

MA Thesis:

"Literary translation flow from Brazil to abroad: six case studies"

Student: **Camila Werner** (camila.werner@gmail.com)

Books and Digital Media Studies

First Reader: **Prof. dr. A.H. v.d. Weel**

Second Reader: **Prof. dr. J. Heilbron**

14/01/2009



Universiteit Leiden

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	2
List of tables	3
1. Introduction	4
2. The framework	6
3. Methodology and sources	7
4. Publishing History in Brazil	11
5. The authors	
5.1. Machado de Assis	15
5.2. Mário de Andrade	22
5.3. Jorge Amado	26
5.4. Clarice Lispector	34
5.5. Paulo Coelho	36
5.6. Patrícia Melo	41
6. Conclusions	43
7. References	
7.1. Bibliography	50
7.2. Websites	52

LIST OF TABLES

1. Tentative graphic representation of Heilbron's system	7
2. "Top 60" Authors - Counts on Index Translationum	10
3. Translation scheme of Machado de Assis' selected works	18
4. Translation scheme of Mário de Andrade's selected works	24
5. Translation scheme of Jorge Amado's selected works	33
6. Translation scheme of Clarice Lispector's selected works	36
7. Translation scheme of Paulo Coelho's selected works	40
8. Translation scheme of Patrícia Melo's selected works	42
9. Proposed representation of Heilbron's system	43

1. Introduction

Recent numbers, although imprecise, show that only about 3% of the books published each year in the English language worldwide are translations, including all genres, from literature to technical manuals.¹ Others say that almost 50% of all translations have English as source language,² while only 6% of all have English as target language.³ Another source says that only about 0.6% of the fiction titles published in 2008 in the USA were translations.⁴ On the other hand, the same report on the international situation of literary translation that brings the first figures states that ‘a work translated into English has a much greater chance of going on to be translated into many other languages’.⁵ Johan Heilbron reached a similar conclusion in his ‘Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation As a Cultural World-System’.⁶

I will use Heilbron’s system to analyse the flow of literary translations from a language considered peripheral, the Portuguese (constrained to its Brazilian variation), towards the English language, considered the hyper-central language in the same model, and the other central languages of this system (mainly French and German). The analyses take the form of case studies of six literary Brazilian authors from different periods between the end of the nineteenth century until the present. The main objective is to verify if, in the face of the small number of Brazilian literature translations published in English, this language actually represented and/or represents the intermediary role between the Portuguese and other peripheral and semi-peripheral languages, still according to Heilbron’s model. If not, which languages played or play this role? Would there be a direct flow between the peripheral and semi-peripheral languages that ignores the centre of the system?

¹ E. Allen (ed.), *To Be Translated or Not to Be - Pen/ IRL Report on the International Situation Of Literary Translation* (Barcelona: Institut Ramon Llull, 2007), p. 25.

² ‘In translation and interpreting, the term [source] describes the language from which a message originates (the “source language”); the “target” language is the one into which the translation takes place.’ D. Cristal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997), p. 425.

³ E. H. Wirtén, ‘The Global Market 1970-2000: Producers’, S. Eliot, and J. Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), p. 400.

⁴ <http://www.rochester.edu/College/translation/threeppercent/index.php?id=1379> (12 November 2008).

⁵ Allen, *To Be Translated or Not to Be*, p. 23.

⁶ J. Heilbron, ‘Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation As a Cultural World-System’, *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (1999), no. 4, 429-444.

A secondary objective is trying to establish the actors, motivations and influences that shaped the flows that actually took place.

Moreover, the study of the flows of translation in the form of study cases, as done here, can supply an interesting overview from several points of view. In general, it sheds light on the country's position in the international context, on its relationship with other countries, and as well on its internal politics and economy.

More specifically, this kind of study can be regarded as a particular way to deal with the History of the Book. If this subject was until now mainly restricted to single countries' borders or at most including neighbouring countries, in an epoch of globalization and multinational conglomerates a transnational study can add interesting knowledge to an understanding of the cultural industry of the book nowadays.

Although this thesis has a sociological framework the analysis was more focused on the publishing studies perspective, and, also in the translation studies perspective by some extension. At the end I hope this can provide clues for other scholars in all those fields that aim to have a better understanding of the cultural field of book translations, an inherent transnational subject.

Furthermore, in a more concrete way, this kind of study can contribute to the development of cultural policies that aim to promote cultural interchange in general, and translations in particular, as well to the publishing strategies⁷ to be applied in the international trade between publishing companies.

This thesis doesn't intend to be comprehensive and have left several windows open. Certainly more profound and wider studies than this would bring interesting results, especially if they would be about different literatures and submitted to posterior comparison. Moreover, there is the impression that a deeper analysis of the translation flow of some authors, like Machado de Assis and Jorge Amado, could bring surprising results.

Finally it is expected that the conclusions of this work can be applied more generally to other similar situations, at least in the cases of countries whose languages are in the same position as the Brazilian Portuguese idiom.

⁷ "The term "publishing strategies" refers to the speculative process by which books are chosen to be translated and published in other languages." M. Baker, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 190.

2. *The framework*

According to Heilbron book translations constitute a cultural world-system ‘based on a core-periphery structure, [that] accounts for the uneven flows of translations between language groups as well as for the varying role of translations within language groups’.⁸ It’s also an historical system, which the major changes are long-term processes.

To reach his conclusions and create this model Heilbron studied a combination of the data from the Index Translationum from Unesco between the years 1979 and 1984, with national data and other known cases. He doesn’t consider the Unesco data very reliable, basically because the bibliographic methods and concepts vary from country to country. Besides that, during the research for this thesis it was possible to note that the overlap of information in the Index (several editions of the same translation, for instance) can influence the results of pure statistical analyses to a great extent.

According to Heilbron, the English language occupies a hyper-central position in the system, being the source language for 40% of all translations world wide around 1980. German, French and Russian follow, being the source language of 10 to 12% each of translations in the world in the same period, thus they are called ‘central languages’.

Next come the semi-peripheral languages, source of between 1 to 3% each of translations. In 1978 Spanish, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Polish and Czech could be considered as such according to Heilbron. The languages in this category however cannot be clearly distinguished from the ones in the next category, the peripheral languages. Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Portuguese, for instance, could be placed in this category around 1980. As it is clear, the position of the languages in the system doesn’t have any relation with the number of speakers. Besides the case of the Russian language, there is no reason to think that the system has undergone considerable changes since then. On the other hand, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twenty century until the Second World War English certainly didn’t occupy the hyper-central position in the system, position probably occupied by French if one assumes that the same structure can be applied by then.

⁸ Heilbron, ‘Towards a Sociology of Translation’, p. 429.

Book Translation as a Cultural World-System

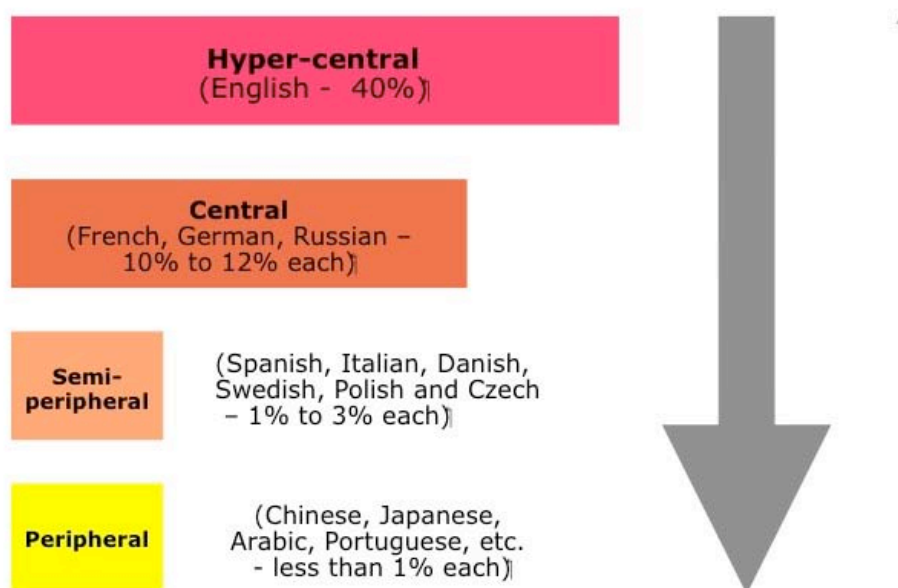


Table 1. Tentative graphic representation of Heilbron's system. The arrows represent the translation flows. The flow from the centre to the periphery (here from the top to the bottom) is bigger than that in the opposite direction. Besides that, the flow between the non-central languages normally passes through the centre. For instance, for one book written in Brazilian Portuguese to be published in Czech, it would be necessary that first it would be translated into English, or at least in one of the central languages. Here those languages work as 'vehicular languages'.⁹

3. Methodology and sources

Initially, the source for this work was also the Index Translationum, but only the data available online (from 1979 to 2007). Among a list of the sixty most translated Portuguese language authors (see table 2) provided by the Index, six Brazilian literary prose authors were chosen. The idea was to choose ones who represented different periods since the end of the nineteenth century. Sixty can seem an exaggerated number, but it must be taken into account that this list combines Brazilian and Portuguese authors and several of them belonged approximately to the same period. Besides that, after a certain point, the number

⁹ Heilbron, 'Towards a Sociology of Translation', p. 435.

of translations is very similar. The bestsellers are constrained to the first ten places or so. Four of the chosen authors are among those. Finally, there is also a variety of genres, such as poetry, children literature, and theology that must be disregarded for the purposes of this thesis.

As the source was partial, we cannot say that those six authors are among the most translated Brazilian of the twentieth century, but they are the ones who raised more interest in the period covered by the Index available online. It's hard to say how different a list that considers the whole Index would be, but for sure it would be an interesting exercise to find that out.

Another constraint of the Index are the participant countries. The Index gathers bibliographic data given by the national libraries of the countries (or by the ones who act as such, like the Library of Congress in the US) that take part of Unesco. Although few, some countries didn't belong to the organization in certain periods covered by the digital data. This goes for instance for two very important countries: the US (not a member between 1984 and 2003) and the UK (not a member between 1985 and 1997).¹⁰ It's not clear if these countries kept supplying information during that time, if they updated the data upon their return, or if the data is really missing.

But the objective of this work is not determine if those authors are among the most translated Brazilians, so these limitations don't become an impediment. For the establishment of the actual flows however it can be a problem. Because of that, to cover eventual gaps in the Index and to extend the research to editions prior to the data offered in the digital database, other sources were consulted as well. The following libraries' websites were checked: Library of Congress (USA), British Library (UK), Deutsche National Bibliothek (Germany), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, and Biblioteca Nacional de España (Spain). Other libraries were also occasionally consulted, trying to re-check information, as far as my language knowledge allowed. For that, the website worldcat.org, an OCLC (Online Computer Library Center) initiative, was also very useful.

For each author a certain number of works were selected as a sample, from two to five according to the author. Here the idea was also to make a choice that combined the most translated titles and different periods, as the success (or failure) of a first translation can

¹⁰ <http://erc.unesco.org/portal/UNESCOMemberStates.asp?language=en> (20 October 2008).

influence the translation flow of the following works of the same author. From this point, the objective was to establish the first translation published in the target languages and countries. Sometimes that was not so simple. Some works of Machado de Assis, for instance, had more than one translation published in France (in French and Spanish), but only the first one in each language and country is considered. On the other hand, there were English and French editions of his work published in Brazil later on.

Finally, the choice of starting the analyses at the end of the nineteenth-century had two aspects. First and more obviously it was necessary to delimitate a specific time frame and one century seemed a fair period. Besides that, one must take into account that international copyright laws started to take place at this time¹¹ and it seemed reasonable to analyse objects within the same context, although this thesis doesn't focus on this subject specifically.

The next step was consulting the bibliography about the life and the work of the chosen authors aiming to establish how the flow took place. The translated books presented themselves as a valuable source of information about the surrounding context of the flow, but it was not possible to have access to many books. The fact that the research was based in the Netherlands might have made this task more difficult. Maybe in Brazil the research would have been more fruitful, even though it was possible to find some books in Dutch libraries, especially by more old authors. From Machado de Assis, for instance, it was possible to lay hands not only on the first American and on the first French editions, but also on some translations published in Brazil.

Prefaces, blurb texts on the flaps, on the back cover or on the dust jacket can supply crucial information that is not found in library databases or in the bibliography. This is the kind of information that seemed ephemeral at the time of publication, but that can reveal interesting details, as we will see in Machado de Assis' case. For other authors there was less availability or other sources were more useful.

¹¹ E. H. Wirtén, *No Trespassing: Authorship, Intellectual Property Rights, and the Boundaries of Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 5.

Counts on Index Translationum for "Original language=POR"			
"TOP 60" Author	Records	Nationality	Genre
1 COELHO, PAULO	639	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
2 SARAMAGO, JOSE	403	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
3 AMADO, JORGE	400	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
4 PESSOA, FERNANDO	281	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
5 BOFF, LEONARDO	287	Brazilian	Religion*
6 ANTUNES, ANTONIO LOBO	154	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
7 QUEIROZ, JOSE MARIA ECA DE	151	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
8 VASCONCELOS, JOSE MAURO DE	104	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
9 LISPECTOR, CLARICE	91	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
10 NUNES, LYGIA BOJUNGA	77	Brazilian	Literature (Children)
11 FREIRE, PAULO	72	Brazilian	Religion
12 MACHADO DE ASSIS, JOAQUIM MARIA	72	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
13 TRIGUEIRINHO NETTO, JOSE	70	Brazilian	Religion
14 TORGA, MIGUEL	64	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
15 MESTERS, CARLOS	61	Brazilian	Religion
16 ZEZINHO, P	62	Brazilian	Religion
17 RIBEIRO, JOAO UBALDO	54	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
18 FONSECA, RUBEM	51	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
19 CAMOES, LUIZ DE	48	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
20 MACHADO, ANA MARIA	48	Brazilian	Literature (Children)
21 ROSA, JOAO GUIMARAES	44	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
22 SCLiar, MOACYR	40	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
23 BOFF, CLODOVIS	36	Brazilian	Religion
24 GUIMARAES, BERNARDO	36	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
25 JORGE, LIDIA	35	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
26 COUTO, MIA	34	Mozambican	Literature (Prose)
27 VIEIRA, ALICE	34	Portuguese	Literature (Children)
28 PIRES, JOSE CARDOSO	33	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
29 CAMARA, HELDER	32	Brazilian	Religion
30 ANDRADE, EUGENIO DE	32	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
31 NAMORA, FERNANDO	30	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
32 MELO, PATRICIA	29	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
33 SCHMITT, CARLOS A.	29	Brazilian	Religion
34 ANDRADE, CARLOS DRUMMOND DE	28	Brazilian	Literature (Poetry)
35 BOAL, AUGUSTO	27	Brazilian	Theatre
36 RAMOS, GRACILIANO	25	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
37 CARVALHO, J. RENTES DE	25	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
38 FERREIRA, VERGILIO	24	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
39 FINKLER, PEDRO	23	?	Religion
40 PEPETELA, ARTUR PESTANA	23	Angolan	Literature (Prose)
41 TAHAN, MALBA	23	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
42 SENA, JORGE DE	23	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
43 VERISSIMO, ERICO	23	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
44 TELLES, LYGIA FAGUNDES	22	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
45 COMBLIN, JOSE	22	Brazilian	Religion
46 PINON, NELIDA	22	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
47 ALCOFORADO, MARIANNA	20	Portuguese	Literature (Poetry)
48 XAVIER, FRANCISCO CANDIDO	21	Brazilian	Religion
49 SOUZA, MARCIO	21	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
50 SOARES, JO	21	Brazilian	Literature (Prose)
51 SCHNEIDER, ROQUE	20	Brazilian	Religion
52 RIBEIRO, DARCY	20	Brazilian	Social Sciences
53 ANDRADE, MARIO DE	20	Brazilian	Literature (Prose and Poetry)
54 FRANCO, DIVALDO PEREIRA	20	Brazilian	Religion
55 RIBEIRO, LAIR	20	Brazilian	Non-fiction
56 RAMATIS	17	Brazilian	Religion
57 DE MELLO, ANTHONY	16	?	Religion
58 ROCHA, RUTH	17	Brazilian	Literature (Children)
59 LUIS, AGUSTINA BESSA	17	Portuguese	Literature (Prose)
60 SASS, ROSELIS VON	16	?	Religion

Table 2. Data extracted from the Index Translationum Website (9th November 2008). Nationality and genre

information were added. *Religion was used here as a generic term to designate several genres such as

4. *Publishing History in Brazil*

As without the source edition there is no translation and the context surrounding it can affect the destiny of the translation flow, some information about the home context seems essential to a better understanding of this study.

At the end of the nineteenth century, when our first analysed author - Machado de Assis - was in his most productive period, foreign companies dominated part of the Brazilian publishing market. This situation was a consequence of the colonial condition and of the international context. In a more general view, the economic structure of the book market in Western Europe was firmly established, as the result of the clear separation between publisher and printer and of the major technological and market changes, and 'firms that profited from its stability would dominate both local and overseas markets'.¹²

In Brazil, on the other hand, printing was forbidden until 1808.¹³ After that date, several European entrepreneurs who were actively expanding their business to other countries in that period saw the opportunity of opening branches in the New World, in the case of Brazil specially the French publishers.¹⁴ At that time Brazil offered special advantages for its Independence process without loss of political continuity¹⁵ together with a great receptivity to the French culture considered synonymous with modernity and progress in opposition to the Portuguese heritage perceived as related to the national backwardness.¹⁶ Brothers Garnier was among those entrepreneurs,¹⁷ and their business was active in Brazil

¹² D. Finkelstein, 'Globalization of the Book 1800-1970', S. Eliot, and J. Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), p. 331.

¹³ Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822. In 1808, however, the Portuguese Royal Family fled from Napoleon's troops to Brazil, making the city of Rio de Janeiro capital of the entire Portuguese Empire and allowing printing in the country. Before that, there were some clandestine printing shops in the country but most of the books were printed in Europe. In 1889, Brazil would become a Republic.

¹⁴ L. Hallewell, *Books in Brazil: a history of the publishing trade* (Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, 1982), p. 92.

¹⁵ Brazil became Independent from Portugal in 1822 in a process without turmoil headed by D. Pedro I, son of the king of Portugal, who preferred to stay in Brazil instead of going back to Portugal with the rest of the court (who have fled from Napoleon to Brazil in 1808). D. Pedro I became then the Emperor of Brazil, followed by his son, D. Pedro II. In 1889 the country became a Republic.

¹⁶ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 92.

¹⁷ Bossange, Aillaud and Mongie and the brothers Firmin Didot are other examples of French booksellers who opened branches in Rio de Janeiro. Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 92.

for almost one century, from 1844 to 1934.¹⁸

Moreover, until the beginning of the twentieth century, great part of the books published in Brazil was printed in Paris despite the development of the Brazilian printing industry. At a certain point it wasn't necessarily cheaper or it didn't have a better quality, but the publishers liked to promote their books as having a French binding.¹⁹

But 'printing networks and activities' exported to other countries by Europe 'would flourish or falter as determined by the specific needs of, and levels of support provided by, the ruling powers',²⁰ and by the beginning of the twentieth century the Brazilian publishing industry wasn't very inspiring:

In fact the condition of the book-trade was depressing in the extreme. Retail outlets were few, and practically confined to the more affluent districts of Rio and São Paulo; the bulk of their business was in imports, chiefly from Portugal and France. Such publishing as still went on in Brazil seldom ventured beyond the safe fields of school textbooks and works on Brazilian law, as was no more than a minor incidental activity of the larger bookshops. [...] The old-established names of Brazilian literature, such as Machado de Assis and Alencar, continued to sell, but in editions published by Garnier in Paris.²¹

With the First World War however the manufacturing industry in São Paulo would witness a growth of about 25% a year (between 1914 and 1920)²² that would eventually benefit its publishing industry, creating opportunity for the Brazilian publisher to occupy the empty space left by the European publishers who step by step were leaving the country. This is was the circumstances that made possible for Monteiro Lobato²³ to venture into publishing in Brazil for the first time and change it for good, opening the path for the later

¹⁸ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 93.

¹⁹ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 94.

²⁰ Finkelstein, 'Globalization of the Book 1800-1970', p. 334.

²¹ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 171.

²² Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 171.

²³ José Bento Monteiro Lobato was a Brazilian writer and a publisher that revolutionized the Brazilian publishing industry in several aspects in the first half of the twentieth century: from distribution methods to the design of the books. Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 184-186.

publishers, like José Olympio.²⁴

After that, a turbulent time in Brazilian history began. First with the Revolution of 1930 by which Getúlio Vargas was placed at the Presidency through a military coup and ruled as a dictator for two periods (1930-34 and 1937-1945) and as elected president for two others (1934-17 and 1951-54), remaining in power for almost a quarter of century.

Contrary to how it might seem to be, the Revolution created a favourable climate for new writers in Brazil. Among its several consequences was the growth of the import substitution due the lack of foreign exchange and some sources suggest a growth of 600% in the book production between 1930 and 1936.²⁵ In 1941, São Paulo could be considered one of the greatest printing centres of the Western Hemisphere.²⁶

A little later, with the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War in Europe, Latin America witnessed a new growth in Publishing that ‘had a happy and unexpected side effect on Brazilian authorship’.²⁷ New publishing houses became interested in Latin American authors, including Brazilian ones. At this time reading was booming in Brazil²⁸ and publishers from Latin America and North America, instead of from Europe, became the new suppliers of imported books. But because of the shortage of paper, ink and printing equipment they couldn’t supply the demand and ‘Brazilian publishing expanded to fill the gap’.²⁹ There was a growth rate of 50% between 1937 and 1944 in the number of publishing houses, and of 30% between 1944 and 1948.

After the spectacular growth in the Publishing industry in the 1930s and 1940s, Brazil watched an immense decline in the field, finding itself with fewer publishers in 1953 than in 1936.³⁰ During the 1950s, due to the exchange rate, it was again cheaper to import books than to publish them.³¹ Only in the 1960s the publishers could finally said that they were growing again, thanks to president Juscelino Kubitschek’s (1956-1961) policies. They helped to modernize the printing industry and to protect the Brazilian paper industry. In addition to

²⁴ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 184.

²⁵ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 246.

²⁶ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 291.

²⁷ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 296.

²⁸ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 291.

²⁹ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 297.

³⁰ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 298.

³¹ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 317.

that the book-trade was exempted from almost all taxes.³²

This situation however wouldn't last long. In April 1964 another coup would raise a military dictatorship to the power that would rule the country for another 20 years (1964-1985). The first measures to restrain the inflation left by former Quadros/Goulart presidency generated a profound recession that would affect publishing deeply for the next six years. Eventually economic stability was restored to some extent and this would affect the industry positively. Moreover almost complete tax exemption was extended to all stages of the book production and imports were very limited in general.³³ The situation was contradictory:

This quite phenomenal growth was achieved despite a policy of repression that [...] 'scattered and destroyed the social science and political market', and made it hazardous, both financially and personally, to publish anything that might transgress the rather ill defined limits of official tolerance.³⁴

These conditions however wouldn't last long, at least economically speaking. Brazil would be hit hard by the international oil crisis of 1973 and inflation would return, reaching the pre-coup level of 80% per year in 1979.³⁵

Foreign publishing companies always ventured into Brazil in one way or another, but until 1958 they had little incentive to do anything else than distributing their books in the country. Through Kubitschek's policies, it became more attractive to publish in Brazil and the fifties and early sixties saw some foreign companies opening branches in the country again, not only distribution offices. This situation was also helped by the expansion of higher education in the country at that time.³⁶ Soon foreign companies would start to buy shares of Brazilian companies, beginning in the early 1960s.³⁷

This movement of acquisitions by foreigners companies would be restrained by economic stagnation combined with high inflation in the 1970s, and in the beginning of the

³² Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 323-324.

³³ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 338-339.

³⁴ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 350.

³⁵ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 364.

³⁶ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 410-411.

³⁷ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, 415.

1980s almost all multinationals sold their shares back to Brazilians.³⁸ Foreign companies would come back to the country in the 1990s, together with the economical stability, specially the Spanish ones, like Planeta and Santillana.

5. *The authors*

5.1. *Machado de Assis (*Rio de Janeiro, 1839 - †Rio de Janeiro, 1908)*

5.1.1. *Biography*

One of the most celebrated Brazilian authors at home and abroad. Unlike many other writers in the nineteenth century, Machado was a successful author and can be considered a bestseller in his own time.³⁹ But even with his success it was not possible for him to live from his pen and he worked as a civil servant through his whole life. Eventually at the end of his life he sold the copyright of all of his books to his publisher Garnier to raise some money. Apparently, his heir (the daughter of a niece of his wife) had nothing to do with the destiny of his work after he passed away.⁴⁰ In fact, the copyright of his books were sold two more times: first to Ferdinand Briguier,⁴¹ Garnier's assistant who bought the copyright of all valuable books when the company closed their business in Brazil in 1934, and again about 1937 to W. M. Jackson Company.⁴²

5.1.2. *The flow*

³⁸ L. Hallewell, *O Livro no Brasil: sua história* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2005), p. 736.

³⁹ 'Dom Casmurro was a best-seller in Brazil, which means that the first printing of two thousand copies sold out almost immediately.' M. J. Bruccoli, R. Layman, C. E. Frazer Clark, J. McNabb, J. R. Cox, G. Grella, P. B. Dematteis, and P. Meanor, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1978), v. 307, p. 252.

⁴⁰ 'Most of his possessions, and they were not many - some household goods, his library, and the 'apólices' were willed to the daughter of Carolina's niece. His literary properties, that is, his then collected works, belonged to his publisher Garnier.' H. Caldwell, *Machado de Assis - The Brazilian Master and His Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 222.

⁴¹ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p.141.

⁴² W. M. Jackson was an American Company with large interests in Latin America during the first half of the 20th century and it was the pioneer in the subscription books market in the country since 1911. Hallewell, *O Livro no Brasil*, p. 367 and 467.

a) *First translations or attempts at translation*

For the analysis proposed here three novels were chosen among the nine written by him:⁴³ *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* (*Epitaph of a Small Winner* - first published in Brazil in 1881),⁴⁴ *Quincas Borba* (*Philosopher or Dog?* - 1891), and *Dom Casmurro* (1900). *Memórias* is considered a watershed in Machados' literary career as a novelist and the first Brazilian realist novel, before that his works are regarded as belonging to the Romantic movement.⁴⁵ These three novels are among his most translated works and were published with ten years of interval.

Apparently, only seven years after the first publication of *Memórias* in Brazil the first attempts at translation of this work took place.⁴⁶ It was not possible to find out to which languages those translations were intended to be made or why those attempts didn't become books. Some years later, just before the turn of the century, a German citizen who was living in São Paulo tried to get permission before returning to Germany to translate Machado's works into German.⁴⁷ The author was pleased with the idea and wished no financial gain, the Brazilian publisher however (who at that point was the owner of the copyright)⁴⁸ asked one hundred francs for each book that she wanted to translate saying (to Machado) that 'From their side, the Germans know very well how to make money...'⁴⁹ and the project didn't go ahead.

Another attempt made by a French translator two years later⁵⁰ probably had the same

⁴³ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 240.

⁴⁴ First appearance of original titles in Portuguese will be followed by the title of the English translation and by the year of first publication in Brazil. The original title (or part of it) will be used for further reference in the text. The lack of translation can mean that the Portuguese title was kept in the English version or that there is no English translation of the book.

⁴⁵ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 248.

⁴⁶ J. do Prado Coelho, *Dicionário de literatura: literatura portuguesa, literatura brasileira, literatura galega, estilística literária* (Porto [Portugal]: M. Figueirinhas, 1997), p. 124.

⁴⁷ B. Broca, *A vida literária no Brasil, 1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Serviço de Documentação, 1956), p. 259.

⁴⁸ According to Hallewell (1982) 'Machado de Assis himself was persuaded to sell out the copyrights on each of his titles, one by one, over a six-year period from 1900, and in some cases for amounts as low as 500\$000 [five hundred thousand réis]', but apparently that started to happen some years before.

⁴⁹ 'Les allemands savent fort bien se faire payer a leur coté...' Broca, *A vida literária no Brasil, 1900*, p. 259.

⁵⁰ In a letter of March 31st 1901, Machado advises the translator (Phileas Lebesgue) to get in touch with Garnier to ask the permission for translation. J. M. Machado de Assis, *Obra Completa* (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1962), p. 1057.

destiny, as the first translation of Machado into French would be made later by another translator and published in 1911.

The first translations eventually took place in South America, with the publication of two Spanish versions of *Memórias*, both in 1902, in Argentina⁵¹ and Uruguay⁵² carried out by different translators. The author was aware at least of the latter version and even read the text after publication and approved it.⁵³ On the other hand, there is no evidence of the awareness of the publisher in either case (maybe the translations were agreed before the transfer of the rights). The Argentinean translation (and by extension the Uruguayan one) can be regarded as part of the process of building national identities in South America that was taking place in that period and of the intense cultural exchange between those countries at the time: 'The Brazilian literary presence [...] was already regarded since the middle of the nineteenth century as one chapter of the very process of invention of an Argentinean National Culture'.⁵⁴

b) *First translations to a (hyper)-central language*

The Brazilian/French publishers were conscious of the value of Machado's work and wanted to profit themselves translating it to what could be considered the hyper-central language at that time, French. Machado's books started to be published in Paris by Garnier Brothers two years after the author's death; the first French translation was published in 1911 (*Memórias*). Thus it becomes easy to understand the motivation for the many obstacles created by Machado's publishers in the previous case(s) of attempts at translation.

The publishers however decided to carry not only French translations but Spanish translations as well,⁵⁵ and they published other two titles in Spanish (but in Paris) in the same period (*Dom Casmurro* in 1910 and *Quincas Borba* in 1913):

⁵¹ G. Sorá, *Traducir el Brasil: una antropología de la circulación internacional de ideas* (Buenos Aires: Libros del Zorzal, 2003), p. 73.

⁵² Broca, *A Vida Literária no Brasil, 1900*, p. 261.

⁵³ Broca, *A Vida Literária no Brasil, 1900*, p. 261.

⁵⁴ 'La presencia literaria del Brasil [...] ya era pensado desde mediados del siglo XIX como capítulo del propio proceso de invención de una cultura nacional argentina'. Sorá, *Traducir el Brasil*, p. 74.

⁵⁵ *Dom Casmurro* was published in Spanish in 1910, *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* in French and Spanish in 1911, and *Quincas Borba* in Spanish in 1912. Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 140.

Year	Memórias Póstumas		Quincas Borba		Dom Casmurro	
	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language
1881	Brazil	Portuguese				
1891			Brazil	Portuguese		
1899					Brazil	Portuguese
1902	Argentina	Spanish				
1902	Uruguay	Spanish				
1910					France	Spanish
1911	France	French				
			France	Spanish		
1919	Italy	Italian				
1930			Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian
1936					France	French
1944	Brazil	French				
1946					Argentina	Spanish
1950	Switzerland	German				
1951	Brazil	English			Switzerland	German
1951	Mexico	Spanish				
1952	USA	English				
1953	UK	English			USA	English
					UK	English
1954	Netherlands	Dutch	USA	English	Sweden	Swedish
			UK	English	Italy	Italian
1955			France	French		
1956	Denmark	Danish				
1957	Yugoslavia	Serbo-Croatian			Portugal	Portuguese
1957	Portugal	Portuguese				
1959					Poland	Polish
1960			Portugal	Portuguese	Czech Republic	Czech
1961					USSR	Russian
1963	Cuba	Spanish	Syria	Arabic		
1965					Romania	Romanian
1966					Germany	German
1967	Germany	German				
1968	USSR	Russian				
1973					Estonia	Estonian
1975	Spain	Spanish				
1979			Venezuela	Spanish		
1982			Germany	German		
1985					Netherlands	Dutch
1986	Romania	Romanian	Romania	Romanian		
1987	Israel	Hebrew				
1990			Spain	Spanish		
1992	Croatia	Croatian				
1996	Czech Republic	Czech			Denmark	Danish
1998					Spain	Catalan
2001	Spain	Catalan				
2002					Japan	Japanese

Table 3. Translation scheme of Machado de Assis' selected works.

But in the beginning of the 20th century the book trade with the Spanish-American countries was the missing activity of the Spanish publishing industry. The [Latin] American market was dominated by French publishers specialised in the production of the book in Spanish (original works and translations), like the Garnier Frères [...]. The French penetration had started in first third of the 19th century with the French book, but the publishers, aware of the big possibilities offered by this large and unexplored Spanish speaking market, decided to publish in Spanish taking advantage of the large community of Spanish and Spanish-American citizens who were living or were exiled in Paris and who dedicated themselves to translating tasks.⁵⁶

A few years later, the first translation of *Memórias* was published in Italy (1919). Despite the fact that translator was an Italian *brasiliófilo* (researcher interested in Brazilian culture) who apparently worked at the Brazilian Embassy in Rome,⁵⁷ it is possible that this publishing decision (or translation decision in this case) was influenced by the previous French translation of the same title, as they are close in time. The other two titles were first published in Italian and later into French. In this case, however, the role of the Italian translator, Giuseppe Alpi (about who it was impossible to find more precise information), seems to have been decisive, as he was the author of all three translations, each one published by a different publisher.⁵⁸ So, without further research it's hard to be sure about the weight of these two factors (the French edition and the fact that he was interested in Brazilian Culture) in Alpi's decision, or which one came first.

In 1936, the first translation of *Dom Casmurro* was finally published in French.⁵⁹ In this

⁵⁶ 'Pero a principios del siglo XX el comercio de libros con los países hispanoamericanos era la asignatura pendiente de la industria editorial española. El mercado americano estaba dominado por editores franceses especializados en la producción del libro en castellano (originales e traducciones) como las casas Garnier Frères [...]. La penetración francesa se había iniciado en el primer tercio del siglo XIX con el libro francés, pero los editores, conscientes de las enormes posibilidades que ofrecía este mercado de habla hispana tan amplio y sin explotar, optaron por editar en castellano aprovechando la estancia en París de una importante colonia de españoles e hispanoamericanos, residentes o exilados, dedicados a tareas de traducción.' J. A. Marfínez, *Historia de la Edición en España, 1836-1936*, (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2001), p. 282.

⁵⁷ Coelho, *Dicionário de literatura*, p. 1221.

⁵⁸ *Memórias* by R. Caraba (in Lanciano, 1919), *Quincas Borba* by Alberto Corticelli (in Milan, 1930), and *Dom Casmurro* by Instituto Cristoforo Colombo (in Rome, 1930).

⁵⁹ J. M. Machado de Assis, F. d. Miomandre, R. d. Carvalho, *Dom Casmurro* (Paris: Institut International de

case the translation was published by the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuel (International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation) in Paris. This is the first of a series of translations of Machado's works related to public institutions, thus to politics and to the Brazilian official international relations. This particular institute was a predecessor of Unesco in the promotion of intellectual co-operation and it was active between 1919 and 1940.⁶⁰ The political aspect of this edition was reinforced by the preface of Afrânio Peixoto (1876-1947)⁶¹ and by the review of Ronald de Carvalho (1893-1935).⁶²

c) *Back to Argentina and Brazil*

Following the flow of translations, one comes back to South America. In 1944, *Memórias* was translated again into French, but not in Paris, this time in Rio de Janeiro. It was published by Atlantica Editora, but most interesting is the figure of the translator, R. Chadebec de Lavalade, presented by the same Afrânio Peixoto in the preface:

The translation of *Memórias Postumas de Braz Cubas* by *Général* de Lavalade, represents for our Machado de Assis an honour of rare value [...]

Now I'll talk about the translator. His *métier* is that of army. But in France, the path that leads a person in to such a profession passes through a number of technical and military schools [...] that no one can have the title of *général* without being provided with a vast scientific and literary culture, that is acquired only with time, experience and study. To these conditions - that already reveal a selection - it is convenient to add that *Général* de Lavalade was chosen to head a mission with cultural, technical, scientific and diplomatic characteristics: the French military mission for training the Brazilian army.⁶³

Coopération Intellectuelle, 1936).

⁶⁰ [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=30323&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

[URL_ID=30323&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=30323&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) (26 October 2008)

⁶¹ Writer and physician, he occupied several public positions and at that time was the president of the Academia Brasileira de Letras (Brazilian Academy of Letters).

⁶² Poet and diplomat, he worked in the Brazilian Embassy in a couple of occasions and died before the publication of this edition.

⁶³ 'La traduction des 'Memórias Póstumas de Braz Cubas', par le Général de Lavalade, représente, pour notre Machado de Assis, un hommage d'une rare valeur [...] Parlons d'abord du traducteur. Son métier est

Here, Machado is already raised to the category of master, as this edition is the first volume of a series called 'Les Maitres des Littératures Américaines' (American Literature Masters), 'meant to promote the most important works of American literature'.⁶⁴ But apparently the translator was more important than the original author, as Peixoto take the first three paragraphs of his preface to introduce G. de Lavalade instead of starting by introducing the author to the new audience.

Two years later, in 1946, *Dom Casmurro* was translated into Spanish for the first time and published by W. M. Jackson Inc. (the same publisher that bought the original rights from Briguier ten years before) in Buenos Aires, recalling the way of the early translations of his work into France.

d) Finally into English, but not yet in the Northern Hemisphere

Back to Brazil, this time to São Paulo, *Memórias* was published in English for the very first time in 1951. The publisher, São Paulo Editôra, was actually a printing shop that published occasionally.⁶⁵ It is the place where the translator - William L. Grossman - signs his work, however, that calls the attention: the Centro Técnico de Aeronáutica⁶⁶ (Aeronautics Technical Centre) in São José dos Campos (80km from the city of São Paulo). In his Preface, the translator remarks that the work had already been translated into French, Spanish and

celui des armes. Mais, en France, le chemin qui conduit à une telle situation passe par nombreuses écoles techniques et militaires [...] que l'on ne parvient guère au grade d'officier général sans être nanti d'une vaste culture scientifique et littéraire, laquelle ne s'obtient par le temps, l'expérience et l'étude. A ces conditions - qui révèlent déjà une sélection - il convient d'ajouter que le Général de Lavalade fut choisi pour diriger une mission de caractère à la fois cultural et technique, scientifique et diplomatique: la mission militaire française d'instruction de l'armée brésilienne.' A. Peixoto, 'Préface', J. M. M. de Assis, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe de Braz Cubas* (Rio de Janeiro: Atlantica Editora, 1944), p. 7.

⁶⁴ '[...] destinée à divulguer les chefs-d'œuvre des littératures américaines.' Assis, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe de Braz Cubas*, front flap text.

⁶⁵ Hallowell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 199-200.

⁶⁶ Today it's know as ITA (Aeronautics Technological Institute) and it is a 'federal government institution dedicated to provide high level education and research in Science and Technology areas of interest to the aerospace sector in general, and especially to the Aeronautic Command'.

<http://www.ita.br/ingles/ingles.htm> (26 October 2008)

Italian and that ‘its translation into English has been long overdue’.⁶⁷ At the end of the text he thanks Arnaldo Pessoa ‘who went through the text with me’, Joseph M. Stokes ‘whose discerning comments on my first draft are reflected in the final version; and W.M. Jackson Inc. ‘which graciously authorised publication of the translation’.⁶⁸ The translator was probably among the MIT professors who came to Brazil to start the ITA (Instituto Tecnológico de Aeronáutica – Aeronautics Technological Institut) in the 1950s.⁶⁹

Just one year later, this translation was republished in the USA with the new title *Epitaph of a Small Winner*.⁷⁰ The translator’s preface was extended with more information for the new American audience, but some parts of the original text were kept, with the exception of the credits to the two professors who helped him and the thanks to the Brazilian publishing house (actually there is no acknowledgment to it). In the next two years, the other two titles analysed here were eventually translated into English as well. *Dom Casmurro* in 1953 and *Quincas Borba* in 1954.

5.2. Mário de Andrade (*São Paulo, 1893 - †São Paulo, 1945)

5.2.1. Biography

Andrade was a major figure in the building of a Brazilian national cultural identity in the twentieth century. He was a poet, a novelist and an essayist, and furthermore he was also a musicologist, an ethnographer, a folklorist, a linguist, and an art and literary critic.⁷¹ He also created and was the first director of the São Paulo Department of Culture, when he created libraries and other institutions aiming to protect the Brazilian cultural heritage.⁷²

He was deeply involved with the Modernist movement and he was ‘heralded as the

⁶⁷ William L. Grossman, ‘Translator's Preface’, J. M. M. de Assis, *The Posthumous Memoirs of Braz Cubas* (São Paulo: São Paulo Editôra, 1951), p. IX.

⁶⁸ It was impossible to be sure about these two figures, but apparently they were professors at ITA at that time. Stokes was probably among the MIT professor who came to Brazil to teach in the first years of the Institution. Grossman, ‘Translator's Preface’, Assis, *The Posthumous Memoirs of Braz Cubas*, p. X.

⁶⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Instituto_Tecnol%C3%B3gico_de_Aeron%C3%A1utica (26 October 2008)

⁷⁰ J. M. M. de Assis, *Epitaph of a Small Winner* (New York: Noonday Press, 1952).

⁷¹ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 48.

⁷² Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 53.

“pope” of Brazilian modernism, one of the most astute analysts of Brazilian culture and civilisation, and a premier literary figure.’⁷³ For him, ‘the real national literature’ should look through Brazilian eyes; write in Brazilian Portuguese, free of influence from Portugal; create forms that reflect both the language and the spirit of Brazil.⁷⁴ He was, however, very aware of the contemporary trends in European and North American culture, as Machado in his time was also aware of what was going on in Europe and in the USA. It is worth noticing that both Machado and Andrade never left the country (Machado never even left the state of Rio de Janeiro). But contrary to his fellow citizen, Andrade was consciously committed to Brazilian culture and language and this feature had an impact on the path that his few works translated abroad followed. He never could be considered a bestselling author either; the second edition of his *Macunaíma* (1928) for instance was published in 1936 in a print-run of thousand copies.⁷⁵

For the aim of this thesis, the only two novels written by Mário de Andrade were chosen: *Amar, Verbo Intransitivo* (*Fräulein* -1927)⁷⁶ and *Macunaíma* (1928). Despite their importance for Brazilian literature and culture, for a long time more importance was given to Andrade’s poetry than to his prose,⁷⁷ and this can maybe count as one of the reasons that his novels remained untranslated for a longer period. But the nature of the prose itself maybe is a stronger reason that kept it away from foreign eyes for so long, especially in the case *Macunaíma*.

Amar, Verbo Intransitivo ‘although [it] is not a novel in terms of the chronological development of the story and complexity of plot and characters, it is presented as a novel’,⁷⁸ and its theme can be considered ‘an investigation of the urban rich’.⁷⁹ Thus, this novel could

⁷³ I. Stern, *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature* (New York/Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 23.

⁷⁴ Stern, *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature*, p. 25.

⁷⁵ Published by José Olympio Editora, in Rio de Janeiro. J. I. Suárez and J. E. Tomlins, *Mário de Andrade - The Creative Works* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), p. 98.

⁷⁶ *Fräulein* is the English title referring to the main character ‘Fräulein’, a German governess mainly called by this noun in the original book. The translation of the original title would be ‘To Love, an intransitive verb’.

⁷⁷ ‘For the most part, critics have ignored Mario de Andrade’s prose. Antônio Simões dos Reis bibliography of critical works dealing with Mário de Andrade, published in 1960, contained 556 entries: seventy-two were devoted to his poetry, only twenty to his two novels, and a mere ten to his short stories.’ Suárez, *Creative works*, p. 83.

⁷⁸ Brucoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 50.

⁷⁹ Suárez, *Creative works*, p. 83.

be regarded as more easy to domesticate⁸⁰ in comparison to *Macunaíma*, which ‘brings together elements of epic, rhapsody, lyric, history, mythology, folklore, and the popular language spoken in Brazil.’⁸¹ The inverse, however, appears to be true, as *Macunaíma* records many more translations than *Amar* until the present moment.

Year	<i>Amar Verbo Intransitivo</i>		<i>Macunaíma</i>	
	Country	Language	Country	Language
1927	Brazil	Portuguese		
1928			Brazil	Portuguese
1933	USA	English		
1970			Italy	Italian
1977			Spain	Spanish
1979			France	French
1982	Venezuela	Spanish	Germany	German
1983			Hungary	Hungarian
1984			UK	English
1984			USA	English
1995	France	French		
1989			Denmark	Danish
1997			Sweden	Swedish
1997			Norway	Norwegian
1998			Czech Rep.	Czech
1998			Portugal	Portuguese

Table 4. Translation scheme of Mário de Andrade’s selected works.

5.2.2. *The Flow*

The first translation of a work by Andrade was one of *Amar* into English, as early as 1933.⁸² It is true that the same translator first attempted to translate *Macunaíma* and was helped by the author, concerned with the quality and the difficulty of the job, in this Herculean task.⁸³

⁸⁰ ‘Domestication’ is a translating strategy concept developed by Lawrence Venutti that ‘entails translation in a transparent, fluent, “invisible” style in order to minimize the foreignness of the target language’. The opposite strategy is called ‘foreignization’. For Venutti, ‘domestication’ is the strategy used by the dominant languages. J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies – Theories and Applications* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 146.

⁸¹ Brucoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 50.

⁸² M. Andrade, *Fräulein*, (New York: Macaulay, 1933). Translated by Margareth Richardson Hollingsworth. Quoted in Brucoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 46.

⁸³ Andrade's notes for this translation comprise six sheets with a little glossary and other explanations about

He even had the opportunity to read one chapter that she sent him, but apparently she stopped the work to proceed with the translation of *Amar*. Afterwards she resumed and finished the translation of *Macunaíma*, but it remains unpublished.⁸⁴ The translation of *Macunaíma* into Spanish made in the 1940s by Carybé (1911-1997)⁸⁵ and Raúl Brié⁸⁶, a process in which the author was also involved, had the same destiny.⁸⁷

The cultural importance of Andrade's heritage in Brazil, however, was decisive to the flow of translations that finally started in the 1970s. At that time the book was transported into two other forms of expression that helped to promote it abroad. First, it became a movie launched in 1969.⁸⁸ Just after that and maybe not by chance, the first translation of *Macunaíma* was published in Italy, in 1970.⁸⁹ Its translator was an Italian woman who lived in Brazil for a long time.⁹⁰ After that, *Macunaíma* was finally published in Spanish in 1977, translated by the Mexican Héctor Olea.⁹¹ The French version followed quickly, being published in 1979 in the Unesco's *Collection of Representative Works*. But between the appearance of the Spanish and the French editions, the book was adapted to the theatre by Jacques Thiériot and staged by the Brazilian group Grupo Teatro Macunaíma, led by Antunes Filho, in 1978. The play 'was performed with enormous success not only in Brazil but also in several international festivals and tours of Europe and the Americas.'⁹² In fact, the same Jacques Thiériot also made the French translation and it's reasonable to assume that the movie, the play and the French edition played an important role in the sequence of translations that followed it. The German and the Hungarian translations were published in

rhymes and metaphors. Apparently he also made notes in a copy of the book (using different colours for what was supposed to be translated and for what should be kept as it was in the original) that was sent together with the sheets to the translator, but the copy is missing. 'Notas para a tradução Norte-Americana: 1930' in M. Andrade, and T. P. A. Lopez, *Macunaíma: a herói sem nenhum caráter, edição crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Livros Técnicos e Científicos, 1978), p. 386.

⁸⁴ Andrade, *Macunaíma, edição crítica*, p. 429.

⁸⁵ Argentinian sculptor and painter that have lived most his life in Brazil.

⁸⁶ Argentinian painter.

⁸⁷ Andrade, *Macunaíma, edição crítica*, p. 430.

⁸⁸ *Macunaíma*. Directed by Joaquim Pedro de Andrade. Brazil: Condor Filmes et al., 1969.

⁸⁹ M. Andrade, *Macunaíma: L'eroe senza nessun carattere*, (Milan: Adelphi, 1970). Translated by Giuliana Segre Giorgi.

⁹⁰ Andrade, *Macunaíma, edição crítica*, p. 430.

⁹¹ M. Andrade, *Macunaíma*, (Barcelona, Caracas, México: Seix Barral, 1977).

⁹² R. González Echevarría, and E. Pupo-Walker, *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), vol. 1, p. 309.

1982 and 1983, respectively. An English translation was finally published in 1984.

After its early translation into English, *Amar* had only two other foreign versions, and they appeared only after the first translations of *Macunaíma*. These were a Spanish one, published in Venezuela in 1982; and a French one, in 1985.

5.3. *Jorge Amado* (*Itabuna, 1912 - † Salvador, 2001)

5.3.1. *Biography*

Jorge Amado was ‘one of the rare Latin American writers who made a living from his writing.’⁹³ During his life he published more than thirty-two titles (mostly novels) and had his work translated into at least forty-eight languages and was published in fifty-two countries.⁹⁴

Unlike Machado de Assis and Mário de Andrade, Amado had an intensive international life, living abroad for extended periods of time, sometimes in exile. He also had an active political life and this both these circumstances had great impact in the international reception of his work:

Internationally, in terms of raw sales, Amado challenges the most famous of *Boom*⁹⁵ writers, García Marquez. By the late 1980s Amado was estimated by the Fundação Casa Jorge Amado in Salvador to have sold about thirty million volumes around the world. Initially aided by his contacts and support in the communist block and subsequently by sheer market economics, Amado has been translated into fifty languages.

This last fact must be seen in a dual context - Amado’s initial political privilege in the Eastern block and the steady acquisition of recognition and popularity in the

⁹³ Brucoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 27.

⁹⁴ A. M. Miranda, Instituto W. M. Salles, et al, *Jorge Amado* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 1997), Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira, n. 3, p. 5.

⁹⁵ *Boom* is a term used to designate a group of Latin American literary writers that ‘quite suddenly came to occupy the forefront of the international literary stage’ during the 1960s. They didn’t constitute a cohesive group but were promoted as so and are frequently related to Magical Realism. P. Standish, ‘The Boom’, V. Smith, *Encyclopedia of Latin American Literature* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), p. 133.

open market of the West. This peculiarly Amadian phenomenon of contacts with European Marxists, politicians, literary luminaries, and figures of popular culture are reflected in the Fundação photos of the author with George Lukacs, Henry Belafonte, Sartre, Leopold Senghor, François Mitterrand [...] It would be difficult to nominate a single individual with the twentieth century more at his fingertips than Jorge Amado.⁹⁶

Born and raised in the state of Bahia from a family that owned cocoa plantations, he moved in 1930 to Rio de Janeiro (by then the federal capital) to study law. By the time he graduated (in 1935), Amado had already published three books: *O País do Carnaval* (1931); *Cacau* (*Cacao* – 1933); and *Suor* (*Sweat* - 1934). Still in the 1930s he joined the leftwing Aliança Nacional Libertadora (Liberating National Alliance) and was seen as threat to the Vargas regime. After being arrested and jailed for two months in 1936 he decided to travel through the Americas, visiting several Latin-American countries and the United States. When he attempted to come back, he was arrested once more, and his books were burned and banned.⁹⁷ Because of the political climate, he moved to Argentina in 1941 and then to Uruguay in 1942, coming back to Brazil at the end of that year. Although he was briefly imprisoned upon his return, the political climate increasingly became more favourable to the Brazilian Communist party and this party elected Amado congressman in 1945. During this ten-year period he never stopped writing and published ten more books.

In 1948 the Brazilian Communist Party was declared illegal. Amado left the Congress and went into voluntary exile with his family. This time the destiny was Europe and they travelled through several countries: France, Poland (where he participated as vice president in the World Congress of Artists and Writers for Peace), Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Bulgaria. In 1950 Amado and his family were expelled from France⁹⁸ and decided to stay in Prague. In 1951 he won the Stalin Prize. In 1953 he went back to Brazil, not before visiting China and Mongolia.

⁹⁶ P. Armstrong, *Third World Literary Fortunes: Brazilian Culture and Its International Reception* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1999), p. 134-135.

⁹⁷ Miranda, *Jorge Amado*, p. 12.

⁹⁸ Miranda, *Jorge Amado*, p. 15.

The death of Stalin in 1953, the political takeover by Nikita Khrushchev in the Soviet Union and the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet troops had their impact in the Brazilian Communist Party and many intellectuals left it, including Jorge Amado (but it never became clear if he actually resigned from the party).⁹⁹

Some critics considered his first novel published after this political turmoil -- *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* (*Gabriela, Clove and Cinnamon* – 1958) -- a watershed in his work.¹⁰⁰ While ‘the early novels and novelettes were marked by social consciousness and often by strong political commitment’,¹⁰¹ some say that the ‘new Amado divorced from Marxist ideology and dedicated to the cultivation of picaresque humour’.¹⁰² The book was huge success and had six editions in four months in Brazil.¹⁰³

His trips abroad went on during his whole life, much because of the several prizes he was honoured with and the lectures he was invited to give. He also spent several periods in Paris or London for writing. Of importance to this study is his long journey to the United States and Canada in 1971, as one of its motivations was to visit his American Publisher Alfred Knopf.¹⁰⁴

His work is still debated by the critics:

For some, Amado was a major writer of the twentieth century, a great storyteller who mastered all forms of expression. [...] Other critics argues that Amado was a promising writer who sold out to capitalism, claiming that he followed the success of *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* by consistently using the same recipe to produce best-selling works. [...] Amado has also been criticized for simplifying and idealizing serious unresolved issues such as race relations in Brazil.¹⁰⁵

5.3.2. *The Flow*

⁹⁹ Miranda, *Jorge Amado*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ B. J. Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), p. 97/98.

¹⁰¹ Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado*. p. 97.

¹⁰² Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado*. p. 97.

¹⁰³ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p.33.

¹⁰⁴ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 35.

¹⁰⁵ Bruccoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 38.

As the Amado's work is extensive in quantity (he published thirty-two novels) and time (he was productive for almost seventy years, from 1931 to 1997),¹⁰⁶ for the aiming of this thesis five novels instead of three were chosen in order to have a more representative sample of his work. The idea was to choose among the most translated novels ones published in different times of his career and also in different historical backgrounds. *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* is considered the work in which Amado changed his literary route¹⁰⁷ and, according to Index, is the most translated title by this author. *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* (*Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands*, 1966) and *Teresa Batista Cançada de Guerra* (*Tereza Batista: Home from the Wars*, 1972) follow as the second and the third most translated novels according to the same source. *Cacau* was the second novel published by the author (in 1933) and the first to be translated abroad: the Argentinean publishing house Claridad released it as early as 1935. *Capitães da Areia* (*Captains of the Sand*, 1937) according to the Unesco Index is the most translated book written by Jorge Amado among those published before *Gabriela*.

Taking our subjects of study as an example, Argentina was the first destination of most of Amado's works in their travel around the world. Three out of the five titles analysed here had their first translation published in Argentina (*Cacau*, *Gabriela* and *Tereza Batista*). It's very possible that *Capitães* was also published in translation in that country between its release in Brazil and the translation into German fourteen years later but unfortunately the data collected about this particular novel seems poor in face of the fact that it is considered 'the book with the largest number of editions among Amado's works' and that was translated into fifteen languages.¹⁰⁸ *Tereza* is the only one that doesn't follow this tendency, which might be explained by the military coup that took place in Argentina in 1966, the same year that the original appeared in Brazil, which might have delayed the publication of the book in the neighbour country.

The fact that Jorge Amado used to be translated into Spanish in Argentina just after the publication in Brazil probably helped its travel overseas, especially during the Civil War and the period of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975):

... in face of the difficulties to publish in Spain, the Argentinean and Mexican

¹⁰⁶ http://www.fundacaojorgeamado.com.br/ing/jorge_obras.htm (4 January 2009)

¹⁰⁷ Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado*, p. 97/98.

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.jorgeamado.com.br/obra.php3?codigo=12572&ordena=1> (10 December 2008)

publishing houses took the initiative and grew with a share of the market. Names like Editorial Sudamericana, Emecé, Sur y Losada (in Argentina) and Fondo de Cultura Económica y Siglo XXI, in Mexico, became indispensable reference and source of material that was hidden under the counters of the booksellers and circulated from hand to hand [in Spain].¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless it is hard to measure how much or if those translations also helped the way of Amado's book to other European countries, if they for instance reached Germany and France.

Cacau, *Capitães* and *Gabriela* would only have editions in Spain in the 1980s, after the return of democracy in the late 1970s, although in co-edition with Argentina. After this period Spain and Argentina became increasingly separated markets and probably Argentinean editions didn't reach Spain as much as they did during the dictatorship.

a) *Amado's relations with the communist party and its path towards Russian*

The second translation of *Cacau* was into Russian and it was published in the same year as the Spanish translation. Although Russian is considered a central language in Heilbron's system and it might be considered as such by the time *Cacau* was published, as it was possible to see in the other cases analysed here translations from Brazilian Portuguese into Russian weren't common, at least in the first stages of the flow. Anyhow, as in the case of Machado, Amado was also early translated into a Central language, the Russian in his case.

Amado's involvement with the communist party is certainly the more reasonable explanation for this fact in this early stage of his career. Later on his travels through several countries of the former USSR and of the Eastern Europe during his exile and the many contacts he established naturally enhanced this movement.¹¹⁰ The online Unesco Index

¹⁰⁹ '... ante las dificultades para publicar en España, las editoriales argentinas e mexicanas tomaron la iniciativa y se hicieron con una parte del mercado. Los nombres de Editorial Sudamericana, Emecé, Sur y Losada (en Argentina) e los de Fondo de Cultura Económica y Siglo XXI, en México, se convirtieron en referencias indispensables y, a menudo, en material cotizado que se ocultaba bajo los mostradores de los librerías y que circulaba bajo mano.' X. Moret, *Tiempo de Editores: historia de la edición en España, 1939-1975* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2002), p. 155-156.

¹¹⁰ The memories written by his wife, Zélia Gattai, specially *Jardim de Inverno* and *Senhora Dona do Baile*, give

This work is licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 Unported License. To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California 94105, USA.

however only has records since 1979 and there were not many earlier records in the Library of Congress (in opposition to what was possible to find about Machado de Assis and Mário de Andrade), the poor information we have regarding this period and region were found in other sources, mainly the ones related to the author itself (the Brazilian website¹¹¹ about his work and the *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira*). Those sources however are not focused on the translations, thus the available information can be considered partial.

Gabriela is the novel with the most data available and through that it's possible to see that it was translated into Estonian (1963) only five years after its Brazilian edition (1958), followed by Slovenian (1965), Polish (1968), Ukrainian (1970), Slovakian (1974), Hungarian (1975) etc. Although a direct translation can not be dismissed as the author was already well known at that time, it's hard to believe that a peripheral language as Slovenian would have the power to spread the book into the countries of the region. A more plausible possibility is that there was an earlier translation into Russian that it was impossible to find records about.

b) German, French and English

The other two central languages, German and French, have an interchangeable role in the case of Jorge Amado. Although they were not the first language to receive a translation, they were always among the first ones. Despite their presumable importance in the international flow of translations, at the first sight it seems that only the novels that were first translated into English reached a larger number of languages.

Regarding Russian, without a deeper knowledge about the history of the Index, first one may have to be very careful in dealing with data from the former URSS and to some extension to from China and other countries where censorship was commonplace. Besides that the former URSS gathered different languages and it is not clear how its bibliographic data was handled. Thus it is possible that records about translations that happened in those regions weren't completely accessible.

Secondly Amado's political position itself must be taken into account. His first English translation (*Suor*) was published in 1938 by a small publishing house from New York

detailed description of several of the meetings with writers, translators, editors and politicians they had during their exile between 1948 and 1953.

¹¹¹ <http://www.jorgeamado.com.br/> (10 December 2008)

called America.¹¹² The second one came up in 1945 (*Terras do Sem Fim*) by Knopf as result of a tour that Blanche Knopf (President of the Knopf publishing house at that time) took in Latin America, during which she was introduced to Jorge Amado.¹¹³ The next translation would only appear seventeen years later, in 1962 (*Gabriela*) also by Knopf.¹¹⁴ This delay was the result of the anti communist laws from the first half of the 1950s that banned Jorge Amado and his books from the USA. The political constraints apparently weren't strong enough against the commercial success of the book in Brazil¹¹⁵ and abroad.¹¹⁶ Furthermore Amado's novels after *Gabriela* weren't considered political anymore, what also might have facilitated his way into the western world.

¹¹² Miranda, *Jorge Amado*, p. 12.

¹¹³ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 308.

¹¹⁴ Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 309.

¹¹⁵ 'The 20,000-copy first edition of *Gabriela, cravo e canela*, in August 1958, sold out in two weeks, and by mid-1961 twenty editions had been needed, totalling one hundred and sixty thousand copies.' Hallewell, *Books in Brazil*, p. 308.

¹¹⁶ The Metro Goldwin Mayer studios bought the book's right for the cinema before it was even released in USA, in 1961. The movie however was never produced and Jorge Amado bought the rights back some years later. Miranda, *Jorge Amado*, p. 17.

Cacau			Capitães de Areia		Gabriela		Dona Flor...		Tereza Batista...	
Year	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language
1933	Brazil	Portuguese								
1935	Argentina	Spanish								
1935	USSR	Russian								
1937			Brazil	Portuguese						
1951	Austria	German	Germany	German						
1952			France	French						
1955	France	French								
1958					Brazil	Portuguese				
1959					Argentina	Spanish				
					France	French				
1960					Portugal	Portuguese				
1961					?	Russian				
1962					USA	English				
					Germany	German				
1963					Sweden	Swedish				
					Estonia	Estonian				
1964					Norway	Norwegian				
1965					Denmark	Danish				
					Slovenia	Slovenian				
1966							Brazil	Portuguese		
							Portugal	Portuguese		
1968					Poland	Polish	Germany	German		
1969							UK	English		
							Argentina	Spanish		
							USA	English		
1970	Portugal	Portuguese	USSR	Russian	Ukraine	Ukrainian	Russia	Russian		
1972							France	French	Brazil	Portuguese
1973									Argentina	Spanish
									Portugal	Portuguese
					Czechoslovakia	Slovak			France	French
1974					Hungary	Hungarian			USA	English
1975					Cuba	Spanish			Germany	German
									Italy	Italian
1976							Czechoslovakia	Czech		
1977					Czechoslovakia	Czech	Italy	Italian		
1978	Netherlands	Dutch								
1979									Yugoslavia	Slovenian
									Slovenia	Slovene
1980	Denmark	Danish					Hungary	Hungarian	Netherlands	Dutch
							Thailand	Thai		
1981	Spain	Spanish			Spain	Spanish	Czechoslovakia	Slovak	Greece	Greek
					Romania	Romanian	Slovakia	?		
1982					USSR	Russian	Israel	Hebrew	UK	English
					Yugoslavia	Macedonian				
1983			Portugal	Portuguese	Israel	Hebrew				
					UK	English				
					Greece	Greek				
1984	Italy	Italian	Spain	Spanish	Colombia	Spanish	Bulgaria	Bulgarian		
1985					Belgium	Dutch				
					China	Chinese				
					Chile	Spanish				
					Netherlands	Dutch				
1986							Finland	Finnish	Israel	Hebrew
1987					Iran	Farsi	China	Chinese		
					USSR	Ukrainian				
1988			USA	English					Norway	Norwegian
			USSR	Ukrainian						
1989					Italy	Italian			Poland	Polish
									Czechoslovakia	Slovak
									Poland	Polish
1992	Greek	Greek			Bulgaria	Bulgarian	Lithuania	Lithuanian	Russian Federation	Russian
					Yugoslavia	Serbo-Croatian				
					Austria	German				
1993	Chile	Spanish					Poland	Polish		
1994					Lithuania	Lithuanian				
1995			Japan	Japanese					Korea	Korean
1997					Spain	Catalan				
1998			Italy	Italian						
2001							Greece	Greek		
							Albania	Albanian		
2004									Japan	Japanese
2005							Cuba	Spanish		

Table 5. Translation scheme of Jorge Amado's selected works.

5.4. Clarice Lispector (*Tchetchelnik - Ukrania, 1925? - † Rio de Janeiro, 1977)

5.4.1. Biography

Considered by many critics as ‘one of the most important twenty-century Brazilian writers’,¹¹⁷ Lispector is sometimes compared to Virginia Woolf and Katherine Mansfield. She was born in a small village in Ukraine when her family was leaving Russia, fleeing from the adverse situation in a Russia dominated by the Bolsheviks.

Lispector’s parents decided to move to Brazil as they had relatives already living there and Clarice spent her childhood in Recife, the capital of the Brazilian northeast state of Pernambuco. In 1930 her mother died and in 1933 the family (the father and two older sisters) moved to Rio de Janeiro. In 1939 she entered the Law School, where she met her future husband. After her graduation in 1943, she started working in newspapers but soon after, in 1944, she moved to Naples following her husband (now a diplomat).

Since then until 1959, when she divorced, Lispector lived abroad accompanying her husband in several changes of position with sporadic visits to Brazil. Besides Naples, they lived in Bern, London and Washington D.C. During this time she continued to collaborate to the Brazilian Press and kept writing together with her duties as a diplomat wife.

Back to Brazil she settled in Rio de Janeiro until her death, travelling abroad occasionally, mainly when invited to congresses. As a divorced mother of two, she increased her load of work, working as reporter, columnist and translator until her death in 1977.

Here, as in the case of Jorge Amado, the author’s personal history plays a significant role, although maybe not in such a strong way. Clarice Lispector never got close to the enormous popularity achieved by Amado abroad. Some may say that this was because the secondary position she had in her life abroad as the wife of a diplomat, but it’s more likely that the reasons for that are connected to the nature of her writing. Lispector’s work was much more universal and Brazil itself didn’t play an essential role in her novels and short stories (with the exception of her late novel *A Hora da Estrela – The Hour of the Star*), in contrast with Amado’s work. She was also always considered a ‘difficult’ writer even in Brazil - in an anecdote she mentioned that she was never able to understand one of her own

¹¹⁷ Brucoli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 307, p. 225.

short stories, *O ovo e a galinha* (*The egg and the chicken*).¹¹⁸ She also never had the same control as Jorge Amado had over his work (his books in Brazil always moved together from one publisher to another) and her works were spread among publishers and sometimes she eventually gave up of her rights in order to see some of her books published.¹¹⁹

5.4.2 *The Flow*

For the aim of this thesis, *Perto do Coração Selvagem* (*Near to the Wild Heart* - 1944), *Uma Aprendizagem ou O Livro dos Prazeres* (*An Apprenticeship or the Book of Pleasures* - 1969), and *A Hora da Estrela* (1977) were chosen among the nine novels written by her. Again these novels are among the most translated ones and are also relatively spread in time (taking into account that between 1944 and 1969 she published only three novels).

Italian was the very first language into which a work of Lispector was translated. In 1945 she met the poet Giuseppe Ungaretti in Rome, who soon after translated some pages of her first novel *Perto do Coração Selvagem* that would be published in the *Prosa* magazine. The book itself however would only be completely translated into that language in 1987. Nevertheless this book was her first work to be completely translated, not into Italian but into French in 1954 (published by Plon). This first French version wasn't however very successful: for reasons of stocking space the publisher destroyed in 1958 the remaining 1,700 copies of the book.¹²⁰

This book would need to wait almost twenty years to be found in another language, this time Czech, the same language into which *A Hora da Estrela* would be translated for the first time, only four years after its publication in Brazil. The same person, Pavla Lidmilová, translated both books. And it's possible to assume that their translations came to be thanks to her as she is a productive translator of several works in the Portuguese language, from Jorge Amado to Paulo Coelho,¹²¹ and only a personal intervention could explain the quick 'jump' from one language to another.

¹¹⁸ Declaration given in an interview recorded by TV Cultura (São Paulo Public TV Station) in 1977 and available online: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OUlAFR2aWFs> (7 November 2008).

¹¹⁹ A. Dines, and Instituto W. M. Salles, *Clarice Lispector* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2004), *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira*, n. 17-18, p. 14-15.

¹²⁰ Dines, *Clarice Lispector*, p. 26.

¹²¹ <http://www.radio.cz/es/articulo/72120> (7 November 2008)

Besides the Czech ‘deviation’, Lispector’s flow followed pretty much the same path seen until now in the other cases, with Spanish being one of the first target language and with French and German preceding the English version. Apparently however the English versions didn’t work as an impulse to other languages. The increase in the number of translations of *A Hora da Estrela* coincides with the launching of a movie based on the book (*A Hora da Estrela*, 1985) and that won some prizes in the 1986 Berlinale (Berlin International Movie Festival).

Year	Perto do coração selvagem (1944)		Uma Aprendizagem (1969)		A hora da estrela (1977)	
	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language
1954	France	French				
1973	Czechoslovakia	Czech	Argentina	Spanish		
1977	Spain	Spanish				
1981	Germany	German	Italy	Italian	Czechoslovakia	Czech
1982			Germany	German		
1985					Germany	German
					France	French
1986			USA	English	UK	English
					USA	English
1987	Italy	Italian			Poland	Polish
1988	Portugal	Portuguese			Netherlands	Dutch
					Italy	Italian
					Spain	Spanish
1989					Denmark	Danish
1990	USA	English	Spain	Spanish		
1990	UK	English				
1992			France	French		
1996					Finland	Finish
					Spain	Asturian
1999			Portugal	Portuguese		
2002					Portugal	Portuguese
2005	Cuba	Spanish				

Table 6. Translation scheme of Clarice Lispector’s selected works.

5.5. Paulo Coelho (*Rio de Janeiro, 1947)

5.5.1. Biography

Paulo Coelho is one of the most translated authors in the world today, if not the most translated author alive.¹²² Coelho’s work has been translated into sixty-seven languages and

¹²² <http://www.book-fair.com/en/blog/2008/10/14/oh-paulo/> (7 November 2008)

published in more than one hundred and fifty countries.¹²³

Before becoming a writer, Coelho worked as journalist, as lyricist and was director of a record company. In the 1970s he was music partner of the Brazilian rock musician Raul Seixas. They were very successful and the royalties of the songs would give Coelho financial stability to start writing books. According to his biographer, the journalist Fernando Morais, ‘Paulo Coelho never dreamed about being a good writer, he always wanted to be a writer read around the world’.¹²⁴

His first book, *Diário de um Mago* (*The Pilgrimage*), was published in Brazil in 1987. It was already possible to have an idea about his ambition in the curious clause he demanded to be included in the contract with his first Brazilian publisher: ‘As from the 1001st copy sold, the publisher will afford the costs of the translations of the book into Spanish and English’.¹²⁵

For the publisher, it was just another book in the catalogue, but Coelho himself put an enormous effort in the promotion of the book, helped by his wife, distributing flyers about the book in front of movie theatres and other cultural places. They also hired a publicity agent. The same strategy was used for the second book, *O Alquimista* (*The Alchemist* - 1988), but they fired the publicity agent. Besides that, to help in promotion of his first books, Coelho also used to agree to give lectures for free about a selection of subjects related to his books. In these opportunities there were always copies of his books for sale and he was always available to give autographs.

These two books appeared in Brazil before Coelho got internationally know and were the first to be translated, so they are among the ones whose flow will be analysed here. Two other later titles will also be analysed representing the titles published after the author got known: *Na Margem do Rio Piedra Sentei e Chorei* (*By the River Piedra I Sat Down and Wept* - 1994), and *Veronika decide Morrer* (*Veronika Decides to Die* - 1998).

5.5.2. *The Flow*

¹²³ <http://www.paulocoelho.com.br/engl/index.html> (14 October 2008)

¹²⁴ ‘Paulo Coelho não sonhava em ser um bom escritor, ele queria ser um escritor lido no mundo todo [...]’.
<http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/PopArte/0,,MUL858661-7084,00.html> (14 November 2008).

¹²⁵ F. Morais, *O Mago* (São Paulo: Planeta, 2008), p. 470.

In 1989, when Coelho learned that his fan and friend, Monica Rezende Antunes, had plans to move to Spain with her boyfriend, he suggested that she could become his international agent.¹²⁶ She promptly agreed and started looking for a Spanish publisher interested in his books just after her arrival in the country. The first translation of Coelho abroad eventually took place in Spain in 1990, but not thanks to Monica. The Bolivian agent H. Katia Schumer (located in Brazil) translated herself *O Diário de um Mago* after selling the Spanish rights to the publisher Martínez Roca.¹²⁷ *O Alquimista* would be translated into Spanish in the same year.

The German translations of both titles followed in 1991, probably helped by the success of the author in Brazil, by the Spanish editions and by Schumer contacts in Germany.

The first translation in English (USA) was published in 1992. This however was not the result of the efforts of either of the two agents. An American Engineer, Alan Clarke, who had worked in Brazil for some years and started to work as translator and interpreter after his retirement, had read *O Diário de um Mago* and decided to translate it, although he had no experience with literary translation. After finishing it, he offered the English version to at least twenty-two publishers before Harper Collins got interested.¹²⁸ After some weeks, the book was already in the best sellers lists, not only in America but also in Australia.

Felling threatened by the success of the English edition to her position as Coelho's agent, Monica went to Frankfurt Book Fair for the first time in 1993. She was able to sign agreements for sixteen languages besides French by using the English editions as a sample.¹²⁹

The French translation would finally take place thanks to both the Spanish and the English editions. The cousin (and partner) of the French publisher Anne Carrière read *O Alquimista* while on holidays in Spain and recommended it to publication. Carrière in her turn would only be able to assess the book through the English translation and it would finally be published in Victor Hugo's language in 1994, helping the newborn publishing house to grow.¹³⁰

As can be seen in the translation scheme, after the big success of *O Alquimista*, it's impossible to visualize a clear path in the translation flow, as the same book is translated and

¹²⁶ Morais, *O Mago*, p. 489.

¹²⁷ Morais, *O Mago*, p. 490.

¹²⁸ Morais, *O Mago*, p. 516-517.

¹²⁹ Morais, *O Mago*, p. 522-523.

¹³⁰ Morais, *O Mago*, p. 523.

published in several languages at the same time, as it can be seen in the case of the two later titles analysed here. The delay between the Brazilian edition and the international ones also became shorter. In a particular case -- *O Zahir* (*The Zahir*, 1995) -- the book was published in Iran earlier than in Brazil, in order to guarantee the exclusive rights of the Iranian publisher over the translation, as he was struggling with piracy in the country.

Anyhow, as in the other cases, Spanish was the first language that saw Coelho's translations, this time in Spain and not anymore in Argentina. As Spain was again a democratic and economically healthy country in the 1990s its publishing industry had also recovered itself from the difficulties faced during the century. But again English was the springboard to another languages. Coelho would probably not have been translated into other languages than Spanish (and maybe German and French) being only a Brazilian best seller. But here the personal efforts of the author in his own publicity¹³¹ and his willingness to use web tools as instrument to promote himself, his books and to keep in touch with his readers all around the world must be taken into account. In 2007 he created a blog called PirateCoelho¹³² where he, supposedly undercover, provides links to pirated electronic copies of his books in several languages. According to him, this only enhances the sales of his books.¹³³

¹³¹ As several passages in his biography (Morais, *O Mago*) attest.

¹³² <http://piratecoelho.wordpress.com/> (14 October 2008)

¹³³ Statement made during the DLD (Digital, Life Design) Conference in June 2008, München, Germany: <http://www.dld-conference.com/2008/06/creating-universes-1.php> (7 November 2008).

5.6. *Patrícia Melo* (*Assis [SP, Brazil], 1968)

5.6.1. *Biography*

Patrícia Melo has been working as TV and movie screenwriter and play writer since before launching her first book, *Acqua Toffana* (1994). Her prose can be classified generally as crime fiction, although some critics don't agree completely, saying that 'in the crimes that take place in her universe, it doesn't matter who was or will be murdered, but only how this is going to happen'.¹³⁴ In 1999 she was nominated for the Prix Femina (France) for foreigner novel and won the Deux Océans Prix (also in France) and the Deutsch Krimi,¹³⁵ all with her book *O matador* (*The Killer* - 1996). In 2001, she won the Brazilian Jabuti Prize for *Inferno* (2000). In the same year she was listed among the 'Latin American Leaders for the New Millennium'.¹³⁶

For the aim of this work three novels were selected among the nine one she has already published until now: *O Matador*, *O Elogio da Mentira* (*In Praise of Lies*, 1998), and *Inferno*. *O Matador* was her first book to be translated abroad (and her second novel), being published in France only one year after it was released in Brazil. The other two are among the most translated according to the Index.

5.6.2. *The Flow*

Melo's work was already translated into twelve languages¹³⁷ so far. As can be seen in the schema, her translation flow's pattern is different from the other authors analyzed here, being Spanish not the first language into which her novels were translated. Luckily it was possible to have an interview with her to have more detailed information about how the flow took place, as there is not much bibliography about this author and her work.

¹³⁴ 'Nos crimes que acontecem no seu universo, não interessa quem foi ou será assinado, mas apenas como isso irá se dar.' N. N. Coelho, *Dicionário Crítico de Escritoras Brasileiras: 1711-2001* (São Paulo: Escrituras, 2002), p. 542.

¹³⁵ Coelho, *Dicionário Crítico de Escritoras Brasileiras*, p. 542.

¹³⁶ <http://www.bloomsbury.com/Authors/details.aspx?tpid=661> (7 November 2008)

¹³⁷ <http://www.companhiadasletras.com.br/> (4 January 2009)

According to Melo,¹³⁸ *O Matador*'s rights were sold during a Frankfurt Book Fair to several countries, so the fact that it was first published in French is random, as the publications dates were chosen according to each Publisher's schedule. These sells were made through a literary agent, by that time Ray-Güde Mertin (located in Germany). This agent represented Melo's Brazilian Publisher Companhia das Letras internationally and not only the author. The same happened with her other novels and today she has a different agent (Rodgers and White in the UK) that represents her interests independently from the Brazilian Publishing house, although they work close together.

Regarding the impact of the movie based on her novel *O Matador (O Homem do Ano – 2003)* in the flow of translations, Melo believes that it didn't have any influence in the translation decision, as it was a phenomenon restricted to the Brazilian audience. But it's worthwhile to remember that the movie won some prizes in the US (San Francisco International Film Festival), Cuba (Havana Film Festival) and France (Cognac Festival du Film Noir)¹³⁹ and even if it was only saw by a small audience abroad, this information might has reached the decision maker either by word of mouth or by the literary agent itself.

Year	O matador (1996)		O Elogio da Mentira (1998)		Inferno (2000)	
	Country	Language	Country	Language	Country	Language
1995	Brazil	Portuguese				
1996	France	French				
1997	Spain	Spanish				
	UK	English				
	USA	English				
	Germany	German				
1998	Netherlands	Dutch	Brazil	Portuguese		
	Norway	Norwegian				
	Italy	Italian				
1999			UK	English		
			Germany	German		
2000			Spain	Spanish	Brazil	Portuguese
			France	French		
2001	Portugal	Portuguese	Portugal	Portuguese	Portugal	Portuguese
			Canada	French		
2002					France	French
					UK	English
2003					Germany	German
					Spain	Spanish
					Greece	Greek

Table 8. Translation scheme of Patrícia Melo's selected works.

¹³⁸ Interview recorded by telephone on 24 November 2008.

¹³⁹ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0312773/awards> (19 December 2008)

6. Conclusions

The analysis made here corroborates to Heilbron's idea that nowadays the English language occupies an hyper-central position in the Cultural Word-System of Book Translations,¹⁴⁰ and that French and German work as 'vehicular languages' for the transit of works written in peripheral or semi-peripheral languages. The present study however adds a new perspective to this system. The path that leads a work written in a peripheral language, for instance Portuguese, to reach the system centre and in consequence to be spread to the rest of the system is not a direct way. One may say that there is 'staircase' that leads to the system's centre. In the case of peripheral languages, the first step would be the translation to a 'hub language' that belongs to the same linguistic group and/or is closer culturally and historically speaking. In the case of Portuguese, there is no doubt that it is the Spanish language that plays this role. From this point is that the flow of translations can go ahead in its way to the system's centre. Each language that receives a translation of a specific work lends more symbolic capital to it and how closer the target language is to the centre of the system, more valuable is this capital. The more symbolic capital one work accumulates, faster is the flow's speed and wider its range.

Regarding the Portuguese case, Heilbron's system could then be represented in this way:

¹⁴⁰ Heilbron, 'Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation As a Cultural World-System'.

This work is licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 Unported License. To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California 94105, USA.

Book Translation as a Cultural World-System

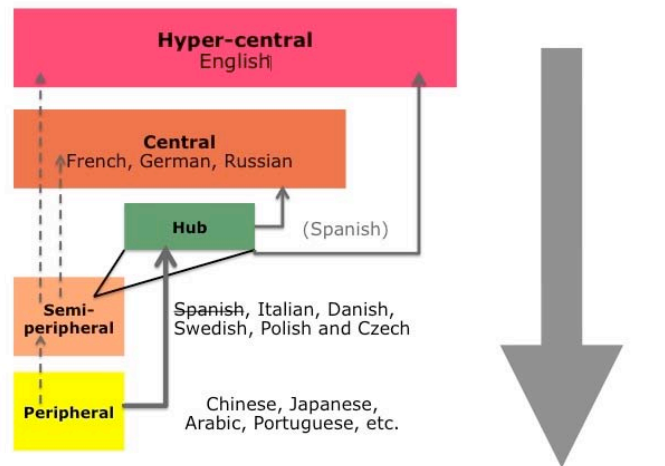


Table 9. Proposed representation of Heilbrunn's system including the 'hub language' for the Brazilian Portuguese. Here most of the translations pass through the Spanish in the 'way up'.

In the case of Machado de Assis, the first three translations that we have data about were made into the Spanish language (in Argentina, Uruguay, and France). It was also this language that received the first translation of three out of the five Amado's works analysed here. The first translations of Paulo Coelho were also published in this language.

Different reasons influenced the translation flow of Mário de Andrade's works that actually took place twenty-five years after his death. Even though the second translation of *Macunaíma* was also into Spanish, it was only preceded by the Italian version made by a translator that had lived in Brazil before.

Lispector had her work impelled to Czech by the translator Pavla Lidmilová.¹⁴¹ Besides that, Spanish was the second language into which *Perto do Coração Selvagem* was translated, and *Uma Aprendizagem ou O Livro dos Prazeres* was promptly translated to this language.

Patrícia Melos is the only exception because the translation flow of her work was driven by a literary agent that probably have focused her promotion efforts to English, French and German, languages that could give more symbolic power to the author and her works and that had a public of crime literature guaranteed.

If a similar study were made with literatures of other peripheral languages, it is possible that the conclusion would be that the international cultural system of book

¹⁴¹ <http://www.radio.cz/es/articulo/72120> (7 November 2008)

translations is constituted by smaller systems¹⁴² that orbited around the central languages. These systems would have the ‘hub language’ in its centre and the flow within them would be independent of the central languages. The role of the central languages would be that one of a bridge between these systems and not between individual languages. That could explain an assumed more intensive flow between Dutch and Danish or between Chinese and Japanese than between Dutch and Chinese. Through the present study we have the suggestion that the Spanish language might occupy the centre of one of this systems, to that the Portuguese language takes part.

According to Johan Heilbron,

A sociological approach to translation must therefore take into account several aspects of the conditions of transnational circulation of cultural goods: firstly, the structure of the field of international cultural exchanges; secondly, the types of constraints - political and economic - that influence these exchanges; and thirdly, the agents of intermediation and the process of importing and receiving in the recipient country.¹⁴³

In the structure of the international system of book translations ‘while the dominant countries "export" their cultural products widely and translate little into their languages, the dominated countries "export" little and "import" a lot of foreign books, principally by translation’.¹⁴⁴ The Brazilian Publishing market, like many others around the world, doesn’t have the tradition of exporting translation rights and for this reason the analysis of the flow originated in this country can be so fruitful. Selling translation rights always seemed a tough and fruitless task for Brazilian publishers and for the very few Brazilian literary agents. In that way, when a translation occurs, its motivations are ‘stronger’ than the motivations of a

¹⁴² “All or most communication between the peripheral groups occurs through this central language. The peripheral languages, grouped around the central language, may be compared to moons circling a planet.” A. de Swaan, *Words of the World: the Global Language System* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2001), p. 4.

¹⁴³ J. Heilbron, and G. Shapiro, ‘Outline for a Sociology of Translation: Current Issues and Future Prospects’, *Benjamins Translation Library*, 74 (2007), 93-108.

¹⁴⁴ Heilbron, ‘Outline for a Sociology of Translation’, p. 95.

translation that have English as a source language and lend themselves to an interesting analysis. The sales efforts are few and normally related to the cases when there is already an expected public abroad, as in the case of Patrícia Melo.

In this study it was also possible to verify the shift from a more 'loose' system in the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, although to some extent still centred in the French culture, to a system that got more structured and centred in the United States or to the English language.¹⁴⁵ In this point of view, Assis' translations presented themselves as an interesting example of this shift. His first translations reflected an international system of translations that was more under the influence of cultural and political relationships, and in that the international copyright laws and its practices have not yet delimited and constrained the flow to specific countries and territories. Today it seems unlikely that a literary translation into Spanish would be published in France, although I believe that this 'looser' flow could come back through 'virtual publishers' that are not exclusively focused in the market of a specific country or even of a specific language.

Until the 1950s, Assis had translations into French and German, besides Spanish and Italian, which might have prepared his way to the English language. After its translation to the language of Shakespeare however it was possible to see a more constant flow to other languages. The first English translation was an individual initiative of a translator, but if there had been no other previous translation to other central languages, the publisher might have had no interest in republishing the translation in the United States (first published in Brazil).

In general, the same happened with the other authors. The growth in the volume of translations of a work after its translation into English is noticeable, especially into languages that don't belong to the same linguistic group and that are too far culturally speaking.

Paulo Coelho is an exception among the Brazilian Portuguese authors because today it's possible to say that he owns as much symbolic capital as if he wrote in the hyper-central language. In terms of sales one can compare him to any other North-American bestseller. To reach this state however he first had to follow the same path as the most other Brazilian authors analysed here: passing first through the Spanish and the German languages to be

¹⁴⁵ 'Until the mid-twentieth century it [the French language] remained the language of diplomacy par excellence and the main transnational language of literature and the arts, centred as they were on Paris as a global hub of culture.' De Swaan, *Words of the World*, p. 17.

able to reach the English. Moreover, reaching English was a necessary step to be able to reach other languages (as illustrated by the fact that his agent used the English translation of this work as sample distributed among international publishers at the Frankfurt Book Fair).¹⁴⁶

Even in a system whose structure was gradually being more shaped by trade than by politics or cultural exchange it was possible to find several ‘constraints’, as they are called by Heilbron, specially political ones, that influenced a shift in the flow from what could be ‘expected’, as in the case of Jorge Amado. Although he also is an example of commercial issues influencing the flow, when he suddenly became again accepted in the USA.

It was also possible to observe as the individual agents can have a major influence in the flow. Although the international system of translations does not coincide with the international language system (in De Swaan’s concept),¹⁴⁷ both systems have an intersection point in the figure of the translator. For the international system of book translations the translator is the polyglot¹⁴⁸ who allows the communication between speakers of different languages. And it is at this point that the international system of languages interferes, as in general people tend to prefer to learn languages that are in a higher position in the hierarchy¹⁴⁹ making it more difficult to find translators that work with pairs of languages so far from each other as Catalan and Greek¹⁵⁰ or Dutch and Chinese,¹⁵¹ and very easy to find

¹⁴⁶ ‘In the present world, English is the language of global communication. It is so to speak at the centre of the twelve solar language systems, at the hub of the linguistic galaxy. English has not always held that position. On the contrary, it has now done so for only half a century or so and one day it may lose its hypercentral functions again, but in the next decades it is only likely to reinforce its position even further.’ Swaan, *Words of the World*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷ Heilbron, ‘Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation As a Cultural World-System’.

¹⁴⁸ ‘It is multilingualism that has kept humanity, separated by so many languages, together. The multilingual connections between language groups do not occur haphazardly, but, on the contrary, they constitute a surprisingly strong and efficient network that ties together – direct or indirectly – the six billion inhabitants of the earth.’ Swaan, *Words of the World*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Apparently, language learning occurs mostly upward, in a ‘centripetal’ mode: people usually prefer to learn a language that is at a higher level in the hierarchy. This again reinforces the hierarchical nature of the world language system.’ Swaan, *Words of the World*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ ‘...some Greek publishers became very interested in acquiring Catalan works last year [2007], but at the time there were no Catalan to Greek literary translators.’ <http://www.book-fair.com/en/blog/2008/10/18/catalan-literature-one-year-later/> (7 November 2008)

¹⁵¹ ‘Recently, Chinese publishers bought the rights to 60 Dutch works, which is fantastic on one hand, except for the fact that at the time there was only one living Dutch to Chinese translator.’ <http://www.book-fair.com/en/blog/2008/10/18/catalan-literature-one-year-later/>

an English translator anywhere in the world. This should also be added to the set of reasons that explains a more intense flow of translations from central languages and the less intense flow in the opposite direction.

In the analysed cases it was possible to find several ones (or traces of) in which translators are the main power behind the translation, not always successfully though. Machado de Assis and Mário de Andrade were directly consulted about translations into German, English and French, without much success. Giuseppi Alpi published translations of Assis with different publishers, probably as a result of his personal efforts. Both Assis and Coelho got translated into English thanks to the efforts of American translators and Clarice Lispector had her way into Czech accelerated by Pavla Lidmilová.

Other media or forms of art, in addition to literary prizes, also proved to have an impact in the translation flow of some works. *Macunaíma*'s adaptation to the theatre seems to have being decisive to the translation flow increasing. Jorge Amado had several works adapted to both cinema and television, some more than one time and not only in Brazil,¹⁵² including a 1971 American version of *Capitães de Areia* that apparently didn't have much success in the US but there was a hit in the USSR. Besides that, Brazilian *novelas* (soap operas) based on works of Amado also have been exported. As *novelas* and movies happened in a later point of this author's flow it's hard to identify if and how they might have influenced it. It's even possible that the book's popularity helped the promotion of those movies and *novelas* abroad. Patrícia Melo on the other hand stated that the adaptation of her book *O Matador* to the cinema didn't influence the flow of her other works to abroad.

Also some evidence was found that some translations of Brazilian literature were made in immigrant communities within Brazil (German and Italian, for instance) at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. It would be interesting to find out if they had any influence on the translation flow to the original country of these communities. But as it was impossible to find more accurate information about them away from Brazil, they were not taken into account in the schemes presented here.

fair.com/en/blog/2008/10/18/the-european-union-and-translation-culture/ (7 November 2008)

¹⁵² <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0023764/> (7 November 2008)

7. References

7.1. Bibliography

- Allen, E. (ed.), *To Be Translated or Not to Be - Pen/ IRL Report on the International Situation Of Literary Translation* (Barcelona: Institut Ramon Llull, 2007).
- Andrade, M., *Macunaíma: L'éroe senza nessun caracttere* (Milan: Adelphi, 1970). Translated by Giuliana Segre Giorgi.
- Andrade, M., *Macunaíma* (Barcelona, Caracas, México: Seix Barral, 1977).
- Andrade, M., and Lopez, T. P. A., *Macunaíma: a herói sem nenhum caráter, edição crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Livros Técnicos e Científicos, 1978).
- Armstrong, P., *Third World Literary Fortunes: Brazilian Culture and Its International Reception* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1999).
- Baker, M., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Broca, B., *A vida literária no Brasil, 1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Serviço de Documentação, 1956).
- Bruccoli, M. J., et alli, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1978), v. 307.
- Caldwell, H., *Machado de Assis - The Brazilian Master and His Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).
- Chamberlain, A. J., *Jorge Amado* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990).
- Coelho, J. P., *Dicionário de literatura: literatura portuguesa, literatura brasileira, literatura galega, estilística literária* (Porto [Portugal]: M. Figueirinhas, 1997).
- Coelho, N. N., *Dicionário Crítico de Escritoras Brasileiras: 1711-2001* (São Paulo: Escrituras, 2002).
- Cristal, D., *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997).
- Dines, A. and Salles, I. W. M., *Clarice Lispector* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2004), Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira, n. 17-18..
- Finkelstein, D., 'Globalization of the Book 1800-1970', S. Eliot, and J. Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007).
- González Echevarría, R., and Pupo-Walker, E., *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), vol. 1.

- Hallewell, L., *Books in Brazil: a history of the publishing trade* (Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, 1982).
- Hallewell, L., *O Livro no Brasil: sua história* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2005).
- Heilbron, J., 'Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation As a Cultural World-System', *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (1999), no. 4, 429-444.
- Heilbron, J., and Shapiro, G., 'Outline for a Sociology of Translation: Current Issues and Future Prospects', *Benjamins Translation Library*, 74 (2007), 93-108.
- Machado de Assis, J. M., Miomandre, F. d., Carvalho, R. d., *Dom Casmurro* (Paris: Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1936).
- Machado de Assis, J. M., *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe de Braz Cubas* (Rio de Janeiro: Atlantica Editora, 1944).
- Machado de Assis, J. M., *The Posthumous Memoirs of Braz Cubas* (São Paulo: São Paulo Editôra, 1951).
- Machado de Assis, J. M., *Epitaph of a Small Winner* (New York: Noonday Press, 1952).
- Machado de Assis, J. M., *Obra Completa* (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1962).
- Martínez, J. A., *Historia de la Edición en España, 1836-1936*, (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2001).
- Miranda, A. M, and Salles, I. W. M., et al, *Jorge Amado* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 1997), *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira*, n. 3.
- Morais, F., *O Mago* (São Paulo: Planeta, 2008).
- Moret, X., *Tiempo de Editores: historia de la edición en España, 1939-1975* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2002).
- Munday, J. *Introducing Translation Studies – Theories and Applications* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Smith, V. *Encyclopedia of Latin American Literature* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997).
- Sorá, G., *Traducir el Brasil: una antropología de la circulación internacional de ideas* (Buenos Aires: Libros del Zorzal, 2003).
- Stern, I., *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature* (New York/Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 1988).
- Suárez, J. I., and Tomlins, J. E., *Mário de Andrade - The Creative Works* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000).
- Swaan, A. de, *Words of the World: the Global Language System* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2001).

Wirtén, E. H. *No Trespassing: Authorship, Intellectual Property Rights, and the Boundaries of Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Wirtén, E. H., 'The Global Market 1970-2000: Producers', S. Eliot, and J. Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007).

7.2. Websites

Bloomsbury: www.bloomsbury.com

Brittanica Encyclopedia Online: www.britannica.com

Companhia das Letras: www.companhiadasletras.com.br

Digital, Life, Design Conference: www.dld-conference.com

Frankfurt Book Fair: www.book-fair.com

Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado: www.fundacaojorgeamado.com.br

Globo.com

IMDB – The Internet Movie Database: www.imdb.com

ITA - Instituto Tecnológico de Aeronáutica: www.ita.br

Jorge Amado/ Companhia das Letras: www.jorgeamado.com.br

Paulo Coelho Oficial Site: www.paulocoelho.com.br

Pirate Coelho: piratecoelho.wordpress.com

Radio Praha: www.radio.cz

Three Percent – A resource for international literature at the University of Rochester: www.rochester.edu/College/translation/threepersent/index.php

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: www.unesco.org

WIKIPEDIA: en.wikipedia.org

YOUTUBE: www.youtube.com