comparatively modest circulation but which were deemed to be prestigious in cultural terms. Alternatively, publishers also busied themselves with another kind of literature, which had a wide circulation among the feminine public. It was churned out in instalments and aimed at immediate readership for the light entertainment of the masses normally hailing from the petty bourgeoisie or the industrialised working class and as a rule possessing low literacy rates and rudimentary formal education (Altick 1967).

Consequently, writing, translating and publishing tended to give way to the temptation of catering preferentially to the taste of the majority because it promoted profit-making from intellectual and financial investment and, ultimately, it ensured the very survival of the different agents manoeuvring in the literary field. Perhaps for this reason, some of the epidemic dysphoria evident in Portuguese society at the end of the 19th century also contaminated a good part of the men-of-letters and authors-translators. Owing to their weak bargaining power, they felt that they were pressured into accepting the role of adjudicators hired for the job of (re)writing and their duties proved to be extremely onerous, or even worse, they became short-term piece workers writing for a wage.

Other particularities of the Portuguese scene during the transition to the 20th century may be added to this overall picture. They were widely portrayed in parliamentary speeches and in the newspaper columns of the time.

According to contemporary witnesses and in general terms, the country's economy was affected by international competition and protectionist policies, its financial situation was threatened by the spectre of insolvency and imminent bankruptcy, and its political affairs reflected signs of republican, socialist and budding anarcho-syndicalist unrest. While recalling past glories on the occasion of Camões's centenary, or reacting violently against the diplomatic rumpus caused by England's Ultimatum, public opinion revealed that above all it was frustrated by the inertia or ineptness of the rotational parliamentary system where alternative party rule had failed to come up with credible, stabilising policies. The general crisis, therefore, saw the Portuguese intelligentsia strike up a chorus of complaints during the late 1800s, bewailing the soaring foreign debt, the imbalance in public spending, heavy taxes, the devaluation of the Portuguese currency, the rising cost of living, the drop in real incomes that were the cumulative effects of decades of political, economic and financial mishandling.

### 1.1 Translated literature in late-Romanticism

In having this state of affairs overlap into the field of cultural affairs, during the course of the 19th century the international market of translated literature revealed the way in which certain geographical-linguistic spaces – Romance, Anglophone,

Germanic, Scandinavian, Slav, etc. – developed asymmetric relations of unequal power and defined their relative positions within the hierarchy of the countries exporting their cultural goods. The different levels were associated with variations in investments aimed at promoting the translation flows which, as a rule, moved from the centre to the periphery, or rather, by coming from the most prestigious and innovating European cultures of the time, the target was taken to be the cultures which generally speaking seemed to be the most lacking in symbolic capital.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, it is worth remembering that within the framework of Late-Romanticism, Portuguese publishing occupied a fringe position in a Europe that gravitated culturally around the cosmopolitanism of France. It was therefore in keeping with this backdrop that the catalogues published at the time showed that the major production landmarks in translated literature among us were nearly always based on an enormous component of French narrative fiction.

Needless to say, the superabundance of translated literature gave rise to a problem that was much aired in other countries where the threat of counter-factions loomed and the need was felt to defend the lawful interests of cultural producers – what was at stake was the question of intellectual property and ensuing authors' rights.

## 1.2 Intellectual property

Apart from the heated debates among us, where intellectuals of such stature as Garrett and Herculano joined in, intellectual property was fully recognised by the law then in effect and was laid down in the 1867 Portuguese Civil Code that had been written up and explained respectively by two senior legal experts, the Visconde de Seabra and José Dias Ferreira. Indeed, as from Article 570 on, the law established a series of dispositions about the matter that may be summarised thus. To begin with, it recognised as being lawful for anyone to publish any literary work of his and promote its respective translation, whereby the living author had the exclusive right to print his book and enter into business regarding it. The law then stipulated that after the author's death, his heirs, concessionaries or representatives would enjoy the same rights for a period of fifty years. Finally, the publisher of a piece of work was forbidden to alter or change the text and was bound to abide by the title chosen by the author as well as respect the author's identity.

Despite this recognition of the professional status of writers, the protection the above-mentioned law afforded was only extended to literary translators much later. Indeed, at the time, literary translators were still paid as piece workers

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1. On the issue centre / periphery related to TS in China, see Cheung in this volume.

contracted by the owner of the work and they lived under the shadow of agreements that were rarely written down. Moreover they frequently suffered the effects of poor management practised by small printing shops that made their appearance as short-lived publishing houses (Guedes 1987).

## 2. An emblematic publisher: David Corazzi

Among the various economic agents that were competing with each other and were responsible for the production and marketing of translated literature in Portugal at the end of the 19th century, our attention will be focused on one of the most emblematic publishers of the time. Indeed, we shall be looking at the publishing house founded in the 1870s by David Corazzi, Ramiro de Seixas and Vicente da Silva, and called *Empresa Horas Românticas* [The Romantic Hours Company], which together with other shareholding companies managed to pursue its independent activity until the beginning of the 20th century.

David Corazzi, who was of Italian descent and the son of a surgeon, was born in Lisbon in 1843. During his childhood and adolescence he sought to obtain the kind of education that would fit him out for some sort of profession. When he reached working age, he was taken on as an official in the administrative services of the General Post Office (1863) where he subsequently made his career after being promoted for his competence and zeal, qualities he showed throughout his whole working life.

During the first stage of his activity, his inexperience in business caused him to make an investment in Brazil that proved to be disastrous. Later, at the start of the 1870s, and after having fervently read *Les Chevaliers de la Nuit* (1855), a novel written by Ponson du Terrail with a complicated plot filled with entanglements, he had cause to draw up and carry out a project to become a publisher. He founded the *Empresa Horas Românticas* and undertook a parallel activity in it while pursuing his job as a clerk and accountant. Overcoming marketing hurdles and fighting against all kinds of odds, the company survived precariously until it achieved its first great success in 1871 – a translation of the Spanish novel by Fernandez y González, *O rei maldito*, sold in eight-paged weekly instalments at the price of ten reis, with special gifts for subscribers and lottery prizes.

From then on, as it became increasingly more professional and its volume of business grew, the company prospered to such an extent that within a short while, the traditional nature of its logistical arrangements proved to be inadequate when it came to launching a large number of publications and particularly profitable collections. The facilities were extended and remodelled, new qualified personnel were taken on and investments were made to mechanise production, in tune with

the progress of the day and in answer to demands to make the company known and expand business. All expectations were surpassed and it soon covered the markets at home and abroad when a network of 85 book distribution agents was set up. After the Portuguese territory had been covered, the network spread to Rio de Janeiro, Boston, Hamburg, Madrid, Paris, London and even Shanghai.

Owing to the work that went into his publications both as regards quality and quantity, David Corazzi was awarded an honorary membership of the Associação Tipográfica Lisbonense [the Lisbon Typographers' Association] and, later, he was made a Knight of the Order of Santiago. Furthermore, his publishing house was awarded medals of honour at the Rio de Janeiro exhibition (1879), the Portuguese Industrial Exhibitions (1884, 1888, 1890, 1897) and the Paris Universal Exhibition (1889, 1890). After the company had been sold for two hundred million reis in 1884, it changed its name to Companhia Nacional Editora although it preserved its publishing identity to such a degree that, even after David Corazzi had died in Lisbon (1896), the project continued to respect its founder's strategic plans. At a later stage, as from 1903, the company's name was shortened to A Editora, Lda., until its managing director Justino Guedes sold it in 1912 to Francisco Alves, whose connections with Aillaud, Alves & C<sup>a</sup> led to the incorporation of the old Casa Corazzi in this publishing consortium.

### 3. The Corazzi Catalogue as a collection – origin and description

Without jeopardising new books that were launched on a regular basis, the continuity of the business was in line with the fact that Corazzi's published stocks had largely survived after the period in which the founder was effectively running the business. This makes it possible to reconstruct the mainstream tendencies of the readers' taste, which account for the complementary flows of book demand and supply in the Portuguese market at the turn of the century. We therefore assume that researchers are fully justified in grouping together the bibliographical items contained in Corazzi's early, tentative lists available in 1875 and 1884 with the complete series as described in the first, full-scale edition of the publisher's catalogue in 1906 (Simonin 2004). Accordingly, the present paper will consider this collection of data as a comprehensive, undifferentiated source of information under the collective name of the Corazzi Catalogue, 1906 (Catálogo 1906).

The material aspect of the Corazzi Catalogue resembles a brochure in octavo where the graphic design resorts to a large variety of ornaments and is enriched with prints, illustrations, photo engravings and chromolithographs taken from some of the books already published. Such visual exuberance complemented the Catalogue's informative nature almost making it a publicity prop with which to

attract clients. It revealed itself a concrete symbol of the publisher's technological progress and a showcase displaying the highest quality of Corazzi's products and services. When featuring the different publications, the Catalogue abounds with references to oleographs, vellum and exquisite papers, running ornaments or vignettes, flowery headpieces, coloured lithograph covers, goatskin spines, percaline or sheepskin linings, golden metal clasps, relief work, mosaic, silk, satin, velvet and Russian leather.

It is worth mentioning that not only the *editions de luxe* but also popular editions took advantage of the company's modern equipment housed in its own workshops where typesetting, printing, stereotyping, drying, folding, making into pamphlets, gluing and binding were done and, in addition to this, where local and foreign-made printing paper was supplied. In other words, the catalogue showed that Corazzi's entrepreneurial project was directed at making the company self-sufficient as well as concentrating and vertically integrating a series of complementary manufacturing operations in the same industrial plant. The aim (and above all the effect) was to reduce production costs, mortgage investments and maximise profits.

This form of integrated management was made even more tenable because Corazzi kept his selling prices within the limited scope of his most numerous clients' buying power. Thus, readers coming from the upper-working class and the urban middle class were allowed to stop renting books from circulating or other loaning libraries.

Indeed, if we take the example of the narrative fiction collections that were Corazzi's best-sellers, we note that each pamphlet cost an average 1,000 reis including postage. Nevertheless, less affluent clients could choose to buy the same text in the form of 16-paged booklets, delivered to subscribers for 50 reis a week. In order to appreciate the significance of such a sum in Portuguese terms, suffice it to say that at the time, it would have bought approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  kg of bread, in a country where 18% of the working population was employed in the manufacturing industries and earned a weekly wage calculated to have reached about 2,400 reis.

With respect to the substance of its contents, the Corazzi Catalogue offered as wide and varied a repertoire of books as might be expected of a publishing house geared to catering to the wider public and at the same time, producing select works targeted at the more cultured or wealthier niches of clients.

Most assuredly belonging to this latter group were the bibliophiles, who were delighted with the luxurious edition of *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, printed in Elzevir typeface and containing 127 black and white engravings in addition to 30 coloured illustrations. A similar situation involved three publications launched on the occasion of Camões's centenary, to wit: an edition of *Os Lusíadas*, a biography about Camões by Latino Coelho and a large portrait of the poet in oleography on

canvas. In the illustrated book category, there was likewise a monumental edition of *Amor de Perdição* and a series of Portuguese translations of universal classics, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, La Fontaine's *Fables*, Lesage's *The Adventures of Gil Blaz of Santillane*, Dante's *Inferno* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, all with superb graphic quality. To do this, Corazzi relied upon the work of renowned artists, contracting leading names of international repute such as Manuel de Macedo, Columbano, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, Roque Gameiro, José Malhoa and Gustave Doré as illustrators for its editions.

### 3.1 Popular collections in the Catalogue and their educational purposes

Offsetting this offer in the Catalogue, although placed at the opposite end of it, we find a block comprising several popular collections. These closely followed on from the preceding initiative of the Sociedade de Propagação dos Conhecimentos Úteis [Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge] that had sought to respond to the demand for cultural information and occupational qualifications made by sectors of the population who had found that their lack of elementary education was a stumbling block to a much-wanted higher social and economic status.

The most widely disseminated collection was called "Biblioteca do Povo e das Escolas" [The Peoples and Schools' Library]. It was a veritable encyclopaedia of human knowledge comprising 224 volumes divided into pamphlets selling for 50 reis each. Similar aims – this time about educating one's character by means of examples based on strict codes of behaviour – inspired the launching of "Biografias de Homens Célebres dos Tempos Antigos e Modernos" [Biographies of Famous Men in Ancient and Modern Times], while a collection of "Dicionários do Povo" [People's Dictionaries] sold at a modest price, provided the chance to start using and translating the important languages of culture, mainly French and lagging far behind, English.

As in other fields, the publishing rationale underpinning the Corazzi Catalogue seems to have converged on a wide-scale pedagogical project to be carried out at long term. We should not forget that from a socio-political point of view, in the late-1800s the version of liberal progress considered that any initiative having the purpose of expunging or mitigating educational and cultural backwardness was an extremely worthwhile endeavour leading to the active and informed exercise of citizens' rights and duties. This conviction led Corazzi the publisher to take upon himself in the line of duty, a lofty educational and civic mission that completed his cultural role carried out within the sphere of the literary institutions.

The Catalogue also reveals this programme in the choice of texts for children or young people and although ideological indoctrination was subtler in this case,

it was by no means less effective. In sharp contrast to juvenile literature, we would like to mention a curious collection coming under the pretext of an anatomical and physiological description of sex life but which may well have served erotic purposes. These are merely hinted at in the overall title “Leitura para Homens” [Men’s Reading] but they become overtly clear in the pictures and texts included.

### 3.2 National and translated (Francophone) literature in the Catalogue

If we turn our attention now to the vast contingent of literary work offered in the Catalogue, we note that there is a division between the original Portuguese authors and those who were translated and were on their way to becoming an integral part of our cultural consumer habits.

In looking at the store of Portuguese books, we see that in keeping with the business rationale to avoid taking undesirable risks, a restricted range of officially sanctioned and celebrated authors is offered: Luís de Camões (*Os Lusíadas* and *Sonetos de Amor*), Sá de Miranda (*Obras Primas*), Cruz e Silva (*O Hissope*), Bocage (*Sonetos*), Nicolau Tolentino (*Sátiras e Epístolas*) and Guerra Junqueiro (*A Musa em Férias*). Joining these poets are some rare examples of Late-Romantic historical drama written by playwrights such as D. João da Câmara (*O Beijo do Infante*) and Marcelino Mesquita (*O Tirano da Bela Urraca*).

In consequence with Corazzi’s conservative policy, the catalogue silences the name and work of the most recent generation of Portuguese poets who resorted to discursive break-aways and formal pre-modernist experimentation. Indeed, in the case of dubious marketing performances, prudence recommended that innovating, avant-garde experiments be kept at a distance and remained accessible to a restricted circle of artists and intellectuals.

In turning our attention to narrative fiction, we see that Corazzi showed an overall preference for publishing texts exemplifying the Portuguese age-old tropism witnessed in its influential connection with France. In relative terms, it would not be far off the mark to calculate the Francophone component to occupy about 80% of all the translations published at the time. And this would be above and beyond the fact that French culture was still known to play a mediating role in bringing us work that was written in the languages of European minorities.

It is also for these reasons that the criteria that Corazzi used in the selection of source texts cause perplexity today because most of the narratives rewritten in Portuguese tend to follow predictable, redundant, stereotyped formulae (Fraisie 2000). It is true that at the forefront of the Catalogue, we do find Balzac, Victor Hugo, George Sand and even Alexandre Dumas but the most widely diffused novels undoubtedly belong to Eugène Sue, Paul de Kock, Paul Féval and Ponson du Terrail.

As dozens of novellas, dramas, comedies, romances and serials flowed from the torrential imagination of such literary mercenaries, their innumerable translations – as someone remarked at the time – were enough to finance a good many paper mills, printing works, book binders and bookshops operating in Portugal.

From an ideological point of view, second-rate narrative fiction translated from the French suggested a dualist morality that was reminiscent of the melodrama of the era. In particular, the plot outcome is invariably based upon the regenerating triumph of virtue over vice after a long drawn-out battle between the protagonist(s) and the antagonist(s). What we have here are stories illustrating, for example, what Pessoa was later to call *policíaria* [detective literature]; cloak-and-dagger historical fiction where action unravelled in the name of righteousness avenging temporarily besmirched honour; heart-rending stories about destitute orphans in which the misery inflicted is compensated for at the end with reinstatement into his/her noble lineage; tales about the poor, victims of social inequalities, confined to the mysterious *bas-fonds* of the European capitals; novels tracing the hero's education through his having to deal with a series of situations imported from the picaresque model, and finally, some buds of realist and naturalist awareness which already heralded the transition to the 20th century. In being composed of Sue, Gaboriau, Richebourg, Soulié, Lesage, Montépin and Ponson du Terrail's prodigious fable-spinning capacity, this amalgam of tautological discourses has largely been forgotten, or rather to be more exact, it has been transferred to today's photo-novels, radio serials and television soap operas.

Moreover, without forgetting the central role played by the French repertoire, Corazzi resorted to translating other kinds of international literary fiction. In order to do this, the publishing house surrounded itself with proven writers who were mostly contacted personally and charged with translating selected works. Among the names of such translators we find, for example, Pinheiro Chagas, Fernandes Costa, Júlio César Machado, Cunha e Sá, Street de Arriaga, Eduardo de Noronha and Bulhão Pato, as well as Guiomar Torrezão and Mencia Mousinho de Albuquerque.

### 3.3 The outstanding position of Jules Verne's collection

If we now enquire into what the order of importance was among the numerous published translations, we will acknowledge the fact that since the mid-1870s, the first place was awarded to the “Viagens Maravilhosas aos Mundos Conhecidos e Desconhecidos” [Marvellous Journeys to Known and Unknown Worlds], 74 volumes of the series dedicated to the so-called Romance do Universo [Romance of the Universe], i.e. the authorised translation of Jules Verne's books.



This highly valued collection deserves a few critical comments. First of all, Jules Verne made Portuguese readers fully aware that the extremely popular late-Romantic fashion of science fiction was expanding the horizons of the European tradition of utopian imagination, while giving voice to the admiration inspired by rapid technological advance. In fact, enthusiasm with material progress in Portugal was simultaneously to absorb and heighten the scientific culture of Positivism then in sway.

Secondly, we note that the Portuguese version of the collection was entrusted to two dozen academics and national experts in scientific and humanist culture, which may be understood as a way of ensuring the correct translation of terminology and specialised languages in Jules Verne's scientific and visionary works.

Thirdly, owing to their resounding success on the market, the translations of Jules Verne's books in Portugal emphasised the rising dynamic of paraliterature making its way to the publishing level where the canonised narrative coexisted and intermeshed with mere entertainment fiction that was highly appreciated by the general public.

Finally, we note how Corazzi scaled the quality and the price of his products as a marketing strategy in order to make them accessible to a very wide range of potential clients with different buying power. As an example, we may point out the very collection by Jules Verne, which was sold according to the following scheme. On the one hand, a *de luxe* edition with all the engravings from the original French edition by Hetzel was published (i) in hardcover with lettering and vignettes in gold and bound in percaline (1,400 reis per volume) or (ii) in the form of a pamphlet costing 1,000 reis. On the other hand, Corazzi also launched a popular edition where its main distinctive feature lay in the fact that it contained only two engravings, which allowed the price to come down to 300 reis per volume or to 200 reis per pamphlet. Besides these editions, Jules Verne's books were also available on subscription in 16-paged booklets in octavo that were distributed weekly at 50 reis each, cash on delivery. After all, at the turn of the century, Corazzi the publisher had committed the uncommon feat of publishing not only for all tastes, but also for all pockets.

### 3.4 The special collection of "Translations"

A further collection should be mentioned which the catalogue specifically calls "Translations" where a heterogeneous sequence of 86 authors is listed with books that were available separately, even when they were included in a series (Pym 1998).

If we apply a geographical filter to this *corpus* of texts, we see that in 95% of the cases, the linguistic and cultural spaces from which Corazzi imported literature were situated in Europe although we should acknowledge the incipient presence

of the United States of America through the works of E. A. Poe, Mark Twain and H. Longfellow, which, as it happened, came through the mediation of French.

In regional terms, the number of texts coming from the Eastern European periphery is almost negligible. In fact, only intermittent cultural relations were witnessed between Portugal and this region at the turn of the 19th century, documented in the few pages translated from H. Sienkiewicz and Maxim Gorki. As strange as it may seem, the balance of our literary imports was also tipped against certain Romance cultures, as was the case of Spain and Italy, represented by the novels of V. Blasco Ibañez and G. d'Annunzio respectively. Furthermore, and to be expected, German literature only had a modest showing, reduced practically to one book by Goethe and another by Hoffmann. Finally, with regard to Anglophone literature, if we exclude the American literature already referred to, only a few books are left, representing 19th-century narrative fiction by acclaimed authors such as C. Dickens, W. Collins and W.M. Thackeray.

A final observation has to be made about the translated literature in the Corazzi Catalogue. We very often come up against reprints or second editions of texts previously published in the periodical press in the form of serials but which later on had risen to the material status of books. For this reason, it falls to historians and philologists working in Translation Studies to undertake the task of checking upon the genetics of the various textual stages in order to register and study possible divergent versions. They may represent different states in the translator's rewriting process as much as they may indicate important editorial decision-making.

Indeed, in a periodical, the text may have been reduced to comply with requirements and space constraints or, contrarily, it may be considerably expanded in book form, so as to fill a whole instalment to be handed in on a certain date. Such circumstances are likely to produce substantive and accidental variations of undeniable relevance. In the former case, we can speculate about the choice of textual sections to be suppressed, while in the latter we can observe how an artificial prolonging of the text is contrived by changes in punctuation or in the length of dialogues, by adding vignettes, separators, fleurons and other ornaments.

#### 4. Conclusion

What conclusions may we draw from the research we have undertaken concerning the case of David Corazzi's catalogue? In making a publishing catalogue the object of our study, we were interested in exploring the intersection of Translation Studies, as well as of Anthology and Collection Studies, with the History of the Book, in order to enhance our understanding of the circumstances under which a

Portuguese publishing entrepreneur worked on the eve of the 20th century, as he strove to make the best possible quality of his supply compatible with satisfying the different sectors of demand.

We have observed how, in the literary production circuit, the motivations and constraints caused by a set of adverse socio-economic factors affected the publisher himself in his role as a professional mediator in the system of sponsorship upon which translators depended. In being obliged to satisfy the growing demand for escapist literature and paraliterature which were called for by the upper strata of the working class and the urban middle class eager for access to the benefits of cultural upgrading, David Corazzi had the foresight to draw up and put into action a consumer-focused strategy (Domingos 1985).

In other words, while promoting the circulation of both original and translated literature he was fully aware of the dual nature of books, in that they were not only material goods adapted to the market potential but also symbolic icons with the power to promote a number of civic, cultural and aesthetic values to be inherited by the next generation.

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# Short stories from foreign literatures in Portugália's series *Antologias Universais*

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In the 1940s and 1950s, Portugal saw an increase in the number of short story anthologies written by foreign authors and published by houses that played an important role in the popularization of translated literature, among which Portugália Editora stood out.

Consistently with the approach typically used in translation descriptive studies, the aim of this paper is to focus on a case-study by analysing the series published by Portugália Editora during those twenty years, highlighting the following aspects: the existence of specific series of short story anthologies, the foreign literatures translated into Portuguese, the selection process, the direct or indirect translation from and into different languages, the presence of introductions or prefaces possibly written by the translators, any additional information given by the titles of the series, the presence of famous writers in the number of translators.

Those elements can contribute to define the position of short story anthologies in the system of translated literature in Portugal and their possible implications in the formation of a literary canon.

## Introduction

In Portugal in the 1940s there was a rush in the publication of literature anthologies with a massive presence of translated fiction. Without a doubt, among the most active publishing houses in this field were Gleba, with a series of “novelas and short stories” – including for instance *Contos Americanos: Século XIX* [*American Short Stories: 20th Century*] and two volumes of *Contos Ingleses Modernos* [*Modern English Short Stories*] in 1944–45 –, and Atlântida, with the series of “anthology of the modern short story” which volumes were organized into authors, especially English and American, but not only. In fact, Unamuno and Ignazio Silone appear as well as authors such as Steinbeck, Faulkner, Virginia

Woolf etc.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the most prominent publishing house, due to its anthological contributions to translated literature in Portugal, was surely Portugália Editora, which played a remarkable role for three decades.

As recent studies showed (cf. Santos 2008: 21–29), the anthologies dedicated to foreign short stories enriched the Portuguese literary system of the time, introducing literary innovations coming from abroad and nourishing a truly difficult renovation in a historical context such as that of Estado Novo. As already pointed out, a very active network of writers, literary critics and sometimes academics worked and cooperated for at least two decades (1940s and 1950s) to fill the gaps of the literary culture of the Portuguese and to orient their tastes,<sup>2</sup> very often obtaining an astonishing compromise between the interests and the commercial demands of the publishers and the quality of the published anthological products.

### 1. Portugália's short stories series project in the 1940s and 1950s

In particular, Portugália Editora, the publishing house where João Gaspar Simões was literary editor from 1942 to 45, proposed different series of “universal anthologies” (*Antologias Universais*), which embraced the short story, the novel, poetry, theatre, the journey and the essay. The mission of these anthologies was clearly the following: “A poesia, o conto, as viagens e os ensaios dos melhores escritores universais, seleccionados e postos ao alcance de todos. Volumes prefaciados e traduzidos pelos melhores nomes da literatura portuguesa”, that is “poetry, the short story, journeys and essays of the world’s most known authors, selected and within everybody’s reach. Volumes prefaced and translated by the best names of Portuguese literature”.

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1. For a more detailed classification of anthologies in 1940s and 1950s, see Baubeta (2007: 101–106); for figures about the increasing translation of foreign authors in the same decades, see Seruya (2009: 81–82), and in this volume with a focus on oriental literatures.

2. Cfr. Kittel (1995: XV–XVI): “anthologies of translated literature are very special media of interliterary contact and transfer, which may perform entirely different cultural tasks from anthologies of indigenous literature: they may have been designed primarily to promote an interest in the source literature(s); they may significantly contribute to their ‘synecdochic’ presentation and implicit interpretation; they may be intended to provide new impulses to the target literature, for instance by furnishing qualities that the anthologist perceives [XVI] to be missing from it; they may even help to promote the emancipation of indigenous literature from less desirable cultural influences. Translated representatives of many cultures may be brought into direct juxtaposition and interference in a single anthology. In their aggregate, anthologies of translated literature represent a country’s translation culture at a given point in time (comparable to anthologies of *Weltliteratur*) or over an extended period.”

This motto reassumes perfectly the remarkable features of the anthologies, namely those of short stories, which we will focus on<sup>3</sup>. The translation is one of the main components of the series, because a large part of the anthologies reunites stories from different literatures; but in reality two of the volumes that seem to have had, judging by the number of editions, more success are the two series of Portuguese short stories, i.e. *Os Melhores Contos Portugueses* [*The Best Portuguese Short Stories*].

The series of the universal anthologies was launched in 1943, the date in which the first series of *Os Melhores Contos Americanos* [*The Best American Short Stories*] was published, with selection and preface by João Gaspar Simões and translation from the English by Fernando Pessoa, Tomaz Kim and João de Oliveira.

As it is known, the personality of João Gaspar Simões gave a unique impulse to the organization of the first anthologies of this series, which somehow managed to keep on the challenge already started by João Gaspar Simões himself in the anthology of *Contos Ingleses* [*English Short Stories*] published by Sírius in 1942 – that is, in the same year when Gaspar Simões became literary publisher of Portugália, where he would be in charge until 1945, and one year before the publication of the first anthologies of this publishing house. The “universal anthologies” of Portugália Editora can be placed in the wake of intentions of disclosure that João Gaspar Simões states in the preface<sup>4</sup> of the above-mentioned *Contos Ingleses* and that is confirmed explicitly in almost all the prefaces, which complete the anthological volumes of Portugália Editora.

The title of the volumes reflects entirely the importance given to the selection of the best short stories, and the popularizing intent of the anthologies. The titles, in their structure, recur in every anthology, according to three options, whose affinity regarding the selection of the best stories and authors is obvious (see Table 1). The first variant of the title is “os melhores contos” (i.e. “the best short stories”, solution used by Arcádia and Editorial Hélio too) followed by the adjective referring to the literature of origin (“os melhores contos americanos”, “os melhores contos ingleses”, “os melhores contos franceses”, “os melhores contos

3. On this subject see also the contribution by Alexandra Assis Rosa in this volume.

4. Perhaps underestimating the cultural level of the Portuguese, J. G. Simões (1942: i) asserts: “sendo a literatura portuguesa tão mal conhecida em Portugal, uma pequena antologia em que figuram alguns dos melhores escritores de ficção poderá, quanto a mim, contribuir para despertar no leitor português uma maior curiosidade por aquilo que constitui um dos títulos de glória das letras britânicas – o seu romance” [“Since Portuguese literature is not known so well in Portugal, a little anthology in which some of its best fiction authors appear, might, as far as I’m concerned, contribute to arouse in the Portuguese reader a greater curiosity for which constitutes one of the prestige titles of the British letters – its novel”].

indianos”, for American, English, French and Indian) or, less frequently, “os melhores contos” followed by the language they were translated from, such as “os melhores contos da lingual alemã” (German) or “os melhores contos catalães” (Catalan); in this last case, in the preface it is explained that not every author is Catalan and that the selection was made considering the authors’ language of communication and not their hometown:

pareceu-nos que tínhamos de dar grande e justo espaço às novas vozes que, desde a guerra, têm vindo a enriquecer as letras catalãs e assegurar a sua continuidade histórica, tanto com aportações dos escritores valencianos, baleares e rossilhoneses, como pròpriamente catalães, todos filhos da grande família, da grande unidade linguística conhecida por Língua Catalã.<sup>5</sup> (Ribera 1953?: 18)

The second version of the title is “mestres do conto” [“short story masters”], with more emphasis on the author than on the work itself. The anthologies that belong to this group are: *Mestres do Moderno Conto Americano* [*Modern American Short Story Masters*] – that was the second series of *Os Melhores Contos Americanos* [*The Best American Short Stories*] which, in 1966, in the second edition, was changed into *Os Melhores Contos Americanos: segunda série* [*The Best American Short Stories: second collection*] –, *Mestres do Conto Policial* [*Detective Short Story Masters*] and *Mestres do Conto Indiano* [*Indian Short Story Masters*], *Mestres do Conto Italiano* [*Italian Short Story Masters*], *Mestres do Conto Policial (Ingleses, Americanos e Franceses)* [*Detective Short Story English, American and French Masters*] and *Mestres do Conto Eslavo* [*Slavic Short Story Masters*].

As a third option, the title does not refer to the quality and only points at a genre and at the literature’s place of origin: *Histórias Fantásticas (Inglesas e Americanas)* [*English and American Fantasy Stories*], *Novelas e Contos Espanhóis* [*Spanish Novellas and Short Stories*], *Novos Contos Romanos* [*New Romanian Short Stories*] (whose first series was published in 1943 by Editorial Gleba) and *Contos Húngaros* [*Hungarian Short Stories*]; yet a unique case is *Modernos Contistas Franceses* [*Modern French Short Story Writers*]. Only few titles of the anthologies had a second series; but most of the prefaces prefigure the wishful possibility of having it.

As can be inferred from the titles themselves, the organization of this series follows alternately three paths: in most of the cases nationality is considered (American, French, Spanish and Hungarian etc.); sometimes the language is taken

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5. “We reckoned we should give proper space to the new voices that, since the war, have been enriching and assuring the Catalan literature, both with contribution by writers from Valencia, from the Balearic Islands, from Roussillon, and strictly Catalan, all belonging to the great family of the big linguistic unity known as the Catalan language.”

into account (German, Catalan); more rarely the attention is focused on a sub-genre of narrative fiction, such as crime and fantasy.

The interest for these two variants (crime and fantasy, or proto-scientific narrative) in the series of the Portugália Editora fits into a bigger context, since at the time taken into analysis, in the system of translated literature in Portugal, we can see an increasing presence of works belonging to the crime or espionage sub-genre and an incipient interest in science-fiction literature, besides romantic fiction.

It should be stressed that, contrary to what happens with romantic fiction, renowned translators seem not always to fear associating their names to the Portuguese version of works of those sub-genres to be published, and this leads us to assume that crime and proto-scientific fiction were not completely stigmatized at the time. We can refer, namely, the case of the poet Cabral do Nascimento, who was pointed out as one of the best translators of his time and was one of Portugália's collaborators in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Observing the *corpus* of his translations, we can see that he sometimes preferred using a pseudonym, for instance translations of some romantic novels or some Russian novels are attributed to Mário Gonçalves (Cabral do Nascimento's pseudonym); the same happens with the translations of John Le Carré novels or Stoker's *Dracula*. Instead in Portugália's anthologies of fantasy or detective stories, Cabral do Nascimento does not hide his name. The truth is that in Portugália's project, as we will see further ahead, the importance of the translator's name was relevant and it would make no sense letting him use a pseudonym in these anthologies. Anyway, these circumstances may suggest that the above-mentioned sub-genres were neither unanimously recognized nor rejected at that time.

As described in the motto of the publishing house, the key features of the collection are the following: (1) the careful selection of the stories, according to the criteria explained in the preface; (2) spread of short master-works to the Portuguese readers; (3) preface by relevant personalities of Portuguese literature, which help make this spread easier; (4) translation by the best names of Portuguese literature.

The structure of the anthologies is fixed: it starts with a preface (or a similar text); each author is presented by a bio-bibliographical profile, whose extension may vary according to the anthology and that aims to a spreading and popularizing demand. In general, at the bottom of the same page, we find the title of the selected short story; normally the short stories are presented in chronological order, and it is rarely stated where they had been taken from. At the end of the volume, the contents are included with possible *errata*.

Taking a look at the short stories selected for each anthology would lead to a useful contribution to the definition of the system of translated literature in Portugal in the middle of the past century, but, due to the number of the collected short stories and the heterogeneity of the foreign literatures to which they belong, we would not be able or allowed to analyse this matter here.



## 2. The role of translations and prefaces in *Antologias Universais*

Translation is a component particularly valued in Portugália's anthologies; it is, in fact, mentioned as a key feature and sometimes commented in the preface that precedes the stories. This can be noticed, for instance, at the end of the preface of the volume that opens the collection, in which João Gaspar Simões, referring to Cabral do Nascimento, asserts that what he is presenting to the readers is a "volume that an admirable Portuguese poet translated with exceptional understanding" (Simões 1943: 17).

Therefore, there is no attempt to spread foreign works as if they had been written in Portuguese and translation is not considered as just a secondary factor for the quality of the anthologies. On the contrary, the role of the translator is regarded very important for a correct Portuguese version, to the point that the chosen translators are sometimes writers themselves, such as Fernando Pessoa and Cabral do Nascimento, and many present a kind of professionalization if we consider their amount of translations. Among them, we can mention Maria Franco or Manuel de Seabra.

Still focusing on the translation, some tendencies can be noted throughout the whole series. First of all, the name of the translator is usually written on the cover or at least on the title page. Exceptions to this practice<sup>6</sup> are constituted by *Novos Contos Romenos* [*New Romanian Short Stories*] and by *Os Melhores Contos da Língua Alemã* [*German Language Best Short Stories*], where, due to the large number of translators, each one of them is mentioned after the bio-bibliographical profile of each author.

Another fundamental aspect is the language from which the translation is obtained, that also involves the issue of direct or indirect translation. In the first and in the second anthology of *Os Melhores Contos Americanos* [*The Best American Short Stories*], *Os Melhores Contos Ingleses* [*The Best English Short Stories*], *Mestres do Conto Policial* [*Detective Short Story Masters*] and *Histórias Fantásticas (Inglesas e Americanas)* [*Fantasy English and American Stories*], on every title page it is mentioned that they were "translated from the English", just like *Os Melhores Contos Franceses* [*The Best French Short Stories*] where it is explained that they were "translated from the French". Sometimes the reference to the language of the original text is missing, for example in *Novelas e Contos Espanhóis* [*Spanish Novellas and Short Stories*] in the translation by Maria Franco, *Os Melhores Contos da Língua Alemã* [*German Language Best Short Stories*] and in *Mestres do Conto Italiano* [*Italian Short Story Masters*] with a translation by different authors in both the anthologies,

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6. We refer to the anthologies of the 1940s and 1950s available to be consulted (see Table 1), since some are not available in the collective catalogue of the Portuguese libraries.

and in *Contos Húngaros* [*Hungarian Short Stories*] translated by Diogo Caminha; in the second series of *Mestres do Conto Policial* [*Detective Short Story Masters*] including English, American and French authors, the briefness of information on the title page is understandable if we consider the number of languages involved.

In 1946, a particular case occurs with *Os Novos Contos Romanos* [*The New Romanian Short Stories*], that is “an anthology organized, prefaced and with notes by Professor Victor Buescu” and the continuation of *Contos Romanos* [*Romanian Short Stories*] published by Editorial Gleba, whose edition was sold out in less than three years, as it is mentioned in the preface. In this anthology, it is not clear the language from which the translations were made, but the editor explains in the preface some questions regarding the translation. First of all, it stands out that the translation “was made directly from the Romanian text” (Buescu 1946: 11), “apart from eleven exceptions”, in a total of thirty stories. These eleven stories “were translated from the French, since it was impossible to find the original texts in Lisbon” (Buescu 1946: 11). It is worth underlining the justification given by Professor Victor Buescu, because the difficulty of obtaining the original texts is not exclusive of this anthology and, for instance, it is the reason why the year 1933 is taken as a reference for the bio-bibliographical information about the authors of *Os Melhores Contos da Língua Alemã* [*German Language Best Short Stories*]. Moreover, in his preface Prabhakar Kanekar complains about the impossibility of consulting the bibliography needed for writing his introduction and to present *Os Melhores Contos Indianos* [*The Best Indian Short Stories*].<sup>7</sup>

Besides being proud of the possibility to translate directly about two thirds of the stories of *Os Novos Contos Romanos* [*The New Romanian Short Stories*], the editor of the volume stresses another aspect of the translation which would shock the contemporary reader, but that at that time was much more common than we could accept, that is presenting an unabridged version of the selected short stories. Below is the commentary of Victor Buescu:

À parte o cuidado da exactidão, as versões que se seguem terão pelo menos um mérito: o de ter evitado o abuso de mutilar o texto original. Essas mutilações, sejam impostas por conveniências editoriais ou por incompetência dos tradutores, representam falta de respeito pelo autor e pelo leitor, – e os meus colaboradores não caíram neste abuso tão frequente como imperdoável.<sup>8</sup> (pp. 11–12)

7. For a thorough analysis of this anthology and the ambiguity of Prabhakar Kanekar, see Seruya within this volume.

8. “Apart from the careful accuracy, the following versions have at least one credit: they prevented the mutilation of the original text. These mutilations, were they dictated by publishing advantages or by incompetent translators, represent a lack of respect toward the author and the reader, – and my collaborators did not commit such a frequent and unforgivable abuse.”

In those “conveniências editoriais” [“publishing advantages”] not only can we see the hint to commercial interests that, for instance, brought the publisher Romano Torres to present abridged versions of the novels of Emilio Salgari but also the fear of censorship.

The importance given to a direct translation and, at the same time, the hypothesis that it was not a habit seem to be confirmed by the explicit references, on the title page of *Os Melhores Contos Indianos* [*The Best Indian Short Stories*], which mentions the “direct translation from the *Marathi*”; the same can be observed in *Os Melhores Contos Catalães* [*Best Catalan Short Stories*] in the “direct translation from the Catalan by Manuel de Seabra”.

In *Mestres do Conto Eslavo* [*Slavic Short Stories Masters*], the translation is mentioned on the title page as “Portuguese version”; this is an isolated case in the series and seems to point out that it is an indirect translation, as it is confirmed in the introductory note, where it is made clear that the translation was made “almost always from the respective English version” (Portugália Editora s.d.: 9); probably in the other cases the original language was French. As we could expect, on the title page the original language is not mentioned, as well as the reference to the original titles of the translated stories. The analysis of other *corpora* of the same period reveals that the term “version” (“*versão*” in Portuguese) often hides the indirect translation, confirmed in this case. But it is possible that the same happened with the translation of *Os Melhores Contos Húngaros* [*Best Hungarian Short Stories*], where the original language and the original titles of the stories are not mentioned. Another common element between the anthology of Slavic short stories and that of the Hungarian short stories is the Portuguesation of the majority of the authors’ names (Alexandre Pusquine, Leão Tolstoi, Antão Checov, Maurício Jokai, Francisco Herezeg, Sigismundo Móricz, Margarida Bethlen...), in an attempt to naturalize the foreign authors to the Portuguese reader.

Another question that emerges with relation to these two anthologies is the worry about the censorship that could hit them. Both volumes’ editors, in different ways, seem to take precautions against possible intervention of censorship, which was very active at the time. As for *Mestres do Conto Eslavo* [*Slavic Short Stories Masters*], the title itself diverts the attention from the facts: actually the volume collects texts by Russian authors, particularly irritating because of their nationality, to the censorship of the Estado Novo;<sup>9</sup> but, in fact, in this anthology the country where these authors come from is never mentioned. The fear of the

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9. If, on one hand, “subjects as URSS and Stalin, or authors as Gorki [...] could be either banned or approved”, on the other “the fact that certain topics were already known through the press, or the author was a classic, well-known in Portugal (Balzac, Dostoiievsky, Gorki, Hemingway) [...] did not prevent some of their books from being banned” (Seruya and Moniz 2008: 10). For more information about censorship in Portugal during the Estado Novo, see, for instance, Azevedo 1999.

publishers seems to be confirmed by the introductory note which replaces the usual preface in this volume and that is anonymous, liberating its writer from all responsibilities. It is a very brief text of only two pages, in which the attempt to avoid any suspicion is obvious:

Com exceção de dois ou três, são os escritores escolhidos verdadeiros clássicos da literatura do seu país, nomes consagrados do romance, da novela e do conto, e, em grande maioria, anteriores à revolução política e social que ali se produziu. Aliás, nas páginas que seguem, tal preocupação nem se faz sentir.<sup>10</sup>

(Portugália Editora s.d.:9)

Regarding the *Contos Húngaros* [*Hungarian Short Stories*], the strongly historical tone used in the preface is surprising: this one is, in fact, almost only dedicated to the report, in an epic tone, of the revolt of 1956, soon repressed, of the Hungarian October against the communist regime. The anthology was published soon after the Hungarian events (the legal deposit of the Portuguese national library in Lisbon dates it in 1957). The preface exalts vehemently the intellectuals, the writers in particular, who played an important role in the rebellion against the totalitarian regime. In certain parts it is evident that some commentaries, which describe this regime, could apply to the Estado Novo. However, it should be pointed out that in this preface the attempt to prove that the Hungarians do not have to be confused with the Russians and that the revolt is clearly a signal that Hungary shares the same values of Portugal under Salazar is evident:

As proclamações sucedem-se, cada dia mais imperativas, mais categóricas. Abrem-se as portas das prisões e das igrejas. Celebra-se o santo sacrifício da missa, livremente, fervorosamente. Nos passeios e nos cantos das praças, cruzeiros brotam da terra, a assinalar o sacrifício de homens que lutaram e morreram para isto: para que um povo disponha de si próprio, entregue a si próprio.<sup>11</sup>

(Augusto 1957?: 15–16)

The preface, as we observed, is one of the main features of Portugal's *Antologias Universais*, in which the disclosure can be fostered more actively, focusing on aspects that may orient and stimulate the reader; in some cases the author of the preface becomes a true cultural intermediary. In particular, some prefaces are small

10. "Except two or three, the chosen writers are true classics of the literature of their countries, successful names of the novel and of the short story. In most cases, they could be dated prior to the social and cultural revolution which took place in those countries. However, in the following pages, there is no trace of these worries."

11. "Proclamations follow, every day more imperative, more categorical. The gates of the prisons and churches open. The saint sacrifice of the mass is celebrated, freely, fervently. Along the pavements and in the corners of the squares crosses arise from the ground to indicate the sacrifice of men who fought and died for this: so that a people can count on itself."

essays, as we can see in the anthology of the “best French short stories”: Pierre Hourcade, a relevant figure in the literary relations and exchange between Portugal and France in those years, takes ten pages to confirm and explain “the vitality and the diversity of French production in the short story genre” (Hourcade 1944?: 14), outlining a brief history of it in France and comparing it with the Anglo-Saxon and Russian traditions. The same role is played by João Gaspar Simões in his preface do *Mestres do Moderno Conto Americano* [*Modern American Short Story Masters*], where he provides critical elements about the genre in the American tradition and emphasizes the peculiarity of each author included in the volume.

The cultural mediation carried out by the authors of the preface is especially evident in the anthologies of those sub-genres we mentioned before: *Histórias Fantásticas Inglesas e Americanas* [*English and American Fantasy Short Stories*] and *Mestres do Conto Policial* [*Detective Short Story Masters*]. In their prefaces we can perceive the concern about the literary credibility of these anthologies; the authors seem to try to justify these anthologies, as if they worried that these sub-genres would not be considered worthy to be read. As a matter of fact, in his preface to *Histórias Fantásticas Inglesas e Americanas* [*English and American Fantasy Short Stories*], for instance, Cabral do Nascimento stresses that:

Falando da literatura de língua inglesa, não será paradoxal aludir (a propósito dum dos elementos que nela muitas vezes intervém) ao que se pode classificar de «realidade sobrenatural». De facto, as personagens sobrenaturais abundam aí com um à-vontade tão grande, os prodígios são tão freqüentes, os espectros agem e conversam com tanta bonomia, que tudo isso se nos torna familiar e quotidiano.<sup>12</sup>  
(Nascimento 1945?:9)

We can detect in his words the intent to persuade the reader that the strangeness of these short stories is not so odd; on the contrary it would seem to be really common in English tradition and that is why the reader should feel comfortable with them. Cabral do Nascimento also states that “anyone of the connoisseurs of English language literature – a Scott, a Dickens, a Poe – compromised with the horror, sacrificed to mystery” (Nascimento 1945?: 10) and, further on, declares the aim of popularizing writers who are famous in their countries but still unknown in Portugal, in addition to writers already known all over the world (Nascimento 1945?: 12). Nevertheless, Cabral do Nascimento is aware of the risk of his selection and concludes, with revelatory words:

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12. “Speaking of English literature, it is not absurd to refer (regarding some elements that occur quite often) to what can be classified as ‘supernatural reality’. In fact, supernatural characters recur so many times, wonders are so frequent, ghosts act and talk with such affability, that all this seems familiar and common to us.”

Ainda quando o valor literário dos contos dêste género não avultasse, sempre restaria o propósito que eles, acima de tudo, se impuseram e que a escritora americana Caroline Wells define nestes termos: "To entertain, to interest, to amuse".<sup>13</sup>  
(Nascimento 1945?:13)

Although the prominence of the author of the preface is a programmatic element of *Antologias Universais*, not always has his fame survived the passing of time or in specific cases the preface is anonymous. In particular it is the case of the anthology dedicated to "Spanish novellas and short stories" or to "Slavic short story masters". In both these volumes, the preface is actually replaced by a general "editors' note" and by a brief "introductory note", which is kept anonymous.

In a few cases, as well, the author of the preface has a foreign name, but we fail to find out any information about him. We can refer here at least to two relevant examples: Curtius<sup>14</sup> and Prabhakar Kanekar, introducing respectively the German and Indian short stories anthologies. These authors are unknown; we cannot find anything about their profiles or other works related to them in Portugal or abroad. For this reason, we are driven to doubt about their veracity and to imagine that these names hide the editors themselves and, at the same time, evoke a (false) direct contact with a different culture, thanks to the mediation of these authoritative unknown.

The intention of creating an exotic appeal in the Indian short stories is clearly revealed in the preface, whose mysterious author states, in the first lines, that modern Indian literature deserves being studied "because it presents completely strange and new aspects for an occidental spirit" (Kanekar 1944?:9). But, on the other hand, the whole preface points to European models, and the short stories themselves are not as original as the reader could expect after reading the preface.

Besides, Kanekar seems to feel uncomfortable about the quality of his preface and tries to justify it by the "absolute lack of consultable elements" (Kanekar 1944?:18); in fact he adduces that he had to recur to the memory of readings made during a stay in India. He, furthermore, suggests that a second anthology could give him the opportunity of developing a better essay, because the "circumstances" did not help him to write a systematic profile of Indian short story evolution.

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13. "Even if the literary value of the short stories belonging to this genre would not emerge, the intention that they imposed to them, above everything, will persist, and the American writer Caroline Wells defines it with these words: 'To entertain, to interest, to amuse'"

14. We could identify this Curtius with the Ernst Robert Curtius, nevertheless the incomplete name allows us to exclude this hypothesis, but, at the same time, to suppose that the name of the famous German critic and philologist may have inspired the pseudonym of the author of the preface of the mentioned anthology.

### 3. A fragmentary debate about the definition of short story throughout the series

A remarkable element which is present throughout the whole series of *Antologias Universais* dedicated to the short story is the critical consideration that stretches out in the pages of the prefaces concerning the short story as a literary genre, involved both with its definition and its reputation towards other genres of fiction.

Even before the definition of the genre, the first point was which the homeland of the short story would be. In *Mestres do Moderno Conto Americano* [*Modern American Short Story Masters*], the United States is indicated as “the homeland of the short story *par excellence*” (Simões 1946:9), and this element is well discussed throughout the preface, stating imperatively that “there is no country in the world where the short story is at the same time so popular and so intellectual” (Simões 1946:17). However, Antoni Ribera, in the preface of *Os Melhores Contos Catalães* [*The Best Catalan Short Stories*], states that “the art of telling stories is typically Mediterranean” (Ribera 1953?: 11) and, identifying the Catalans as the English of the Mediterranean, he underlines their vocation for the short story.

In the preface of *Mestres do Moderno Conto Americano* [*Modern American Short Story Masters*], it can still be noted a certain resistance of the Portuguese towards the short story, though the first series of the American short stories tried to hinder this tendency, and it is still considered necessary “to show to the Portuguese a view of a literature and of a genre famous all over the world except in Portugal” (Simões 1946:9). This weak popularity of the short story among the Portuguese is denied in the preface by Curtius, who identifies the German as “a born novelist whereas the Portuguese writes short stories” (Curtius 1945?: 11).

As for the definition of the genre, instead, Pierre Hourcade asserts in the preface of *Os Melhores Contos Franceses* [*The Best French Short Stories*]:

A diversidade, mesmo a disparidade das obras que se classificam de ordinário sob êsse vocábulo, adverte-nos claramente que o devemos considerar, pelo menos no sentido corrente, não como designação genérica mas como rúbrica cómoda relativa a um resíduo, quero dizer, a qualquer obra de imaginação, em verso ou em prosa, que se não julgou susceptível, pela sua extensão ou significado, de ser elevada à dignidade das categorias reputadas superiores, como o romance ou a novela.<sup>15</sup>

(Hourcade 1944?: 9–10)

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15. “The difference, even the disparity of the works that are usually classified under this term, clearly warns us that the term short story, at least in this sense, should not be considered as a general definition but as an easy label for a “residual”, that is, any piece of fiction, poetry or prose, that was not judged appropriate, because of its length or meaning, to be brought to the dignity of higher categories, such as the novel or the romance.”

In the editor's note of *Novelas e Contos Espanhóis* [*Spanish Novellas and Short Stories*] the attempt to define the short story emerges in the first lines, observing how its identity and status "have been evolving throughout time". The editors, in their note that substitute the usual preface, commence their introduction by referring to the difficulty of defining a short story.

In some cases it can be observed that the writer of the preface contradicts the status of the short story, which should, on the contrary, characterize the texts in the anthologies. In particular, there is often a doubt regarding the distinction between "conto" (short story) and "novela" (novella), which is explicit only in *Novelas e Contos Espanhóis* [*Spanish Novellas and Short Stories*]. For instance in *Melhores Contos da Língua Alemã* [*German Language Best Short Stories*], in the preface it is stated that the anthology is "presenting different stories that a doctrinaire critic would classify as novellas" (Curtius 1945?:11); in the preface of the second series of *Mestres do Conto Policial* [*Detective Short Story Masters*], João da Natividade Gaspar describes the selected texts as "novelas curtas" ["short novellas"] (Gaspar s.d.: 9) and Antonio Fiorillo in the preface of *Mestres do Conto Italiano* [*Italian Short Story Masters*] uses the term "novela" ["novella"] (Fiorillo s.d.: 14) to define the presented texts. However, in *Novos Contos Romanos* [*New Romanian Short Stories*] Victor Buescu asserts that the thirty texts included in the anthology (that have on average five to ten pages) are not properly short stories but "esboços" (Buescu 1946: 10), that is "drafts", which he does not hesitate to define as a new literary genre (Buescu 1946: 11).

As we can see, one of the pressing elements in the period of time taken into consideration is the definition of the short story, especially comparing Portugália Editora's *Antologias Universais* with the anthological activity of other publishing houses. The genre seems to have a more precise profile when inserted in the English and American tradition, but, in most of the prefaces of the anthologies taken into account, the first problem is to clarify and to explain what a short story is and if it is an autonomous genre – after all "the autonomy of the species not rarely has risked to be lost" (Portugália Editora 1945?:9)<sup>16</sup> – and then why it deserves to be read.

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16. In the specific case of this preface, a quite long excerpt remembers the oscillation between the Spanish terms *cuento* and *novela corta* (or *breve*) or between this one and *novela larga* and how it is difficult to delineate the differences amongst the three.



#### 4. Final remarks

The brief analysis carried out in this case study confirms the importance of anthologies in order to better know the literary Portuguese system in the given period. Despite of the pressing presence of censorship, in the 1940s and 1950s Portuguese publishers tried to update reader's literary tastes by introducing, beside classic authors and already known foreign literatures, less popular literatures (Catalan, Indian or Hungarian, for instance) and emerging sub-genres, such as fantasy or detective stories. The focus on paratexts of Portugalia's *Antologias Universais* shows not only the effort to justify the introduction of new foreign literatures and new sub-genres, but also the developing of a kind of involuntary debate about the genre of short story. An extensive analysis of similar anthologies of the same time would lead to a better knowledge of the relation between Portuguese and foreign literatures and, at the same time, it could confirm and complete the framework of this literary period and give important information about the question and definition of literary genres.

**Table 1.** Information provided in the title page of the anthologies consulted

Year	Title	Selection by	Introduction	Translation by	Language
1943	<i>Os melhores contos americanos (primeira série)</i>	João Gaspar Simões	preface by João Gaspar Simões	Fernando Pessoa, Tomaz Kim, João de Oliveira	translated from English
1944?	<i>Os melhores contos indianos (primeira série)</i>	Prabhakar Kanekar	preface by Prabhakar Kanekar		translated from Marathi
1944?	<i>Os melhores contos franceses (primeira série)</i>	Pierre Hourcade	preface by Pierre Hourcade	Maria Franco	translated from French
1944?	<i>Mestres do conto policial ingleses e americanos (primeira série)</i>	João Gaspar Simões	preface by João Gaspar Simões	Cabral do Nascimento	translated from English
1945?	<i>Histórias fantásticas inglesas e americanas (primeira série)</i>	Cabral do Nascimento	preface by Cabral do Nascimento	Cabral do Nascimento	translated from English
1945?	<i>Novelas e contos espanhóis (primeira série)</i>		note by the editors	Maria Franco	

Year	Title	Selection by	Introduction	Translation by	Language
1945?	<i>Os melhores contos da língua alemã (primeira série)</i>	Curtius	preface by Curtius	revised by José Silva	
1946	<i>Mestres do moderno conto americano</i>	João Gaspar Simões	preface by João Gaspar Simões	Cabral do Nascimento	translated from English
1946	<i>Novos contos romenos</i>	Victor Buescu	preface by Victor Buescu		
1953?	<i>Os melhores contos catalães</i>	Antoni Ribera	preface by Antoni Ribera	Manuel de Seabra	translated from Catalan
<1955	<i>Mestres do conto policial ingleses, americanos e franceses (segunda série)</i>	José da Natividade Gaspar	preface by José da Natividade Gaspar		
<1957	<i>Mestres do conto italiano</i>	Antonio Fiorillo	preface by Antonio Fiorillo		
<1957	<i>Contos húngaros</i>	José Augusto	preface by José Augusto	Diogo Caminha	
<1957	<i>Mestres do conto eslavo</i>		anonymous note	Cabral do Nascimento	

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# Patterns in the external history of Portuguese collections with translations of Polish literature (1855–2009)

## An exploratory case study

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This paper sets out to identify and analyse patterns in the external history of Portuguese collections with translations of Polish literature between 1855 and 2009. By doing so, it will provide preliminary insights into how these collections have presented Polish literature to the Portuguese readership and, ultimately, how they have contributed to the canonization of Polish authors/texts and the formation of cultural relations between the two (semi)peripheral languages/cultures concerned. To achieve these goals, in the first part relevant information regarding the corpus will be provided. Secondly, the methodology for analysing collections will be briefly elucidated. Thirdly, the results of the study will be presented. More specifically, the findings of preliminary analysis leading to statistical coding of peritextual elements will be described, six collection profiles will be examined and chronological patterns in the canonization of a given Polish author will be traced. Finally, the paper's findings will be summarized and hypotheses to be tested in future research will be proposed.

## Introduction

This paper starts with an assumption that literary collections, as configured corpora, are “one of the most enlightening and memorable ways of transmitting culture within a country, or of transferring it internationally” (Frank 1998: 13). As such, they are powerful instruments in the canonization of authors/texts and the formation of intercultural relationships (cf. Seruya et al., in this volume). Bearing this in mind, this paper sets out to identify and analyse patterns in the external history of Portuguese collections containing book-length translations of Polish literature between 1855 (the date of the first translation) and 2009 (the final year

for which data was collected). By doing so, it will provide preliminary insights into how these collections have presented Polish literature to the Portuguese readership and, ultimately, how they have contributed to the canonization of Polish authors/texts and the formation of cultural relations between the two (semi)peripheral languages/cultures.<sup>1</sup>

For the sake of precision, it should be noted that in the present paper a collection is understood as a series of volumes including texts selected and structured according to more or less explicit criteria and issued by a given publisher. A collection is therefore understood as a form of ‘macro-anthology’, to use a term coined by Baubeta, where “individual texts may be read on their own but are brought together to provide a far more inclusive vision of different periods, styles and authors”, etc. (2007: 76). It should also be born in mind that the present case study deals with *external* as opposed to *internal* history (to use a conceptual distinction proposed, for example, in Frank 1990 and 2004) of Portuguese collections featuring translations of Polish literature. While the former deals with “facts of translational life, in a sense that is akin to literary life” (Frank 2004: 808), the latter is concerned with “the textual facts of literary translation” (Frank 2004: 808). In other words, this case study focuses on “the circumstances, the institutions (...) as well as the agents” (Frank 1990: 9) involved, rather than dealing with “the texts themselves (...), the modifications and deviations that the works have undergone in translational transfer” (Frank 1990: 9).

For the sake of clarity, it should also be stressed that this case study can be categorised as exploratory (Williams and Chesterman 2002: 63), in a sense that it is primarily concerned with the analysis of phenomena in the field, “without any prior intent to make a *specific* point (...) or test a *specific* hypothesis” (Gile 1998: 72, italics in original). This, together with the fact that the data here presented was collected during an ongoing research into the Portuguese reception of Polish texts (see Pięta 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2012a, 2012b), means that the intention of this paper is not to provide an exhaustive study with definitive conclusions, but rather to describe and analyse some of the main patterns and propose new research avenues that further studies can investigate.

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1. The terms peripheral (with regard to Portuguese) and semi-peripheral (with regard to Polish) are taken from Heilbron (1999: 434) and refer to the position of these languages within the international cultural transfer achieved by means of translation. By the same token, Polish and Portuguese can be listed among the so-called dominated (Jacquemond 1992 and Casanova 2002) or target-intensive (Cronin 1995: 88) languages of which Pascale Casanova (2002: 9) says that, irrespective of the number of speakers and regardless of their diffusion or literary tradition, they are hardly recognised beyond national borders and their value on the international literary market is low. All things considered, much more is translated into than out of Polish or Portuguese.

As to the paper's structure, in the first part relevant information regarding the corpus will be provided. In the second, the methodology for analysing collections with translations of Polish literature, consisting in the statistical coding of collection titles and other peritextual elements, will be briefly elucidated. In the third section the results of such an analysis will be presented. More specifically, the findings of preliminary analysis leading to statistical coding of peritextual elements will be described, six collection profiles will be examined and chronological patterns in the canonization of one specific Polish author will be traced. In the final, fourth, part, the paper's initial findings will be summarized and hypotheses to be tested in future research will be proposed.

## 1. Corpus

With regard to corpus selection, it proved to be a fairly complex issue *per se* and implied establishing a series of operative definitions. In line with these definitions, in the present paper Polish literature is taken to be any piece of literature originally written in Polish, irrespective of place of original publication. Moreover, a text is regarded as a translation if at least one of three elements (its status, origin or features) establishes any reasonably conceivable relationship with an already existing text in a language other than Portuguese (cf. Delabastita 2008). Finally, a translation is considered to be published in Portugal if the publisher has its registered office in this country, regardless of the place of printing or circulation.<sup>2</sup>

As to the corpus composition, it comprises 145 book-length translations of Polish literature published in Portugal between 1855 and 2009 (including 108 first editions, 18 re-editions and 19 reprints).<sup>3</sup> The translations in question were produced by no fewer than 89 translators, brought out by 66 different publishers (both large/mainstream and small/specialist, though the former seem to outnumber the latter) and correspond to 86 Polish source texts originally written by 51 Polish

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2. Due to space limitations, other aspects of corpus selection will not be developed here but see, in this respect, Pięta (2010a and c).

3. For the sake of the homogeneity of the corpus, this paper does not account for the additional 30 translations from Polish categorised in accordance with the Universal Decimal Classification as philosophy, psychology, social science, religion and history. The rationale that led to their exclusion is also based on the fact that they seem to obey different dynamics and are subject to different publishing strategies, which have been addressed elsewhere (see Pięta 2010b).

authors.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, previous research (Pięta 2012b) has shown that approximately 75% of these target texts has been translated indirectly (until 1990s mainly via French and from then on mainly via English) and that direct translations have become common practice only from 1990s onwards. Importantly enough, the translations under study have either been published individually or distributed amongst 67 different collections. On the whole, due to a large number of collections, authors, texts, translators and publishers involved, the resulting corpus appears fragmented, with a number of patterns requiring explanation and a host of differing factors to be accounted for.

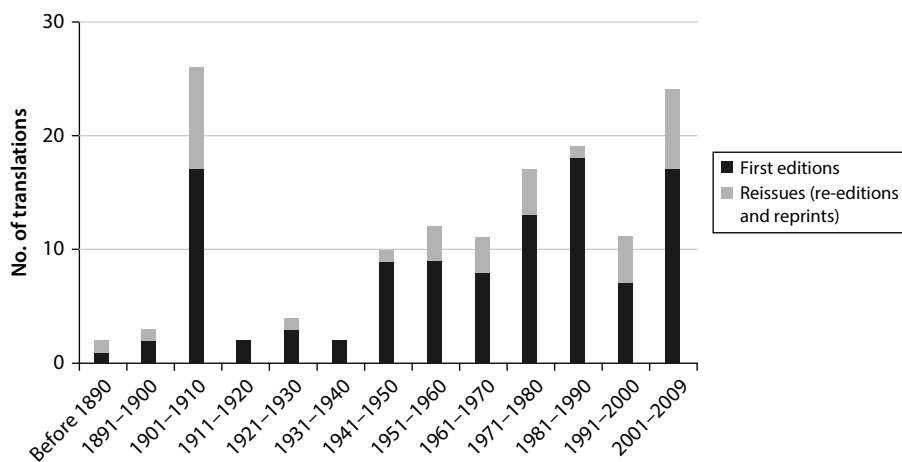


Figure 1. Diachronic distribution of book-length translations of Polish literature published in Portugal (1855–2009)

As far as the chronological distribution of the corpus is concerned, it may be observed that although the first peak in demand can apparently be found in the first decade of the 20th century, immediately after this, translation activity sank to a virtual standstill. Moreover, as can be seen in Figure 1, the volume of translation began to increase in the 1940s, achieving relative stability in the two following decades. From the 1970s onwards, a growth trend can be observed in the number of translations, but it was only in the early 1980s that the translation flow reached its second peak. Figure 1 clearly shows that the last decade of the 20th century witnessed a sudden decline in the volume of translations, followed by considerable

4. For a detailed account of Polish authors rendered into Portuguese, see Pięta (2012a).

growth in the first years of the 21st century. On average, since the beginning of the 20th century, one book-length translation of Polish literature has been published in Portugal per year. Although this may appear negligible when compared to the Portuguese national annual output<sup>5</sup> or literary translation rate,<sup>6</sup> it should be noted that for a semi-peripheral language (in this case Polish), an average of one book per year appears fairly significant, in particular when compared to translations from other semi-peripheral languages.<sup>7</sup>

As regards the plausible explanation for the fluctuations in the translation flow, previous research (Pięta 2010b) has inferred that: (a) the 1900s peak is linked to the pan-European boom of translations of historical novels by the Polish Nobel laureate Henryk Sienkiewicz; (b) the 1940s growth reflects a general rise in the global translation rate in Portugal (cf. Rosa 2012: 217); (c) the 1950s and 1960s stagnation can be related to the ideological antagonism between the communist Poland and the para-fascist Portugal;<sup>8</sup> (d) the 1970s growth is due to the reestablishment of official cultural relations with the Eastern Block countries following the breakdown of Salazar regime in Portugal (1974); (e) the 1980s peak can be linked to the Portuguese interest in the socio-political events in Poland (the accession of Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła to Papacy, the declaration of Martial Law, the rise of the 'Solidarność' labour movement, etc.) leading to the collapse of the communist regime (1989); and (f) the 2000s increase is mainly due to the Polish accession to the European Union (2004) and the launching of subsidies for translations of Polish literature.

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5. Regrettably, the corresponding data for the whole period under study (1855–2009) is not available. However, the comparable data obtained from PORDATA ([http://www.pordata.pt/azap\\_runtime/?n=4](http://www.pordata.pt/azap_runtime/?n=4)) for the period 2000–2008 suggests an average national output of around 10,000 books per year.

6. The corresponding data for the whole period under study (1855–2009) is not yet available. Nevertheless, Seruya (2009) estimates that the total number of translations of literature published in Portugal during the 41 years of the Estado Novo (1933–1974) amounts to nearly 16,700, which signifies an average of approximately 408 volumes per year.

7. For instance, in the case of translations from Czech, the average number of volumes per year for the period 1943–1992 (dates of the first and last translations accounted for in Špirk 2009) is only half this figure, averaging 0.46 volumes per year. To date, there has been no reliable corresponding data for other semi-peripheral languages translated into Portuguese during the period under study (1855–2009).

8. The term 'para-fascist' was coined by Griffin (1991: 121) to describe the Spanish and Portuguese regimes, both of which are considered to be examples of not fully realised fascist systems.



## 2. Methodology for analysing collections

With a view to obtaining insights into (a) how the collections under analysis have presented, over the years, Polish literature to a public reading it in Portuguese, and, ultimately, into (b) how they have contributed to the canonization of given authors/texts, as well as the formation of cultural relations between the two (semi)peripheral languages/cultures involved, it was necessary to proceed to a close examination of these collections. Preliminary analysis of the corpus led to the conclusion that, due to the large number of collections (67), texts (145) and authors (51) involved, rather than studying each collection individually, it would be more productive to generate and examine general profiles of these collections. For this purpose, the statistical coding of peritextual elements has been adopted.

Regarding the peritextual elements, they mostly included collection titles and, to a lesser extent, prefaces, postfaces, blurbs, notes and book covers, etc., i.e., elements positioned around the text, within the volume, thus being closely linked to book design or typography (Genette 1997:5). The recourse to peritexts was justified by the assumption that they express the editor's, author's, translator's, etc. intention behind the text (Genette 1991). In other words, it was assumed that peritexts serve as a solid indication of what a specific piece of writing is intended to be and, more importantly, how it is presented to the readership (Tahir Gürçaglar 2011). Conversely, epitextual elements, i.e., "all those messages that, at least originally, are located outside the book" (Genette 1997:5), such as archival documents, bibliographies, catalogues, relevant correspondence, literary criticism, interviews etc., were hardly used. The virtual exclusion of epitexts from the analysis was justified on two accounts. On the one hand, they were very few and far between, thus not allowing for a thorough systematic study. On the other, the very few existing epitexts (mostly bibliographies and catalogues) proved to be based on the corresponding peritexts, which, in practice, meant that the information extracted from the former was often as revealing and reliable as the information retrieved from the latter.

As to the statistical coding, it consisted in the labelling and classification of collections by means of *FileMaker Pro 11* programme. By way of illustration, on the basis of its title and a preface by the editor, which promised to present works by canonized authors, a collection *As melhores obras de todos os tempos* (*The best works of all time*) was labelled as status-orientated and classified accordingly. By the same token, on the basis of its title and book cover design, a collection *Histórias para raparigas* (*Stories for girls*) was considered to be directed at young female readers and, thus, classified as addressee-oriented. Due to the already mentioned large number of collections, texts and authors in the corpus, this method appeared more suitable than a global, undifferentiated approach. The

statistical coding was all the more necessary as the analysis covered a relatively lengthy period of time (154 years), which implied significant diachronic changes in the reception context of the translated texts. Significantly enough, this approach allowed for general profiles of Portuguese collections containing translations of Polish literature to be produced and for diachronic changes in the labelling of particular Polish authors/texts to be traced. In what follows the results of such an approach will be presented. However, for the sake of completeness, the presentation of these results will be preceded by a brief elucidation of the main findings of the preliminary analysis that led to the statistical coding of peritextual elements.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Preliminary analysis

The preliminary analysis preceding the statistical coding of peritextual elements has led to the identification of numerous patterns and was revealing on three accounts. Firstly, it has revealed a wide dispersal of volumes per collection. More specifically, it has shown that 87 translations (60% out of the total of 145, including re-editions and reprints) are included in 67 different collections. The remaining 58 translations (40%) were published individually. More information is required in order to determine exactly what this means. It could be that a publisher, or any other literary agent, regarded a particular piece of Polish literature as worth publishing on any grounds, in spite of the fact that it did not fit in into any ongoing collection. Alternatively, it may just be that, at the time when the translation was launched, the publisher did not have any collection in print. Although such speculations extend beyond the scope of this paper, it should be pointed out that, for the most part, the texts that appear outside collections are either (a) one-off translations of little-known Polish authors with only one title published in Portuguese (as is the case, for instance, with Jan Czyński, Władysław Kościan, or Bogusław Kuczyński), or (b) first translations of the most widely translated Polish authors of all time, many of whose titles have been translated into Portuguese with subsequent retranslations or re-editions included in collections (e.g. Zbigniew Herbert, Czesław Miłosz, Henryk Sienkiewicz or Wisława Szymborska, to name but a few).

Secondly, the preliminary analysis has revealed that all the Portuguese collections featuring translations of Polish literature also include translations from other languages/cultures and, more often than not, also texts written originally in Portuguese language. In other words, it became clear that, to date, there has been no Portuguese collection that contains only translations from Polish language. In this light, considering the typology proposed by Seruya et al. (in this volume), all

the collections here described can be categorized as multilateral, given that they include translations not from one but from several source languages/cultures.

Thirdly, the preliminary analysis has shown that, to date, there has been no Portuguese collection that includes a significant number of Polish texts/authors. In fact, the Portuguese collection which includes the largest number of Polish texts is *Campo da História* (launched by Campo das Letras Editores, containing 5 translations of Ryszard Kapuściński). Immediately following this are two sci-fi collections: *Caminho de bolso* (by Caminho) and *Livro de bolso* (by Publicações Europa-América), each with 4 translations of Stanisław Lem. The Portuguese collections with the highest number of Polish authors are the *Caminho de Bolso* (novels by Konrad Fiałkowski and Stanisław Lem) and *Os romances sensacionais* (by Portugália Editora containing novels by Michał Choromański and Stefan Żeromski). In consequence, it would appear safe to suggest that during the 154 years under study no collection has managed to convey an overview of Polish literature. In fact, even the literary sub-series with a seemingly close focus on Poland and/or Polish literature (such as *Clássicos Civilização: Autores Polacos* by Civilização; and *Nova Europa: Polónia* by Cavalo de Ferro Editores, Lda) have limited themselves to publishing one volume by one Polish author only (the aforementioned Henryk Sienkiewicz).

### 3.2 Collection profiles

The statistical coding of collection titles and other peritextual elements yielded no fewer than six collection profiles. These are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** 6 profiles of collections containing translations of Polish literature. Categorisation based on statistical coding of collection titles and other peritextual elements

Collection profile	No. of collections	No. of volumes	No. of authors
Genre-oriented	26	41	12
Topic-oriented	5	6	5
Status-oriented	18	22	4
Addressee-oriented	5	5	2
Novelty-oriented	3	3	13
Undifferentiated	10	10	7
Total	67	87	

Following the typology proposed by Seruya et al. (in this volume), the first 5 categories of collection profiles (i.e., the ones including genre, topic, status, addressee and novelty-oriented selections) could be said to encompass collections regarded as restricted, that is, limited to a specific theme, genre, author, etc. Conversely, the

sixth profile could be said to contain collections regarded by Seruya et al. (in this volume) as general, i.e., not restricted to any specific criteria. In what follows the 6 collection profiles will be closely examined.

### 3.2.1 *Genre-oriented collections*

This category encompasses collections which, drawing on their titles, select texts on the basis of their literary genre.<sup>9</sup> When viewed from the standpoint of typology of collection functions proposed in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this category appears to contain collections driven mainly by (but not limited to) structuring or dissemination purposes, i.e., created with a view to structuring a branch of culture or making certain literary genres available, thus rendering them productive. The category covers 26 collections (such as *Contos* launched by Cavalo de Ferro Editores, Lda., *Poesia* by Relógio d'Água Editores, Lda. and *Repertório para um teatro actual* by Prelo Editora, S.A.R.L.), totalling 41 translations and 12 authors.

A salient feature in this group of collections is its size. In comparison to the other categories, it is the best-represented group, both in terms of collections and volumes. This, in turn, means that the bulk of translations of Polish literature has been included in Portuguese collections not due to their origin, status or, for example, theme, but due to their literary genre.

Significantly, this group contains the largest number of direct translations. Unlike the data for the addressee or topic-oriented categories, the data for this group revealed strong similarities between the genre classification attributed to texts in the Polish source and the Portuguese target culture. The correlation of these two findings lends itself to the hypothesis that the similarity in the Polish and Portuguese genre classification of many literary texts may be due to the lack of mediation in their translation which, potentially, is more likely to introduce shifts in labelling. Nevertheless, a more advanced study, featuring a larger amount of material and a more refined analysis is required in order to support or contradict this hypothesis.

### 3.2.2 *Topic-oriented collections*

As its name indicates, this category covers collections with a strict focus on a specific theme, whether adventure (*Clássicos da Aventura* by Diabril Editora S.C.A.R.L. and *Terremar. Grandes aventuras – Viagens maravilhosas* by Editorial Minerva), war (*Resistência* by Edições “Avante!” SARL), mystery/crime (*Clássicos de romance de emoção* by Portugal Press and *Os romances sencccionais* by Portugália Editora) or railways (*Colecção especialmente preparada para Caminhos*

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9. For the sake of clarity, it should be pointed out that, in what follows, the term “genre” is broadly understood as “the type of writing to be found in literature” (Cuddon 1999:9).

*de Ferro Portugueses*, EP by Cavalo de Ferro Editores, Lda.). In line with the typology of collection functions suggested in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this group could be used as an example of collections which serve, among others, accessibility purposes, in a sense that they make a structured selection available to a wide reading public. It contains 6 collections, 7 translations and 5 authors.

A salient pattern in this category is the evident mismatch between the Portuguese and the traditional Polish classification attributed to some of the texts in these collections. In other words, when comparing the labels given to each text in the Portuguese target and the Polish source cultures, various discrepancies can be found. This is particularly the case with regard to Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Potop* and *Krzyżacy* and Stefan Żeromski's *Wierna Rzeka*. Whilst in the Polish source culture they tend to be viewed as canonical historical fiction with strong patriotic and, according to some critics, anti-German (*Krzyżacy*) connotations, the Portuguese collections present them as adventure or mystery/crime fiction. A closer look at the French and English reception of these texts reveals that a possible reason for this is the classification attributed to these texts by the mediating cultures. In terms of polysystem theory, this would be a telling example of a situation in which a text, in its translated version, comes to occupy a different position in the target polysystem from the one it occupies in the source polysystem (Even-Zohar 1978/2000). Alternatively, it could serve to illustrate a situation in which a text integrated into a configured corpus (in this case a collection) has been re-contextualized, that is, brought into a relationship in which it does not stand, or in which it stays less clearly, in its context of origin (cf. Frank 1998: 14).

### 3.2.3 *Status-oriented collections*

This group encompasses collections (such as *As melhores obras de todos os tempos* by Secção Editorial de "O Século", *Grandes clássicos do séc. XX* and *Obras imortais* by Publicações Europa-América, Lda., or *Os melhores romances dos melhores romancistas* by Editorial Inquérito, Lda., to name but a few) whose titles indicate the classical, canonised status of the author/text in Portuguese culture. In line with the typology of collection functions put forward in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this group seems to be a telling example of collections which serve, first and foremost, preservation purposes, in a sense that they work as a means of creating a universal literary canon (Bloom 1994). The group contains the second largest number of collections (18) and translations (22) but the smallest number of authors (4).

In analysing this group, two patterns can be observed. The first concerns the consecrated position of the authors in the international market. Three authors published in these collections (namely Czesław Miłosz, Władysław Reymont and Henryk Sienkiewicz) had already won the Nobel Prize when the Portuguese collections were published. The novel by the fourth author in this category (Władysław

Szpilman) was translated into Portuguese in 2002. Not by chance, this was the same year in which Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* (a Hollywood production based on Szpilman's novel) premiered.

A second pattern is the indirectness of all the translations included within this category, established through an analysis comparing the Polish source, the Portuguese target and the French or English mediating texts. On account of these facts, it seems safe to suggest the heavy reliance of the Portuguese book market on the dominant foreign markets.

### 3.2.4 *Addressee-oriented collections*

This category encompasses collections (such as *Biblioteca Verbo da Juventude* by Verbo Editora, *Histórias para raparigas* by Livraria Bertrand or *Tretas e Letras: Série Jovem* by Afrontamento Editores) that address children and teenage readers. Thus, if considered from the viewpoint of typology of collection functions proposed in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this category may be said to contain collections driven mainly by educational purposes, i.e., created with the explicit purpose of educating tastes and/or disseminating mainstream ideological, social, moral, etc. values. It is a relatively small group (4 collections, 4 volumes, 2 authors), which may be indicative of the low level of interest within the Portuguese target culture in importing children's literature from Poland.

One interesting pattern that can be observed with regard to this category is that 3 out of the 4 translations included in this group were published during the Salazar regime (more specifically, in 1964, 1972 and 1974). Another pattern is related to the choice of texts included in this category: one translation of *Porwanie Baltazara Gąbki* by Stanisław Pagaczewski and three translations of *Quo Vadis* by Henryk Sienkiewicz. Whilst in the Polish source culture the former tends to be classified as a token example of children's literature, the latter does not.

The surprising mismatch in the Polish and Portuguese classification of *Quo Vadis* might have several explanations. One explanation could be the novel's classification as children's literature in the dominant mediating cultures (such as the French or Anglo-Saxon cultures). Another explanation could be related to political and social factors in the Salazar era (1933–1974), when there was a great demand for children's literature but insufficient homegrown supply.<sup>10</sup>

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10. The increased demand for children's literature during Salazar's regime was linked to the anti-illiteracy campaign intensified in the early 1950s. The campaign included the implementation, in 1952, of the 'Plan for People's Education' (which consisted in a series of thematic publications with a strong ideological agenda, cf. Torgal and Homem 1983: 1441) and the establishment, in 1957, of itinerant library services by the Gulbenkian Foundation (Seruya 2010: 121). The campaign appears to have brought fairly positive results, as the illiteracy rate diminished from approx. 61% in the 1930s to around 25% in the late 1960s (Marques 1998: 358–359, 506).

In terms of polysystem theory, this would presumably be a telling example of a literature (or rather a literary subsection) in a weak or peripheral position, resulting in the national polysystem importing the type it lacked (Even-Zohar 1978/2000: 194). However, since this research is ongoing and contains highly tentative conclusions based on a preliminary analysis, no sweeping generalisations should be drawn on this basis. Research into the reasons behind such a classification of *Quo Vadis* during the Salazar regime is in progress.

### 3.2.5 *Novelty-oriented collections*

This group includes collections whose titles promise to introduce novelty into the Portuguese literary system (*Nova Europa – Polónia* by Cavalo de Ferro Editores Lda., *Novas Direcções* by Editorial Estampa Lda. and *Novos Continentes* by Editorial Presença). Thus, in line with the typology of collection functions proposed in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this group appears to include collections which serve, first and foremost, innovation purposes, in a sense that they promote changes and re-evaluation of canon (Bloom 1994). The group in question contains the lowest number of collections (3) and volumes (3), but the largest number of authors (13).

The data for this category led to the identification of two patterns. Firstly, it could be observed that the publication dates of all 3 translations published in these collections (1975, 1991 and 2004) coincide with major ideological shifts in either the Portuguese target culture (1974 – The Carnation Revolution) or the Polish source culture (1989 – the breakdown of the Communist system in Poland and 2004 – Polish entry into the European Union). The fact that these collections take advantage of particular (in this case mainly political and ideological) events makes them a good example of ‘opportunistic collections’, to adopt a term used in Baubeta (2007: 44).<sup>11</sup> It also suggests that interaction occurs between the macro-level of the ideological context, the mezzo-level of the publishers and the micro-level of the target texts.

Secondly, it could be observed that the novelty of the translations announced in the titles of these collections appears fairly questionable. A closer look at the translated texts revealed that they are all re-editions of translations of Polish texts originally written and first translated into Portuguese over 70 years ago. This, in turn, indicates the heavy reliance of the Portuguese publishers on already existing catalogues of translations of Polish literature.

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11. Baubeta (2007: 44–45) proposes a designation ‘opportunistic anthologies’ to describe literary selections that take advantage of a particular date or occasion, such as Christmas, Mother’s Day, etc., to justify the publication.

### 3.2.6 *Undifferentiated category*

This group contains 10 collections, 10 translations (7 of which are reprints of translations launched in other collections) and 7 authors. As its name indicates, it includes collections that, drawing on their titles, paratexts and content, appear to obey no explicit inclusion criteria (as is the case, for example, with the *Colecção Meridiana* published by Edições Paulistas, the *Colecção Gigante* by Editorial Crisos or *Latitude* by Livraria Estúdios Cor). In other words, the category in question includes collections that appear extremely heterogeneous (or even random) in terms of genre, topic, target reader or author profile/ nationality.

One possible explanation for this heterogeneity may be a simple lack of thorough editorial planning. Another explanation is related to economic and commercial strategies within the Portuguese book market. Publishing a book as part of a collection (even a very heterogeneous one) is potentially much more profitable than issuing it individually, as the purchaser of the initial volume is naturally induced to buy the second one, and so on. The relatively high number of reprints included in these collections may corroborate this argument (the copyright and translation costs are zero, making their publication much more cost-efficient).

The relatively high number of collections included within this undifferentiated category may therefore suggest that on numerous occasions translations of Polish literature were included in ongoing Portuguese collections not because of their literary status, theme or origin, but because the publishing costs were low. In this light, according to the typology of collection functions put forward in Seruya et al. (in this volume), this group may be a model example of collections that serve, first and foremost, profit purposes, in a sense that they aim to meet a generalized taste with a view to bringing profit to the publisher.

### 3.3 Diachronic changes in the labelling of Henryk Sienkiewicz

As mentioned in 3, the statistical coding of peritextual elements not only allowed for general profiles of Portuguese collections containing translations of Polish literature to be produced but also for diachronic changes in the labelling of particular Polish authors/texts to be found. To put it differently, the methodological approach employed made it possible not only to show how these collections have presented Polish literature to the Portuguese readership, but also to trace chronological patterns in the canonization of given authors or texts.

Due to space limitations, the diachronic changes in the labelling of only one Polish author (namely Henryk Sienkiewicz) will be presented. Although it is an individual case study, it seems very illustrative of a number of patterns and hypotheses presented in this paper.



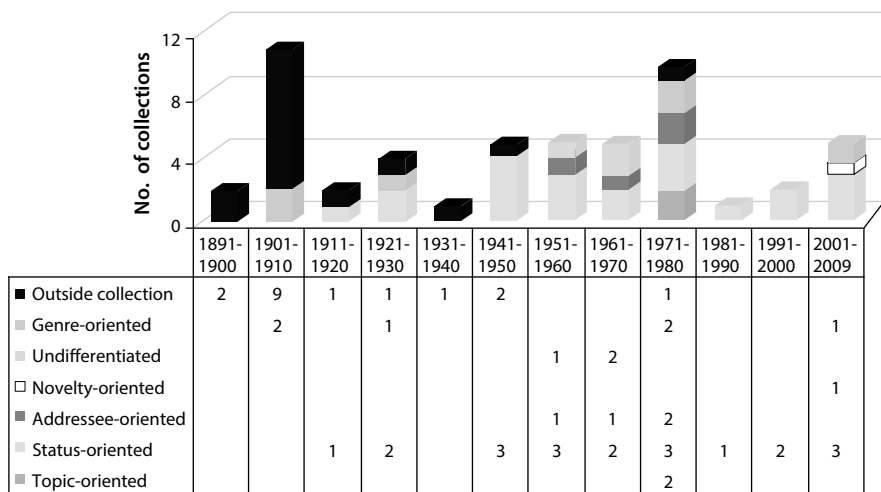


Figure 2. Diachronic evolution in the labelling of Henryk Sienkiewicz (1891–2009)

As shown in Figure 2, the first translations of Sienkiewicz's works were published individually, i.e. not in collections. The subsequent retranslations and re-editions, however, were included in a variety of collections. This fact is consistent with the finding (mentioned in Section 4.1) that, very often, works appearing outside collections are first translations of the most widely translated Polish authors of all time, with subsequent retranslations or re-editions of many of these titles later included in collections.

From 1912 onwards the majority of publishers involved presented Sienkiewicz as a classic author. Given that this was precisely the time when he came to be regarded as such in France and England, it seems plausible to suggest that the Portuguese classification depended heavily on the status attributed to this author by the dominant, mediating cultures (as suggested in 4.2.3).

As can be seen in Figure 2, the label 'classic' has been used constantly and predominantly in almost every decade up to the present day. It was only in the last three decades of the *Estado Novo* (the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s) that Sienkiewicz was given a variety of labels. Apart from being presented as canonised literature, during this period Sienkiewicz's works were also depicted as children's stories, adventure or mystery/ crime fiction. The fact that it was only during the Salazar regime that Sienkiewicz was presented as a children's author lends itself to the hypothesis (mentioned in 4.2.4) that he was given this label in order to fill a gap in the Portuguese literary polysystem.

After the collapse of the Salazar regime, Sienkiewicz was again presented as a classic author, this time unanimously. Nevertheless, the first decade of the 21st century introduced a somewhat contradictory image of the author. Drawing on the titles of collections which include his works (*Clássicos Civilização – Autores Polacos* and *Nova Europa 1 – Polónia*), during this decade Sienkiewicz has been presented, on the one hand, as a classic writer of Polish literature and, on the other, as a token Pole of the ‘new’ Poland. This, in turn, corroborates the suggestion (mentioned in 4.2.5) that when trying to renew their catalogues, Portuguese publishers tend to resort to already existing stock for translations of Polish literature.

#### 4. Conclusions and outlook

As mentioned in 1, the aim of this exploratory case study was to yield preliminary insights into how Portuguese collections have presented translations of Polish literature to the Portuguese readership and, ultimately, how they have contributed to the canonization of Polish authors/texts and the formation of cultural relations between the two (semi)peripheral languages/cultures involved. This aim was generally achieved by the identification and analysis of patterns in the external history of Portuguese collections with translations of Polish literature. More specifically, the case study has shown that in spite of the peripheral position of the Polish language in terms of international cultural transfer, a number of Portuguese peritexts present some Polish authors/texts as canonical, thus indicating their central position in the Portuguese receptor culture. It has also been concluded that, on numerous occasions, the status attributed to a particular Polish author/text in Portuguese culture depends heavily on their position in the dominant, mediating cultures. Another finding was that, more often than not, when selecting translations of Polish literature for publication in collections, Portuguese publishers tend to resort to existing catalogues. Also, it was suggested that there appears to be a pattern in the profile of Polish translations published outside collections, since they are either (a) one-off translations of little-known authors with only one title published in Portuguese, or (b) first translations of the most widely translated Polish authors of all time, many of whose titles have been translated into Portuguese with subsequent retranslations or re-editions included in collections.

Apart from this concrete output in the form of preliminary conclusions, this paper has also provided a methodology for analysing collections, which similar future research can draw upon.

Additionally, the paper has suggested a number of tentative hypotheses that need to be corroborated. Firstly, it has been suggested that the strong interest of a

certain literary agent or a temporary lack of ongoing collections may be reasons why publishers issue books outside collections. Secondly, directness of translation has been presented as a reason for the consistency in the source and target culture classification of a particular text. Thirdly, a void in the Portuguese polysystem during the Salazar regime has been suggested as a plausible cause for the labelling of *Quo Vadis* as children's literature. Last but not least, it has been proposed that one possible criterion for the inclusion of translations of Polish literature in ongoing Portuguese collections has been the reduced cost of such endeavours. Since this is a work in progress, all four proposals will be tested in the subsequent stages of the research presented here.

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# Extra-European literatures in anthology during the *Estado Novo* (1933–1974)

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During the right-wing dictatorship (*Estado Novo*) that governed Portugal from 1933 to 1974, collectionism (covering anthologies, collections and libraries) was the preferred way of organizing and divulging international literature in Portugal. This study looks at literary anthologies from outside the European space, namely from countries/cultures with which Portugal had developed a special relationship after the Discoveries. Indeed, in the light of the national identity adopted by the *Estado Novo*, the ideology of Empire generated expectations as to how the literary production of those countries would be accepted. As this corpus could not really include Brazil and Africa, the focus was on short story anthologies translated (mostly indirectly) from Indian, Chinese, Asian and Japanese literature. Drawing on historians such as António Hespanha, these anthologies are contextualized against the background of Orientalism in Portugal. Every anthology found is described and commented upon with regard to the selection of authors and texts as well as the image of the respective culture conveyed to the reader through the work. Judging by the small number of anthologies found, it appears that the interest shown by publishers in these cultures was no more than an afterthought and reflected a lack of demand on the part of the reading public. Nonetheless such anthologies accomplish an ideological function à contrecœur because they de-historise literary history and follow a universalising trend, thus de-characterising or, in some cases, stereotyping, at times naively, what these respective cultures may give.

## Introduction: Colonization and national identity

In previous studies, we showed how the phenomenon of **intranslation** (Ganne/Minon as cited by Casanova 2002:9) operated during the *Estado Novo* and quantified (the main) foreign literatures present in the Portuguese literary system. Spain, France, England, the USA (after the 2nd World War), Germany and Italy were the dominant cultures supplying a market that was short of books and in which

the quantity and quality of Portuguese writing was cause for complaint (Seruya 2010: 122). The sizeable presence of these languages/literatures allowed the reading public to become familiar with them. Seen in this light, the literary anthologies of these countries/languages were not, after all, revealed to be the *apriori* conveyors of novelty. In Pascale Casanova's words (2002: 8), the most powerful languages demonstrated their influence upon the dominated language, Portuguese (and one of the symptoms of this state of affairs resides precisely in the large number of translations from these languages).

Indeed, J. Heilbron considered that Portuguese was, in 1980, one of the four languages on the periphery of the system, along with Chinese, Japanese and Arabic (Heilbron 1999 as cited by Werner 2009: 7). However, this group is not homogeneous and from the standpoint of Portuguese history and culture, it gives rise to questions that take us back to the days of Discoveries and the opening-up of the sea-routes in the 15th and 16th centuries, when the Portuguese language came into contact with these three languages as well as with many other non-European languages in a lasting, fruitful exchange. Telmo Verdelho's enlightening study about the subject lists more than thirty lexicographic editions between the 16th and the 18th centuries – dictionaries, lexicons, grammars (Verdelho 2008: 29). The questions raised here have to do with the opposite rationale: what curiosity, what knowledge did the European Portuguese have about the peoples and the cultures of the places their ancestors had stopped at and where they had sown the first seeds of the Portuguese language. On the one hand, as has been so often recalled, literary translation represents foreign cultures (Bachmann-Medick 1991: 1), and this is all the more convincing when the anthologies mention a particular nationality in their titles. As for the purpose of representing a foreign culture, anthologies have certain identifiable traits, such as the canonization effect operating upon the selected authors and texts. On the other hand, the ideology espoused by the *Estado Novo* with regard to the central role played by the empire in the identity of the nation (whether in terms of its initial make-up comprising colonies that needed to “civilise” the local populations, or in its later shape where it was composed of overseas provinces geared to “the idea of a multiracial, multi-continental Portuguese nation” (see Braga da Cruz 1988: 67 and 69)<sup>1</sup> generated expectations as to the reception of the literary works produced in the far-away countries the Portuguese had been to. Something of that ideology was shared by the opposition working against Salazar's dictatorship; the Republicans also accepted the idea of Portugal as a colonial country and spoke about “the universal humanism of the Portuguese”; indeed, this became the brand image of Portugal's colonial mission

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1. All translations are my own.

(Jaime Cortesão, but also V. Magalhães Godinho). Jaime Cortesão referred to the “universal fundament” of “Portuguese humanism” as originating from the “eminent capacity to love and as a consequence, to understand, which the Portuguese took with them on their pilgrimage to distant lands” (Cortesão 1965: 117).

Another voice of the period, Jorge Dias (1907–1973), considered to be one of the 20th century’s most important Portuguese anthropologists (Leal 1996: 265), expressed his opinion about Portuguese colonisation in the following terms (an opinion widely shared before the 1974 Revolution):

There is, in the Portuguese, an enormous capacity to adapt to all things, ideas and beings without risking any loss of character. It was this facet that always allowed them to uphold a tolerant attitude and it left its special unmistakable mark on Portuguese colonisation: assimilation through adaptation. (Dias 1987: 25)

As for the official view of colonialism, the *Estado Novo* tried “to associate the most striking features of its nationalism – authoritarianism, elitism, paternalism, conservatism – with a mythical past deemed to legitimize the present” (Barros 1996: 326). The monumental Portuguese World Exhibition (1940) with its central pavilion dedicated to “The Portuguese in the World” (*Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo*), followed the 1934 Colonial Exhibition which took place in Oporto and aimed to mobilise and reinforce the “imperial consciousness” of the people through cultural and artistic products, and foment a view of national history stressing the Discoveries and Portuguese colonization (Paulo 1996: 328).

## 1. Presenting and commenting upon the *corpus*

### 1.1 Building the corpus

In the search for anthologies to be considered in this study, three main groups pertaining to the discovered and/or colonized lands were considered: Africa, Brazil and the Orient/Asia. From the point of view of Translation Studies, Brazil was excluded, as the language is the same. As regards literature anthologies from the (former) African colonies, these are also in Portuguese, although the existence of glossaries in the back of some of the books may present an argument in favour of including them in the corpus; this is the case of João de Lemos’ *Almas Negras (Contos da África Misteriosa)* [Black Souls. Tales from Mysterious Africa] (1937), an example of cultural translation with a very thorough word explanation at the end of the book (Lemos 1937: 251–285). However, these African literatures were written in the language of the coloniser: “The African Literatures of the Five [Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Cape Verde, St Tomé and Príncipe] were written in



Portuguese, the language of colonisation, as there was no writing tradition in these African languages (...) Africans, Portuguese and Brazilians published in common spaces of almanacs, bulletins, newspapers, magazines and leaflets.” (Pires Laranjeira 1985, 1987: 15). As a result, they were excluded from our corpus. Hence, we were left with anthologies dealing with Oriental cultures: India, China and Japan.

## 1.2 Orientalism in Portugal

Shortly before Macau was returned to China at the turn of the 21st century, the historian António Hespanha wrote in the introduction to his study of Orientalism in Portugal: “Our Empire began in the East and in 1999 it will end there” (1999: 15). According to Hespanha “Portuguese culture [can be said] to be impregnated with invocations of the Orient (...) in the same way that the Orient is full of invocations of Portugal”. It is not only families which nurture their ties “with the world lying off the Indian Ocean and with Macau”, Portuguese history and its “school textbooks” are “filled with references to the East that speak of Portugal’s golden ages as if Portugal had lived in a state of poverty and pettiness when it was not in the East (...) [Moreover] it was in the East that our saints and our heroes were made” (Hespanha 1999: 15). However, the so-called “Portuguese Empire of the Orient” did not consist of “a geographical territory”, but rather “a monotonous network of political relations”; it was, in the end, an empire of “trading posts, fortresses and journeys” (18). Up to the 18th century, the East was scarcely mentioned in Portuguese literature. In the 19th century, when Africa began to be colonised, its overseas possessions – the *Ultramar* – were “already much more than just the East, or rather, it was increasingly less East” (27). The First Republic (1910–1926), which dethroned the century-old monarchy, maintained an interest in the Oriental civilisations and was very aware of the “cultural wealth of the East” (30). An important legal and constitutional outcome of this was the Indigenous Code [*Estatuto do Indigenato*] (which viewed the local people as the targets of a civilising mission), although it was not applied to the native Indian and Chinese peoples because it recognised “the elite character of the Orientals” (30). As from the 1940s, the influence exerted by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freire, who stressed the originality of Portuguese culture as lying in its “propensity to integrate and be integrated in ethnic settings and tropical civilisations” (for *Luso-Tropicalism*, also see Castelo 1998), served “to back up the last outpost of Portuguese colonialism” and, according to Hespanha, inspired the image of the Portuguese Expansion as a “meeting of cultures” (31). The *Estado Novo*, however, preferred to speak about the “colonizing action of the Portuguese” (a widely spread slogan), which indeed suggests a more unilateral kind of encounter.

In summing up the rationale mentioned above – regarding the knowledge that was available to the Portuguese reading public about Oriental cultures through literature (in a broad sense) – we encountered only a few names connected with “The Myth of the Orient in Portuguese Literature” (Machado 1983; see also Graça 1983 for the same topic in Portuguese travel literature from the 16th and 17th centuries). *Peregrinação* [Peregrination] (1614) by the well-known adventurer and explorer Fernão Mendes Pinto (1510?–1583) is considered a “forerunner of a mainly descriptive, exotic Orientalism, which was to become fashionable in 19th century literature”, although it nevertheless preserved an “always renewed fascination about the discovery of remote lands”. *Peregrinação* satirises “not only the action of the Portuguese in the Orient, but also Western civilization in general” (Machado 1983: 49). In the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, direct sources of cultural information about China and Japan were available to Portuguese readers. The writer Wenceslau de Moraes (1854–1929), who, from 1891, lived first in Macau and then in Japan, where he remained until his death (although he was never really familiar with Japanese literature and language), published several titles about landscapes, flora and fauna, the daily life and habits of the Japanese, comparing the Far East to the West to the detriment of the latter. The poet Camilo Pessanha (1867–1926) went to Macau in 1894 and studied Chinese continuously. He was one of the rare translators of Chinese poetry into Portuguese (about Moraes’ and Pessanha’s “Orientalism” see Pires de Lima 1999: 145–160; Janeira in Moraes 1993: 19–93; Pires in Pessanha 1993: 7–10 and Camilo Pessanha 1992). Although these three names alone – Pinto, Moraes and Pessanha<sup>2</sup> – reveal only a scant interest in Oriental culture before the period under observation, they are nevertheless mentioned in order to substantiate certain expectations that we had when we started our research.

## 2. Literary anthologies from India

Let us begin with **India**. Out of a total of about 18,000 titles of translated literature in book form registered during the *Estado Novo* for the period 1935 to 1974, Indian literature plays a very minor role.<sup>3</sup> In the 1940s, 4 books by R. Tagore (a Nobel Prize winner) were published and another 2 during the 1950s, while in

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2. A fourth could be added: António Feijó (1859–1917) published a Chinese Songbook, *Cancioneiro Chinês* in 1890, a translation and adaptation of Chinese poetry from the French version by Judith Gautier. On this subject see Marta Pacheco Pinto in the present volume.

3. I draw on data collected for the ongoing research project “Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–1974: a Critical Bibliography” (see Seruya 2009: 69–86).

1973, a new translation of his *The Home and the World* came out. In 1962, another book, this time by R. K. Narayan, was published. Thus, Indian literature seems to have been practically unknown in Portugal.

Two anthologies of Indian Short Stories were found: *Novos Contos Indianos* [New Indian Short Stories] (1945) and *Os Melhores Contos Indianos* [The Best Indian Short Stories] (undated). *Novos Contos Indianos* presents itself as having been directly translated from Marathi. The translator, Prabhakar Kanekar, is also responsible for the selection, the preface (dated 5 May 1945) and the notes.<sup>4</sup> Considering the scant supply of Indian literature at the time, Kanekar is right when he considers in the preface to his anthology that it is a “new kind of literature” that was “introduced into a literary environment which was unaware of its existence” (*Novos Contos Indianos* 1945: IX). Information was obtained about only one of the writers chosen by Kanekar: Vishnu Sakharam Khandekar (1898–1976), who was a well-known author writing in Marathi, an Indo-Arian language that was officially spoken in Maharashtra State (in Central-Western India). The three remaining authors (Kamalabahi Tilak, E. G. Joshi and H. Shinolikar) could not be identified. *Novos Contos Indianos* is an extremely careless edition, with numerous typing, spelling and punctuation mistakes. The key idea from the preface is Kanekar’s somehow uneasy statement that the Indian writer “had not met with the harsh realities of life”, therefore tending towards “Romanticism” in contrast to the “intense living” portrayed by American writers (*Novos Contos Indianos* 1945: XI). The increasing reception and prestige of American writers in Portugal after World War II possibly accounts for this comparison.

The image of India transmitted by the collected stories is particularly evident in the female characters. We are faced with a catalogue of clichés about women that are more in keeping with Western chapbooks: the widow who falls in love with an intellectual, has his child and is subsequently abandoned by him; the wife whose candour and authenticity is not perceived by her domineering husband; the young bride from Bombay who sees her husband arrive from England with an English wife after an absence of two years and decides to go away so that he can live out his English passion. Only the names are Indian. In fact, we already know too well about damsels who use frailty as a weapon so that knights in shining armour come galloping to their rescue. Indeed, it is not only these medieval images that are transposed onto a 20th-century India that cause discomfort, it is also the inferior quality of the narrative and error-riddled writing that makes one think that this edition was not meant to last.

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4. So far no information could be found about this name, either from publishing houses or the present Indian community in Lisbon. On this topic see also Castagna in this volume.

At about the same time, the publishing company Portugália included this book in its famous collection “Antologias Universais” [Universal Anthologies], although making substantial changes to it. On the whole, its inclusion is something of a mystery. The new undated work now becomes *Os Melhores Contos Indianos* [The Best Indian Short Stories] with the same translator, selector and author of the paratexts (Kanekar), but working with a completely different selection of stories. The author Khandekar is the only one to be repeated but he has four new stories. The preface has very little in common with the previous one in terms of either its contents or its style of writing in Portuguese. It is dated 1944, which means that it preceded the previous edition, which is highly unlikely. However, the text is informative with regard to Kanekar. When he states that “here in Portugal” Indian literature is “completely unknown”, it is because we have an ‘insider’ who knows about Portuguese literary life. This conviction is confirmed when we read his excuses for any “gaps” in the preface. He explains that research about his subject “may only be undertaken by means of sources which (...) are beyond our reach” (*Os Melhores Contos Indianos* 1944: 18). However, what these circumstances are is not specified. Nevertheless, what Kanekar says he wrote was based on “his recollections of reading the stories during his stay in India (...)” (18ff.) Therefore, what we have here is not an Indian author, but most likely a Portuguese person or someone of Indian extraction or with strong links to India, who was writing to order for the Portugália publishers and used an Indian pseudonym as a strategy to legitimise the whole anthological enterprise.

The new anthology, some of whose authors could be identified (Anant Kanekar 1905–1980, Munshi Premchand 1880–1936), provides a denser picture of India, and raises the problem of hunger and extreme poverty while generally remaining true to the taste of late 19th century European naturalists. The stories also speak about war and the Japanese bombing of Indian cities in 1942, and the religious fanaticism that flared up between the Hindus and the Moslems. But the propensity for melodrama has not been abandoned and the trivial register is all too present. In short, this second book seems to have been more carefully edited, although the literary level of the texts continues very elementary and, when compared with other literature that was translated at the same time, the projection which intended to be an introduction to Indian literature fails to leave a lasting impression, especially if we compare it to work by Tagore, who came onto the scene in the 1940s in Telo de Mascarenhas’ translations.

### 3. Portuguese anthologies of Chinese short stories

Moving on to **China**, we should begin by saying that the number of translated books written by Chinese authors during the *Estado Novo* never went beyond half a dozen.<sup>5</sup> Three anthologies of Chinese short stories were found: Cheng Tcheng's *A minha mãe e eu...* [My Mother and I...] (1942); *Contos Chineses (Sing-Che, Reng Yenn, Tsinn-Ku, Tsri Koann e P'u Sung-Lin, Lu Hsun)* [Chinese Stories] (undated, but 1944 according to the Portuguese database Porbase) and *Contos tradicionais asiáticos* [Asian Folk Tales] (undated, probably 1945).

Cheng Tcheng's *A minha mãe e eu...* was translated by Antonino de Sousa. The translator's preface gives us a little information about the author (1899–1996). As a traveller in Europe, he published part of his work in Paris where he met influential writers such as Paul Valéry, who even wrote a preface to Tcheng's *Vers l'unité /Ma mère* (Paris: Attinger 1928<sup>6</sup>). Owing to the fact that the Portuguese translator and author of the preface mentions Valéry, it is likely that this book was the source of the Portuguese translation. The most significant message in the Portuguese preface is the intention not to stress the specific identity of the Other, not to draw the borderline between the Eastern and the Western cultures, the former being implicitly contained in the latter on the basis of it being "universal". What happens to the characters of the stories, therefore, "could occur in any town in our own provinces" (Cheng Tcheng 1942: I) because they are neither "representations of the Chinese race, nor of Oriental philosophy (...)" but are of certain social types that our era has witnessed in confrontation" (Cheng Tcheng 1942: II).

*Contos Chineses (Sing-Che, Reng Yenn, Tsinn-Ku, Tsri Koann e P'u Sung-Lin, Lu Hsun)* mostly includes authors from the 17th century. Nine of the thirteen stories are by P'u Sung-Lin (1622–1740), and only one, 'O ventre de Nuwa' (Nuwa's belly) is by an author (Lu Hsun 1881–1936) whom Silvina Gomes, the selector, author of the preface and translator, rightly calls "one of the greatest writers in contemporary China", "taking a stand against the old dictates and beliefs and the people who resort to violence against China" (in the preliminary note to the story).<sup>7</sup> Gomes'

5. A curious fact comes to light here: A 1967 first edition of Mao Zedong's poems translated by Manuel de Seabra, was reprinted in a 2nd edition in 1974, the year of the "Carnation Revolution". – For an overview of 19th century translations from Chinese, see Marta Pacheco Pinto's article in this volume.

6. The book which closely fits the title of the Portuguese translation is *Ma mère et moi à travers la première révolution chinoise*, also with Paul Valéry's preface. The only edition found in the Bibliothèque nationale de France is dated 1975 (Ed. Entente, Paris).

7. Lu Hsun was a short story writer, editor, translator, critic, essayist and poet. He never joined the Communist Party, but Mao Zedong was a lifelong admirer of his works.

preface consists of a brief account of the history of Chinese literature headed by the great philosopher Confucius. The text is rich in the names of authors, books and dates, where the book titles are written in the European Alphabet and translated. Special attention is paid to women's poetry in the songbook, as Gomes reproduces the translated versions of poems written by dancers and empresses. She also speaks about the theatre, transcribing a (translated) excerpt of the theatre play *Transmigração de Yu-Chéu* [Yu-Chéu's Transmigration]. She singles out the novels for praise because they realistically describe "normal folk" "going about their business and family life":<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, there is no doubt about what kind of image of China is transmitted, because it is the image reflected by Gomes: for her, it is the China of Marco Polo and Fernão Mendes Pinto as well as the pictures portrayed in the stories she chose – all but one are set in the 17th and 18th centuries, in a traditional China therefore, without history or politics. It should be mentioned that in a short note of acknowledgement coming before the preface, Gleba Publishers and the translator both thank "Mr Lou Che Ngan, First Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Portugal" for his help in compiling this book in terms of his "captivating kindness and his explanations".<sup>9</sup>

In making an overall appreciation, one may say that these traditional short stories include features that are usually accepted as being typical of Chinese traditions (the merging of the real and the supernatural, settings involving pagodas, Buddhist temples, ghosts with their own lives, executions by 'slow death' and dismemberment, the wise hermit who performs initiation rites, socially ostracized actresses and women in the artistic field, etc.). Furthermore, the stories include motifs that are general to all folk tales: false identities, initiation tests that must be passed in order to attain wisdom, self-serving old matchmakers, mysterious assessments of situations, magic swords, people possessed by the devil, the slow-witted man being outdone by the unscrupulous trickster, among others. As the quality of the translation can hardly be assessed, we are struck by the Christian lexis that describes Chinese culturemes: in the short story *A esposa fantasma* [The ghostly wife] by P'u Sung-Lin, we are told about a "Buddhist convent", "charity", "the convent sacristan", a man of "immaculate" conduct.

The same Silvina de Troya Gomes selected and translated the anthology *Contos tradicionais asiáticos* (Asian Folk Tales) (undated, probably 1945). The author of the meticulous preface is the physician, painter, writer and translator Celestino

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8. The preface pages are not numbered.

9. So far, no information about this person could be found at the Archives of the Portuguese Foreign Office.

Gomes (1899–1960). In introducing the tales, he alludes to the Portuguese Discoveries when he mentions the “peoples of China, Mongolia and Tartary, Saudi Arabia, Persia and India” whom “our grandparents” came across, although he fails to go beyond an “exotic” knowledge of them. In his view, the “literary art” of those “strange peoples that the Portuguese taught the world about” is the most suitable way in which to understand them. In spite of the “babelic confusion” of their languages, “the human ground is the same”, meaning that it is the same as the European, Portuguese ground (*Contos Tradicionais Asiáticos* [1945]: VIII). Thus, we once again encounter the universalising point of view, which does not, however, prevent Gomes from clearly differentiating the four Asian groups from one another. He characterises the Arab, Indian, Chinese and Japanese folk tales and stresses what he considers to be the typical forms, subjects and characters of each literary tradition, as well as the medium of diffusion in each case. For example, “Islamic literatures” are passed on by “public story-tellers who continually repeat the traditional stories of the Islamic soul, seasoning them with joy, mime, good humour, irony (...)” (*Contos Tradicionais Asiáticos* [1945]: IX), while in Japanese folk tales “the religious Indian instinct, mainly the Buddhist spirit, the quiet Chinese wisdom and the smiling frozen cruelty of Japan itself” are interwoven... (*Contos Tradicionais Asiáticos* [1945]: XVIII) What is more, the four chapters corresponding to the four traditions are introduced by a small note summarising their specificity as well as the sources of the translations, sometimes giving transcriptions from the original text. For example, “There are many old books containing Japanese fairy tales, such as the *Yasô-Kidan*, *Bukkyô-Hyak-kwa-Zenshô* (...) and others, where the Chinese influence is remarkable in spite of the great differences in language and spirit. The source of the two following tales is Lafcadio Hearn’s transcription. He rendered them into western language [sic].” (*Contos Tradicionais Asiáticos* [1945]: 167). As for the tales themselves, they have a literary quality rarely encountered in our corpus: the plots are interesting and somewhat elaborate, presented in a certain philosophical tenor and written in correct, fluent Portuguese. It has to be stressed, however, that folk tales fail to convey an updated picture of the respective culture and could therefore scarcely act as a source of knowledge about it (surely against Gomes’ intentions).

Interest in Chinese short stories appears to have been rekindled in 1973 with the publication of six anthologies comprising the *Contos Populares Chineses* [Chinese Folk Tales]. There were several translators: Maria Serrão, Patricia Joyce (1913–1985), Maria João Vasconcelos and Daniel Augusto Gonçalves (the latter translated the 5th and 6th volumes in 1974). The 6th volume already contained the vocabulary of the April 1974 Revolution although the tales (written in the early 1930s) were said to “use the form of the old stories in order to denounce and severely criticise the sinister regime of the Kuomintang” and that they are “notable

examples of socialist realism applied to this genre of fiction” (*Contos Populares Chineses* 1974:6–7). The only writer in common with Gleba’s *Contos Chineses* is Lu Hsun from “contemporary China”. He fills the whole of the 6th anthology: as it says on the cover page: “Contos Populares recontados por Lu Hsun” [Folk tales retold by Lu Hsun], including his preface and notes, dated 26 December 1935.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. Short stories from Japan

Finally, let us look at the anthologies hailing from Japanese literature. Judging by the number of titles published between 1935 and 1974 (not more than a mere twenty books), Japanese literature was nevertheless better known to the Portuguese reading public than Indian and Chinese literature. The anthology, *Os Melhores Contos Japoneses* [The Best Japanese Short Stories] (1967) was published more than two decades after the Indian and Chinese stories. Its preface by the novelist and playwright Alice Sampaio (1927–1983) is not out of tune with the universalising point of view of the other anthologies mentioned above.<sup>11</sup> She stresses the “fascination” that Japan exerted on Europe and its constant presence here, and she suggests that the short stories might be a way of inverting the love for “Oriental exoticism” (which she considers the same as looking in from the “outside”) by adopting a view “from the inside” supplied by writers “who are living their [Japanese] history and present times”. However, any expectations we may have of being presented with something truly different, in having the possibly strange Other finally revealed to us, is soon disappointed by the discourse on universal brotherhood that follows. In Sampaio’s words, the stories underline the fact that “whatever the colour of your skin or the shape of your eyes, we are part of the same humanity”. Neither does the translation evoke any difference or border for her: “whatever the language is or the dialect in which we express ourselves, we are translating the thoughts of human beings inhabiting the same planet”.

In our search for a possible source text other than in Japanese (and judging by her biography, there is no evidence that Alice Sampaio was familiar with the Japanese language and the three translators of the anthology could not be identified), it comes as no surprise to discover a French edition which was directly translated from the Japanese: “*Les Portes de L’Enfer* suivie d’autres nouvelles choisies, présentées et traduites du japonais par le Dr. I. Morris, en collaboration avec Mlle

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10. The first four volumes were re-edited in 1975 by the Oporto publishing company, Familia 2000.

11. The pages in this Preface are not numbered.



A. Rosenblum et Maurice Beerbleck. Paris: Stock, 1957". The selected authors are: Akoutakagawa Ryounosouké, Hayashi Fumiko, Nakashima Ton, Dazai Ozamou, Ibouzé Masouji, Shiga Naoya, Niwa Fumio. In the Portuguese edition, only the first author was left out.

Two stories catch our attention in a not particularly alluring selection: *Odiosa velhice* [Hateful old-age] a famous short story written in 1947 by Fumio Niwa (1904–2005). It is about old Umé, a complaining, unfriendly 85-year old grandmother who is totally dependent on her grandchildren, and a burden and an obstacle to them. It is a pitiless and terrifying portrait of old age bereft of love or affection. She plays no role in the family and is therefore presented as a piece of useless furniture and an expense without any benefits attached.

*A história de Shunkin (Shunkinsho)* [The Story of Shunkin] was written by Junichiro Tanizaki (1886–1965), a fairly well-known author with work translated into English and several film adaptations, one of which is this story (written in 1933, also with an opera adaptation). Four more of his books have since been translated into Portuguese (in the last twenty years). The story is extremely beautiful and well-told in line with modernist narrative conventions. It is about the brilliant musician/ singer Shunkin who became blind when she was very young. Sasuke is her guide and inseparable companion and is completely devoted to his authoritarian, strong-willed mistress, taking care of her in her daily life in every possible way. But he blinds himself when she is attacked with boiling water and is badly disfigured and does not wish him to look at her in that state. The way Sasuke finds to satisfy Shukin's desire, as he always does, is to become as blind as she is. Touch is now the main sense that will bind them even closer than ever. The narrator bases his story on various sources, on eye-witnesses, on a biography and he constantly questions the reliability of what he is narrating, inviting the reader to think about the various interpretations offered by the sources.

## 5. Conclusion

After briefly looking at the above anthologies, it may be concluded that the interest shown by the publishers in these cultures was merely an afterthought and most assuredly corresponded to the lack of demand on the part of the reading public. Nonetheless they perform an ideological function (see Baubeta 2007: 42) à contrecœur because their stance de-historises literary history and follows a universalising trend, thus de-characterising or, in some cases, stereotyping, at times naively, what these respective cultures may give. The texts in our anthologies do not really fit Said's definition of Orientalism, as they neither reveal a

“*distribution* of geopolitical awareness”, nor do they work along a “basic geographic distinction (the world is made of two unequal halves, the Orient and the Occident)”, nor can they be seen as a “*will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, in some cases incorporate, what is a manifestly different (...) world; (...)” (Said (1978), 2003: 12). In having selected mainly folk tales and ancient or trivial literature, their prevailing message hardly intermingles with power discourses.

In the light of this, we may venture an interpretation that is not, however, free of a certain amount of speculation, as there are still some gaps to fill in our research on this topic. This is based on the recent re-evaluation made by the historian Rui Ramos as regards the lack of harmony between the imperial mystique cultivated by the *Estado Novo* (“the regime’s heart was always in the past”, in the words of the famous Portuguese essayist Eduardo Lourenço quoted in Ramos 2007: 444) and the feeling shared by a collective Portuguese consciousness where, according to Lourenço “*our Empire never existed*” (original stress). Thus, its disappearance in 1974 with the April Revolution did not cause any traumas or give rise to any mourning (Ramos 2007: 433), provided that the dramatic stories of the 500,000 or so settlers who returned from Angola and Mozambique in the summer of 1975 are not taken into account. Keeping the *Ultramar* (mainly the African territories involved in the colonial war 1961–1974) was never a unanimous goal in Portuguese society, contrary to *Estado Novo* propaganda, mainly because, as from the 1950s, it seemed to isolate Portugal from the rest of the world, and Europe “offered much safer prospects for the country’s development” (Ramos 2007: 441). This view is shared by very recent research on the Portuguese colonial Empire, quoting a well-known Secretary of State for Industry (Rogério Martins) who, as early as 1970, discussed the country’s industrial development while completely disregarding the colonies and their economic problems (Jerónimo 2012: 271).

Hence, the scant presence of Oriental literature, and particularly anthologies, in the Portuguese literary system during the *Estado Novo* may be seen as an early indication of the reading public’s indifference to past imperial glories or to what might recall them. In her essay on Orientalism in Portuguese Literature up to 1961 (when Goa, Damão and Diu were occupied by Indian troops), Pires de Lima observes how “the paths followed by the Portuguese literary Orientalism become narrower as the 20th century proceeds” (1999: 159). Apart from the abovementioned Camilo Pessanha, translation was never a real part of this topic, and, in spite of their novelty, the anthologies in question could not reverse her diagnosis.

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## SECTION III

# Selection and censorship



# Children's literature in translation

## Treachery and double crossings? Or: You can't judge a book by its cover\*

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This paper considers an early international publishing franchise, in which titles published in French by Gautier-Languereau for their children's *Série 15* were purchased by foreign publishing houses, translated, then marketed in Portugal, Spain and Italy. The books contain short stories (15 in each) that may originally have been intended for adult readers but have now been appropriated by literary editors for a juvenile audience, thus moving into the category of 'crossover' fiction. In some cases, the original story was published in English, translated into French, then re-translated from French into Portuguese or Spanish, hence the term 'double crossing'. This process raises a number of questions about the nature of intercultural transfer, children's responses – or responsiveness – to foreign literature, and the status accorded to children's literature in general. An examination of some of the Portuguese translations seems to corroborate Zohar Shavit's view (1999) that translators working with a supposedly minor or peripheral genre do not hesitate to modify or adapt their source text. While purists might wish to accuse the translator of committing an act of betrayal, as in the time-honoured adage *traduttore, traditore*, there is no evidence to suggest that the youthful readers of the Portuguese *Série 15* felt especially defrauded or cheated in their reading experience, a reaction which may bear out Paul Hazard's (1960) belief in a universal republic of children.

Nowadays there is a great deal of theorising of children's literature, much of it by educationalists or 'mediadores', some from a feminist perspective, some from the perspective of translation and cultural studies. Scholars have made in-depth studies, written essays and monographs, contributed articles to encyclopaedias and histories of children's literature, and tackled a broad range of issues.

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\* I am extremely grateful to the Conference Organizing Committee for inviting me to deliver a paper, for organising such a stimulating event, and for making my visit to Lisbon so agreeable. A considerably extended version of this article (approximately fifty-seven pages) will appear in *The Anthology in Portugal: Literature, Translation and the Margins*, to be published by Peter Lang in 2013.



## 1. Crossing borders

One such issue concerns intercultural transfer and the question of whether juvenile literature can successfully cross frontiers, both linguistic and geographical. Paul Hazard (1960) believed in a universal republic of children, but comparatist Emer O'Sullivan (2005:7–8) does not entirely subscribe to a vision that she considers a 'Romantic abstraction'. In the case of Portuguese literature, whether destined for adults or children, foreign works in translation have always occupied an important position in the cultural system. We can of course point to outstanding work done by generations of national authors, as well as a lengthy tradition of compiling collections of folktales for a youthful readership; Gonçalves Trancoso's perennially popular collection of *Contos e Histórias de Proveito & Exemplo* (1575) continues to be re-reprinted in the twenty-first century. Since the 19th century, countless translations of children's literature have been published in Portugal, works by canonical authors such as the Countess of Ségur, Perrault, Hans Christian Andersen and the Brothers Grimm. Furthermore, we have the phenomenon of the dual audience book (Becket 1999), originally written for adults then adapted and translated for a juvenile readership many times over, often in another context, time or country, for example *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moby Dick*, or stories by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Jules Verne. There is of course the reverse phenomenon, as illustrated by the Harry Potter series.

In Portugal, translations made for a juvenile readership continue to be published, though not everyone approves. The fact is, readers simply consume what is available. According to Emer O'Sullivan, "in principle, children read texts from foreign contexts in just the same way as texts from their own cultures" (O'Sullivan 2005:95), taking from them those elements that stimulate their interest and curiosity, filtering out what is strange or unfamiliar. Foreign settings are apparently no obstacle to comprehension or pleasurable reading.

## 2. Verbo's *Série 15*<sup>1</sup>

The principal focus of this article is a collection of (mainly) translation anthologies published by the Portuguese publishing house Verbo, founded in 1958, before the Revolution of 25th April, 1974, namely their *Série 15*. These contain original works

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1. I should like to thank Verbo, and more particularly Mr Sebastião Sena Esteves, who has been astonishingly helpful, responding to emails in the first instance, then allowing me access to their archives and generally supplying information about the *Série 15* list. Additional information has been gathered from library catalogues and booksellers' lists. The contents of many of the French anthologies are listed on a website commemorating Captain W. E. Johns, author of the Biggles stories.

in Portuguese and translations from other languages aimed at young children and teenagers. Verbo's series *Livros RTP-Biblioteca Básica*, launched in 1970, precisely the same period as their *Série 15*, has been the subject of extensive research by a dedicated team of scholars in the University of Lisbon and the Catholic University of Portugal.

This collection has not attracted critical attention, undoubtedly because of the target readership. Although the collection was a highly successful phenomenon in publishing as well as cultural terms, it is not mentioned, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in any studies of Portuguese children's, juvenile or educational literature, though Francesca Blockeel's study (2001) certainly provides useful background. Nor have scholars of children's literature in translation paid attention to the contents of anthologies. This omission can only be attributed to a particularly lethal combination: the traditionally low status – in critical terms – of anthologies, and the historical estimation of children's literature as inferior, lightweight or trivial.<sup>2</sup> “The perceived subalternity of the genre has had the effect of downgrading the importance of books and authors alike and, by the same token, of stifling research in this field” (Lopes 2006: 171). Zohar Shavit reminds us that “writing for children is located on a lower rung of the cultural ladder, on which writers can only aspire to climb upward” (1999: 89). Nor are so-called ‘crossover’ authors like Jules Verne, Victor Hugo or Alexandre Dumas entirely exempt from this opprobrium (Falconer 2004: 556–575). Although they originally wrote for adults – who still read them in their unadapted versions – their works are perennially linked with children's collections or anthologies. And once an author has made the ultimate crossing – into film or television, more often than not directed at a juvenile audience – he or she is forever confined to the category of popular entertainment as opposed to cultural capital, or worse still, irremediably tainted by association with the process of ‘disneyfication’, a term that critics have coined to denounce the ‘dumbing down’ of works of literature and art.

Verbo's *Série 15* owes its genesis to source texts that were selected and published by the French publishing house Gautier-Languereau (now a division of Hachette), whose own *Série 15* was directed by Claude Appell from 1964 to 1975. The story of this publishing house can be read on their website (<http://www.bibliothequedesuzette.com/gautierstory.htm>). It is impossible to know precisely how many *Série 15* anthologies were produced in France: titles changed between printings, as did the book covers, and publication records are not usually kept for the ‘lesser genre’ of children's literature. However, it is possible to reach an approximate notion by consulting on-line library catalogues and antiquarian booksellers' websites, and this investigation suggests that around 80 volumes were published.

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2. On the translation of another type of marginal genre see Castro (in this volume) on science fiction and horror stories.

All of the titles contain the number 15 and follow the same layout, an important marketing device to ensure instant recognition. Gautier-Languereau had already established their reputation as publishers for children; their market segment could not have been more clearly delineated. This series was aimed at older children, of both sexes. Some volumes were explicitly directed at a male readership – 15 *Histoires de mystère pour garçons*, 15 *Histoires de motos*, 15 *Histoires de football*, while others were produced for girls, 15 *Histoires de mystère pour filles*, 15 *Histoires de danse*, 15 *Histoires d'amour* and 15 *Femmes célèbres*. Other compilations, especially those with a pedagogical or sentimental bias, 15 *Merveilles du monde*, 15 *Aventures d'animaux familiers*, seem to be gender-neutral. The anthologies have similar outside covers, while the chapters are illustrated with pen and ink drawings, abundantly cross-hatched.

Appell had a clear sense of his mission. First of all, he decided on the theme or title of the anthology. Then he selected 'suitable' stories that matched the title, if necessary having them translated into French; his work must have required a wide-ranging familiarity with late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century short stories. Texts in the public domain were preferred, thus avoiding copyright issues and expense. Some of the stories had not necessarily been written with a juvenile audience in mind, but were judged suitable for teenage consumption. He sometimes commissioned stories from authors who specialised in children's fiction and were prepared to write to order. On other occasions, Appell himself wrote short stories for the anthologies, publishing under his own name or the pseudonym Paul Cogan.

When we examine the contents more closely, it emerges that a significant number of the stories were translated from English. Gautier-Languereau published a number of stories that had already appeared in anthologies produced by the English company Odhams, a popular press who catered to the 'middle brow' reader. Especially relevant for this discussion is the fact that Odhams produced numerous omnibus editions and anthologies aimed directly at a juvenile readership, a format they used with manifest success over several decades, and which served as a model for others. Like Gautier-Languereau, Odhams bought, or commissioned, stories from a group of authors whose names appear in several of their anthologies, for boys and for girls.

Gautier-Languereau's relationship with Odhams was based on common ground and mutual interest, and Verbo were also enthusiastic participants in this transnational book trade. For example, Gautier-Languereau and Odhams are named as copyright holders for Verbo's 15 *Histórias de Aventuras para Rapazes*, though only four of the stories in the Portuguese collection were taken from the French. The other eleven stories had already appeared in the Odhams' *Adventure Stories for Boys* (1956), *Stirring Stories for Boys* (1960) and *Mystery and Adventure*

*Stories for Boys* (1962), edited by Eric Duthie, who shaped the reading habits of British children over several decades.

Gautier-Languereau acquired ten Odhams stories for their *15 Histoires de mystère pour garçons* of 1967, while *15 Histoires d'aventure pour filles* contains translations of fifteen English stories taken from two Odhams anthologies: *Adventure Stories for Girls* (1956) and *Stirring Stories for Girls* (1960). At the same time, Odhams' *Mystery and Adventure Stories for Girls* (1962) was the direct source for Verbo's *15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas* (1970), and not, as we might have expected, Gautier-Languereau's *15 Histoires de mystère pour filles*, despite the fact that the French and Portuguese books have the same front cover. Odhams are named as co-copyright holder.

Like Gautier-Languereau, Verbo looked beyond their national border for publishable material: they were more than happy to import works of literature, translate them and make them available to Portuguese readers, on a large scale (Lima de Faria and Campos 2005: 13–29). This does not mean they did not publish canonical works by prestigious national authors (Seruya 2005: 31–53), but their attention has always been focused on finding suitable material for the younger reader. As Fernando Guedes, director of Verbo, has himself pointed out, “em 1960 não havia praticamente em Portugal livros para a infância e a juventude; foi a Verbo quem iniciou no país essa área tão importante da edição” [in 1960 there were practically no books for children or young people in Portugal, it was Verbo who began this important kind of publishing in the country] (Guedes 2005: 9). Lima de Faria and Campos, discussing Portuguese publishing in the 1970s, observe that “A Editora Verbo, tirando partido deste contexto político, tem um papel importante na edição de coleções infanto-juvenis – terreno que no nosso país era muito pobre em termos editoriais” [The publishing house Verbo, taking advantage of the political context, played an important part in publishing collections for children and young people – an area in which our country was very poor, in publishing terms] (Lima de Faria and Campos 2007: 13). Few national authors were writing for a teenage audience, which goes some way towards explaining the success of the Portuguese *Série 15*. Moreover, the kind of books that Gautier-Languereau were publishing were very unlikely to incur the disapproval of the censors or bring the Portuguese publishing house into disrepute. Verbo no doubt hoped to achieve similar levels of success as Odhams and Gautier-Languereau: importing books from abroad reduced costs and was good for their bottom line.

Other countries, too, saw the possibilities of the *15* series. During the 1970s, the Spanish publisher Fher produced more than thirty *15* titles. Fher's profile was similar to Verbo's, with individual works and collections of children's literature in translation. Some of the books in the Fher series mention Gautier-Languereau on the title page and name the French publisher as copyright holder. Some are

adaptations by Laura García Corella, who also wrote children's literature and romantic novels, as well as translating fairy tales. For example, *15 historias de aventura* – no reference to boys or girls – states clearly on the title page that this is an adaptation by Laura García Corella of Claude Appell's French compilation. The Spanish translations are usually shorter in length than the French texts, confirming Marisa Fernández López's findings for translations into Spanish of English children's series (1989:97–103), where *eliminación textual* [textual elimination] is a common strategy, adopted for various reasons, including the translator's ignorance of the meaning of certain phrases or words. Fher followed a 'pick and mix' policy, replacing original stories with new ones more likely to interest the national readership, just as occurred with the Verbo books. Two of their titles, however, *15 grandes batallas* (1973) and *15 grandes expediciones* (1974), are neither translations nor adaptations from the French, but were commissioned directly by the Spanish publisher and written 'in-house' by Jesús Jáuregui Echaury, who was also a translator and author of educational books for children.

In Italy, Minerva Italica of Bergamo (founded in 1952), decided that the *15* format would complement their own lists. Minerva, subsequently taken over by Mondadori, was then the most important Italian publisher of anthologies for schools, children's books, Dante and the classics. Volumes from their *15* series are listed in library catalogues in various regions of Italy, and are still available to borrowers. So far I have been able to locate nine titles, although more may have been published. Some of these correspond, more or less, to the French anthologies, and acknowledge Gautier-Languereau as copyright holder. *15 racconti misteriosi* coincides partially with *15 Aventures fantastiques* and Fher's *15 aventuras fantásticas*, but *15 Storie del West* has absolutely no stories in common with *15 Aventures du Far-West*, *15 Histoires d'Indiens* or *15 Aventures de Cow-Boys*. Other Minerva *15* anthologies bear no relation whatsoever to any of the French, Portuguese or Spanish collections, notably *15 Storie di Fantasmi* and *15 grandi Rivoluzionari*. It is difficult to imagine that the Portuguese or Spanish censors would have authorised the publication of *15 Grandi rivoluzionari*, containing as it does biographical sketches of Trotsky, Lenin, Lumumba, Malcolm X and Mao, among others. From a comparison of contents we may therefore conclude that Minerva Italica wanted to give their series a distinctive flavour by making their own selections and producing their own volumes, which are graced with very stylish front covers designed by Piero Marcellini.

Returning to France and Portugal, a number of the original *Série 15* volumes can be classed as non fiction since they narrate developments in science and technology, such as aviation and space travel. Others deal with historical matters, travel writing or general cultural knowledge and it is probably this educational bias that explains their enduring presence in school and public libraries.

*15 Grandes Explorations* (1961) was translated as *15 Grandes Explorações* (1971); *15 Épopées de la chevalerie* (1967), became *15 Epopeias de Cavalaria* (1974); *15 Enigmes de l'histoire* (1968) was translated as *15 Enigmas da História* (1971); *15 Récits du temps des Croisades* (1969) became *15 Histórias das Cruzadas* (1972), and Gautier-Languereau's *15 Récits de navigateurs* (1977) was translated as *15 Histórias de Navegadores* two years later.

Verbo's contract with Gautier-Languereau was for 50 volumes, which suggests either some kind of selection process, or a preference for round numbers. However, the *15* series title and identical book covers are misleading. For example, Verbo produced two titles of their own, *15 Prémios Nobel* and *15 Portugueses no Mundo*. (Egas Moniz, awarded the Nobel Prize in 1949 for his work in the field of medicine, is included in both volumes). These are still very much in tune with the strongly patriotic values promoted by the previous regime, intended to encourage national pride as well as reader identification. None of the anthologies, French or Portuguese, addresses the profound changes that took place in European society after the Second World War, or the upheavals of 1968. Furthermore, a closer examination of the volumes reveals that a series of changes were made to the contents, namely the incorporation of Portuguese material. In addition to the two original Portuguese compilations, the other 48 volumes contain 38 Portuguese stories or chapters, in other words approximately 5%. Though not a high proportion, it does indicate a desire to ensure some representation of the national vis-à-vis the international.

### 3. Translation issues

All of the texts published in the *Série 15* anthologies have passed through various processes of selection and mediation, often crossing more than one geographical or linguistic border, as part of a transnational publishing network. Zohar Shavit (1986) has pointed out that because children's literature occupies a peripheral position within the literary polysystem, translators often make free with the texts and adapt them to models in the target system, whether for educational or cultural reasons. Domesticating strategies tend to prevail, with the deletion or alteration of ostensibly foreign elements. In the case of the *15* series, texts were initially translated from English for French readers, and later re-translated for the Portuguese, Spanish or Italian markets, subject to adaptation, abridgement or simplification, with deliberate modifications or omissions. A kind of betrayal, perhaps?

Any discussion of the Verbo *Série 15* anthologies must therefore take account of translation issues. For example, whether their status as translation anthologies had a negative impact on their reception. In other words, did the children

(or the adults purchasing the anthologies for them) know that these are translations, as opposed to works originally written in Portuguese? The more attentive reader might spot the credit, where the translator is acknowledged, or take note of the obviously foreign names, whether of authors, characters or places. Evidence suggests that the foreignness of the authors and works published in the *Livros RTP-Biblioteca Básica Verbo* did not alienate or disturb readers (Lima de Faria and Campos 2005: 13–29). By analogy, then, we might assume that the *Série 15* readership, although younger in years, would be equally unconcerned, as long as the translations were well done. This would seem to support Paul Hazard’s belief that children’s literature transcends boundaries.

Nor should the quality of the translations be judged in isolation from the source texts, especially when the Portuguese translators worked from source texts that had already been translated from English into French. The very fluid exchange between Gautier-Languereau, Odhams and Verbo throws up interesting possibilities for comparison and analysis of translation strategies, for example whether translators adopt different strategies when adopting from French and from English.

For this reason, sample comparisons have been made between extracts from selected Portuguese stories and their English source texts. One hypothesis to be explored is that readability of the text in the target language takes precedence over fidelity to the source text. The translators’ priority is to produce a story that will be accessible and appealing to juvenile readers.

### 3.1 “Red Fingle’s Treasure” and other ripping yarns

A comparison of the translated story “A Gruta do Tesouro”, in *15 Histórias de Aventuras para Rapazes* (1970), and its source text, “Red Fingle’s Treasure”, taken from *Stirring Stories for Boys* (1960), reveals some features in common, and a series of differences. The two stories have the same illustrations, though with different legends. The artist, John Canning, is not given a credit in the Portuguese anthology. The Portuguese title is not a translation of the original English, which would have sited the action of the story in the Anglophone world. It is more neutral and descriptive, referring to treasure and a cave, which could be located in any country – or any child’s imagination.

The translator, Maria Guerne,<sup>3</sup> does not interfere with the plot, but introduces a series of minor alterations into the target text, ensuring that contextual

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3. Better known by her full name, Maria Esther Guerne Garcia de Lemos, it seems that she used the shorter form as a nom-de-plume when translating children’s literature, and the longer version when translating culturally significant texts for adults, or writing critical essays.

and culturally specific details do not elude the reader. The illustrations also aid understanding. Reporting verbs are omitted or changed, and Guerne consistently eliminates adverbs and adjectives that are not essential for the action of the story. This may have been driven by constraints of space, the translator's own stylistic preferences, or a desire to render the text as straightforward as possible; she has certainly expressed firmly held views on the role of the translator, especially in the context of her translation of Boccaccio (Guincho 2007: 31–56).

Some, not all, idiomatic expressions are translated by comparable expressions in the target language. It would seem that a phrase is translated when there is a ready Portuguese equivalent. So, while "That, as the cat said when it fell down the chimney, is where *I* come in!" (p. 287) is not translated into Portuguese, but "Don't let's count our chickens afore they're hatched" (p. 288) becomes the familiar "Não vamos vender o pele do urso antes de o ter matado" [Let's not sell the bear's skin before killing it] (p. 224). The schoolboyish utterance "He can't handle a boat for toffee" (p. 291) becomes the less colourful, and less withering "Nem mesmo é capaz de manobrar a canoa" [He can't even handle the canoe] (p. 227).

Most surprisingly, however, the boys who are the protagonists of the English story, brothers Harry and Jim Forbes, become Alain and Pascal Dherblay in the Portuguese version. The logical explanation would be that the translator was working from a French version of the story, but I have found no evidence to prove this hypothesis, since the story does not appear in any of the Gautier-Languereau anthologies examined in this study.

We cannot talk here of a predominantly domesticating strategy as such because the children are not given Portuguese names, and apart from the French names, the story is not anchored in a specific place or time. The story crosses into Portugal with no significant loss of meaning or difficulties of comprehension. Whether this story has come directly from England, or via France, is not important, and certainly does not have any significant impact on the reader. Nevertheless, it is illuminating to look at the ways translators deal with names in the *Série 15* anthologies, particularly when we consider the amount of discussion that this single issue has generated, some of it decidedly prescriptive. More than two decades ago, Newmark (1986: 71; 1988: 214) argued that names should not be translated into the source language unless they have specific connotations or allegorical meaning. Shavit considers the translation of names to be "a sign of disrespect for children" (1986: 380–1), while Pym proposes that proper names should not be translated (2004: 92). In fact, a survey of the literature reveals that there are as many recommendations and strategies as there are theorists. Thus, Theo Hermans (1988) singles out four basic strategies, Hervey and Higgins (1992) present seven models, and Jan Van Coillie identifies ten options open to the translator. For example, because "non translation can have an alienating effect on the



reader of the translation” (Van Coillie 2006: 127), he suggests that the translator may choose recognisable names from the source culture. Eilys E. Davies (2003: 88) makes a similar point when she suggests that “alterations to proper names may be made where the original form seems too alien or odd in the target culture, or where it is desired to make the target version more semantically transparent, in order to convey some descriptive meaning.”

So what choices do we find in the *Série 15*?

Sam’s Bar, in “Finders Keepers” (*Mystery and Adventure Stories for Girls*), is renamed ‘o bar Chez Sammy’ for *15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas*. In the same pair of anthologies, the English characters Val, John, Sally and their father Mr Dermott who figure in Viola Bayley’s “Into the Blue” are transformed into Valéria, João, Cecília and ‘o senhor Dupont Martin’ in “Nas mãos dos bandidos” [In the bandits’ hands]. Nor are these the only changes; the translator also adapts certain geographical details, for reasons of internal consistency, in an example of what Göte Klingberg (1986) characterises as localisation, one means of effecting cultural context adaptation. Any doubts about this translator’s intentions are completely dispelled by a comparison of the following extracts.

One of the young men pointed to the “inglesi” and made some jokes that caused more laughter. (*Mystery and Adventure Stories for Girls*, p. 149)

um dos mais novos apontava os “Francesi” e pronunciou um gracejo que divertiu todos os outros. (*15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas*, p. 201)

[one of the younger men was pointing at the “French” and made a joke that amused the others]

This deliberate attempt to turn an English family into a French one, albeit with Portuguese Christian names, would seem to point to the existence of an intervening French translation, despite the lack of corroboratory evidence. In any case, it would seem that the translator has opted for a strategy of ‘semi-domestication’, that was less alien or alienating for the target readership.

The tendency to gallicize is also evident in the story “Sentimental Value” (*Mystery and Adventure Stories for Girls*), translated as “Apenas valor de estimação” for *15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas*. Caroline Fletcher becomes Carolina Maubert, and her antique shop the *Loja Antiquidades Maubert*. Doctor Emmanuel Swinstead becomes *doutor Emanuel Sérurier*. Curiously, Bob Harrison is translated as *Roberto Leblond*, combining Portuguese and French.

In “Os bombons misteriosos” [The mysterious sweets], the translator, João Amaral Júnior, is not entirely consistent in the strategies he adopts: Coralie becomes Corália, Martha becomes Marta, Paul becomes Paulo, but Frankie (usually an abbreviation of Francis but here the girl’s name Frances) remains unaltered,

as do Brangwyn (a Welsh boy's name) and Nobby, a nickname traditionally given to British soldiers in the twentieth century and used here for the military policeman in the story. The translator has stopped short of constructing a Portuguese identity for all of the characters.

A preliminary examination suggests that, in general, translations of story titles into Portuguese tend to be generally 'faithful' to their source texts. "Alexander Fleming, père de la pénicilline" becomes "Alexander Fleming, o pai da penicilina" [Alexander Fleming, the father of penicillin] (*15 Grands destins/15 Grandes Destinos*); "Roubaram um Van Gogh" – "On a volé un Van Gogh" [Someone has stolen a Van Gogh] (*15 Enquêtes policières/15 Casos Policiais*); "Magellan l'inébranable" – "O inabalável Magalhães" [The unwavering Magellan] (*15 Récits de Navigateurs/15 Histórias de Navegadores*); "Secret du roi" – "Segredo do rei" [King's Secret] (*15 Histoires d'agents secrets/15 Histórias de Agentes Secretos*).

Some story titles may at first sight appear to be culture-bound, but do not ultimately belong to the category of 'cultural untranslatables'. For example, "April Fools" (*Stirring Stories for Boys*) becomes "Mentira... ou talvez não" [A lie .. or maybe not] (*15 Histórias de Aventuras para Rapazes*), a perfectly logical solution when we consider that April Fools Day in Portugal is known as the *Dia das Mentiras* [Day of Lies].

Translators may deliberately incorporate an allusion to the plot, perhaps to whet prospective readers' curiosity. For example, "Finders Keepers", a story about a kind of treasure hunt, becomes "O enigma da mensagem cifrada" [The mystery of the coded message]. The translator might have opted for a fixed-form Portuguese saying that corresponds more or less to the English refrain 'Finders Keepers, Losers Weepers', for example, *Ninguém perde que outro não ganhe* or *Não perde um sem outro ganhar* [No one loses without someone winning]. However, using just the first half of the binary structure and leaving readers to supply the remainder from their own repository of linguistic and cultural knowledge could have been a risky choice, and confused the readers.

In *15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas*, "The Children of Camp Fortuna" becomes "Os bombons misteriosos", possibly more appealing to a juvenile readership. There is no obvious connection to be made between the titles "Ship Aground" and "Contrabando num moinho" [Contraband in a mill]. Perhaps it was believed that a direct translation into Portuguese might recall Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* or similar literary works, and therefore be unattractive to teenage girls. And yet, Mendes Pinto occurs in two anthologies (*15 Viagens Históricas* and *15 S.O.S.*), nor is there any reason to suppose that girls would not read *15 Histórias de Navegadores*.

#### 4. Final comments

A more systematic examination of the *Série 15* translations might reveal patterns of choice and commonly adopted strategies, exceptions to any identifiable rule, or anomalies. Different approaches are adopted according to target country, with Fher publishing the shortest anthologies through a process of adaptation and abridgement, and Minerva Italica taking off in an entirely different direction with more substantial volumes, commissioning their own stories or translating, one assumes, directly from English. In any case, even a cursory survey confirms that translators of children's literature indeed play fast and loose with source texts in order to meet target language readers' (or publishers') expectations.

*Série 15* is an international phenomenon but the titles were chosen because they coincided with quintessentially Portuguese preoccupations and allowed the incorporation of stories by Portuguese authors. Many of the anthologies have educational content, focusing on history, geography, science, art or general culture. The stories are deliberately targeted at young teenagers, in terms of length and vocabulary. Reading these books would have broadened the horizons of readers in a country set apart from its neighbours because of Estado Novo cultural policies. The question of censorship did not arise because suitable stories were translated from French or English, or commissioned directly; a significant number of foreign authors had already been translated and published in Portugal several times over (Seruya 2005:46–47; Seruya 2006:326).

*Série 15* unquestionably played to prevailing views about the kind of reading matter considered appropriate for children. But it also made a strong statement about the essential need for books for young readers, and it provided books for children and teenagers, filling what some theorists would describe as a gap in the polysystem until Portuguese authors could step forward to perform that task themselves.

## 5. Appendix

### 5.1 Gautier-Languereau and Odhams

<i>15 Histoires de mystère pour garçons</i>	<i>Adventure Stories for Boys (AS), Mystery and Adventure Stories for Boys (MAS), Stirring Stories for Boys (SS)</i>
Arthur Catherall, Comment le mousse surmonta le mal de mer	Arthur Catherall, The 'Prentice Deckie' (AS)
Arthur Catherall, Condamné à mort	Arthur Catherall, Sentenced to Die (SS)
Captain W. E. Johns, L'avion mystérieux	Captain W. E. Johns, The Case of the Unknown Aircraft (SS, AS)
Captain W. E. Johns, Patrouille à l'aube	Captain W. E. Johns, Dawn Patrol (AS)
Claude Appell, Imbroglío	–
Claude Appell, Mon meilleur ami	–
David Walker, Duel avec une panthère	David Walker, Old Warrior (MAS)
Denis Clark, L'épopée de la "Poule enragée"	Denis Clark, The Saga of the "Hungry Hen" (AS)
Eric Williams, Tunnel pour la liberté	Eric Williams, The Tunnellers (AS)
Gilbert Guilleminault, Sous le masque de velours du prisonnier de la Bastille	–
Gordon Langley Hall, Un flair de chien	Gordon Langley Hall, A Nose Like a Dog (SS)
H. J. Goodyer, Quand les espions font de l'auto-stop	H. J. Goodyer, Short Circuit (MAS)
Hugh Paterson, Les trois merles de M. Castelet	Hugh Paterson, The Three Blackbirds of Monsieur Castelet (MAS)
J.-P. Benoît, L'évadé de Recouvrance	–
N. G. Strong, Sous la menace du plus grand péril	N. G. Strong, In the Face of Considerable Hazards (AS)
<i>15 Histoires de aventure pour filles</i>	<i>Adventure Stories for Girls (ASG), Stirring Stories for Girls (SSG)</i>
Captain W. E. Johns, Perles, primevères... et bandits	W. E. Johns, Pearls and Primroses (SSG)
Kathleen Fidler, L'épave au trésor	Kathleen Fidler, Underwater Adventure (SSG)
Viola Bayley, Au-dessus du gouffre	Viola Bayley, Above the Torrent (SSG)
John Keir Cross, Péridot	John Keir Cross, Peridot (SSG)
Hilda Boden, L'énigme de la marmite norvégienne	Hilda Boden, The Adventure of the Porridge Pot (SSG)
Hilary Field, La caverne aux fresques	Hilary Field, The Painted Cave (SSG)
Marjorie Rowe, Détectives en jupons	Marjory Rowe, Thief in the Night (SSG)
Elisabeth Kyle, Voleurs d'enfants	Elisabeth Kyle, The Child Stealers (SSG)
Lorna Wood, La première enquête de Théodora	Lorna Wood, Theodora's First Case (SSG)
C. T. Stoneham, Josette et les lions	C. T. Stoneham, Joyce and the Lions (ASG)
Phyllis I. Norris, La fille du contrebandier	Phyllis I. Norris, Smuggler's Lass (ASG)
Eileen Molony, Drame au fond des mers	Eileen Molony, Jennifer's Adventure (ASG)
Phyllis Matthewman, La double mascarade	Phyllis Matthewman, Double Masquerade (ASG)
Pamela Brown, Le chérubin de marbre	Pamela Brown, The Marble Cherub (ASG)
Joseph E. Chipperfield, Griffon de l'arctique	Joseph Chipperfield, Thorn of the North (ASG)

## 5.2 Verbo and Odhams

*15 Histórias de Aventuras para Rapazes*

A. Tyson, Drama em pleno céu  
 Artur C. Clarke, Contos do futuro. Um salvamento original  
 Geoffrey Williamson, A gruta do tesouro  
 Georges Blond, Em luta com o oceano  
 Jean-Paul Benôit, Kurt Joëlle Danterne, O caçador de olhos fechados  
 John Kruse, O peixe assassino  
 John Pudney, Mentira ... ou talvez não  
 Malcolm Kirk, O assalto à joalheria  
 Norbert Casteret, No antro do feiticeiro

Oreste Pinto, Como foi conseguida a confissão

P. Ferrier, O último voo  
 R. J. McGregor, Um indício claro como água  
 Ray Bradbury, O monstro marinho  
 Wilfred Robertson, Jim e o Leopardo

*Adventure Stories for Boys (AS), Mystery and Adventure Stories for Boys (MAS), Stirring Stories for Boys (SS)*

A. Tyson, The Wild Sky (MAS)  
 Arthur C. Clarke, Little Tales of Tomorrow (SS)

Geoffrey Williamson, Red Fingle's Treasure (SS)  
 –  
 –

John Kruse, Murder Fish (MAS)  
 John Pudney, April Fools (SS)  
 Malcolm Kirk, Smash and Grab (AS)  
 Norbert Casteret, Journey to the End of a Rope (SS) [different extract]  
 Oreste Pinto ("Spy-Catcher"), He Talked in the End (MAS)  
 –

R. J. McGregor, A Very Simple Clue (AS)  
 Ray Bradbury, The Fog Horn (MAS)  
 Wilfred Robertson, Two Tales of Africa (SS)

*15 Histórias de Mistério para Raparigas*

Margaret Sharpe, O maior risco  
 Kathleen Fidler, Contrabando num moinho  
 Gillian Baxter, O perigoso empreendimento  
 Elizabeth Beresford, Um voo para a aventura  
 R. L. Stevenson, A porta de Sire de Malétoit

Pamela Brown, Os bombons misteriosos  
 Rosemary Weir, A corrente de prata  
 Rosemary Sutcliff, O tesouro de Sir Richard  
 Gérald Bullett, Apenas valor de estimação  
 Showell Styles, O enigma da mensagem decifrada  
 William Mayne, Ciclone  
 Margaret Ruthin, Singular partida de pesca  
 Viola Bayley, Nas mãos dos bandidos  
 Lin Yutang, Chiennieng

*Mystery and Adventure Stories for Girls*

Margaret Sharpe, Risk  
 Kathleen Fidler, Ship Aground  
 Gillian Baxter, Peril in the Hills  
 Elizabeth Beresford, Flight to Adventure  
 Robert Louis Stevenson, The Sire of Malétoit's Door  
 Pamela Brown, The Children of Camp Fortuna  
 Rosemary Weir, The Silver Chain  
 Rosemary Sutcliff, Sir Richard  
 Gerald Bullett, Sentimental Value  
 Showell Styles, Finders Keepers

William Mayne, Wind  
 Margaret Ruthin, Just Fishin'  
 Viola Bayley, Into the Blue  
 Lin Yutang (retold by), Chieenieng, a Chinese Ghost Story

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# Translating German poetry into French under the Occupation

The example of R. Lasné's and G. Rabuse's  
anthology (1943)

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How should an anthology of texts written in the language of the occupier be compiled in an occupied country? Which political or ideological criteria should be used and for which readers?

This paper will address the *Anthologie de la poésie allemande des origines à nos jours* [*Anthology of German Poetry. From its beginnings to the present day*], by René Lasné and Georg Rabuse, published in two volumes in Paris by Stock in 1943 and more specifically its paratexts: the editor's foreword and the preface by Karl Epting (director of the Institut allemand de Paris and friend of Céline), which offers a very valuable account of the ambiguous Franco-German literary relations during the Occupation.

The *Anthologie de la poésie allemande des origines à nos jours* was published in Paris in 1943 by Stock under the direction of René Lasné and Georg Rabuse. This collection of two weighty bilingual volumes was published at the height of the occupation of France by German troops. In an occupied country, how is an anthology of texts written in the language of the occupier compiled? Which literary criteria are used and for which public?

This collection, which offers valuable evidence of Franco-German literary relations during the period, will be the object of this study. The circumstances surrounding its publication will be examined, in particular the paratexts: the editor's foreword, the preface written by the Director of the German Institute in Paris, Karl Epting – a friend of Céline – and the biographical notes on the poets. It will also take into account the fact that the list of poets chosen for this work is far from insignificant and, in fact, reflects the main lines of the German national socialist ideology deployed in France as part of the state's collaborative policy. Finally, it will consider the short and long-term reception of these two books which were classified at a certain time as “dishonourable volumes” by opponents of the Vichy regime, earning the editor a severe blame in liberated France for collaborating with the enemy.



## 1. The circumstances surrounding publication

Published under the aegis of the German Institute in Paris – directed by K. Epting, a close friend of the German ambassador Otto Abetz – the publication of the *Anthologie de la poésie allemande des origines à nos jours* proves the willingness of the occupying authorities to launch a widespread offensive against French culture and significantly re-orientate its readership towards German literature. The main lines of the occupier's editorial policy in France<sup>1</sup> were defined in the two lists circulating in the French publishing world from 1940 onwards:<sup>2</sup> the 'Otto list' and the 'Matthias list'. The 'Otto list' aimed to ban a certain number of works which "through their tendentious and misleading spirit, had systematically poisoned French public opinion" (Mitransky 1995: 39). This list, established in Berlin by the Ministry of Propaganda, was partnered by another incentive-based list, called the 'Matthias list', which contained suggested German works for translation into French. It is important to remember at this point that from December 1940 onwards a Franco-German Translation Commission associated with the German Institute had been established to select the titles to be translated. Whilst no French publishing houses were officially obliged to participate in the translation 'programme', the editors who chose one or more titles from the 'Matthias list'<sup>3</sup> were nevertheless guaranteed access to the paper needed for printing – which was rationed at the time – and to the '*imprimatur*' from the censors. However, it is also worth noting that the French editors were responsible for the cost of translations from the Matthias list and were thus subsidised by the Vichy government. The German cultural offensive was therefore both organised and discreet: everything was engineered to give the impression that the initiative for these publications came from French editors.

In spite of the scarcity of paper in 1943 and its poor quality, there is no doubt that the Stock Anthology, 'sponsored' to a certain extent by the German Institute, did not suffer from rationing.<sup>4</sup> K. Epting was guaranteed that his translation

1. Cf. Fouché, P. 1987. *L'édition française sous l'Occupation: 1940–44*. La Bibliothèque de littérature française contemporaine de l'Université Paris 7, 2 vol.; cf. Ridderstad, A. 2002. *L'édition française sous l'Occupation 1940–44*. Oslo: Romansk Forum, Issue 16.

2. It is also important to mention the titles of Franco-German orientated journals – *Comoedia*, *Panorama*, *Deutschland-Frankreich*, *Cahiers de l'Institut Allemand* – which relayed German cultural propaganda. Cf. Richard, L. 1998. *Nazisme et culture*. Paris: Complexe, 286 et passim.

3. This list was criticised by the *Propaganda Abteilung* as being too politically neutral at times and too intellectual at others. Cf. Spotts, F. 2008. *The Shameful Peace*. Yale University Press, 67. Effectively, it can be seen that the choice of titles retained by K. Epting, which is reflected in the poetry in this anthology, raises a certain number of questions.

4. Cf. Corcy, S. 2005. *La vie culturelle sous l'Occupation*. Paris: Perrin.

programme would be given priority in terms of paper supplies and moreover, he had maintained useful contacts with journalists and literary critics to ensure his works would be covered by the press.<sup>5</sup>

The *Anthologie de la poésie allemande des origines à nos jours* was published by the Stock publishing house in Paris, which was directed by Jacques Boutelleau, alias Jacques Chardonne, the author of *Les Destinées Sentimentales*, a well-established writer in collaborationist circles. It was a bilingual edition in two volumes in which the choice of texts, the translations and the explanatory end notes were the responsibility of a Franco-German duo consisting of the Germanist René Lasne<sup>6</sup> and Georg Rabuse, a member of the German Institute in the 1940s.<sup>7</sup> Karl Epting (1905–1979), who wrote the preface to the work, had forged his career in Franco-German circles since the inter-war period. As the director since 1934 of the Paris office of the DAAD, the German university exchanges office, he knew the cultural actors in the capital well. He continued his task as the right-hand man of the ambassador O. Abetz in his role as director of the German Institute, which was founded as early as 1st September 1940 in Paris.<sup>8</sup>

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5. Cf. Spotts, F., 68.

6. Even though René Lasne is often cited as being a Germanist closely connected with collaborationist circles, little is actually known about him. P. Burrin calls him the 'enseignant français' (*La France à l'heure allemande*. 1995. Paris: Seuil, 356) and S. Corcy a 'germaniste français', (Corcy, 50), whilst F.R. Hausmann (*Auch im Krieg schweigen die Musen nicht*. 2001. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 124) notes that in one of the editions of *Deutschland-Frankreich* dating back to 1943, he appears under the title of 'Professeur René Lasne' with an address in the 18th district of Paris.

7. Much more is known about Georg Rabuse who, in addition to his work for the German Institute in Paris in the early years of the Occupation (he notably accompanied French writers – including Drieu la Rochelle, Chardonne and Brasillach – travelling in Germany in 1941), was also an interpreter on the Italian front between 1942 and 1945. After the war, he was an assistant at the University of Graz until 1948. He can then be traced from 1958 – after a ten year gap on which all sources are silent – where he presented his habilitation research on the works of Dante, an author to whom he subsequently dedicated his work. He ended his career as *Ordinarius* at the University of Vienna (cf. Hausmann, 124).

8. He was also responsible for a bibliography of German-French translations dating from the beginning of the printing press, (*Bibliographie französischer Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen. 1487–1944*), amongst others. This bibliometric study commissioned in 1940 by the German Institute, based on an initiative by Karl Epting and completed solely on the basis of bibliographical criteria from the National Library catalogues, would probably have served to measure the cultural footprint of Germany in France and to orientate the new policies of the occupier. Donated to the library of the University of Tübingen by K. Epting in 1958, the file was reappraised and completed by L. Bihl, who co-signed the work on its release in 1987.

However, between 1934 and 1940, the political and intellectual context had changed. Publishing an *Anthologie de la poésie allemande des origines à nos jours* in 1943 at the height of the Occupation could not be considered as neutral an editorial act as the appointment would lead us to believe.

## 2. Programmatic paratexts: The editors' foreword and K. Epting's preface

As always with anthologies, the discussion that surrounds the choice of texts should be observed with the greatest attention because to some extent it constitutes the reading programme for the collection. This is even truer in wartime, when all 'official' publications are orientated towards propaganda.

### 2.1 The editors' foreword: A text under influence

The *Anthologie de la poésie allemande* opens with a brief one-page foreword from the editors of the Stock publishing house, which provides the ideological 'tuning fork' for the work:

In the midst of this World War we are happy to offer readers this ANTHOLOGY OF GERMAN POETRY in a bilingual edition which aims to serve as proof of the uninterrupted communion that exists amongst the spiritual elite. It is a literary treasure, conceived with no other inspiration than that of a belief in cultural values (...). (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: VIII)<sup>9</sup>

Following on from this are the typical acknowledgements to the authors of the anthology and to the German Institute,<sup>10</sup> which had made it possible for authorisations necessary for reproduction and translation to be obtained. We also learn that René Lasne would not be the only translator of the work. In addition, the foreword provides information on the target readership: "We have above all dreamt of the 'honest man' who wishes to do some further reading." [On a songé avant tout à l'honnête homme qui désirerait étendre ses lectures.] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: VIII), in other words, a literary public and an initiative addressed to the spiritual elite.

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9. « Nous sommes heureux d'offrir aux lecteurs, en pleine guerre mondiale, cette ANTHOLOGIE DE LA POESIE ALLEMANDE en texte bilingue, qui veut être un témoignage de la communion qui subsiste sans interruption entre les élites spirituelles. C'est un trésor littéraire, conçu sans aucune autre inspiration que la foi dans les valeurs culturelles (...). » All translations are by the author.

10. R. Lasne and G. Rabuse see themselves rewarded 'for their relentless work and intelligent collaboration'.

## 2.2 Karl Epting's preface: Between dishonesty and propaganda

Karl Epting's preface, in turn, is a great deal more detailed and structured. It makes several important points.

First of all, the Director of the German Institute takes care to remind the reader of the context ("At a time when the sound of weapons fills the world... whilst Western genius is fighting the hardest battle of its existence" [à un moment où le bruit des armes emplît le monde... lorsque le génie d'Occident mène le plus dur combat pour son existence] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: IX) and the meaning of the publication, to create the basis of an acquaintance with "a new life where the two nations will neighbour in peace" [une vie nouvelle où les deux nations voisineront dans la paix] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: IX). Thus, poetry would be the best vehicle for this profound meeting, as "it is in poems and in songs that the genius of a people takes on its most direct form" [c'est dans les poèmes et dans les chants que le génie d'un peuple revêt sa forme la plus directe] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: IX).

This is followed by a review of existing publications of this type. K. Epting deplores the veritable gap in the knowledge of German poetry in France. The proposed work represents "the first serious attempt" [la première tentative sérieuse] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: X)<sup>11</sup> within this genre to rectify French writers' lack of interest in German poetry.

The reasons for this disinterest are detailed and do not exclude clichés, namely the difficulty of the German language which "through the expressible thought covers a magical world" [recouvre, sous la pensée exprimable, un monde de magie] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XI) which the French struggle to express. Here we find the well-known argument of the mundanity of Molière's language which had already been deplored by Pushkin in his time: it was impossible to translate the poetry into French and taking such a risk would be like passing from "the great voice of organs" [la grande voix des orgues] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XI) to "a transcription for piano" [une transcription pour piano] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XI). Consequently, according to Epting, German poetry had never been able to acclimatise itself to France and the public had the idea that it was, by nature, inaccessible. The idea of a bilingual anthology would provide an introduction, whether the readers were familiar with original language or not.

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11. Author's translation. However, an advanced bibliographical study reveals that this is not the case and that anthologies other than those mentioned by K. Epting – H. Guilbeaux (1913) and G. de Nerval – (1830) exist. These include, notably, the *Anthologie des poètes allemands (1170–1935)* by Raoul Parme (1935) and Geneviève Bianquis' more restrictive text which appeared in 1926, dedicated to Austrian poets from Hofmannsthal to Rilke.

Following on from this, purely translational considerations begin to appear. Epting reminds us here of the three types of translation presented by Goethe in the notes that accompany his *Divan* (the prosaic translation, the parodistic translation – imitative, as in the case of the *Belles-Infidèles* – and the “supreme, which attempts to equate the translated version with the original” [suprême (qui) tente d’identifier la version à l’original] Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XII), recommending the latter, in which the translator is “on the side of the poet in an elective state of affinity” [avec le poète en état d’affinité élective] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XII). Moreover, he ponders the difficulties of translating poetry and the risk that exists if a single translator “uses the same language” [prête le même langage] for all the authors he translates, thereby implicitly justifying the selection of multiple translators for this mission. The ‘anthology’ itself provides us with a metaphor: the translator is to the original poem what the engraver is to the master painter, and leading examples are presented as illustrations of the chief-engraver’s best work.

The contribution of the translators is not forgotten. René Lasne is described as “a true poet who has a subtle understanding of the secrets and beauty of the German language” [vrai poète qui a un sens subtil des secrets et des beautés de la langue allemande] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIII); Georg Rabuse is even lent to the armies for his philological knowledge. The translation project can be described in one single sentence: the “...translations are as precise as possible and sometimes as free as needs be.” [les traductions sont aussi exactes que possible, aussi libres parfois qu’il était nécessaire] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIII). In order to achieve this, little or no rhyme is used and it calls for all the “means and liberties that the French poets dispose of today” [moyens et...libertés dont dispose un poète français d’aujourd’hui] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIII) and a willingness to temporarily force the French “to make the sometimes abrupt sequence of German poetry more sensitive” [pour rendre sensible l’enchaînement parfois abrupt de la poésie allemande] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIV) – the latter is certainly fonder of parataxis.<sup>12</sup>

To conclude, Epting vaguely evokes the works used as models, “the best collections that have appeared” [les meilleurs recueils qui ont paru] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIV) and explains the reasoning behind the choice of authors, which leads us to believe that he was the source of this selection, the major concern being to represent the German heritage. Within this framework, priority is given to the classics (this was also the option offered by the Matthias list) and, amongst the modern pieces, “those whose work and attitude provide exemplary representations in the eyes of the German youth of today” [ceux dont l’œuvre et l’attitude font des représentants exemplaires aux yeux de la jeunesse allemande d’aujourd’hui]

12. Cf. Lombez, C. 2009. *La traduction de la poésie allemande en français dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle. Réception et interaction poétique*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 132 et sq.

(Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIV). It is therefore a question of an anthology, which is both retrospective (orientated towards the solid values of the past, namely popular and lyric poetry), and prospective (open to the new models of modernity, bearing in mind their appropriateness in relation to the current political norms). Epting concedes in the final lines that it was necessary to make a selection, “due to the lack of space” [faute de place] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIV), but above all – and may be felt to be the decisive argument – to “apply the principles that have come to light in Germany in the last ten years” [appliquer les principes qui se sont fait jour en Allemagne au cours de ces dix dernières années] (Lasne-Rabuse, I, 1943: XIV). The preface concludes with a half-hearted touch: all human work is questionable and consequently so is this anthology, but the important thing is that it was possible to produce it.

Correlating the selection of German poets presented to the French public in the anthology with the names on the Matthias list, more than likely produced by K. Epting himself, is not an unrewarding task. The majority of the classics on the list (Eichendorff, Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, Mörrike, Novalis, R. Wagner) appear, together with a number of contemporary authors who were viewed favourably by the Nazi regime, such as Paul Alverdes, Hans Carossa, Hermann Stehr, etc.<sup>13</sup>

If the absence of H. Heine or B. Brecht in the anthology is far from surprising considering the options cited above,<sup>14</sup> it may be considered a surprise to come across the name of Hofmannsthal, an Austrian poet of Jewish descent, represented by four poems. More surprising still is the presence of contemporary writers considered to be undesirable (*unerwünscht*) due to their anti-Nazism, who featured in the Propaganda Ministry’s red list on German Literary Production from 1933 to 1945 and also on the Matthias list and in the anthology! These authors included S. George, C. Morgenstern, R. M. Rilke and G. Britting, amongst others. What is the explanation for writers officially pursued by the National Socialist regime appearing on a list of works to be translated into French for the purposes of pro-Nazi propaganda? Or in an anthology published from a collaborationist viewpoint under the auspices of the German Institute, and furthermore by Otto Abetz’s right-hand man? In fact, if his memoirs are to be believed, it seems that K. Epting did not want to completely ignore his literary and poetic preferences, which included such diverse names as S. George, K. Tucholsky, R. M. Rilke, H. Mann. It may equally be imagined that the unquestionable protection that Otto Abetz

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13. Some Nazi writers such as Will Vesper or Baldur von Schirach who do not appear in the Matthias list are also to be found in the anthology.

14. H. Heine is mentioned in disapproving tones in the end-notes for the poet J. Kerner. He is notably blamed for having partly ridiculed the Swabia school of thought in one of his articles, ‘Der Schwabenspiegel’ (1839).

offered to Epting allowed him a certain freedom of choice or that he was simply not concerned about the matter, as inspection of the activities of the German Institute was sufficiently superficial.

As previously mentioned, the anthology contains polyphonic characteristics, in that not all the translations were completed by the same author, even if the majority were undertaken by R. Lasne. It is because of this that we find the names of individuals known for their collaborationist sympathies, such as Eugène Bestaux, Robert Pitrou, André Thérive, Maurice Boucher and Albert-Marie Schmidt, but also the more unexpected name of a 19th century poet, Gérard de Nerval, with one of his versions of the *Lénore* by Bürger. There are also translations by Patrice de la Tour du Pin, Maurice Betz (the first translator of Rilke), J. F. Angelloz, Armand Robin, Catherine Pozzi, Alexandre Vialatte, Jean Tardieu (a reprint of the *Archipel* by Hölderlin) and even André Gide (an extract from *Faust* published in March 1932 in the NRF).

To conclude this section, the ideological discourse directly below the final biographical notes should be noted (this has already been cited in reference to Heine), which constitutes a paratext in itself. It includes an implicit eulogy to the patriotic German poets who fought in the 1914–18 war, especially those whose premature death “cruelly deprived German post-war poetry of magnificent promises” [a cruellement privé la poésie allemande d’après-guerre de promesses magnifiques] (Lasne-Rabuse, II, 1943:272), or more recent poets such as Karl Bröger, who “...dedicated his body and soul to the national socialist movement...” [s’est voué corps et âme au mouvement national-socialiste] (Lasne-Rabuse, II, 1943:275), H. Menzel who “fought as an SA and the spirit of his fight animates a lot of his poems...” [a combattu comme SA, et l’esprit de ces luttes anime beaucoup de ces poèmes] (Lasne-Rabuse, II, 1943:280), H. Anacker who “enthusiastically joined the national socialist movement...” [se joignit d’enthousiasme au mouvement national-socialiste] (Lasne-Rabuse, II, 1943:279), and B. von Schirach who “belonged to the national socialist movement from high school onwards...” [appartint dès le lycée au mouvement national-socialiste] (Lasne-Rabuse, II, 1943:280), all of whom identified with the new ideology. Finally there is the presence of Will Vesper (represented by a poem which is a hymn in honour of Germany), a notable pro-Nazi editor and author of two widely distributed anthologies of German poetry<sup>15</sup> (*Die Ernte aus acht Jahrhunderten deutscher Lyrik*<sup>16</sup> and *Die Ernte der Gegenwart – Deutsche Lyrik*

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15. This detail is highlighted in the biographical note dedicated to W. Vesper, in which an allusion is made to the ‘immense success’ of the two volumes.

16. *Die Ernte aus acht Jahrhunderten deutscher Lyrik*, gesammelt von W. Vesper. 1906 (re-edited in 1910). Düsseldorf und Leipzig: W. Langewiesche-Brandt.

von heute<sup>17</sup>, with a very clearly defined selection), which more than likely served as a model for R. Lasne and G. Rabuse.<sup>18</sup>

The reception of this work will now be briefly considered.

### 3. Reception(s)

The anthology was welcomed in rather varying ways, depending on the political leanings of the critics and readers.

In the state press, numerous reports welcomed this solid collaborative production. L. Richard sheds light on the enormous amount of propaganda orchestrated around the anthology, extracts from which were quoted in magazines such as *Panorama* or *Comoedia*. For certain critics, the work had the expected effect; it acknowledged the existence of modern Germanic poetic production:

(...) German lyricism, far from having died with Rainer Maria Rilke, is reborn today in full bloom with individuals such as Carossa and Agnes Miegel (...). [le lyrisme allemand, loin d'être mort avec Rainer Maria Rilke, renaît aujourd'hui en pleine fleur (avec) des individualités comme Carossa et Agnes Miegel].

(*Les Bannis*, 1944: 10)

For others, Lasne and Rabuse's anthology was considered a "bad action" [une mauvaise action],<sup>19</sup> even treasonous, which needed to be rectified. This rectification took the form of a second anthology. The new work, entitled *Les Bannis* appeared through 'Editions de Minuit' in 1944 and was also a bilingual version but with a completely different choice of authors (H. Heine, B. Brecht, K. Tucholsky, S. Zweig, ...). The preface underlined the real meaning behind this combative initiative:

This edition prepares for and announces the true anthology which should replace the two dishonourable volumes of 1943. It stems from the spiritual lineage of what French thought, through the 'Editions de Minuit', has witnessed under oppression (...).

(*Les Bannis*, 1944: 10)<sup>20</sup>

17. *Die Ernte der Gegenwart – Deutsche Lyrik von heute*, gesammelt von W. Vesper. 1940 (re-edited in 1943). München: W. Langewiesche-Brandt.

18. Cf. Kortländer, B. 1998/3. «Le poète inconnu de la 'Loreley': le médiateur supprimé». *Romantisme*: 40.

19. *Les Bannis*. 1944. Paris: éd. De Minuit. Mauges's preface (alias C. Bellanger), 7. (Author's translation).

20. [Cette édition prépare et annonce la véritable anthologie qui devra remplacer les deux volumes déshonorés de 1943. Elle s'inscrit dans la lignée spirituelle de ce dont la pensée française, avec les éditions de Minuit, porte témoignage sous l'oppression]. Author's translation.



This “counter-anthology” therefore aimed to re-establish the prestige of authors whose existence was wrongfully ignored by Germany under the Third Reich.

(...) it is a voice that nothing can stop, that of the entire Humanities. No-one has the right to rip out names from the heritage that serves to honour them (...). It is without doubt up to the French to give them back their speech, to provide them with an audience. Let us not be discouraged from hearing their message in Germany itself. (*Les Bannis*, 1944: 8)<sup>21</sup>

The publisher Stock, responsible for the publication of the “Nazi Karl Epting”’s anthology, was evidently not forgotten by the editors of *Les Bannis*. Described as an “inopportune gesture”, this publication also referred to the reputations of its financiers. Here, the words are full of allusions:

We also regret that a translator, Mr René Lasne, and a French publishing house – Mr Delamain and Mr Boutelleau’s (alias Jacques Chardonne) Stock editions – were involved in this task. However, there is more which can be said as far as their actions are concerned. (*Les Bannis*, 1944: 10)<sup>22</sup>

A writer for *Les Lettres françaises*, André Rousseaux, goes even further:

The Stock anthology stands in the midst of the Hitlerian enterprise which claimed to put Germany at the head of Europe to defend and organise it. (Richard 1988: 295)<sup>23</sup>

The editor Stock was sentenced in court for collaboration with the enemy after the Liberation<sup>24</sup> – it was far from being the only case of this kind.<sup>25</sup>

21. Author’s translation. [Il est une voix que rien n’arrête, celle des Lettres entières. Nul n’a le droit d’arracher à leur patrimoine les noms qui l’honorent (...). Il appartenait à des Français, sans doute, de leur rendre ici la parole, de leur donner audience. Et ne désespérons pas de voir, en Allemagne même, leur message entendu.]

22. Author’s translation. [On a regretté aussi qu’un traducteur, M. René Lasne, et qu’une maison française – les éditions Stock de MM. Delamain et Boutelleau, *alias* Jacques Chardonne – s’y fussent prêtés, encore qu’il y eût à leur égard plus à dire.]

23. Author’s translation. [L’anthologie Stock est dans le droit fil de l’entreprise hitlérienne qui prétend mettre l’Allemagne à la tête de l’Europe, pour défendre et organiser celle-ci.]

24. Stock Editions’ silence with regard to this period of its history can be noted on its website. <http://www.editions-stock.fr/contact/stock-presentation-historique.html>

25. The case of B. Grasset, who was at the centre of an accusation of collaboration in 1944 (the charges were subsequently dismissed) may be cited, or that of R. Denoël, who was assassinated when he was about to face trial. Cf. “Between Collaboration and Resistance”, an exhibition on French literary life under the Occupation, held in the New York Public Library from April–July 2009, with the assistance of the IMEC.

Against all expectations, the Lasne-Rabuse anthology lived on after the Occupation that had witnessed its conception. It was re-edited several times during the 1950s and beyond,<sup>26</sup> erasing little by little the traces of its chaotic history. In this way, the *ad hoc* orientated paratexts and the texts by Nazi authors were removed in the post-war selection, as well as Georg Rabuse's name. The anthology therefore officially remained the work of René Lasne who, in any case, seems to have continued working as a translator after the war.<sup>27</sup> In 1967, Marabout Université, a publisher based in Belgium, re-launched and reworked the two volumes under the single name of R. Lasne.<sup>28</sup> A sign of the times, the second volume was entitled "From H. Heine to the modern day" and the edition included illustrations and supplements. The final biographical notes disappeared: they were re-arranged in the body of the anthology itself in a lighter form, sometimes even corrected, and were supplemented with a lengthy historical-descriptive introduction by René Lasne, dated May 1967.

In addition, the preface to this new edition was no longer attributed to Karl Epting but André Meyer, who reused the main outlines of his predecessor's work without acknowledgement. André Meyer, whom L. Richard does not hesitate to call "the tireless apostle of a racist sort of literary criticism" [apôtre infatigable d'une critique littéraire de type raciste] (Richard 1988: 282), was one of the most active Germanists during the Occupation. Do editors nowadays suffer from amnesia?

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26. In 1950, 1951, 1967.

27. The catalogue of the BNF indicates the translations of E. Kästner and G. Hauptmann by R. Lasne which appeared in 1950, 1952 and up until 1979.

28. An introductory side note: "The text from the original edition, published by Stock, Delamain et Boutelleau, Paris, under the title 'Anthologie de la poésie allemande' has been reworked by the author in the light of the present edition." [Le texte de l'édition originale, publiée par la librairie Stock, Delamain et Boutelleau, Paris, sous le titre «Anthologie de la poésie allemande»] (1967. Verviers: Marabout. 4. Author's translation). It is noticeable that the date of the first edition (1943) is not mentioned at all. Cf. Lombez, C. "Pour l'honneur des poètes allemands. L'anthologie de poésie en traduction comme acte politique et critique (*Les Bannis*, 1944)." *Critique et plurilinguisme*, Poétiques comparatistes, Paris, 2013 (currently undergoing print).

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# The reception of science fiction and horror story anthologies\* in the last years of Francoist Spain

## Censoring aliens and monsters in translation\*\*

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An official system of censorship was established during Franco's dictatorship in Spain in order to control the cultural sphere in the country for the duration of the political regime. In the seventies, the publishing market consisted mainly of mass literature, and the translation of anthologies of science fiction narratives and horror stories from North America was an important part of this process. These stories originated as pulps, published with titles such as *Weird Tales* or *Terror Tales*, and it is a difficult task today to trace the English versions from which they were translated, mainly due to the fact that different tales by different authors are included in these magazines. The anthologies had to follow the same control procedures as other narrative material and were closely scrutinised regarding aspects such as sexual morals and language, two of the most controversial issues during the time of the dictatorship. Some of them encountered problems because of their depiction of sexually charged scenes or immoral attitudes. This article offers a brief depiction of the kind of anthologized material translated at the time, together with an examination of some of these files, with a descriptive aim in mind. Whether they were censored or authorised or not, the main objective of the publishers of these kinds of anthologies was achieved since, thanks to them, both genres became well known in the country and encouraged Spanish writers to engage in the production of similar material, in a process of pseudotranslation that confirms their importance in the recipient culture.

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\* In this study, an *anthology* is considered a collection of short works such as short stories or short novels published in a single volume.

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## Introduction

The final years of the Francoist dictatorship in Spain (1970s) were a period of political change and of a slow evolution in the censorship legislation that affected all cultural products at the time. *Mass literature* dominated the market during this period and a considerable portion of it was made up of translations of science fiction narratives and anthologies of horror stories from North America.<sup>1</sup> These had originally been published there as *pulps*, with titles such as *Weird Tales* or *Terror Tales*, which makes it difficult today to trace the English versions from which they were translated, due to the inclusion in these magazines of various tales by different authors. When these anthologies entered the censorship system they were closely scrutinised regarding aspects such as sexual morals and language, two of the most controversial issues during the time of the dictatorship. Some of them encountered problems because of their depiction of sexually charged scenes or immoral attitudes. This article provides a brief description of the kind of anthology material translated at the time, together with an examination of some of the files, with a descriptive aim in mind. Whether they were censored or authorised or not, the main objective of the publishers of these kinds of anthologies at the time was achieved since, thanks to them, both genres became well known in the country and encouraged some Spanish writers to engage in the production of similar material, as a process of *pseudotranslation* that confirms their importance in the recipient culture.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Francoist censorship in the seventies: A system slowly falling into decline

The last years of Franco's dictatorship saw society gradually become more liberal and its system of control less and less effective. The law in force at the time was the Law of Press and Print, approved in 1966. This law replaced the legislation that had been functioning in the country since 1938, following the victory of the nationalist party in the Civil War. The system of censorship changed as a result of the new legislation and from that moment on control was based mainly on

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1. In this article, *mass literature* is understood to be a form of production whose main aim is to entertain the reading public, presenting no traces of literary or intellectual pretensions.

2. *Pseudotranslation* is used here in the sense given to it by Gideon Toury: "(...) it is texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed (...) that go under the name of pseudotranslations or fictitious translations" (1995:40).

two procedures: voluntary submission or previous consultation (which implied the issuing of a censor's verdict) and the archiving ("depósito") of the printed work without the need for a ruling by the censor. This new method of functioning implied more responsibility on the part of the publishers, who started to exert a kind of preventive censorship or self-censorship that would gradually become more and more widespread.

Throughout the censorship period, the most controversial issues were those related to sexual morals, religion, political beliefs and the use of improper language.<sup>3</sup> During the seventies, the criteria dealing with politics and religion became less important due to changes taking place in Spanish society, but those concerned with sexual morals and improper language still involved a constant battle with the censors, as we shall see in the case of the anthologies.

## 2. Science fiction and horror story anthologies during the seventies

Spain was a country that depended very much on translations for a long time and they still represented an important part of the country's book industry profits in the seventies. During this decade, publishing houses started to make use of reprints of previously successful works and of science-fiction and horror story anthologies. New ways of promoting books by means of ads on TV and original campaigns contributed to the success of many books that became authentic best sellers at the time. The selection of material was thus mainly based on economic criteria. This was the decade of *Love Story*, *The Godfather*, *The Exorcist*, *Jaws*, etc. As in any other competing publishing industry, market expansion depended on the publication of these and similar best sellers.

By the time science fiction and horror story anthologies were common in the Spanish literary market, it may be said that the kind of mass literature devoted to the science fiction genre had been present in the country for a long while. However, works of this kind written by national authors had always been scarce, and by no means constituted a continuous and prestigious flow of production.<sup>4</sup> At most, the success of this genre was mainly due to one of the most prolific Spanish

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3. According to Abellán (1980: 88) these were the areas to which the censors paid the closest attention when examining which works to publish.

4. As stated by various authors, "(...) las obras de anticipación, en letras hispanas, sólo han sido salvas al aire de unos pocos francotiradores, en modo alguno una corriente ininterrumpida y prestigiosa" [Science Fiction works, in the Spanish literary tradition, have been shots fired into the air by a few snipers, by no means a continuous and prestigious flow] (my translation). (V.V.A.A. 2000: 121).

writers of the time, José Mallorquí, who introduced the horror story genre to Argentina and then did the same in Spain, adding it to science-fiction anthologies. He was the man in charge of the collection entitled “Futuro”, which became quite popular at the time, but mainly included translations and few nationally-produced texts (Álvarez Macías 1972).

The anthologies that began to be sold in larger numbers at the time were composed of tales translated from English into Spanish and taken from different North American magazines, known at the time as *pulps*, due to the kind of material they used in their publications. The stories were taken mainly from the magazines *Weird Tales*, *Horror Stories*, *Terror Tales* or *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. These magazines had a long tradition in the North American literary market; the latter magazine is still in print and includes a long list of cult authors in its publications.<sup>5</sup>

The compilations published in Spain did not seem to follow any particular order, which makes it very difficult to trace their English versions. The people in charge of compiling these anthologies were often professional translators who were commissioned to do so by the publishing houses and ended up writing their own stories in the genre as a result of the practice they had acquired by translating them, as was the case with some other genres, such as the Western. However, the impact of these publications on Spanish readers did not equal that of other genres, making the phenomenon of pseudotranslation less noticeable in the case of these anthologies.

### 3. Science fiction anthologies and censorship

As previously stated, the research on which this study is based refers to the 1970s in Spain, and therefore covers nine years, from 1970 until 1978. Fifty three censorship files relating to science fiction anthologies translated from English can be found for these years in the Official Record Bureau where the censorship files are kept today, known as AGA (Archivo General de la Administración), located in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain.

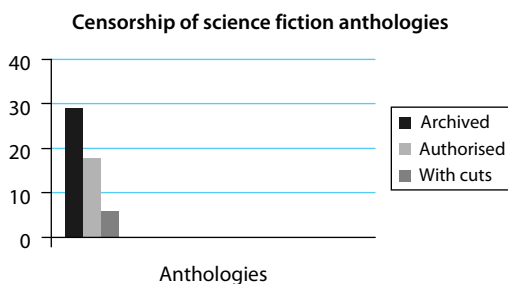
The stories included in these anthologies feature authors such as Larry Niven, Dean Koontz and the famous Isaac Asimov. The most famous anthology was entitled “Ciencia Ficción” and was published by Bruguera in the “Libro Amigo” collection, which contained two hundred and ninety six titles. A foreword was usually included for each story, often written by the translator or compiler of the

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5. Current URL of *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*.the publication: <http://www.sfsite.com/fsf/>

anthology, containing a value judgment on the story, generally for the purpose of attracting a favourable verdict from the censors.

The behaviour of the censorship boards towards these compilations was no harsher than that shown towards other mass publications: out of 53 censorship files, 29 of them were directly archived in the Administration without any kind of judgment on the part of the censors. 18 were authorised without any problems, and only 6 were subjected to any kind of cuts, as can be seen in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Science fiction anthologies and censorship

The cuts to the stories mainly concerned sexual matters and the use of improper or indecorous language, as can be verified in the following examples. Number 14 in the “Ciencia Ficción” collection, published in 1975 (file number 7101–74), includes the story entitled *A Meeting of Minds*, written by Anne McCaffrey and translated by I. Roger and C. Estilles,<sup>6</sup> describing a clan of human telepaths who have to confront a powerful extragalactic brain. When the book was submitted to the censorship board for examination, some cuts were advised, such as the following, in Table 1:

**Table 1.** Example of cut to a science fiction story

English (ST)	Spanish (TT)
“His is a true mind, a brilliant and powerful mind” she defended haughtily. “That’s fine for fireside chats, but <del>no damned good in bed</del> ” (p. 21)	Él es una mente auténtica, una brillante y poderosa mente- respondió su hermana defendiendo a aquel ser misterioso que había encontrado en el espacio. – Todo eso sólo sirve para comentarlo junto al fuego, <b>pero no para el matrimonio.</b> (p. 140)

6. These two names are given for the translation of the whole anthology, without any specification of authorship of particular stories.



The censor's mark refers both to the use of the swearword, "damned", which has been cut in the Spanish version, and the allusion to "bed", which has been aseptically replaced by a much more neutral word in Spanish, "marriage". When faced with the task of translating controversial passages, translators sometimes undertook a pre-emptive clean-up of the language and story that paved the way for publication and also led to a softening of the work, resulting in no further intervention on the part of the authorities. This was the case in some scenes or passages in other stories included in the same anthology, such as *Initiation*, by Joanna Russ. This story is defined in the foreword as "probably, the most beautiful tale in the anthology" (my translation) and deals with how an ordinary man enters a new mental and superior reality, aided in his journey by a community of telepaths. Innocent as the theme may seem, the story includes several examples of scenes that could have been controversial due to their nature. Two examples of these and of the translator's practice regarding them appear in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Example of prior softening techniques by the translator in a science fiction story

English (ST)	Spanish (TT)
(...) a spot barely contained by the strong walls of his chest that were so used to swimming, walking, wrestling, <b>to struggling in bed.</b> (page 71)	(...) una raya, simplemente, encerrada entre las fuertes paredes de su pecho tan acostumbrado a <b>soportar los más duros ejercicios físicos.</b> (page 11)
<b>Unable to enter her without losing his balance, he half- came, half- didn't against her belly.</b> (p. 95)	Ø (p. 46)

In the first example, the translator opted for commuting the content of the passage, which clearly makes reference to a sexual act, to a neutral expression ("the hardest physical exercises"). However, the second instance illustrates one of the most common translation techniques used: elision of the problematic content. This elision is complete because it eliminates the whole content of the scene: instead of softening it, the translators decide to omit it altogether and thus avoid possible future cuts or marks inflicted by the censors. All these techniques had the main aim of domesticating the publication for the recipient culture, in an effort to gain the approval of the official control system, and with it the financial profit that ensued.<sup>7</sup> The remaining few examples of cuts found in this genre affect the same two areas.

7. If, when translating, the translator opts for modifying the text in such a way that it becomes closer to the characteristics and conventions of texts in the target culture, it is better accepted and sometimes domesticated, whereas if the text produced still presents similar textual conventions to those of the source text that are alien to the target culture, foreignization is the key word ("foreignizing" vs. "domesticating" in Venuti's terminology, 1995).

The two-fold nature of these mass publications made them the perfect target for the censors: as a mass literary product which was going to be read by many people, they had to ensure that they did not include anything really offensive, but at the same time they served as a means of gradually integrating new trends into literary production, since they were leading the sales, and banning them would have represented a serious financial risk for the publishing industry.

#### 4. Horror story anthologies and censorship

Censorship files for the same period can be found in the A.G.A. for 14 anthologies of horror stories. In this case, the stories included were those by authors such as Ambrose Bierce, Charles Birkin or the famous H. G. Wells, and they sometimes dealt with lurid details that had to be handled with care by the translators.<sup>8</sup>

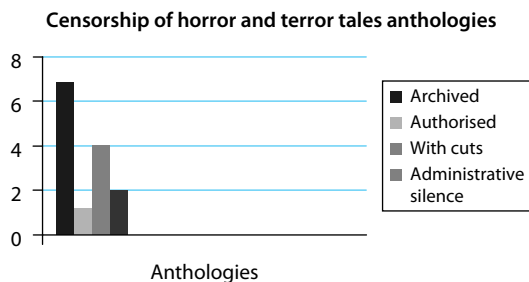
The most famous anthology at the time in Spain was “Antología de Relatos de Espanto y Terror” by the publishing house Dronte, which also included stories from the North American *pulps*. The covers of these anthologies were frequently considered controversial due to the scenes they depicted, and it was commonly said that Admiral Carrero Blanco, the right-hand man of General Franco, used to condemn them for their audacity.

As can be seen in Figure 2, and as was the case with the SF anthologies, the behaviour of the censorship boards towards these compilations was quite lenient, although a little more strict than for the former: out of 14 censorship files, 7 of them were directly archived in the Administration without any kind of judgment from the censors. One was authorised without any problem and 4 were subjected to some kind of cuts to their content. In this case, we also find the option of Administrative or Official Silence in which the censors did not explicitly disapprove of the content of the anthology but at the same time placed the responsibility for publication on the publishers. This last formula became common during the final years of the regime and is an indication of the gradual liberalisation of the country.

As with the Science Fiction compilations, the nature of the cuts in this case had a good deal to do with sexual morals, starting with the front cover of the anthologies. For example, when the “Antología de relatos de espanto y terror 19”, (1973) (file number 11.191–73) was submitted for evaluation, the censors only seemed to object to a few pages of some of the stories, but suggested that the

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8. As Lázaro stated, with regard to horror stories: “(...) se da rienda suelta a la crueldad, la bestialidad, la locura y a las pasiones más bajas (...)” [cruelty, bestiality, madness and the lowest passions are given free rein] (my translation) (2008: 199).



**Figure 2.** Horror story anthologies and censorship

front cover should be changed. The picture on the front cover of the anthology (Figure 3) featured a werewolf and a woman with part of her dress askew, showing part of her right nipple. Innocent as it may seem, the authorities at the time considered that it should be changed for a more anodyne one. The new cover included a screaming woman in a similar position to the original, but without any sexual connotations (Figure 4).



**Figure 3.** Original cover of the anthology *Antología de Relatos de Espanto y Terror 19*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>. This cover has been taken from the documents in the censorship file for the anthology found in the A.G.A. (file number 11.191-73).



Figure 4. Final cover of the anthology *Antología de Relatos de Espanto y Terror 19*

Apart from the reference to the cover, a few cuts were advised for other stories. For example, in the case of the story entitled *The Old Woman Upstairs*, written by Allan Hillery and translated as *La vieja de arriba* by José Manuel Álvarez, the censors indicated that some scenes should be deleted in the Spanish version, which the translator had already softened in the process of translation.

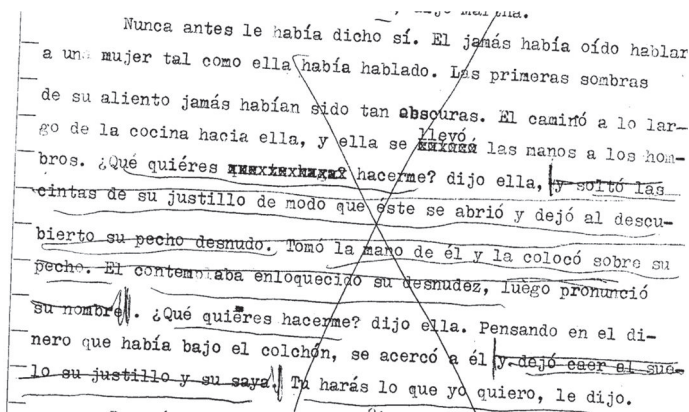


Figure 5. Example of a cut to a story included in the anthology *Antología de relatos de espanto y terror 19*<sup>10</sup>

10. The extract belongs to the galley proofs for the tale in the censorship file for the anthology found in the A.G.A. (file number 11.191–73).

In this case the complete scene has been deleted due to its strong sexual charge; it describes how a man and a woman flirt and actually begin sexual intercourse. The cut was designed to deliberately domesticate the story to suit national moral requirements.

On the other hand, the Administrative Silence or Official Silence issued for some other anthologies indicated that the authorities had become more lenient towards this kind of mass publication, since they did not explicitly oppose what they would have objected to before. This was the case with the anthology entitled *Relatos de misterio e intriga 4* published in 1973 by the publishing house Dronte. The anthology included six stories, which, in the words of the censor, “could be accepted for archiving” (file number 2622–73). As an indication, he referred to two pages in which the word “puta” [bitch] appeared, but did not directly order their elimination, allowing the responsibility for publication to pass onto the publisher, considering that, despite the possible offences it included, there still was some advantage to publishing the anthology.

## 5. Conclusions

The publication of SF and horror story anthologies was a common feature of the Spanish literary market of the 70s, since it had already exploited the republishing of previous successful works. As a rule, the stories included in these anthologies were taken from different North American magazines, and were not published in any kind of chronological order. The most prolific publishing houses involved in this kind of publication were Bruguera and Dronte and the books were sold as part of the stream of mass literature that dominated the market at the time. Therefore, their main objective, which was to provide cheap entertainment for the reading public, was fulfilled, whilst the translations served as a testing ground for the Spanish translators who had to render the tales into Spanish. Subsequently some of the translators and compilers of the stories started their own writing career in the terror, horror and science fiction genres but did not achieve the success that writers of the Western or detective genre had enjoyed a few years earlier. That was the case, for example, with José Mallorquí and his “Futuro” collection.

Even though these anthologies did not represent a serious danger for the Francoist regime, which was already in its final years, they sometimes received warnings in the form of cuts or Administrative Silences. Some were able to be published after changes to the front covers or some of the stories. However, whether censored or authorised or not, this kind of compilation had a beginning and an end and fulfilled the main objective of acquainting the Spanish reading public with the genres and their leading writers whilst also helping the literary market

to re-launch itself in difficult times. Their influence on the contemporary Spanish literary market was the result of a clear cultural planning strategy: in discussing it in this article, attention is drawn to a kind of anthology that lies outside the canon<sup>11</sup> but without doubt is part of the culture of many different societies and also deserves to be studied. The replicability of such a study in different censorship contexts could lead to a more comprehensive picture of how this kind of anthology fared under various regimes in other countries and thus open up several paths for further research.

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11. On another type of anthology that lies outside the canon, children’s literature, see Baubeta (in this volume).



# Censored discourse in anthologies and collections of the Far West

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This paper explores Franco's censorship of narratives of the Far West published in collections and anthologies. The study was based on a catalogue of 727 censorship files compiled for the Western genre, TRACEniO. 55% of the files corresponded to national popular Westerns (pseudotranslations) published in a standard format in mass-produced collections. The incidence of censorship of the collections was slightly lower than for the TRACEniO overall. Although anthologies of imported American Westerns translated into Spanish were not subjected to any form of cuts or modification under the official censorship procedure, a microtextual analysis of Haycox's short story, *Mrs. Benson*, reveals that the translators and/or publishers resorted to self-censorship and applied similar techniques and criteria to those used by the official censors as revealed in the TRACEniO catalogue.

## Introduction

During the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975) narratives of the Far West were extremely popular. A previous study (Camus-Camus 2010a) has shown that this popularity was not fortuitous but the consequence of deliberate cultural planning on the part of the Franco regime. Owing to the regime's aversion to translations, particularly those aimed at a popular readership, and their desire to promote the development of a "truly Spanish book" conforming to the regime's ideology, the Franco government offered publishing houses financial incentives in the form of reduced prices for paper and tax benefits for producing and exporting national works, especially to Latin America, and through these measures achieved both editorial and governmental control over the published material. Faced with a dearth of novelists following the exodus of numerous Republican intellectuals, publishers responded by recruiting writers from all walks of life and setting them to write "popular" novels under a pseudonym reminiscent of the prairies of the Far West (Camus-Camus 2008).



In this setting, the American pulp fiction Western formula (Cawelti 1999) proved an excellent model for this factory-style production system. However, in transferring the model to Spanish culture, the poetics of the genre, as described by Saisselin (1962), underwent a substantial transformation, with the fundamental components of the classic Westerns becoming so stylised that most of these nationally-produced works were reduced to a mere pastiche or caricature of the hallowed American Western.

The bulk of this popular Western narrative was issued in collections that had the same basic format (15 × 10.5 cm) and a standard number of pages, derived from the measurements of the DIN A3 paper used. The number of pages was almost always a multiple of 32, with the most common length being 128 pages. The front cover design featured colourful illustrations outlining the actions and emotions in the plot and the collections were also given a catchy title, which served both as a name and a means of situating the reader in the Far West scenario where the action portrayed in the narrative would take place.

The Western “boom” of the 1950s and 1960s was largely due to this national production, involving pseudotranslations presented to the reading public as if derived from an American source text (Tourey 1995: 40), whereas the imported and translated Westerns remained at a fairly constant and discreet level throughout the dictatorship, accounting for 14% of the total number of authorisation requests found in a representative catalogue of censorship files for Western narratives (TRACEniO).<sup>1</sup> As with all literary production in Franco’s Spain, these narratives of the West, whether home-produced or imported, had to pass through the stringent state censorship system set up by the regime. Although the system varied somewhat over the study period, the censors essentially issued three rulings: authorisation for publication, authorisation pending the introduction of modifications or cuts, and authorisation for publication denied. The overall incidence of censorship for the genre between 1939 and 1975 in TRACEniO was 11.3%, 8.1% of which corresponded to works that were cut and 3.2% to works denied authorisation (Camus-Camus 2010a: 46).

This paper explores Franco’s censorship of collections of nationally produced Western pulp fiction and the ideological restrictions on Spanish translations of

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1. The TRACEniO catalogue consists of 727 censorship files for Western narratives from the *Archivo General de la Administración* (the Administration General Archive, or AGA), where all the files opened during Franco’s regime are kept. The catalogue was compiled by selecting an arbitrary starting point in 1939 and incorporating the files for all Westerns contained in every fiftieth AGA box thereafter until 1975. The AGA box could hold between one and fifteen files. The TRACEniO catalogue covers all types of narrative dealing with the Western and includes both pseudotranslations and translations of imported narratives by prestigious American authors as well as pulp fiction writers.

Far West anthologies.<sup>2</sup> The study is derived from a broader investigation examining the effects of Franco's censorship on intersemiotic and interlinguistic translations of American Westerns into Spanish culture (Camus-Camus 2009). The time framework of the research ranges from 1939, a year marked by both the start of the Franco dictatorship and the release of what is considered to be the first great Western, John Ford's *Stagecoach*, to 1975, the year of Franco's death and, as previously shown (Camus-Camus 2010a), a turning point in the popularity of the Western in Spain, since the sun was then beginning to set on the genre.

## 1. Methods

The study, which is framed within the Descriptive Studies paradigm, constitutes a subsegment of TRACE (TRANslations CEnsored),<sup>3</sup> a larger research project which studies the effects of Franco's censorship on translations in different cultural areas. The TRACE methodology involves compiling a catalogue (or zero corpus) of censorship files prior to the selection of a text corpus (Merino 2005). Analysis of the data in the catalogue enables suitable representative whole texts to be selected, which constitute Text Corpus 1, followed by the identification of significant text fragments, which make up Text Corpus 2, which are then analysed in detail. Textual analysis is carried out using a three-phase procedure: preliminary, macrotextual and microtextual. The preliminary analysis focuses on the reception of the selected works in the sociocultural context both in the source and target culture and traces their passage through the official censorship process. The macrotextual analysis establishes whether any cuts, additions or other modifications were made to extensive text segments (chapters or paragraphs). The microtextual analysis examines these formal changes in smaller text units and relates them firstly to the semantic shifts they produce in coupled pairs of translation units, then correlates them with pragmatic effects attributed to censorship, namely sexual morality, attacks on authority, use of improper language, offences against the Church, and, in the context of Western narrative, the portrayal of violence. This

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2. On Franco's censorship on science fiction and horror stories see Castro (in this volume).

3. TRACE (TRANslations Censored), a research project funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation (FFI2008-05479-C02-02/FILO) and carried out by the Universities of the Basque Country, León and Cantabria, aims to describe the translation process that works were subjected to during the Franco regime, and, at the same time, attempts to discover whether censorship contributed to the creation of a particular form of translational behaviour in the Spanish literary system. The TRACE members have published numerous articles on translation and censorship: <http://www.ehu.es/trace/inicio.html>; <http://trace.unileon.es/>

three-phase approach aims to uncover the norms underlying the translation process, i.e. whether the translator's initial norm inclined towards adequacy (favouring the source text) or acceptability (prioritising the target culture) (Toury 1995), with special attention to the use of self-censorship.

Within the TRACE framework, the TRACEniO catalogue of censorship files was compiled for the Western to determine the incidence of censorship for this genre, as previous studies (Rabadán 2000: 262) had found that Western narratives accounted for 87.2% of popular narrative files in the Administration's General Archive (AGA).

In the TRACEniO catalogue works were only registered under the heading *collection* when the publication data recorded in the censorship file contained the name of the series. Following the incentives offered to publishers, the publication of standard format Western collections became the preferred editorial policy for marketing their national production. On the other hand, an *anthology* implies a representative collection of literary pieces or passages selected according to specific criteria and published in a single volume or a limited number of volumes. Owing to the mass market retailing behind the production of Westerns in both source and target cultures, anthologies had a mere token presence in the TRACEniO catalogue.

The data from the TRACEniO catalogue for collections of nationally produced Westerns was analysed and compared with the data for the whole catalogue. The text analysis procedure was applied to *Mrs. Benson*, a short story by Ernest Haycox, translated by José M<sup>a</sup> Aroca and included in the fifth volume of Acervo's series of Western anthologies.

## 2. Results

The regular publication of nationally produced Westerns, or pseudotranslations, in collections was one of the outstanding features of the TRACEniO catalogue. These narratives of the Far West, the epitome of the popular genres, catered for a mainly male mass market so that the vast majority of works in this popular narrative style based on the American pulp fiction model were lacking in conventional literary merit. In their reports, the official censors – or readers as they were euphemistically called – frequently drew attention to the simple stereotyped plots, as shown by the comments made on the novel *Venganza justificada* (File 2169/54) written by the most prolific author of nationally-produced Westerns, Marcial Lafuente Estefanía:<sup>4</sup>

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4. All translations of the data from the catalogue and backtranslations (glosses) in the micro-textual analysis are mine.

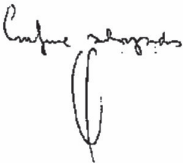
*Justified Revenge*: A young cowboy whose father has been murdered by a band of get-rich-quick rustlers devotes himself to seeking them out in the ranches where they now live. One by one, and always after provocation by the bad guy, they fall to the bullets from his gun, which is as implausibly quick and infallible as the occasion requires to bring the plot to a happy end. His love, from the beginning of the story, for the daughter of one of the rustlers predictably ends with him marrying her.

In many cases (see Figure 1), the reader would also strongly criticise the deplorable style that flouted both literary and linguistic norms.

Informe y otras observaciones: **COMPROBADO Y CONFORME**  
**LAS TACHADORAS** *l*  
 16 DE *Enero* DE *1968*  
 (C) EL JEFE DE LA SECCION DE  
 LECTORADO

Novela "western" de estilo humorístico, pero en un tono de desenfado que llega a vulnerar no sólo las reglas de la narración literaria sino las de la ortografía gramatical. La mayor parte del relato se centra en los esfuerzos de un dueño de "saloon" por saciar su "pasión" por la cantante-bailarina protagonista, a la que no duda en sumir en un letargo por medio de un soporífero, para aprovechar su inconsciencia y abusar de ella durante el sueño(?) Con constantes alusiones de mal gusto en el aspecto sexual, resulta por otro lado falta de ingenio, amenidad e interés. Pero corrigiendo su estilo en lo señalado en páginas 8-9-11-13-17-19-20-45-46-47-49-51-70-71-72-74-87-88-90-91-93-94-95-96-97-115-117-118-120-124,

PUEDEN AUTORIZARSE.

*Informe oliveros*  



Madrid, 19 de Octubre de 1968  
 El lector,  


Figure 1. Reader's Report on *Unas Medias Enredadas y un Colt 45*: Miguel Oliveros Tovar. File 8025/68

*Diamond Lace Stockings and a Colt 45*: A humorous Western whose relaxed tone manages to violate not only the norms of literary narrative but also those of grammar and spelling. Most of the story focuses on the efforts of a saloon owner to sate his passion for the singer-dancer protagonist. He shows no qualms about knocking her out with a sleeping draught in order to take advantage of her unconscious state and abuse her sexually while she is asleep. In addition to the bad taste of the constant allusions to sexual matters, it also shows a complete lack of ingenuity, enjoyment or interest. But by correcting the style on pages [...] it can be authorised.

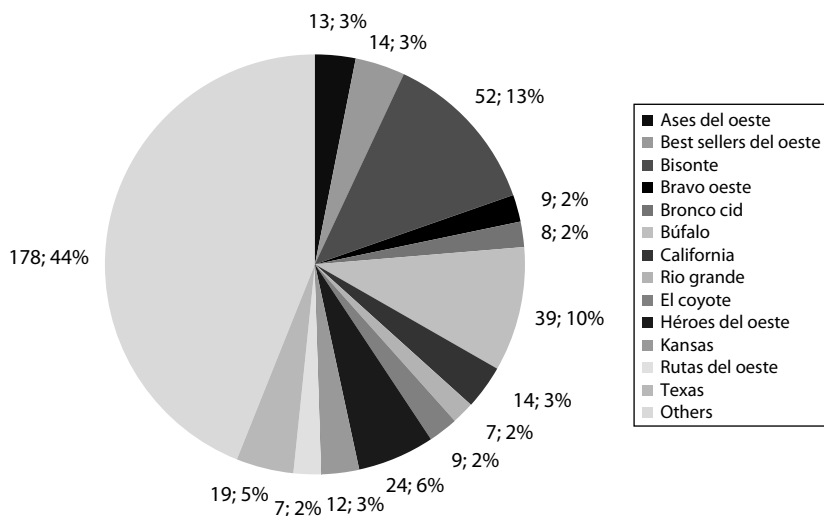
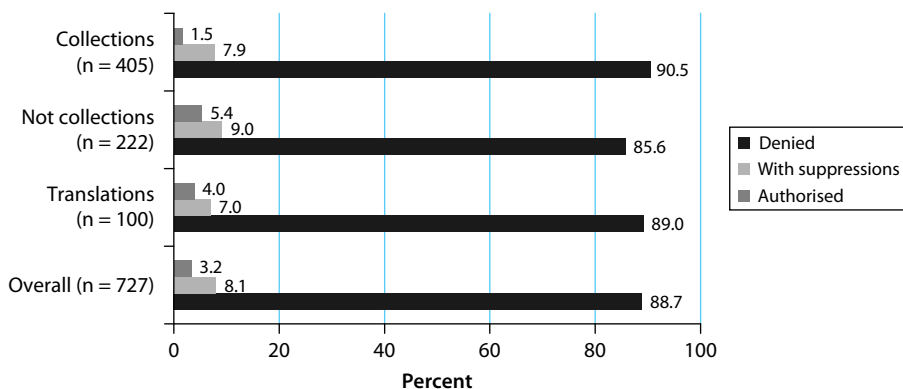


Figure 2. Distribution of censorship requests in the different collections

Of the 727 registers in the TRACEniO catalogue, 405 (55%) corresponded to pseudotranslations published in a given collection. Figure 2 presents the distribution of censorship files for pseudotranslations published in collections with more than five registers in the catalogue. The four series with the highest representation (*Bisonte*, *Búfalo*, *Héroes del Oeste* and *Texas Oeste*) were all *Bruguera* collections, the leading publishing house for the genre, but the wide variety of series and the large proportion of Westerns published in collections not reaching the cut-off point is an indication of how attractive the genre and the format were for publishing houses.

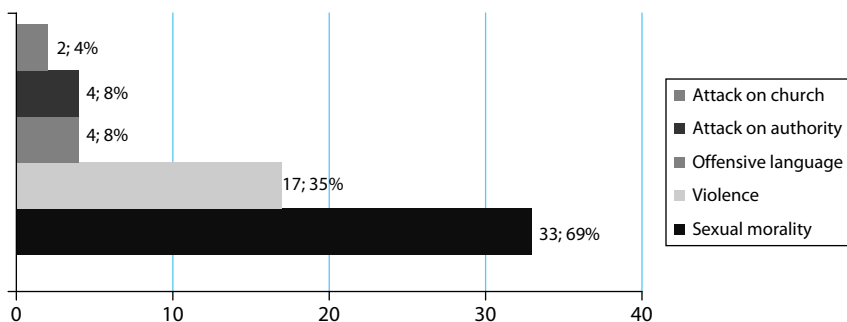
Of the other 322 (45%) TRACEniO registers, 222 (31%) were for works published in a wide array of formats and editions ranging from graphic pulp fiction to full-length novels, with translated Westerns accounting for the remaining 100 (14%), of which only two works were published as anthologies, namely the third and sixth volumes of the eight-volume *Anthology of Western Novels* issued by *Acervo* between 1961 and 1971. Thus, the data confirms that although Spanish publishers maintained a fairly steady output of imported Westerns through translation, it was not common editorial policy for outstanding examples of the genre to be collected and published in anthologies.

Figure 3 shows the percentages for the three main categories of censorship rulings in TRACEniO, that is, works that were authorised directly without any changes being introduced, those authorised with cuts and those denied authorisation. The incidence for works authorised with cuts was 8.1% for the catalogue overall, this percentage being slightly lower for works published in collections (7.9%). It is worth noting that imported works experienced the lowest number of



**Figure 3.** Comparison of the categories of censorship rulings in the TRACEniO catalogue and the different publication formats

cuts (7%). Collections were scarcely affected by denied authorisations for publication, the 1.5% (6 out of 405) contrasting sharply with the 5.4% for works in other formats during the period under study. Imported westerns denied authorisation occupied an intermediate position at 4%, which is slightly higher than the 3.2% for the whole catalogue.



**Figure 4.** Distribution of censorship criteria for authorisations with cuts in the TRACEniO catalogue overall

Figure 4 illustrates the application of the censorship norms as revealed in TRACEniO in cases when the Censorship Board granted permission for publication pending the introduction of the required cuts and modifications to the text. Of the 59 works affected by this ruling, no specific criteria were indicated in 11 of the files, so that the calculation for each category was based on the 48 works in which one or more of the criteria were stated to have been contravened. The data

shows that it was issues of sexual morality that were subject to the highest number of cuts, followed by the use of violence and, in much lower proportions, the use of offensive language or attacks on authority (Camus-Camus 2009).

An analysis of the censorship criteria applied to works published in collections, other nationally-produced Westerns and translated texts revealed no differences between them, with sexual morality, followed by the portrayal of violence, as the most frequent targets for the censor's red pen, while the other categories were rare and usually occurred in combination with one of the two main criteria.

As illustrated in the example of cuts due to sexual morality (Figure 5), the censors were preoccupied with vivid or lurid descriptions of fulsome feminine forms, which were considered likely to arouse the reading public's "low instincts".

~~-Eh, querida -dijo Margot-, tienes un camisón que va a entusiasmar al señor Drago por su transparencia.~~  
 -¡Oh! -exclamó Nathalie y se apresuró a cubrir su bonito camisón con una bata de color sangre. Pero de un tejido tan liviano que maldaba sus curvas con delicadeza.  
 Luego abrió la puerta.

Figure 5. *Unas Medias Enrejadas y un Colt 45*: Miguel Oliveros Tovar. File 8025/68

"Hey, dear," Margot said, "You're wearing a nightdress that's going to thrill Mr Drago it's so transparent.

"Oh!" exclaimed Nathalie and hastily covered her pretty nightdress with a blood-red dressing gown, but made of such fine material that it clung defiantly to her curves.

Then she opened the door.

Similarly, the censors sought to eliminate passages they considered displayed an excessively morbid obsession with the gruesome details of the violence characteristic of the genre (Figure 6).

Bill Coán dio una última vuelta y brincó en el aire para levantarse. Antes que sus pies tocaran el suelo su dedo tiró del gatillo y el rugido del arma se confundió con el estrépito de los cascos del caballo.  
 El rufian abrió los brazos. [Sus rostro se convirtió en un amasijo sangriento] y al fin cayó hacia atrás. [Su pie quedó enganchado en el estribo y el caballo, asustado por el disparo, siguió galopando internándose en el prado con el cuerpo inerte de su jinete dando tumbos, destrozándose, dejando tras sí un reguero nauseabundo.]

Figure 6. *Amanecer de Sangre*: José M<sup>a</sup> Lloró Olivé. File 2596/68

*Blood at Dawn*. Bill Cain gave one last turn and jumped into the air to get to his feet. Before his feet touched the ground, his finger pulled the trigger and the roar of the gun mingled with the drumming of the horse's hooves.

The villain opened his arms. [His face turned into a bloody mess] and finally he fell backwards. [His foot caught in the stirrup and the horse, frightened by the shot, galloped on into the field with the lifeless body of its rider bumping along, getting torn apart and leaving a nauseating trail behind.]

Westerns were mainly mass-produced, distributed in collections and most of them consisted of a repetitive and formulaic narrative that kept the genre within the domains of popular fiction. However, the stars of some writers shone brighter than the rest, and the quality of their narratives attracted the attention of academic critics so that they acquired the status of what John Milton (1980: 106) refers to as "Westerns with a capital letter". Ernest Haycox is one such author. Not only is he the American author with the highest number of registers in the TRACEniO catalogue, totalling 32 of the 100 imported works, but he is also the writer most represented in Acervo's eight-volume anthology of Western writers, with two entire volumes devoted to his short stories and at least one story included in the remaining six. Of Haycox's 32 works in the catalogue, three were authorised with cuts (*The Earthbreakers*, *Abriendo camino*; *Bugles in the Afternoon*, *Clarines al atardecer*; *Alder Gulch*, *El camino del oro*) and one was denied authorisation for publication (*The Adventurers*, *Los aventureros*). This censorship incidence of 9.4% and 3.1% is practically identical with that of the catalogue overall.

Since the TRACEniO catalogue contained only two registers for Acervo's anthology, a specific search was carried out at the AGA for the censorship files of the remaining six volumes of this anthology. Examination of the data obtained from these censorship records revealed that the Board of Censors had not made any indications that cuts or modifications should be introduced into the proposed translations of these anthologies.

Haycox's merit was to move beyond the formulaic Westerns of pulp fiction and hone his stories into a more literary style of Western that emphasised historical accuracy and depth of character, something which sets him apart from writers of popular fiction and places him in the realm of the literary Western. Haycox was a prolific writer who, between 1920 and 1950, wrote 23 novels and over 250 short stories, many of which appeared in *Collier's* magazine or *The Saturday Evening Post*. Eleven of Haycox's stories or novels were made into memorable films, notably *Stage to Lordsburg* (1937), the source of John Ford's *Stagecoach*.

The source texts for the anthology of Haycox's short stories in the TRACEniO catalogue were *Rough Justice* (1950) and *Murder on the Frontier* (1954), which originally appeared as two independent collections, published by Brown Little and Pocket Books, respectively. Of the nine stories in *Rough Justice*, six appeared



in volume V (1965) of Acervo's Anthology of Western Short Stories, two were included in volume VI (1965), and one was excluded from these selections. Similarly, of the nine stories in *Murder on the Frontier*, six appeared in volume V, one was included in volume VI and two were excluded. In addition, volume V included another five Haycox stories from other sources, including *Stage to Lordsburg*, while volume VI contained another 14 stories by this author. All the stories in these two anthologies were translated by José M<sup>a</sup> Aroca.

When the two volumes of the Spanish edition went through the compulsory censorship procedure, the censors found none of the short stories gathered in the anthology infringed the moral, religious or political boundaries set by the dictatorship and the works were approved for publication without the need for modifications or cuts. In their reports, the censors emphasised that the interest of the stories lay in their depiction of the atmosphere of the land and its dwellers and recognised the merits of the predictable ending of the hero marrying the heroine.

Previous analyses have revealed that the portrayal of the female *persona* in the translated materials deviated greatly from its depiction in the source text (Camus-Camus 2010b, 2011). To test whether this divergence is also evident in the transfer of short stories selected for anthologies, *Mrs. Benson*, a story with a female character as the protagonist has been chosen for microtextual analysis. In the source culture, *Mrs. Benson* was first published in *Collier's* magazine on the 20th of March 1948 and later as the sixth story in the volume *Rough Justice* (1950). In the target culture, it was the fourth story selected to form part of volume V of Acervo's anthology.

Mrs. Benson is an attractive 34-year old woman who is neglected by her husband, an engineer who is away from home most of the time. She attracts the attention of two local men, Al DeSpain, who runs a saloon, and Clyde Dill, the local sheriff. DeSpain maintains a secret relationship with Clara Calhoun, a widow, who earns her living as a dressmaker.

In view of the theme of the story, sexual morality being one of the main targets for censorship, the analysis of *Mrs. Benson* will allow us to determine to what extent it complied with or deviated from the censorship trends found in the TRACEniO catalogue.

### 3. Microtextual analysis

As mentioned above, examination of the AGA files established the absence of official censorship of the anthologies. Nevertheless, a microtextual analysis of *Mrs. Benson* revealed the existence of a significant divergence between the source text (ST) and target text (TT), which can therefore be attributed to self-censorship,

since in the context of impending official censorship, authors, translators and publishers alike, fearing the intervention of the censors, frequently resorted to this strategy (Merino 2008; Rabadán 2000).

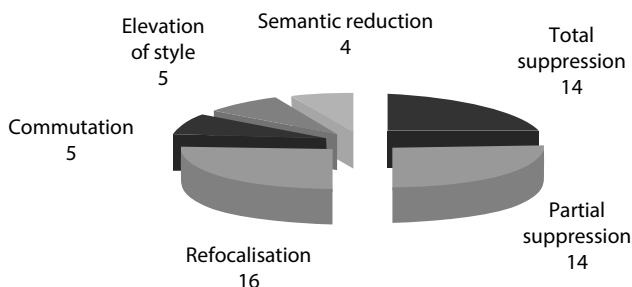


Figure 7. Distribution of translation techniques in *Mrs. Benson*

The microtextual analysis of *Mrs. Benson* revealed a total of 60 changes introduced into the TT (Figure 7). Half of these were due to the elimination of textual material, either by total suppression (14 cases) or partial suppression (16 instances). The remaining 30 changes were modifications, of which the most frequent were refocalisation (16 instances), followed by elevation of style and commutation (5 cases each), and semantic reductions produced by paraphrasing (4 cases). In what follows we illustrate and comment on a selection of some of the modifications introduced into the TT through self-censorship, either by the translator or the publishing house.

At the start of the story, Al DeSpain finds himself drawn to Mrs Benson in a casual encounter in the street when she shows more than a passing interest in him. Her response is refocalised in the TT with a slight intensification that may be an attempt to compensate for later more radical suppressions:

- (1) He lifted his hat when she came near, the gesture bringing from her a glance of more than ordinary courtesy; for a moment her interest lay in him **with its direct warmth**.

*Despain alzó su sombrero cuando ella estuvo más cerca, y el gesto fue correspondido con una mirada que era algo más que cortés; por un instante, el interés de Mrs. Benson fue algo tan palpable como una caricia.*

‘for a moment Mrs. Benson’s interest was something as palpable as a caress.’

The strong effect of the encounter on DeSpain is described with such crude realism that the Spanish translator, as is customary in translations of Westerns (Camus-Camus 2010c: 13), does not reflect it at all: “The excitement wouldn’t stay out of him. He knew what he was right now; he was a tomcat prowling.”

After dealing with some business in the saloon, DeSpain goes to Clara Calhoun's house, entering unseen by the back door, and they sit down to supper together. However, the familiar intimacy between them is greatly toned down in the Spanish TT.

- (2) **Enamel-black hair lay in heavy folds on her head; her face, turning a moment from the stove, contained an indulgent, smiling knowledge of this man.**

*Llevaba los negros cabellos recogidos sobre la cabeza, y en su rostro sonriente se reflejó cierta indulgencia al mirar a Despain.*

In (2) the translator has resorted to a number of techniques that transform Clara into a motherly figure for DeSpain: her hairstyle is changed from loose to tied back on her head (*recogidos sobre la cabeza*), and the way she glances at him is refocalised to mere indulgence as the word "knowledge" is removed from the text, compensated to some extent by the omission of the "stove".

In addition, practically all physical contact between them is suppressed:

- (3) **She dished out the meal and removed her apron; when he passed her he put a hand on her waist, and her head came around in a moment's agreeable interest.** Then they sat down.

*Clara puso la mesa y se quitó el delantal. ▲ Luego se sentaron.*

'Clara laid the table and removed her apron. Then they sat down.'

Once again in (4), the implied "hidden" knowledge she has of DeSpain is refocalised into 'eyes full of understanding' (*ojos llenos de comprensión*) as any tender, motherly woman might have for a man:

- (4) **She looked down at him, her face partly turned, her glance slanting towards him with its shaded knowledge and its affection.**

*Se volvió a mirarle, con los ojos llenos de comprensión y de afecto.*

'She looked at him again, her eyes full of understanding and affection.'

When DeSpain takes his leave all sensuality is removed from the parting embrace and kiss, the only physical contact the translator allows:

- (5) **She lifted her face, growing soon sober and they stood together a moment looking silently at each other. He kissed her and got her heavy-mouthed response; then he left the house.**

*Clara alzó la cabeza, poniéndose repentinamente seria, y permanecieron unos instantes abrazados, mirándose en silencio. Despain la besó. ▲ Luego se marchó de la casa.*

The next day DeSpain leaves town after Mrs. Benson has set out on her daily ride and pretends to meet her by chance on the trail. As they ride together, DeSpain's

impression of her is attenuated in the TT by partial suppression of the sexual connotations of “lustfulness” and “shallow”:

- (6) She was in her early thirties and had been neglected until she was desperate. But he got **no sense of lustfulness or shallow** flirting from her; she was a gentlewoman.

*Tenía poco más de treinta años y la habían desatendido hasta que se desesperó. Pero Despain no captó en ella ▲ el menor deseo de coquetear; era una dama...*

‘... But DeSpain did not feel the slightest desire to flirt in her; she was a lady.’

As in the scene with Clara, when they reach DeSpain’s cabin most of the physical contact, however slight, is removed from the TT:

- (7) He got down from the saddle and offered a hand, **her weight springing lightly against him**. He took her arm...

*Despain se apeó del caballo y le ofreció una mano a Mrs. Benson ▲. La cogió del brazo...*

In (8) all the action and reactions portrayed in the ST are suppressed, with the amorous content of the passage left implicit by describing Mrs. Benson as a woman who was not lonely:

- (8) Locking her hands about his neck, she lifted her face. **A rough pleasure went through him as he dropped his mouth to hers. Her fingers dug at his shoulders; she hung against him with such a pressure and such an insistence that a moment of wonder passed over him**; this was not the gentle lonely woman now. He held her until he felt her body shaking with strain, and then he drew his head back and saw her eyes were closed and her face drawn into a dreaming blankness.

*Echándole los brazos al cuello, Mrs. Benson levantó el rostro. ▲ Aquella no era la amable mujer solitaria. ▲*

However, as can be seen in both (8) and (9), not only is any allusion to sensuality and Mrs. Benson’s inner feelings removed, but there are subtle shifts in the moral characterisation through the commutation of “self-consciousness” with *remordimiento* ‘remorse’, a concept in tune with the Catholic morality of the regime:

- (9) She drew back from him shrugging her shoulders. She was smiling as **she laid her fingers around her mouth, pressing at its edges**. She touched her hair and she looked at him with a pleased, brilliant interest. He saw no shadows on her face, **no self-consciousness**.

*Se apartó de Despain, encogiéndose de hombros. Sonreía ▲. Luego, se alisó el pelo y miró a Despain con complacido ▲ interés. Él no vio ninguna sombra en su rostro, ningún remordimiento.*

When DeSpain expresses his fears that he may harm Mrs. Benson, she dispels them in the ST claiming what they feel is no more than a natural response; in contrast, through skilful refocalisation, the translator maintains Mrs. Benson's rejection of his fear, but eliminates the allusion to the inner drives of nature with her feeling of fulfilment refocalised to the idea of pain and a subtle hint that any kind of sexual relationship is linked to something not pleasurable:

- (10) "Hurt me?" she said, and was surprised. "This is the first day, for ages, **that I've felt like a woman. Isn't that how I'm supposed to feel – and you to feel like a man?**"

– ¿Lastimarme? – *inquirió Mrs. Benson, sorprendida* – *Éste es el primer día, desde hace siglos, que no me siento lastimada.*

'Hurt me?' Mrs. Benson queried, surprised. "This is the first day for ages that I haven't felt hurt.'

In the second meeting at the cabin that takes place the following day, the same translation techniques are employed to remove the passionate embrace between DeSpain and Mrs. Benson, the pleasurable feelings experienced by DeSpain and the intensity of her response to his kiss. However, whereas the ST makes the reasons that bring DeSpain to his senses explicit, the suppressions and semantic shifts introduced into the TT make DeSpain's change of heart enigmatic:

- (11) He stepped toward her, seeing **the hollowing** of her eyes, the tightening of her face, **the tide sweeping up through her. She laid her head against his chest, keeping her face from him out of some moment of contradictory impulse.** "No," he said, and when she lifted her mouth to him, he kissed her. It was a **shaking thing. He was thirty-five, yet the freshness of this woman shattered his balance, his reasonableness.**

*Avanzó hacia ella, notando el fulgor de sus ojos, la repentina rigidez de su rostro, ▲ y la besó. ▲*

With the cut introduced in (12), Mrs. Benson's passionate response is eliminated and it must be assumed in the TT that it is the force of her stare that makes her delicacy vanish for DeSpain:

- (12) She pulled back and looked at him with **the most urgent directness. The soft dreaming had vanished before a hunger which loosened and parted her lips and created a metal brightness in her eyes.** The delicacy he had seen in her wasn't here, **the gentleness had evaporated.**

*Mrs. Benson echó la cabeza hacia atrás y le miró con fijeza. ▲ La delicadeza que Despain había visto en ella ▲ se había evaporado.*

In addition to the considerable amount of text that has been cut, again the “negative” connotations in what remains are transformed – “hollowing” becomes *fulgor* (‘glow’) in (11) – or removed – “urgent” in (12), where “gentleness” and “delicacy” are also fused into a single concept.

Even when DeSpain finally decides to make his relationship with Clara an open one, the natural responses of the female *persona* are suppressed in the TT:

- (13) He saw on her face the glow of gentleness; **he saw also that same bottomless expression which had been in Mrs. Benson’s eyes; it was like a door opening to a corridor that ran far back toward a secret room which held something he couldn’t see, and he felt a guilt come upon him for what he had taken carelessly from this woman.**

*Despain vio en el rostro de Clara el resplandor de la bondad.* ▲

The impact of the modifications and cuts introduced into the TT affects not only the physical aspects of the relationship between the two women and DeSpain, but also produces an almost complete loss of psychological tension between them. The suppression of all initiative on the part of women, of their inner drives, and of all expression of their feelings and passion deprives them of the psychological credibility they exhibit in the ST, reducing them to the flat passive stereotypes of the Spanish popular Westerns: Mrs. Benson represents the refined lady who is out of place in the harsh physical conditions of the frontier and Clara an example of the hardworking helpmate (Stoeltje 1975; Camus-Camus 2010b, 2011). They serve only as objects that intervene in the actions performed by the male characters. Mrs. Benson in the TT ceases to be the protagonist of the story, as the whole plot is refocalised around DeSpain. In the end it is he who spurns the temptation of an illicit *affaire* with Mrs. Benson, thus maintaining his illusion of her as a pure refined lady, and chooses to formalise his relationship with the widow Clara, which not only satisfies the puritanical morals of the American Far West, but also falls within the narrow bounds of the precepts of the Franco regime.

The translation strategy of self-censorship has been skilfully applied to *Mrs. Benson* by anticipating all the aspects likely to arouse the censors’ wrath. Among the translation techniques employed are those the censors themselves would have used, namely, partial and total cuts. However, the cumulative effect of the refocalisations in this text is, in fact, to refocalise the whole story by shifting the emphasis from Mrs. Benson to Al DeSpain.

#### 4. Conclusions

The study has shown that the influence of official censorship on translator and/or editorial behaviour shifted the initial norm towards the pole of acceptability, confirming that, in the case of the Western genre in Spain, translations are “facts of the culture that hosts them” (Toury 1995:24). The incidence of censorship of nationally produced collections of Westerns was 9.6%, slightly lower than the overall incidence of 11% for the genre during the period 1939–75, due to the smaller number of works denied authorisation for publication. The publication of Westerns collected in anthologies was not common editorial practice, and the few that were published were not subjected to any cuts or modifications as part of the official censorship procedures. In spite of this, the analysis of the short story *Mrs. Benson*, the theme of which was most likely to trigger a response from the censors, revealed that the changes introduced at microtextual level were consistent with the results obtained for official censorship in the TRACEniO catalogue, and thus are attributable to self-censorship on the part of either the translator or the publisher. In *Mrs. Benson*, the main translation techniques used were cuts and refocalisation, which were aimed mainly at reducing the suggestive erotic content of the story. As a result, however, these changes deprived the Spanish reader of Haycox’s rich characterisation, especially that of the two women, transforming them into anodyne female characters like those portrayed in the popular narratives of both the formulaic American Westerns and the Spanish pseudotranslations on which they were modelled.

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# Philosophical collections, translation and censorship

## The role of collections in the reception of modern philosophy in 19th and 20th century Spain\*

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Translations played an important role in introducing new philosophical ideas into Spain from 1850 on, but modern secular philosophy was more often than not in conflict with Catholicism, the dominant power in the symbolic field. Since there was little chance of publishing and publicising such works in the established media, the patrons of these translations had to establish their own publishing houses and book collections. These were used as tools to fight against a system of structural censorship that gave priority to the dominant Catholic ideology. Patricio de Azcárate, who created the first Biblioteca collection, José Perojo, Antonio Zozaya, Ortega y Gasset and Juan Bergua among others organised important collections that were based mainly on translations. Their cultural efforts were driven by a political agenda that was progressive in nature, as they all wanted to modernise Spain economically, socially and politically. As a result, they all suffered different forms of censorship and persecution.

### Introduction

Translations have played a key role in the introduction of new philosophical ideas into Spain since the early 19th century. However, it was no easy task to introduce these ideas into Spain at the beginning of the 19th century, when illiteracy was rampant, education was basically in the hands of the Church, and there was little

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scientific culture. In a situation where the Church and its conservative values controlled cultural production, the introduction of 'modern' ideas had a clear progressive role. For this reason, new ideas came up against various censorship filters (such as criticism, blacklisting, silencing, economic constraints, the denigration of translations, imprisonment, exile, publishing bans) that hampered the production and dissemination of these innovative ideas. The hegemonic conservative forces wanted to keep Spain isolated from the intellectual developments of the time. To counteract this situation, the agents of innovation, faced with a cultural void and no support from the authorities, turned to translations. However, they were aware that scattered translations would have little social impact in such a setting, so one of their main strategies to gain wider distribution and achieve greater impact was to produce collections of philosophy books, which will be described below. The emergence and disappearance of collections containing translations of modern European philosophy serves as an indicator of important cultural and political changes. Consequently, the study of coordinated and organised translations may help us to understand the workings and evolution of particular cultural systems.

### 1. Situation in the early 19th century

At the beginning of the 19th century, the introduction and use of foreign books was still controlled by a twofold censorship network with a long history. Since 1478, the Inquisition had controlled all printed works and from 1502 onwards no books could be circulated without state-authorised printing rights. Not only were classical authors banned, but also humanists like Erasmus, and scientists such as Kepler, Brahe, Nepper and others. In fact, a large part of European scientific literature was banned at the peak of the scientific revolution (Pardo Tomás 1991:346–7). In the second half of the 18th century, Pufendorf's and Wolff's iusnaturalism was banned, and works by more modern authors like Rousseau, Voltaire and Locke were persecuted. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Inquisition once more gained notoriety in the fight against modern enlightened and revolutionary ideas that could pose problems for the monarchs as well as the Church. This is reflected in the 1805 catalogue of banned books, which included Montesquieu, Helvetius, Holbach, Rousseau, Condillac, Diderot, Adam Smith, David Hume and others.

The symbolic field was totally dominated by Catholicism at the beginning of the 19th century, which rejected the introduction of contemporary European thought and banned many modern authors it considered a threat to its dominant position. One example of this attitude is the text *Preservativo contra la irreligión*

*o los planes de la Filosofía* [Preservative against Irreligion or the Scheme of Philosophy] (1812) by Fray Rafael de Vélez, who later became bishop of Santiago de Compostela. In the first half of the 19th century, more books were translated from Latin than from English or German, and there were many more books of religious content (defending religion from modern secular philosophers like Rousseau and Voltaire) compared with the small number of philosophy publications. In fact, half of the translations in the first third of the century were made by political exiles abroad, and translations were viewed with great suspicion by the conservative forces. In 1840, for instance, Mesonero Romanos complained in *Bocetos de cuadros y costumbres* [Sketches of Pictures and Customs] that Spain was a translated nation, where literature, industry, fashion, laws and opinions were all the results of translation.

The Inquisition finally disappeared in 1834, but the Catholic Church remained the only legal religion in Spain and continued compiling the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, which was used as a reference for censorship up until the Franco years. For instance, Kant's main work, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781/1787), was banned by a Vatican decree of the 11th June 1827, and remained listed until 1966, when the *Index* was finally phased out. Kant and his antimetaphysical and agnostic thought were consistently condemned by the Church. The Catholic priest Jaume Balmes, the most influential Spanish philosopher of the century, condemned Kant's ideas as sceptical and materialist (Balmes 1847), and this position dogged the reception of Kant's ideas in Spain for the rest of the century (Uribarri 2010).

## 2. First collections

Some liberal and forward-thinking cultural agents reacted to the difficulties of publishing and disseminating modern and contemporary philosophy by creating their own publishing houses, with special collections or series, and even their own journals, to publicise and spread these ideas. These philosophy collections helped fill a huge cultural gap, since the most important texts of recent European philosophy and even classic ancient texts were still untranslated by 1860. A critical mass of publications was needed in order to challenge the dominant conservative and traditionalist intellectual establishment. The collections had an important role in developing a new philosophical culture, by producing a favourable context for the reception of translated works of philosophy.

Patricio de Azcárate (1800–1886) was one of the first people involved in the systematic introduction of modern philosophy in Spain. A liberal politician who had a seat in parliament and different regional posts with the liberal governments of the period, Azcárate's intellectual activity focused on the promotion of modern

philosophy in Spain. Although he was a religious man, he was also in favour of scientific progress, and he wanted to combine faith and liberalism and create a modern Spanish philosophy in contact with European trends.

When his older son, Gumersindo, started to study philosophy at school in 1852, Patricio de Azcárate became interested in what was taught on the curriculum, and was dismayed at the very old-fashioned syllabus with no trace of contemporary discussions. He decided not to stand by and wait, and instead, launched two initiatives.

First, he wrote a book on modern philosophy, *Veladas sobre la filosofía moderna* [Soirées on modern philosophy] in 1853. This was the first comprehensive explanation of modern philosophy in Spanish. However, the publisher was very sceptical about the issue because he held that there was no philosophy in Spain, and Azcárate himself comments that there was not a single buyer. The author later reworked the text and published a new larger work in 4 volumes in 1861, *Exposición histórico-crítica de los sistemas filosóficos modernos y verdaderos principios de la ciencia* [Historical-critical Explanation of Modern Philosophical Systems and the True Principles of Science]. His motivation was patriotic: he wanted to raise awareness of philosophical systems among the Spanish youth in order to raise the level of knowledge to European standards. This time the book was distributed much more widely.

Azcárate was credited at the time with filling a gap that existed in the Spanish bibliography in comparison with other countries. However, as far as the reception of his work is concerned, the indifference of the general public was matched only by the disdain of some traditionalist scholars.

Secondly, Azcárate also started the *Biblioteca filosófica* [Philosophical Library], a collection that produced 26 volumes between 1871 and 1878. These were the complete works of Plato (11 books), the complete works of Aristotle (10 books), and a selection of works by Leibniz (5 books). Most of these translations were first-time renderings into Spanish, based on Latin and French originals, and they were published time and again for 100 years (with and without crediting the author of the translation).

However, Patricio de Azcárate encountered various problems, and was unable to complete his project as he wished. For one, the project was in fact very ambitious, as he had originally planned to include more modern authors that were never published. He left four books by Bacon completed but unpublished, and did not translate Descartes or Kant, because apparently others had announced that they were about to publish their works. What is more, the translations had a very moderate impact. Distribution was limited to 500 subscribers that financed the works in advance at a high price (20 reales), which meant that publication was

expensive and reception was limited by the economic constraints of an underdeveloped cultural market. The subscribers were noblemen, military, politicians, professors, writers and lawyers, none of whom had connections with the Catholic church.

All this must be read in a context of competition. In 1856, shortly before Azcárate started working on his project to translate foreign authors into Spanish, Gumersindo Laverde had made a proposal for a *Biblioteca de filósofos españoles* [Library of Spanish Philosophers], aimed at propping up the traditional Catholic philosophy; he was, however, unable to deliver any results. Also, some years later, in 1869, Zeferino González, the Dominican priest and future bishop, proposed a *Biblioteca de Teólogos Españoles* [Library of Spanish Theologians], arguing that there were many more important theologians than philosophers in Spain; this too brought no immediate results.

That was the first round of what became a longstanding polemic on Spanish science, in which traditionalists stressed the long philosophical tradition in Spain and its inexorable connection with Catholicism while progressive agents denied the existence of a proper Spanish philosophy precisely as a consequence of the all-pervasive presence of Catholicism.

Azcárate's *Biblioteca* began immediately after the Revolution of 1868 and the establishment of the first Republic, but in 1875 the first Republic was eliminated and the Restoration of the old regime brought changes in the intellectual sphere. Azcárate needed more time to complete the translations of Aristotle and he only obtained 201 subscribers for Leibniz (1878–79). As a consequence, he ended the collection.

However, for the first time there was a collection of some classic and modern non-Catholic authors available in Spanish. In response, the conservatives reacted with their own publications, producing their own histories of philosophy to condemn the errors of non-Catholic philosophers. In 1878, Zeferino González wrote a *Historia de la Filosofía* [History of Philosophy], which does not mention Azcárate's translations of Plato and Aristotle, and Azcárate himself is mentioned just once in passing (González 1878: 492). In his *Historia de la filosofía española* [History of Spanish Philosophy], Fray Guillermo Fraile mentions Azcárate once merely as the father of Gumersindo de Azcárate. Another leading traditionalist, Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* [A History of the Spanish Heterodox] also belittles the work of Azcárate, saying that they were translations of second-rate works. In general, the criticism of bad translations and the condemnation of excessive numbers of translations represented other forms of control and censorship, in those cases where the very existence of translations was not silenced altogether.

### 3. Late 19th century collections

José Perojo y Figueras (Cuba, 1850–Madrid, 1908) did his PhD in philosophy in Heidelberg and became the most ardent defender of neo-Kantianism in Spain. However, it was not at all easy for him to introduce neo-Kantian ideas into Spain.

Perojo wrote *Ensayos sobre el movimiento intelectual en Alemania* [Essays on the Intellectual Movement in Germany] (1875), the first 17 pages of which were dedicated to Kant, and *La ciencia española bajo la Inquisición* [Spanish Science under the Inquisition] (1877) as a contribution to the discussion on Spanish science. He pointed out that Spain had had brilliant literature for the last 300 years, but had not contributed anything to modern science and philosophy, mainly because despotism and religious intolerance kept the country isolated from and peripheral to the newest cultural movements. He mentioned Kant and the German philosophical revolution as models and called for freedom in order to change the situation. These writings were swiftly put under ecclesiastic censorship in 1881.

He also edited several journals (*Nuevo Mundo*, *Por Esos Mundos*, *El Teatro*, *La naturaleza*), specially *Revista contemporánea* (1875–1907), with the help of Manuel de la Revilla, which aimed at spreading neo-Kantian and progressive ideas. However, financial difficulties forced the sale of the journal to a traditionalist politician, who subsequently switched to a conservative editorial line.

Perojo had already translated almost half the *Critique* by 1877, but the translation remained stored in a chest, because of the unpropitious cultural and political climate of the Restoration. He was aware that Kant's ideas could not have a social impact without a broader and more positive cultural context for the reception of modern philosophy. To this end, he launched the *Biblioteca Perojo*, which included a *Colección de filósofos modernos* [Collection of Modern Philosophers] containing translations of Descartes, Spinoza, Voltaire, Darwin, Spencer, and other Church-banned authors.

The symbolic field was clearly dominated by nationalist-Catholic thinking and this traditional worldview was also reinforced by a revival of Catholic philosophy within the Neo-Scholastic school, led by Cardinal Zeferino González, one of the most vocal critics of Kant. Although González recognized Kant's prominent position in the history of philosophy, he criticized the anti-Christian, anti-Catholic and atheist character of the new German philosophy as a whole, and held Kant responsible for all the errors of the period. Traditionalists like Menéndez y Pelayo were proud of the glorious Spanish tradition, which they understood as ineluctably intertwined with Catholicism as the unifying element of Spain. In his view, new ideas were not needed, translations were to be avoided, and all such things were unpatriotic because they only brought scepticism and social unrest; that was why the Inquisition was to be blessed. Menéndez y Pelayo wrote *De los orígenes*

*del criticismo y del escepticismo, y especialmente de los precursores españoles de Kant* [On the Origins of Criticism and Scepticism, and specially on the Spanish Forerunners to Kant] (1891) with the aim of proving that Kant's philosophy was not so original, because earlier Spanish philosophers had already expressed his ideas. As such, there was no need to replace the valuable native tradition with foreign ideas. Menéndez Pelayo was furious at the translations of foreign philosophy initiated by Perojo, who "comenzó a inundar a España con todos los frutos de la impiedad moderna y antigua, sin distinción de escuelas ni sistemas" [was inundating Spain with all the fruits of ancient and modern ungodliness, whatever the school or system] (Menéndez Pelayo 1881 III: 809). It is ironic that conservative anti-translation intellectuals should have chosen religion as the essential unifying feature of the country (language could not take that role in a multilingual country), since Catholicism is an imported religion based on a translated book and with its headquarters in Rome (Herrero 1971).

In 1883, after a delay of six years, Perojo finally decided to publish the part of the *Critique* he had already translated in 1877 within his philosophy collection, omitting the *Dialectics of Pure Reason*, where Kant's agnostic ideas are expressed. The fact that the *Critique* was on the index of banned books and Perojo's previous works were also included in 1881 must also have had an impact on that delay. The harsh situation and the cold reception of the book in this setting meant that the translation was never completed. Perojo was no more than a marginalised critic of the hegemonic viewpoint. In fact, Perojo finally abandoned his philosophy collection, and turned to other subjects (the colonial problem and education).

Antonio Zozaya y You (Madrid, 1859–México, 1943) studied law but then turned to journalism and publishing. He was well known as a writer, essayist and journalist (with 8,000 articles to his name), and also as an editor/translator through the establishment of *Biblioteca Económica Filosófica* [Philosophical Budget Library] (1880–1936). As the name indicates the aim was to popularise modern thinking through inexpensive editions. This collection published 95 titles and is therefore the first large collection of modern philosophy in Spain. Zozaya himself translated Plato, Hypocrates, Cicero, Pascal, Descartes, Machiavelli, Leibniz, Spinoza, Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alambert, Kant, Comte, Malebranche, Hartmann, Hume and Schopenhauer. The French and Italian originals were translated directly, the rest indirectly through French versions. The collection was brought to an end by the Civil War. Being a well-known Republican writer he had to leave Spain as an old man and died within a few years in exile in Mexico. A square named after him in Madrid was renamed Plaza General Joaquín Vara del Rey. His translations were not republished during the long Franco years.

*Biblioteca Perojo* first and later Zozaya's *Biblioteca Económica Filosófica* were instrumental in introducing and popularising modern and contemporary



European thought in Spain, but they were not alone, and their efforts were accompanied by other collections. For example, *La España moderna* [Modern Spain], founded by José Lázaro Galdeano in 1889, published many philosophy translations between 1891 and 1914 in the *Biblioteca de Jurisprudencia, Filosofía e Historia* [Library of Jurisprudence, Philosophy and History] collection (Fichte, Schopenhauer, Stuart Mill, Nietzsche, Spencer and Wundt); the *Nueva biblioteca filosófica* [New Philosophical Library] included translations of Kant by Alejo García Moreno; *Biblioteca Científico-Literaria* [Scientific-philosophical Library] included works by Stuart Mill and others; *Biblioteca de Filosofía y Sociología* [Library of Philosophy and Sociology] incorporated Schopenhauer and others. At the turn of the century these collections were part of a collective effort to introduce contemporary philosophy by translating Comte, Spencer, Darwin, Haeckel, Wundt, Bentham, Stuart Mill, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Marx into the Spanish cultural system. The final goal was of course to change Spanish society.

#### 4. New collections in the early 20th century

Important new collections were also started in the 20th century, lending greater continuity and momentum to this cultural movement. It is impossible to cover here the entire panorama of philosophy collections during the early 20th century, a period of frantic activity with productive reception of modern and contemporary European philosophy. However, some of the most important collections can be named and the role played by some important agents can be sketched.

1. *Biblioteca Científico-Filosófica* [Scientific-Philosophical Library], created by Daniel Jorro, translated Bergson, Mach, James, Wundt, Spencer and many works of scientific psychology. Luzuriaga translated Kant's pedagogy and later started the *Revista de Pedagogía* [Journal of Pedagogy] (1922) with the collection *Pedagogía clásica* [Classic Pedagogy], in which he published anthologies of Herbart, Pestalozzi, Rousseau and Fichte. Later he also translated Dewey and Dilthey while in exile in America. Julián Besteiro translated Kant's *Prolegomena* for Jorro's library. He was a trade union leader and also became Speaker of the parliament in the Republican years. He died in prison in 1940.
2. The *Sempere* (later *Prometeo*) publishing house in Valencia, established by Francisco Sempere and the renowned writer Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, translated Rousseau, Voltaire, Schopenhauer, Darwin, Nietzsche, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Marx, Engels, Proudhon, Haeckel, Bergson and many other authors.
3. *Biblioteca jurídica de autores españoles* [Legal Library of Spanish Authors] included works by Stammler and Merkel translated by Wenceslao Roces, who

later set up the CENIT publishing house. There he translated a great deal of Marxist writing and after the Civil War, continued translating Marxist and German philosophy in Mexico (Hegel, Dilthey and many other authors).

4. *Colección Biblioteca Popular. Los grandes pensadores*. [Popular Library Collection. Great Thinkers] published by Casa Editorial Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna, a publishing house founded by Francesc Ferrer i Guardia, who was accused of subversive activities and executed in 1909.
5. *Biblioteca Universal de Estudios Sociales* [Universal Library of Social Studies] launched by the Maucci publishing house in Barcelona specialized in anarchist literature (Kropotkin, Proudhon, Bakunin and also Nietzsche).

Many other collections formed part of a vast effort to translate works representative of the main modern and contemporary philosophical trends. Worthy of mention are: *Biblioteca filosófica de autores españoles y extranjeros* [Philosophical Library of Spanish and Foreign Authors] (Descartes, Condillac, Schopenhauer, Kant); *Biblioteca de Sociología* [Library of Sociology] from the Sopena publishing house (Kant and Beccaria); *Biblioteca de iniciación cultural* [Initial cultural Library] from the Labor publishing house (Jaspers, Messer, Neurath, Natorp, Russell and many others); *Nueva Biblioteca Filosófica* [New Philosophical Library] (Aristotle, Plato, Plotin, Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, Schlegel, Schopenhauer and others); *Colección universal* [Universal Collection] from the Espasa-Calpe publishing house (Kant and other authors); *Biblioteca moderna de filosofía y ciencias sociales* [Modern Library of Philosophy and Social Sciences] (Plato, Marx, Croce, Vorländer).

As for some of the most influential agents, Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (1875–1926), a professor specializing in the history of Spanish philosophy, started the *Colección de filósofos españoles y extranjeros* [Collection of Spanish and Foreign Philosophers] in 1910 with the publisher Victoriano Suárez. His aim was to publish works by the main Spanish and foreign philosophers. As a disciple of Menéndez y Pelayo, he ought, by rights, to have promoted Spanish philosophers, but in fact chose instead Schopenhauer, Fichte, 3 works by Hegel, and another 3 by Kant (the three *Critiques*), translated by Manuel García Morente. This translator was one of the most prolific in this period but he converted to Catholicism during the Civil War and stopped translating modern philosophy. His translation of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (the first part was published in 1928) was never completed and published even though he had already translated most of the second part.

Ortega y Gasset also deserves a mention. He did not act as a translator but promoted many philosophy translations (mostly from German) as part of his activity in *Revista de Occidente*. The *Revista de Occidente* publishing house translated 77 books from German, 10 from English and 3 more from French in a very short time. Many renowned intellectuals were commissioned as translators. This

collection was innovative in that it started to change the norm of indirect translation through French towards a stronger presence of direct translations. This journal's dynamic activity ended with the Civil War and the internal exile of Ortega y Gasset. However, the effort was continued by some of the translators, amongst whom José Gaos, exiled in Mexico, deserves mention.

Juan Bautista Bergua Olavarrieta (1892–1991) also set up a collection of philosophy translations within his Librería-Editorial Bergua [Publishing Bookshop Bergua], founded in 1927, later called Ediciones Ibéricas from 1939 onwards. His motto was “Cultura unde abiit, libertas nunquam redit” (There is no freedom without culture). He authored some books, but he is mainly credited as a publisher and translator of inexpensive books. He protested against the lack of an alternative to the luxury editions of the big names of universal culture, which he wanted to make available to the general public. His *Biblioteca de Bolsillo* [Pocket Library] was very successful in the Republican years (and included Plato, Machiavelli, Spinoza, Voltaire, Rousseau, Schopenhauer, Marx, Trotsky and others). He also published Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in a complete Spanish version for the first time in 1934. During the civil war he was arrested in his house in Getafe by Franco's troops, where they destroyed 40,000 copies of the *Critique*. He spent time in several prisons, and was on the point of being executed on various occasions, but was finally freed and escaped to France. He continued working and translating during 20 years of exile, returning in 1959, at the age of 67, to restart the publishing house.

## 5. Concluding remarks

I would like to make some concluding remarks focusing on censorship. Many of the philosophers included in these collections of modern and contemporary philosophy were on the index of banned books, and ecclesiastic and academic agents consistently condemned their heretical ideas. A kind of structural preventive censorship was operating through the symbolic violence imposed by the dominant nationalist-Catholic discourse that excluded and silenced foreign, modern, secular ideas from the public sphere. Bourdieu's concept of *censure préalable* is particularly adequate in this context. This does not refer to the previous regulatory censorship, but rather the linguistically internalised social conditions of culture production created through symbolic power and incorporated in the habitus (Bourdieu 1980: 88–89). Most of the liberal and socialist agents involved in these translations aimed at changing the cultural and political norms by promoting democracy, secularism and equality. But they were blocked, interrupted, criticised, expelled from their academic posts and even exiled and imprisoned at some point.

As a consequence, translations were few in number until the last years of 19th century. Translating modern European philosophy was not a legitimate cultural activity in the eyes of the hegemonic forces; negative reception and selective criticism of translations were also used as a form of censorship. As a consequence, English and German philosophy was mainly translated second-hand. The situation improved slowly in the 20th century with many more translations and the first systematic direct translations of English and German philosophy, especially during the Republican years.

However, when foreign secular and progressive ideas in general gained wider social acceptance between 1915 and 1930, and when the cultural field took on a transformative role, institutionalised symbolic violence was insufficient to prevent the political change from monarchy into republic and from Catholicism to secular ideologies. Within a few years the conservative forces had struck back with a military coup that reversed that transformative cultural and political development.

On 12th October 1936 in a public act at the university of Salamanca, General Millán Astray shouted out to Unamuno, the well-known philosopher, writer and prolific translator, “!Muera la inteligencia!; Viva la muerte!” [Death to intelligence! Long live Death!]. Shortly after, General Millán Astray became head of the press and propaganda office, and also head of the censorship network. The watchword was clear: intellectuals had to be wiped out, so that Spain could once more champion the cause of the Catholic faith (Claret 2006: 348). Neo-Scholastic philosophy became the official philosophy taught in faculties and schools (Abellán 1996: 617). Modern philosophy was explicitly or implicitly forbidden for the scholar and banished from the academic curriculum, and any occasional mentions were always accompanied by destructive critique (Bueno 1996).

A time of philosophical silence started. The philosophy collections that promoted the spirit of intellectual and social change and renovation were suffocated for 30 years. Most of the people that had been involved in them had to abandon their cultural work. At the same time, the regime supported many Catholic-oriented publishing houses and the only accepted philosophy collection was the *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos* [Library of Christian Authors]. Subsequently, in the late 1960s a flood of new philosophy collections started to introduce contemporary European philosophy into Spain again, proclaiming and promoting cultural and political change, the review of which lies beyond the scope of this study.

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# Translation anthologies and British literature in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974

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A comparison of translation anthologies published in Portugal and Hungary when both countries lived under differing forms of dictatorial rule reveals not only different attitudes towards British literary works, but also towards literature in general. The different role ascribed to literature in *Estado Novo* Portugal and Socialist Hungary is also well evidenced by their dissimilar approach towards the publishing industry. The total control over book publishing and distribution in Hungary appears to show that literature played a more significant role in the Hungarian propaganda machine than in Portugal. The dominance of crime fiction anthologies in the Portuguese book market, for example, may probably be explained by the fact that, due to the lack of adequate government funding, private publishing houses were obliged to rely mostly on profitable bestsellers. Conversely, the idealistic belief in the educational power of politically reliable classics in establishing Socialism might have had the effect of depriving Hungarian readers of light and entertaining literature, but also of providing them with thousands of remarkably low-priced high-quality books and anthologies. In fact, one of the main tenets behind the Hungarian cultural politics of this period was to re-educate society with the help of the “ideologically progressive” literary heritage of tried-and-true classic authors such as Shakespeare, Shelley, Dickens, or Hardy, while in Portugal, political control was principally based on a policy of keeping the population in relative ignorance with regard to social and cultural alternatives.

*Communism must be made comprehensible to the masses  
of the workers so that they will regard it as their own cause.*

Lenin:  
Speech delivered at a conference  
of political education workers  
of Gubernia and Uyezd<sup>1</sup>

*I consider more urgent the creation of elites  
than the necessity to teach people how to read.*

António de Oliveira Salazar:  
Princípios fundamentais da revolução política<sup>2</sup>

## Introduction

The present essay aims to compare translation anthologies published in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974, focusing on British literature.<sup>3</sup> The first year of the time span under consideration marks the Communists' ideological takeover of Hungary's cultural life, while the closing year denotes the end of the rightist dictatorial regime in Portugal. The period selected thus enables us to examine the reception of British literature in the two countries when both lived under dictatorial rule simultaneously.

The essay also contrasts the number of anthologies as well as the lists of authors. However, due to the lack of complete databases, it is impossible to compile a complete list of anthologised British authors within the scope of this study. Therefore, the numbers presented here might not be exhaustive. The study thus attempts to place more emphasis on comparing general phenomena and tendencies in the two countries.

### 1. Reference and bibliographic resources

The data for comparison was accessed through the following bibliographies and bibliographic databases: *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–2000: A Critical*

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1. Translated by Julius Katzer.

2. Translated by Stephen J. Lee.

3. For further information about the translation of British literature in Portugal see Rosa and Castagna (in this volume).

*Bibliography*;<sup>4</sup> the online database of the *Portuguese National Bibliography 1931–2001*; *British Books in Hungary 1945–1978* compiled by Zsolt Bánhegyi, and *Külföldi szerzők művei Magyarországon, 1945–1970, 1971–1975* [Foreign Authors Published in Hungary] compiled by the *Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülése* [Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers' Association].

As far as Hungarian book production is concerned, Hungarian online booksellers' catalogues have proved very useful, as have Hungarian book publishers' collective bibliographies (such as the bibliographic bulletins provided by the publishers Európa, Helikon and Magvető). In addition to the still unrevised and unpublished critical bibliographic database on *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–2000*, several other resource books were consulted in search of additional translation anthologies. These included *The Anthology in Portugal* (2007), "Censorship, Translation and the Anthology in the Estado Novo" (2009) by Patricia Odber de Baubeta,<sup>5</sup> and the bibliographic data of the Continuum book series on the Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe (RBAE).

The main problem with researching in this area in Portugal, however, is the notable lack of bibliographic information on books and anthologies published during the *Estado Novo*. This is largely explained by the fact that, unlike in Hungary, Portuguese book production was not under strict centralised control, hence the lack of well-organised statistical records.<sup>6</sup> Additional problems stem from the fact that Portuguese legal deposit libraries do not always hold copies of every book published in the country, and the bulletins of the National Bibliography also contain several lacunae. Therefore, the publication of the critical bibliography of *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–2000* is long overdue, and will clearly bring new dimensions to academic research in Portugal.

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4. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz, Alexandra Assis Rosa, João Almeida Flor, Alexandra Lopes, and Rita Bueno Maia and all the other researchers who participated in the project for allowing me to use their unpublished and unrevised database on translated literary works published in Portugal. The data corpus was created within the framework of the project *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–2000: A Critical Bibliography*, whose primary objective was to gather and process information concerning foreign literary production in Portugal in the given period. The database may now be accessed through the internet at <http://translatedliteratureportugal.org/eng/index.htm>.

5. I would like to thank Patricia Odber de Baubeta and Margarida Vale de Gato for kindly sharing their database of the second volume of *The Anthology in Portugal* (2013) with me prior to publication.

6. Inconsistencies in the criteria employed by Portuguese censors would also seem to reinforce this assumption. A large number of books generally believed to have been banned by the Portuguese authorities (such as *Gretta* by Erskine Caldwell and works by Stalin) were allowed to circulate, because they simply escaped the censors' attention due to the absence of reliable record system. On the other hand, other less harmful publications were vigorously suppressed.



## 2. Criteria for exclusion and inclusion

This survey concentrates exclusively on collections of works by different authors, which means that single-author anthologies were excluded from the evaluation process. Although textbooks and school anthologies may be essential for canon formation process, I believe they warrant separate study and are therefore not examined within this article. Similarly, reference books, technical works, collections of essays and philosophical treatises have also been omitted. On the other hand, non-British authors who were part of the British literary scene for a substantial part of their career (such as James Joyce, William Butler Yeats and T. S. Eliot) have been included.

## 3. The Portuguese and Hungarian reception of translated British literature

Comparing the Portuguese to the Hungarian book production of the period, the most striking difference is that the Portuguese government seemingly never intended to establish complete control over the publishing industry. As with the Horthy regime, the previous rightist Hungarian government (1920–1944), the *Estado Novo* was not overly concerned with the propaganda potential of literature, and therefore never invested strongly in it, leaving publishing patterns dependent on the book market's continuously changing needs. This attitude is also well reflected by the different prizes granted in the area of the arts and culture. Between 1934 and 1950, the number of prizes awarded for the categories of literature fell drastically in comparison with the numbers of rewards offered in the field of painting and sculpture. Authorities seemed to be more committed to promoting visual rather than literary culture in Portugal during the 1930s and '40s (Sapega 2008: 90–91).

Conversely, as the Communist rulers of Hungary wholeheartedly believed in the educational power of literature for the process of establishing Socialism, they appeared to attach enormous significance to it (or at least to high literature). Moreover, since all publishing houses were under state control, financial support was completely separated from market considerations. A large amount of money was thus earmarked annually for unprofitable culture. Indeed, book retail prices were kept exceptionally low throughout the whole era, which made books available even to people of lower economic status (Takács 2002: 76). In Portugal, however, the most ardent book consumers of the period were mostly doctors [and lawyers], who could afford the most expensive books on a regular basis (Lisboa 1944: 67).

In a previous study, I compared the production of translations of British literature in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974, deliberately excluding anthologies from the comparison. Surprisingly, my findings apparently contradict the abovementioned historical and cultural contexts. As Table 1 indicates, in Portugal, approximately five times more British authors and six times more British literary works were published than in Hungary. Despite this, closer investigation shows a qualitative divergence between the two countries' publishing environments with respect to classic or canonical literature as opposed to mass literature. This will also be seen in the case of anthologies (Gombár 2009: 272).

**Table 1.** The number of British works published in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974

Portugal			Hungary		
British authors published in Portugal	Total number of British works published	Total number of British works including reprints	British authors published in Hungary	Total number of British works published	Total number of British works including reprints
835	2353	2502	172	397	726

Comparing the numbers of anthologies published in Hungary and Portugal during the period under investigation gives different results. The data collected hitherto suggests that in Hungary, a significantly greater number of translation anthologies containing British literature were published in the given time span (see Table 2). For instance, with reference to anthologies dedicated exclusively to British literature, 12 anthologies were published in Hungary between 1949 and 1974 alone. The anthologies contain only classic English literature (poetry, drama, short stories, etc.). As regards Portuguese translation anthologies containing only British literature, I found only a small number of British literature anthologies, none of which were published in the time period under investigation (see Table 2). It is also notable that all the Portuguese volumes contain short stories exclusively. The popularity of the genre might lie in the short story's concise structure, which makes it eminently readable. Furthermore, it seems that many editors and translators such as João Gaspar Simões and Cabral do Nascimento preferred the easily comprehensible and thus didactically appealing short story form, especially when their aim was to introduce Portuguese readers to relatively new, unknown literary territories such as classic English or American literature. It is also noteworthy that in Portugal, all of these anthologies were published only in the 1940s, and interestingly, no further homogeneous volumes appeared from the 1950s, when, in fact, British literary works finally began to inundate the Portuguese book market.

Collections of classic British literature might not have proved as profitable as crime and science fiction anthologies in Portugal.

**Table 2.** Anthologies containing only British literature published in Portugal and Hungary

Anthologies published in Portugal	Anthologies published in Hungary
<i>Contos ingleses</i> [English Short Stories], 1942	<i>Tájjfun</i> [Classic Short Stories], 1966
<i>Contos ingleses modernos</i> [Modern English Short Stories, 2 Vols.], 1944, 1945	<i>Mai angol elbeszélők</i> [Contemporary British Short Stories], 1958
<i>Os melhores contos ingleses</i> [The Best English Short Stories], 194?	<i>Pokolkő</i> [Modern English Short Stories], 1971
<i>Histórias fantásticas inglesas e americanas</i> [Fantastic English and American Stories], 1946	<i>Előjáték</i> [Twentieth-Century Short Novels], 1969
	<i>Angol reneszánsz drámák</i> [Elizabethan Drama], 1961
	<i>Kalandos históriák</i> [Picaresque Novels], 1974
	<i>Mai angol drámák</i> [Contemporary British Drama], 1965
	<i>A szépség lányai</i> [Love Poems], 1970
	<i>Angol és amerikai költők</i> [Poems], 1957
	<i>Az angol líra kincsháza</i> [Poems], 1958
	<i>Angol költők antológiája</i> [Poems], 1960
	<i>Angol és skót népballadák</i> [Popular Ballads], 1955

All in all, I have gathered information on 182 Hungarian anthologies and 46 Portuguese anthologies that contained British literary works. As far as literary genres are concerned, it appears that no Portuguese anthology of British dramatic works was issued during the *Estado Novo*, while in Hungary, no less than 20 drama anthologies were published during the period of the study. Poetry anthologies are also extremely rare in Portugal,<sup>7</sup> as most are anthologies of short stories (see Table 3).

**Table 3.** Portuguese and Hungarian translation anthologies containing British literary works, published between 1949 and 1974

Anthologies published in Portugal			Anthologies published in Hungary		
46			182		
Short stories	Poetry	Drama	Short stories	Poetry	Drama
41	5	Ø	43	119	20

7. Although Jorge de Sena's translation anthology, *Poesia do Século XX*, was published in 1978, I have included it in the study, as the volume was supposedly scheduled to appear around 1974.

### 3.1 Anthologies of short stories

The most popular type of anthology of the period in Portugal seems to be the crime fiction anthology, while this phenomenon is almost unknown in the Hungarian book market. During my research, I came across only one Hungarian anthology of crime fiction presenting classic British authors such as Charles Dickens, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Arthur Conan Doyle. In Portugal, approximately half of the anthologies contain works by so-called canonical authors, while the other half include works of popular or generic fiction. Popular literature anthologised in Portugal can be divided into two main subgenres: crime fiction and science fiction. Interestingly, British romantic short fiction did not arouse the interest of publishers in either country. Apparently, the female readership was considered to have been catered for by different genres.

It is also of particular interest that the number of crime fiction anthologies seems to be slightly higher than the number of science fiction anthologies in Portugal. However, as the number of Portuguese anthologies investigated in the present study is perhaps not large enough to be statistically representative, such conclusions need to be treated with caution. Nevertheless, questions as to the relative popularity of particular genres in Portugal and Hungary are naturally of interest in the context of such a study. Surprisingly, even though popular fiction was never supported, but only tolerated in Socialist Hungary, science fiction enjoyed exceptional popularity.<sup>8</sup> Besides British and American science fiction authors, I found a great number of Soviet science fiction writers in the anthologies under investigation. This is mainly attributable to the fact that in the USSR, a great number of authors dedicated themselves to science fiction writing, inspired by the country's pioneering space programme. The genre was also in vogue in other satellite states such as in Poland or Czechoslovakia. In contrast, Portugal, as noted by José Manuel Mota in his essay on the Portuguese reception of H. G. Wells, the Portuguese literary world has never had deep-rooted traditions of science-fiction writing. There have been no Portuguese science fiction authors of the status of Verne or Čapek, for instance (2005: 264).

Another interesting type of anthology, which seems to be exclusive to the Hungarian translation environment, is the anthology with a politically-educational function. Most interestingly, several short stories and poems were anthologised in accordance with ideologically-motivated criteria. Anti-fascism, anti-racism, anti-militarism and anti-religiousness appear to be frequent anthology topics in

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8. For more detailed information on science fiction literature in Hungary, see Sohár (1999) and Fekete (1989).

Hungary,<sup>9</sup> while it is increasingly rare to find any translation anthologies with politically-biased selection parameters in Portugal. On the contrary, Portuguese editors of translation anthologies and book series who were not convinced followers of the Salazar regime overtly demonstrated a preference for foreign authors who advocated progressive or democratic principles (cf. Bastos da Silva 2005 and 2009). It is also difficult not to notice, for example, Jorge de Sena's careful inclusion of certain poems and texts in his translation anthologies. Keats's sonnet "Written in Disgust of Vulgar Superstition" for example, is strongly anticlerical, while Sena's reference to Milton's *Areopagitica* as one of the noblest and most courageous discourses against censorship in the anthology's biographical notes appears to be a calculated challenge to censorship practices of the period (Sena 1971, vol. 1: 242). Moreover, Sena's anti-militarist and anti-authoritarian attitude is also well evidenced by his deliberate choice of anti-war and pro-democratic poems such as "Soldiers Bathing" by F. T. Prince, "The Next War" by Osbert Sitwell (Sena 1978) and "Democracy" by D. H. Lawrence (França 1952).

The Portuguese censors' apparent lenience – or perhaps negligence – with respect to literature in English is particularly interesting. It is as if the prestigious status of British and American literature in Portugal provided more protection against censorship than local literature. Furthermore, as Odber de Baubeta also suggests, anthologies might have been used as a vehicle for avoiding censorship. She notes that several Portuguese authors, such as Alves Redol, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues and Miguel Torga, managed to contribute to anthologies, despite the fact that their works were banned or they themselves were politically harassed during the *Estado Novo* (2009: 53–54). A similar phenomenon can be observed in Kádár-regime Hungary. In spite of the fact that Vladimir Nabokov and Arthur Koestler were officially banned in Hungary until the late 1980s, a short story by Nabokov and an essay by Koestler appeared in two anthologies in 1968 and 1973, respectively. Nevertheless, the relationship between censorship and anthologies needs further research so as to strengthen and confirm these additional hypotheses.

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9. A few examples are listed here to illustrate this tendency: *Prométheusz tüze: Költők a bálványok és az istenek ellen* [Prometheus's Fire. Poets against Worship Idols and False Gods] 1961, *Lenin él* [Lenin Still Lives] 1970, *Soha többé... Válogatás az antifasiszta irodalomból* [Never again... Collection of Anti-Fascist Resistance Literature] 1962, *Himnusz a békéről* [Hymn for Peace] 1960, *Költők, dalok, forradalmak* [Poets, Poems, Revolutions] 1969.

### 3.2 Poetry anthologies

Intriguingly, the most popular literary genre for anthologies in Hungary seems to be poetry. 119 poetry anthologies were published in Hungary during the given period, of which 49 were only single-translator volumes. More than half of the translators were well known or relatively well-known poets of the time, and many were not even ardent supporters of the regime. A large number of distinguished authors became translators out of necessity even in the dark 1950s, or after the 1956 Revolution when they found themselves blacklisted as politically unreliable and had to struggle to make a living (Hartvig 2005: 234). The prestige of poetry translation increased in response to the translating activity of so many significant writers, and definitively helped lay the foundations of a high-quality translation industry in the period (Bart 2000: 55).

In Portugal, on the other hand, poetry was never one of the most state-subsidised areas. Besides a few Salazarist versemongers of fleeting success, the Portuguese establishment never patronised poets in the way Communist authorities did. Even though state-subsidised fiction and poetry of a propagandistic nature did appear in Portuguese bookstores, and the itinerant libraries designed to disseminate culture in the provinces in the 1940s<sup>10</sup> did contain ideologically-biased poetry, the producers of serious literature who refused to comply with the government's propaganda requirements faced serious financial hardship due to the lack of government support (Sapega 2008: 90–91).<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the fact that Communist cultural policy supported only literature of a putative educational value, there were certain marketing techniques even with regard to classic literature, which clearly aimed at attracting a greater readership. Examining the poetry anthologies of the period shows that selection criteria seem to be among the most effective popularising strategies. Nineteen of the 119 Hungarian poetry anthologies comprised love poems or poems deliberately selected for girls or women, for instance, which is a very rare phenomenon in Portugal. Other popularising themes are mostly male-related, such as sports or hybrid anthologies only for boys.

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10. *Bibliotecas Ambulantes de Cultura Popular* [Travelling Libraries of Folk Culture].

11. António Ferro, the cultural ideologue of the *Estado Novo*, apparently did not succeed in attracting writers and artists to the regime later on either. Despite the early success of Ferro's cultural policy (the *Política do Espírito* [Soul Policy]), it failed miserably in the early 1950s along with all his other pioneering initiatives for cultural development. Sadly, there were no further cultural endeavours of this kind in Salazar's Portugal.

A comparison of the list of British poets anthologised in the two countries reveals a notable absence of British war poets in the Portuguese publications. I have come across only three Great War poets in Portuguese anthologies (Rupert Brooke, Robert Graves and Osbert Sitwell) and one World War II poet (F. T. Prince). In Hungary, however, ten Great War poets and three World War II poets were published, including Siegfried Sassoon, Edward Thomas, Wilfred Owen, and Sidney Keyes (see Table 4). Indeed, war and peace were frequent anthology topics in Hungary, where pacifism always seemed to be a key element, while in Portugal, according to the censorship reports held at the National Archives of Portugal, works by British and American authors, such as Bertrand Russell's *War Crimes in Vietnam* (1967), James Thurber's *The Last Flower* (1939) or John Dos Passos's *Nineteen-Nineteen* (1932), could easily be suppressed on account of their antimilitaristic or pacifist content (cf. Gombár 2011).

**Table 4.** War poets in translation anthologies published in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974

Portuguese anthologies	Hungarian anthologies
<b>Great War poets</b>	
Rupert Brooke (1)*	Rupert Brooke (11)
Robert Graves (1)	Robert Graves (10)
Osbert Sitwell (1)	Siegfried Sassoon (4)
	Edward Thomas (3)
	Wilfred Owen (4)
	Wilfred Wilson Gibson (2)
	Osbert Sitwell (1)
	Jeffrey Day (1)
	Richard Aldington (1)
	Herbert Read (1)
<b>World War II poets</b>	
F. T. Prince (1)	Sidney Keyes (10)
	Alun Lewis (1)
	Keith Douglas (4)

\* The figure in brackets indicates the number of anthologies in which the author was published.

### 3.3 Drama anthologies

The noticeable lack of drama anthologies in Portugal might be explained by the Salazar regime's inherent hostility to the theatre. Unlike in Hungary, the Portuguese establishment seemingly failed to recognize the political potential of theatre and therefore never supported it effectively. Furthermore, the complex bureaucratic system of theatre censorship, introduced as early as 1927, meant that the work of almost every theatre practitioner was precarious and sometimes even impossible (Rayner 2008:63). In contrast, Hungarian Communist cultural agitation and propaganda via cheap theatre and cinema tickets succeeded in increasing the public demand for culture in this form. However, in order to satisfy the audience's needs, theatres and cinemas, like the publishing houses, had to turn to the West for material. British plays were often in vogue in Hungarian theatres, especially during and after the Khrushchev Thaw (1953–1964). Apart from classic authors such as Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson, the anthologies also contained a few contemporary playwrights, such as George Bernard Shaw, the angry young man John Osborne and kitchen sink dramatist Arnold Wesker, who had the double advantage of being leftist sympathisers and of portraying the sordid side of life in the West (Standeisky 1998: 126).

### 3.4 The most frequently anthologised authors

A comparison of the two lists of the most-frequently anthologised authors shows that in Hungary, classic British literature enjoyed notable success. The most popular authors in Hungary are all poets, including the dramatist and poet William Shakespeare and the novelist and poet Thomas Hardy,<sup>12</sup> while in Portugal, half of the anthologised authors are non-canonical authors such as the crime fiction writer Agatha Christie, Peter Cheyne, the science fiction author, Arthur C. Clarke and the author of the Simon Templar series, Leslie Charteris (see Table 5). The reason for this is relatively simple. Poetry anthologies have never yielded much profit, and without adequate government funding, companies could easily go bankrupt. As Hungarian publishing houses were never profit-driven institutions, in contrast to the privately owned Portuguese publishers, they could afford the luxury of publishing even unprofitable translation anthologies without risking bankruptcy. Indeed, highly profitable popular fiction was openly despised in Communist Hungary, and many such authors were banned for not upholding appropriate educational and cultural values.

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12. Shakespeare works' appeared in 52 poetry anthologies and three drama anthologies; Hardy's works were published in 24 poetry anthologies and only in four short story anthologies.



**Table 5.** The most frequently anthologised British authors in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974

Portuguese anthologies	Hungarian anthologies
Agatha Christie (8)	Percy Bysshe Shelley (64)
H. G. Wells (8)	William Shakespeare (55)
Arthur Conan Doyle (7)	Robert Burns (53)
D. H. Lawrence (6)	William Butler Yeats (51)
Jonathan Swift (5)	Dylan Thomas (44)
G. K. Chesterton (4)	William Blake (43)
Peter Cheyney (4)	John Keats (43)
Arthur C. Clarke (4)	T. S. Eliot (36)
Charles Dickens (4)	Robert Browning (33)
Oscar Wilde (4)	William Wordsworth (33)
William Blake (3)	W. H. Auden (30)
Leslie Charteris (3)	Lord Byron (30)
William Shakespeare (3)	John Milton (30)
Alfred Tennyson (3)	John Donne (29)
William Wordsworth (3)	Thomas Hardy (28)

Furthermore, examining the lists of British authors anthologised in Portugal and Hungary reveals a conspicuously small number of contemporary writers. Notwithstanding the fact that contemporaneous British authors published in Hungary apparently outnumber those published in Portugal, the proportional relationship between twentieth-century authors and authors from earlier periods seems to be very similar. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that Hungarian publishers often produced collections of drama, short stories and poetry by contemporary authors with the intention of making the Hungarian reading public acquainted with the most modern literary tendencies. Readers' reports from the Hungarian publishing house, *Európa Könyvkiadó*, also confirm this, as do documents from the *Kiadói Főigazgatóság* [the Publishers' Directorate].<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, Hungarian authorities appear to be very circumspect with regard to publishing relatively unknown contemporaneous authors whose works might not be in agreement with Socialist cultural priorities.

"The deader the better" policy appears to be a central principle behind the Hungarian publishing industry, as it protected the publishers from publishing works which might arouse the disapproval of either the Hungarian or Soviet cultural leaders, given that the ideological approval rating of dead authors had already

13. According to a press conference report of the Directorate, for example, in 1966, several novels which had been regarded as problematic by the authorities (such as *Orlando* by Virginia Woolf, and novels by André Gide and Robert Pinget) were still in print, in order to keep Hungarian readers up-to-date with the main Western literary tendencies (Tóth 1992: 346).

been well established, while the ideological positions of contemporary writers might still be undecided or in a state of flux. Furthermore, producing tried-and-true classics also prevented publishers from promoting writers whose acceptance by the critics or the public was still in doubt, and potentially wasting foreign currency on copyright fees. In fact, the shortage of foreign currency constituted a constant problem in Socialist Hungary.<sup>14</sup>

This respect for classic literary works and highly reputed literature from the past is also a characteristic element of Portuguese publishing policies. However, the nature of this unqualified approval of the classics differs slightly from the conservative literary taste of the Socialist politicians in Hungary. José António Gomes points out that, in Portugal, several books were republished from earlier decades, having already demonstrated compliance with the conservative principles upon which the ideological edifice of the *Estado Novo* had been established (1997: 35). This authoritative belief in the value of tradition and established reputations might in part be responsible for the Portuguese publishing houses' lack of initiative towards newer trends. Moreover, the political and cultural isolation of Salazar's Portugal also appears to have limited foreign influences on the cultural life of the country.

#### 4. Conclusion

The comparison of the translation anthologies of the two countries in the given period reveals noticeable differences with respect to their political approach towards literature. Understandably, their opposing attitudes can mostly be ascribed to the ideological divergence of the two regimes. In Portugal, political control was basically founded on keeping the population in relative ignorance of other economic, social and cultural alternatives. Translations often troubled the Portuguese authorities, as they made texts available for the less-cultured classes that were unable to read foreign languages, and might therefore be exposed to harmful foreign influences (Seruya and Moniz 2008: 18). Conversely, the fundamental concept of Hungarian educational and cultural politics was to educate and re-educate the masses to convince them that the doctrines of Communism were operating in their own interest so that they would voluntarily live in accordance with them in the foreseeable future. Along with education in general, culture,

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14. Hungarian authorities seemed to rely on the strategy of putting the problematic works aside for some years. The advantage of this delaying tactic was twofold: publishers could bide their time, waiting for a more favourable political climate, which would also enable them to see whether or not the author in question stood the test of time and received approval from the critical establishment (Révész 1997: 346–350).

including literature of course, was regarded as a political tool whose capacity to indoctrinate people should be developed and extended wherever possible.

The two regimes' different approaches towards the book industry are also highly suggestive. The numerous inconsistencies shown by Portuguese censorship officers and the lack of central control imply that the Portuguese authorities did not seem to attach major importance to literature and, especially, to foreign literature. The dominance of crime fiction anthologies in the Portuguese book market is probably mainly due to the fact that, in the absence of proper government funding, private publishing houses were forced to rely almost exclusively on profitable bestsellers. The exorbitant price of books in Portugal, however, also prevented the publication of several prominent British and American authors. In Hungary, on the other hand, although capitalist British and American literature were not the most supported areas of book publishing, prestigious literature always had a secure place in the literary canon because of its assumed educational value.

This might also account for the fact that more anthologies were produced in Hungary. Indeed, anthologies, due to their varied contents, are suited for educational purposes in ways that single works are not. The enormous number of Hungarian anthologies destined for young girls and boys as well as the collections on politically related themes, discussed above, might reinforce this hypothesis. Didactic intention, however, is also exemplified by Portuguese anthologists such as João Gaspar Simões and Jorge de Sena. Nonetheless, their determination to introduce unknown foreign literary works to the Portuguese public appears to be a somewhat arbitrary and unique phenomenon in Salazar's Portugal, as contrasted to the mass production of state-commissioned and -financed anthologies in Socialist Hungary.

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