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Adapting to the Times: Adaptation as a Form of Translation in Different Periods in Brazil

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Introduction

This article will attempt to show that adaptation is a central part of the publication of translated works, and will examine translations from a number of different periods in Brazil to show a number of the factors that help define the criteria behind adapting a work. I shall begin with the Jesuit priest, Padre José de Anchieta (1534-1597), who adapted the plays of the Portuguese religious dramatist, Gil Vicente (1465?-1536?), into Tupi, an Indian language of the south-eastern coast of Brazil. In the translations he introduced certain religious terms directly from Portuguese into Tupi, while the moral of the plays was directed towards eliminating the "sinful" habits of the Brazilian Indians. Three centuries later Tomás de Gonzaga, a prominent member of the Minas Conspiracy (*Inconfidência Mineira*) of 1789, whose aim was to overthrow the Portuguese colonial government and found an independent state, was only able to publish a critique of the hated Portuguese Governor, Luís Cunha de Menezes, by adapting his original poem – changing the references, and pretending that he had not written it – in other words, by making it into a pseudo-translation. Monteiro Lobato, publisher, pamphleteer and author of children's works, was a *bête noire* of the Getúlio Vargas military government. In order to introduce critiques of the Vargas government into certain of his translations of children's works, he devised a technique of retelling, thus making it possible for him to insert certain critiques of the Vargas government into the narrative. Lobato turned J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (a work which one seldom associates with political censorship) into a work with political overtones which was seized by the São Paulo state police.

The final section examines the products of the Brazilian book club, the Clube do Livro, which adapted a number of its translated publications. The reasons for this were a paternalistic protection of the "morals" of the

reader, resulting in cuts of sexual, religious and scatological material; the censorship of politically risky material, particularly in the hardline years of the military dictatorship (1969 to 1976); and stylistic adaptations of "literary" or "difficult" material. In addition, it was also necessary in many cases to cut "non-essential" material as every published work had to fit into the obligatory 160-page format. Throughout the article the intention will be to show how notions of what and what not to adapt have been shaped by the texts' conditions of production. It will also proceed on the assumption that adaptation, as a concept, involves a more cavalier approach to the source text, compared to a translation.

The Plays of José de Anchieta in Tupi

Jesuit priest José de Anchieta was born in Tenerife, Canary Islands, studied in Coimbra, entered the Company of Jesus in 1551 and arrived in Brazil in 1553. He participated in the founding of the Colégio de São Paulo, the embriyon of what was to become the city of São Paulo. Rapidly learning Tupi, he was able to act as their protector in disputes with settlers and as intermediary in the peace settlement after the Confederação dos Tamoios (1554-1567), the Indian revolt against the Portuguese colonizers. Anchieta set out to win the souls of the Indians for the Catholic Church, and to do this translation was one of his weapons. He shaped his catechetical work to fit certain beliefs, allowing a high level of enculturation, mixing Jesuit Catholicism with Native Indian traditions. The Jesuits, always prudent, and anxious to maintain the Indians' trust, were quite prepared to accept the persistence of certain Indian rituals, which they called "jogos" ["games"] (Pompa 68). The corpus he produced was made up of poems and plays written in Portuguese, Spanish and Tupi, the Indian language of the south-east of Brazil. In his attempts to spread the Catholic message and hence encourage the Indians' acculturation, Anchieta created a new theater that was neither totally Indian nor shaped by rigid foreign standards, which did not intend to teach religion but rather promoted the basic aspects of Christianity (Anchieta, "Poesias" 44).

As a scholar of Tupi, Anchieta completed the Tupi grammar of Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro, S. J., who died in 1555, which was finally published in 1595 in Coimbra. Anchieta wrote sermons, homilies,

confessionals, prayers for saints as well as plays inspired by the writer Gil Vicente (the contents of which were adapted to the Indian environment) that simultaneously conveyed the familiar and the extraneous:

> *Jandé, rubeté, Iesu*
>
> *Jandé rekobé meengára*
>
> *Oimomboreausukatú*
>
> *Jandé amotareymbára.*
>
> [Jesus, our true Father, The Lord of our existence defeated our enemy] (Ancieta, *Poesias* 559).

Most of the words were from the native Tupi; the only exception in the excerpt above was the word *"Iesu"* ("Jesus") – and this element was just a part of a more complex structure to deliver the enculturizing message to the Indians.

At one level Anchieta adapts Vicente's work into Tupi, and at another level he adapts the European Christian Catholic concepts into a Brazilian Indian language. Let us now have a brief look at some of these problems he faced. Alfredo Bosi states:

> *Na passagem de uma esfera simbólica para a outra Anchieta encontrou óbices por vezes incontornáveis. Como dizer aos tupis, por exemplo, a palavra pecado, se eles careciam até mesmo da sua noção, ao menos no registro que esta assumira ao longo da Idade Média européia?*
>
> [In the passage from one symbolic sphere to another, Anchieta found obstacles which at times could not be solved. How could the Tupis be told about the word sin if they had no such notion, at least according to what was registered throughout the Middle Ages in Europe?] (65)

The strategy Anchieta chose to communicate Christianity to the New World was frequently to look for some corresponding element in two languages with unequal results ("Poesias" 67) as, for instance, translating "angel" as "karaibebe," or "a flying shaman."

When trying to classify the Native Indians in terms of Heaven and Hell, the Europeans were projecting their own European ideas onto them; in other words, seeing the Indians as their darker selves (their "own Lucifer in the bilge of their ships" (Vainfas 25)). The colonizers seemed not to be aware of the concept of "Otherness." By contrast, the South American Indians were deemed to lack this Christian dialectic: their deities were rather neutral, neither good nor bad. They would not fit at all into the European vision of the universe, in which opposite forces were seen as reciprocal and complementary. However, Anchieta attempted to adapt them into the Christian scheme. This enculturation, the mixing of Christianity and the Tupi Indian spiritual world, remained at a superficial level, while the Indian deities were also reshaped by being given Christian qualities.

The originally Jewish God brought by the Portuguese would be named Tupã in the conversion-translation made by the Jesuits. Tupã was the Indian supernatural entity related to thunder, who would now assume a new identity. It would be the supreme god, would have a mother, Tupansy (Holy Mary), and possess a house and a kingdom (Bosi 67). Tupã needed an opposite force to represent the dark side and the Devil, which Anchieta named Anhanga, who, according to the Indian imaginary, was the protector of the jungle and had amazing powers and skills, able to shift form and shape and torment human beings. In this new model introduced by the Jesuits, the powers of Anhanga were increased: it would assume the role of Prince of Darkness and be directly responsible for all bad habits of the Amerindians such as cannibalism, polygamy, drunkenness, and all other "devilish" rituals for European eyes.

Cannibalism and polygamy were key elements for the Native Indians' social lives, and those which most disgusted the missionaries. But the Indians did not relate them to Anhanga. Cannibalism was the result of warfare and important for the tribe's supremacy over their enemies. A prisoner-of-war would be kept for several months, treated well and sometimes given a wife. But on an appointed day he would be killed and prepared for a feast. This cannibalistic treatment given to the enemy was justified for two reasons: revenge, and incorporation of the brave soul of the enemy into the executioner's own soul. Polygamy was a useful and meaningful practice in daily tribal life: while one woman was working out in the field the other (or others) would look after the children and work in the village.

Anchieta reorganizes their places in the Tupi imaginary: Tupã, with its divine powers on one side; Anhanga and the barbarian customs (for example polygamy and cannibalism), on the other. But the difficult and uncertain task of the Jesuit in establishing new definitions was not over. Not only were they dealing with two very different cultures, they also had two very different source and target languages. Tupi was basically a "concrete" language - i.e., with not as many words to describe abstract ideas and concepts as Portuguese (or any other European language) had. This forced Anchieta to make some intriguing innovations: the word "angel" was translated into Tupi as *karaí-bebe*, which meant "sanctity which flies." This neologism derived from *karai* [Indian prophet] and *bebé* [winged]. For the Native Indian it might have seemed a weird concept of a flying shaman, and certainly the idea of angel would not have been clearly depicted according to its biblical definition. The same happened to the idea of "sin," translated into Tupi as *tekó-aíba*, *tekó-poxy*, or *tekó-angaipaba* [bad life or bad culture of a people] (Alves Filho 183). Actually, the concept of sin involved a broader array of definitions. Sin would be a transgression of God's known will or any principle or law regarded as embodying this. It meant that "sin" would not exactly be the definition of bad life according to the "Indian life" but rather to the "European way of life." Thus "sin," translated as "bad life," would be even more entangling, as it lacked a prior knowledge of God's will, which therefore could supply human beings with a definition of a "good" or "bad" life (qtd. in Alves Filho 183).

This choice of keeping some words in Portuguese also shows how inadequate Tupi was for the task of expressing God's truth. To overcome this perceived deficiency in the native language, Tupi itself needed to be reformulated and to incorporate an enhanced vocabulary with words from the foreign language, considered by the colonizer as superior and thus more adequate to express God's precepts. Neologisms, such as *tupãoka*, were also generated along with the effort of spreading Catholicism among the Indians. In blending *Tupã with sy* [Tupãsy], Anchieta attempted to depict a clear image of the mother of Jesus, but he did not translate the term Virgin to Tupi: "*morausúberekosar, seémbae Virgem Maria!* [pious, sweet Virgin Mary!]"

The Hail Mary prayer shows clearly his translation choices:

Ave Maria, graça resé tynysémbae,

[Hail Mary, full of grace]

nde irúnamo Jandé Jará rekóu

[the Lord is with you]

imombeúkatúpýramo ereikó kuña suí

[Blessed are you among women]

imombeúkatúpýrabé nde membyra, Jesus

[and blessed is your son, Jesus]

Santa Maria Tupãsy,

[Holy Mary, mother of God,]

Tupãmongetá oré iangaipábae resé,

[pray to God for us, sinners]

koyr, irã oré jekýi oré rúmebeno

[now and at the hour of our death.]

Amén, Jesu

[Amen, Jesus] (qtd in Alves Filho 186)

In other cases, Anchieta even created words mixing Portuguese and Tupi as found in the Articles of Faith:

Arobiar Túbamo sekó

[We believe he is the Father]

Arobiar Tayramo sekó

[We believe he is the Son]

Arobiar Espírito Sántoramo sekó

[We believe he is the Holy Ghost] (qtd. in Alves Filho 187)

In adding the Tupi suffix "*rámo*," which means "the status of," to the Portuguese expression "*Espírito Santo*," which means Holy Ghost, Anchieta seemed to emphasize the condition of this entity and to make it more familiar to his audience.

Anchieta was not only concerned with adapting the natives' language, but was also creative in terms of cultural adaptation - a process consolidating a wide variety of cultural discourses or messages into a target text that in some way has no defined and single source. In the play *Recebimento do Padre Marçal Beliarte* [The Reception of Father Marçal Beliarte] (1589) Anchieta used several source texts to produce the final

"translated" text. His style, plot and characters are clearly based on Gil Vicente's works, with Good always winning. The conversations of the characters are in Portuguese and Tupi. Anchieta introduces into this representation an important element familiar within local traditions of conduct, and skillfully reshapes its meaning. One of the devils (Makaxera) is killed in a traditional Tupi ritual of cannibalism by a courageous Indian under the command of Tupansy, i.e. the mother of Jesus. Shortly before killing the Devil, the Indian Añangupiara says:

Kueseñey, Tupansy	[As before, the Mother of Jesus]
Nde reytyki, nde peabó	[has ruined and smashed you]
Aé xe mboú korí	[so she has sent me here]
Ko aikó nde akánga kábo	[to split your head]
Nei! Ejemosakói	[defend yourself, tough beast]
Tajopune, marandoéra	[I will hurt you, false face]
(*The Indian smashes the Devil's head*)	
Te! Ajuká Makaxera	[Ready! I have killed Makaxera]
Omanongatú moxy	[Evil does not exist anymore…]
"Añagupiara" xe rerá!	[I am Añagupiara!]

(Anchieta, "Teatro" 245).

In Indian rituals the sacrifice of a captive was meant to nourish the virtues of the warriors; in the rewriting of the Jesuit, this same sacrifice is performed to get rid of evil. In his deliberate "mistranslation," or adaptation Anchieta envisions the ritual as a process of "extirpating" rather than "incorporating," since "the words of the colonized population can be 'cited' or 'translated' or 'reread / rewritten' by colonizers in way to reframe the colonized culture in the interest of colonial domination" (Robinson 93).

In "*Na Aldeia de Guaraparim*" ["The Village of Guaraparim"] the norms of the religion of the Portuguese Empire become even more evident in Anchieta's adaptation. The Devil, or "*Anhanga*," speaks in favor of Indian customs, which deliberately denigrates them when compared with Christian definitions of appropriate behavior. The Devil speaks as follows:

Iemoyrõ, morapiti	[You grow furious and kill people]
Io'u, tapuia rara	[You eat each other, you catch enemy Indians]
Aguasá, moropotara	[you take concubines, give yourself to sensual desire]
Manhana, syguaraiy:	[you spy, prostitute yourself]
Naipotari abá seiara	[I don´t want anyone stop doing such things]

(Navarro 65).

Adone Agolin summarizes Anchieta's adaptation techniques thus: i) The introduction of Portuguese or Latin words; ii) Neologisms comprising partly of Portuguese or Latin and partly of Tupi, usually the suffix; iii) the selection of one meaning among a number of a specific Tupi word; and iv) syntactic constructions to elaborate concepts for which no suitable solution could be found in Tupi (Pompa 92-93).

The *Cartas Chilenas*

This section shows how adaptation techniques were applied in the *Inconfidência Mineira* [Minas Conspiracy] of 1789, a Brazilian independence movement in the gold mining state, or captaincy (*capitania*), as it was called at the time, of Minas Gerais. The *Inconfidentes* were a loose group of friends and business associates, mostly coming the plutocracy of Minas Gerais (Maxwell 119), who were upset by the *Derrama*, the proposal made by the Portuguese Governor of the Capitania of Minas Gerais, Luís Cunha de Meneses, to collect the outstanding gold mining taxes. Cláudio Manuel da Costa and Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, both lawyers and poets, were especially angered by the fact that Cunha Meneses took away from the magistrates the special and lucrative powers of debt collection and conceding mortgages. Gonzaga was also a recognized poet (Maxwell 117) who wrote the *Cartas Chilenas* [Letters from Chile], a long satirical poem composed in blank verse, supposedly written in Santiago, Chile, by Critilo, to his friend, Doroteu, criticizing the behavior and governance of the administration of the Governor of Santiago, Fanfarrão Minésio. It is a

lightly disguised pseudo-translation, an adaptation of a source-text into a translation, whose frontispiece gives the following information:

> *Cartas Chilenas. Em que o Poeta critilo Conta a Doroteu os Fatos de Fanfarrão Minésio, Governador de Chile. Escritas em espanhol pelo poeta Critilo. Traduzidas em português e dedicadas aos Grandes de Portugal por uma Pessoa Anônima.* [Letters from Chile. In which the Poeta Critilo tells Doroteu the facts relating to Fanfarrão Minésio, Governor of Chile. Written in Spanish by the poet Critilo. Translated into Portuguese and dedicated to the Great of Portugal by an Anonymous Person] (Gonzaga 31).

The Prologue, written by the anonymous "translator" frames the pseudo-translation. A galleon coming from Spanish America docks in Brazil, and a manuscript containing the *Cartas Chilenas* was passed on to the translator, who, as soon as he read them, decided to translate them into Portuguese: "*pelo benefício, que se resulta ao público, de se verem satirizadas as insolências deste Chefe para emenda dos mais, que seguem tão vergonhosas pisadas*" ["for the benefit which comes to the public of seeing the insolence of this Boss satirized, and for the notice of others who follow such shameful steps"] (Gonzaga 35).

There is no doubt that the poem refers to the administration of Luís da Cunha Meneses, Governor of the Capitania of Minas Gerais from 1783 to 1788. Certain references are very specific: one describes the wasteful construction of the *Casa da Câmara* [Council House] and Prison of Vila Rica (Cartas 3 and 4), while in Carta 5 Chile is, like Minas Gerais, mentioned as being a gold-mining area. The excesses of Minésio in his establishment of auxiliary militias, for which he was reprehended by Lisbon, appear in Carta 9:

> *Não há, não há distúrbio nesta terra,*
> *De que mão militar não seja autora.*
> ["There is no, there is problem in this land,
> Which a military hand is not behind"]
> (Gonzaga 180).

Minésio is physically repugnant, lascivious, bestial, venial, insane - a spendthrift, capricious in his administration and surrounded by sycophants, favoring those who deserve no favors and ignoring protocol:

Assim o nosso Chefe não descansa

De fazer, Doroteu, no seu Governo

Asneiras, sobre asneiras: e entre as muitas,

Que menos violentas nos parecem,

Pratica outras, que excedem muito, e muito

As raias dos humanos desconcertos.

[So our Boss never stops

Doing, in his government, Doroteu,

Stupid things: and among the many,

Which less violent seems to us,

He does others, which are much worse and

Outside normal human behavior]

Carta 10, (Gonzaga 199).

É qual mulher coisa, que não pode

Vingar no vário amante os duros zelos,

E vai desafogar as suas iras

Bebendo o sangue de inocentes filhos.

[He's like the woman, who cannot

Revenge her jealousy on her wandering lover,

And who unleashes her anger

By drinking the blood of innocent children]

Carta 10, (Gonzaga 202-3).

Gonzaga had to disguise the *Cartas Chilenas* as a pseudo-translation because of the possibility of "censorial measures against himself or his work" (Toury 42). There is no evidence that Meneses actually read them, heard about them, or that knowledge of their existence reached the Portuguese crown in Lisbon (Furtado 75). Nonetheless, they are interesting for our purposes as examples of adaptations masquerading as pseudo-translations. It seems that Gonzaga was writing for a coterie of friends and acquaintances, and he also hoped that the *Cartas* would find their way to the Portuguese court. They do not criticize Portuguese rule in Brazil itself, merely the abuses of Meneses. The pseudo-translation technique is nothing more than an insurance policy against possible reprisals; Gonzaga could claim the *Cartas Chilenas* were translations.

Monteiro Lobato's Political Adaptations of Literature for Children

This section will look at the adaptations of *Peter Pan* and *Don Quijote* made by the Brazilian publisher, pamphleteer and author of children's works, José Bento de Monteiro Lobato. He believed in developing the Brazilian language; he thought that after 400 years of subservience to Portugal, it was time to break away definitively from Lisbon and to develop new forms (Hallewell 242). He wanted to produce a series of books for children "*com mais leveza e graça de linguá*" ["with more lightness and wit"] (qtd. Vieira 146) than the translations of Carlos Jansen Müller, a Brazilian translator whose versions of classics such as *Gulliver's Travels* and *Don Quixote* had been created for the prestigious Colégio Pedro II secondary school in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the nineteenth century. Monteiro Lobato intended to rework and "improve" these translations, and he remarked, "*temos que refazer tudo isso--abrasileirar a linguagem*" ["we must redo all of this so as to Brazilianize the language"] (qtd. Koshiyama 88), by eliminating the stylistic heaviness Jansen Müller Portuguese translations and producing new versions of children's classics in a lighter, more witty style, allowing for interventions with an ideological slant (Monteiro Lobato, *Aventuras* 419).

His own version of *Don Quijote*, called *D. Quixote das Crianças* [The Children's Don Quixote] (1936) clearly illustrates his approach. The naughty rag doll, Emília, Monteiro Lobato's alter ego, prizes a thick book off the shelf, a Portuguese translation of *Don Quixote* by Visconde de

Castilho and Visconde de Azevedo, that Dona Benta begins reading to her grandchildren and the dolls. However, they and Dona Benta herself find the literary style turgid. After hearing "*lança em cabido, adarga antiga, galgo corridor*" ["a lance hanging up in the cupboard, an ancient shield, and a fast dog"] (Monteiro Lobato, *D. Quixote* 16), Emília, who like Monteiro Lobato is against everything that is old-fashioned and backward, loses interest and wants to play hide-and-seek. Dona Benta decides to retell the story: the result is a text with many translation shifts including abridgement, explanations, and additions, as well as paratextual commentary from Dona Benta, the narrator, and the audience inside the story, namely the children and dolls. Don Quixote is enlisted in Monteiro Lobato's struggle to change the social and economic structure of Brazil.

Near the end of *D. Quixote das crianças*, Pedrinho asks whether his grandmother Dona Benta is telling the whole story or just parts of it. Dona Benta replies that only mature people should attempt to read the whole work, and that what stimulates a child's imagination should be included in such versions (*D. Quixote* 152). Monteiro Lobato thus uses meta-commentary to justify his translation techniques; this is made explicit in a 1943 letter, where Monteiro Lobato describes the difficulties he encountered to

> *extirpar a "literatura" de meus livros infantis. A cada revisão nova mato, como quem mata pulgas, todas as literaturas que ainda as estragam. O último submetido a tratamento foram as Fábulas. Como achei pedante e requintado! De lá raspei quase um quilo de "literatura" e mesmo assim ficou alguma* ...[extirpate "literature" from my children's books. With each revision I kill, just like someone who is killing fleas, all the literary elements that are spoiling them. The last one I submitted to this treatment was Aesop's Fables. How pedantic and sophisticated it was! I managed to shave off almost a kilo of "literature," but there was still some left …] (qtd. Abramovich 152).

Lobato had no qualms about making stylistic changes and omissions. In *Peter Pan* and *D. Quixote das Crianças* he uses the framing technique

of the *Arabian Nights*, with Dona Benta becoming a sort of Shahrazad, interrupting the story every night at nine o'clock, bedtime, and promising more entertainment for the next evening.

Monteiro Lobato's rewritings are overtly didactic, and he frequently alludes to his favorite themes in the middle of the stories – for example, expanding the book market in Brazil. At the beginning of *Peter Pan*, the children, Pedrinho and Narizinho, and the doll, Emília, having heard about Peter Pan in *Reinações de Narizinho* [The Reigns of Narizinho] (1931), ask their grandmother, Dona Benta, who Peter Pan is. Dona Benta does not know, so she writes to a bookshop in São Paulo that sends her J. M. Barrie's work in English. When the book arrives, Dona Benta retells the story to the children and dolls in Portuguese, thus reenacting the situation of an oral retelling.

There are other didactic elements in Monteiro Lobato's rewritings - for example, he introduces vocabulary extension exercises, having Dona Benta explain various difficult words to the children; or having Hans Staden encouraging them to read Charles Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle*, while openly discussing the anthropophagy of various Indian tribes in Brazil (Monteiro Lobato, *Aventuras* 29, 52).

Monteiro Lobato also uses his adaptations to criticize the corrupt Brazilian political system and the excessive powers of the large landowners, the *latifundiários*, popularly called *coroneis* (colonels), although they were not part of the military. These ranch and plantation owners were and still are very powerful in much of rural Brazil, particularly in the north-east, and for Lobato they represented the paternalistic and backward-looking Brazil he was fighting against. In *Peter Pan* Pedrinho is surprised to find that there were *coroneis* in the sixteenth century, and Dona Benta replies that there were fewer than nowadays, "e melhores, como esse Tomé de Sousa, que foi um benemérito" ["and better ones, like this Tomé de Sousa, who was a worthy man"] (*Aventuras* 56). Monteiro Lobato also criticizes the way in which the victors write history. Replying to Pedrinho's question of why the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores are seen as great and glorious heroes, Dona Benta replies that it is they themselves who have written history (*Aventuras* 74).

The work of Julia Kristeva illuminates the change of emphasis in Monteiro Lobato's adaptations. Kristeva defines a signifying practice as a

"field of transpositions"; in turn such a practice is related to the "place of enunciation," but she notes however that the place of enunciation and its denoted object are never single, complete, and identical to themselves but always plural and shifting (Kristeva, *Révolution* 314 and *passim*). Translation will always introduce another voice into the text, and the new voice will always be quoting another, the author of the source text, however invisible the translator attempts to be. "Invisible" translators attempt to maintain the original place of enunciation, though this will never be completely possible. By contrast, Monteiro Lobato in his adaptations deliberately introduces a series of new points of enunciation, a series of new voices - Dona Benta, the children, and the dolls. Thus his texts become dialogic and polyphonic (cf. Kristeva, *Séméiôtiké* 82). These new voices reflect different aspects of Monteiro Lobato's own beliefs; he shifts the place of enunciation from the source texts' authors to Lobato himself.

In the case of *D. Quixote*, the place of enunciation is transposed from Cervantes in Spain at the turn of the seventeenth century, to Monteiro Lobato, scourge of the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship, whose liberal ideals are voiced through the narrative mouthpieces of Dona Benta, the children, and the dolls. Similarly Monteiro Lobato (using Dona Benta as vehicle) becomes the place of enunciation of *Peter Pan*, *Histórias de tia Nastácia*, and La Fontaine's *Fables*, all of which serve as a critique of the lack of social and economic progress in Brazil. Monteiro Lobato's project, advertised as a means of filling a gap in the Brazilian book market where there was almost no children's literature in the native language, also became an ideological vehicle, criticizing the *status quo* during the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship.

The plurality of Monteiro Lobato's texts can also be illuminated by the concept of intertextuality: all of his texts have a "twofold coherence: an intratextual one which guarantees the immanent integrity of the text, and an intertextual one which creates structural relations between itself and other texts" (Plett 5). A translated work will by nature be related to and have a natural intertextual relationship with the original, but Lobato opens up his adaptations to other intertexts; for example *D. Quixote das Crianças* relates both to Cervantes's work, as well as the 1876 Portuguese "literary" translation of Cervantes, thus introducing us to Lobato's own relationship (another intertext) to the Portuguese language and his attempts to use a more Brazilian-focused idiom. The retelling of the text and the interpolations of the children and the dolls make for a *mise en abîme* of intertexts: Lobato's

ideas on education, economics, and politics; his antagonism with the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship; his previous fiction, pamphlets, and translations; and, on a more literary level, works similar in genre to *Don Quixote*.

Particularly after the introduction of the hardline Estado Novo government in November 1937, Monteiro Lobato's adaptations of well-known children's stories, interspersed with critical comments from Dona Benta, the children, and the dolls, became one of the ways of demonstrating resistance to the Vargas regime. The enormous popularity of his adaptations helped to disseminate liberal, secular, and internationalist ideas to adults and children alike in a state that was authoritarian, Catholic, and nationalist. Monteiro Lobato was despised by the government for his internationalism, his negative comparisons of Brazil to the United States and the United Kingdom, his atheism, and his continual meddling in the politics of Brazil. A report to the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional by Tupy Caldas accused his works of being excessively materialistic, and lacking any kind of spiritualism; they should be banned because they were dangerous to the national educational program, failing to contribute to the formation of "*juventude patriótica, continuadora da tradição cristã, unificadora da Pátria*" ["patriotic youth, continuing the Christian tradition, and unifying the Fatherland"] (qtd. Carneiro 76). As a result of instructions given by the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional, the São Paulo Department of Social and Political Order (DEOPS) apprehended and confiscated all the copies of Monteiro Lobato's *Peter Pan* that it could find in the state of São Paulo. *Peter Pan* was one of the texts that caused considerable political trouble for him. In June 1941 a São Paulo public prosecutor, Clóvis Kruel de Morais, recommended to the *Tribunal de Segurança Nacional* (the National Security Tribunal) that the distribution of *Peter Pan* be prohibited because it would give children an impression that Brazil was an inferior country.

An example of this occurs when Emília asks whether English children play with a "boi de xuxu," a sort of toy animal made by sticking pieces of wood into a vegetable, common in country areas of Brazil where children had to improvise toys out of odds and ends. Dona Benta replies that English children are very spoiled and given all the toys they want, and that toys are not incredibly expensive as they are in Brazil. Here Monteiro Lobato is expressing his opinion of the economic protectionism of the government (*Peter Pan* 12).

Adapting Sex, Scatology and Good Taste in the Clube do Livro

In my studies on the translations and adaptations published by Clube de Livro, the Brazilian book club (Milton, "Translation," *O Clube*), I discovered a number of different forms of adaptations, focused in particular on the removal the removal of sexual, scatological, political and offensive elements. The Clube do Livro, presided over by its managing director, Mario Graciotti, began in 1943 and was the first book club in Brazil, publishing monthly volumes at approximately a third of the price of books sold in bookshops. Books were distributed either by post or agent, and the Clube do Livro achieved immediate success, with print runs of up to 50,000, a very high figure in Brazil, where the print run for the average novel is around 3,000. By 1969 it had sold 6,579,421 copies: mostly classics, both foreign and Brazilian, in roughly equal proportions, although in its later years, it began to publish a number of detective and adventure novels, organized several novel competitions and published the winning entries. The Clube do Livro adopted a very paternalistic stance towards its adaptations, removing many elements it deemed as controversial. The censorship of sexual and scatological elements, and religious satire can be seen in the Clube do Livro translation of Rabelais' *O Gigante Gargantua* [Gargantua], published by the Clube do Livro in a *"tradução especial de José Maria Machado"* [a special translation by José Maria Machado] in 1961. This edition also contained 19 pages of excerpts from *Pantagruel*. The adapter admits that he has made a number of cuts of passages referring to the sexual act and bodily functions:

> *Nessa edição para o Clube do Livro, foram aparadas todas as incongruências e ousadas liberdades do autor, com racional adaptação do texto. Os leitores não suportariam a tradução pura e simples de muitos trechos, que fomos obrigados a eliminar, por uma questão de decência e probidade*. [In this edition, all the incongruencies and daring liberties the author has made have been cut, in a rational adaptation of the text. The Clube do Livro readers would not put up with a pure and simple translation of many sections which we have been obliged, because of decency and probity, to eliminate] (Rabelais, *Gigante* 14-15).

José Maria Machado also ignores puns and wordplay:

> Par mesmes raisons (si raisons les doibz nommer et non resveries) ferois je paindre un penier, denotant qu'on me faict pener; et un pot à moutarde, que c'est mon cueur à qui moult tarde; et un pot à pisser, c'est un official; et le fond de mes chausses, c'est un vaisseau de petz; et ma braguette, c'est le greffe des arrestz; et un estront de chien, c'est un tronc de ceans, où gist l'amour de mámye (Rabelais, *Gargantua* 95).

Needless to say, he also omits the long list of nicknames and euphemisms for the penis:

> [...] ma petite dille [...] ma pine, [...] ma branche de coural, [...] mon bondon, mon bouchon, mon vibrequin, mon possouer, ma teriere, ma pendilloche, mon rude esbat roidde et bas, mon dressouoir, ma petite andoille vermeille, ma petite couille bredouille (Rabelais, *Gargantua* 111).

When a bodily function is mentioned, it is euphemized. The "pissa" referring to Gargantua's mare becomes "*soltou águas*" (Rabelais, *Gargantua* 289). The adapter also takes no interest in Rabelais' stylistic variations: rhymes such as "Chiart,/ Foirart,/ etart,/ Brenons, Chappart/ S'espart/ Sus nous./ Hordous,/ Merdous,/ Esgous,/ Le feu de sainct Antoine te ard!/ Sy tous/ Tes trous/ Esclous/ Tu ne torche avant ton depart!" are ignored (*Gargantua* 125); as is the list of games (179-185), and puns – for example "Mais (dist le moyne) le service du vin faisons tant qu'il ne soit troublé; car vous mesmes, Monsieur le Prieur, aymez boyre du meilleur" (229). This last pun would be possible in Portuguese with "*serviço divino*" and "*serviço do vinho,*" but instead is weakly translated as "*serviço diário*" (Rabelais, *Gigante* 67). Critiques of the Catholic Church are also cut. Framing a possibly controversial work with an essay which neutralizes any element of social criticism is a technique that is used with the Clube do Livro adaptation of Dickens' *Hard Times* (1969). The editors take great pains to insist that there is no radical slant to Dickens' work: "É um livro de idéias, embora não se possa denominar propriamente um livro de combate." ["It is

a book of ideas, though it can't really be called a book of combat] (Dickens, *Tempos Difíceis* 8). It must be distanced as far as possible from late 1960s Brazil, hence becomes a regional novel of a bygone age: "*Nele se apresenta um aspecto novo da sociedade provinciana do seu tempo, a luta surda entre o antigo e o moderno, através de uma burgesia de outras eras*" ["A new aspect of provincial society of its time, the silent struggle between the ancient and the modern, through the bourgeoisie of other epochs"] (8). *Hard Times* is linked to the slavery and the dark ages of the past, which have now been superseded by the Universal Convention of the Rights of Children and of Men, the United Nations, and the ecumenical contemporary Church; and in Brazil, greater rights for workers, which have existed since 1922. The adapter, José Maria Machado, comments that *Hard Times* was a critique of *laissez-faire* economic policy, then prevalent in Britain, but never permits any comparison to be made with contemporary Brazil: *Hard Times* is a book that transcends space and time.

The adapted text also had to be modified in order not to give the impression that *Tempos Difíceis* is a subversive work - for example, in the translation of the union leader Slackbridge's speech:

> That every man felt his condition to be, somehow or other, worse than it might be; that every man considered it incumbent on him to join the rest, towards the making of it better, that every man felt his only hope to be in his allying himself to his comrades by whom he was surrounded; and that in this belief, right or wrong (unhappily wrong then), the whole of that crowd were gravely, deeply, faithfully in earnest; must have been as plain to anyone who chose to see what was there, as the bare beams of roof, and the whitened brick walls" (Dickens, *Hard Times* 171).

In the adaptation, the idea of unity and mass action is lost. The error they made becomes clearer:

> *Toda aquela multidão acreditava, com uma fé grave, profunda e sincera, na conclusão, certa ou errada (errada desta vez, infelizmente), a que [Slackbridge]*

> *chegara.* [All of the crowd believed, with a grave, deep and sincere faith, in the conclusion which, right or wrong (wrong this time, unfortunately), which he had reached] (Dickens, *Tempos Difíceis* 90).

Dickens' phrase "the slaves of an iron-handed and grinding despotism" (*Hard Times* 169) becomes the mild "*trabalhadores e companheiros*" ["workers and companions"] (*Tempos Difíceis* 90).

Other Clube do Livro adaptations try to sanitize nineteenth-century British novels. The Brazilian version of *Silas Marner* changes the name of the house where Squire Cass lives from the "Red House" (Eliot, *Silas* 96) to the "*Casa Amarela*" ["Yellow House"] (Eliot, *O Tesouro* 66) to avoid the suspicion that Eliot's work might have had any revolutionary intention. This was particularly important at that time: when this translation was published (1973), any book with a socialist country in the title, or by an author with a Russian-sounding name, or even with a red cover could be seized by the federal or state police (Hallewell 483).

I suggest two reasons for these cuts and adaptations. One is that the Clube do Livro wished to be politically correct *avant la lettre*, attempting not to offend the religious and national sensibilities of its readers. The other reason is that although there was no religious censorship in Brazil when this translation was published, in 1958, the Catholic Church was still very powerful, and during the Estado Novo (1939-1945), the Catholic Church played an important role in the state apparatus of the Getúlio Vargas' nationalistic dictatorship.

Final Words

This article has shown a number of the myriad of ways in which texts can be adapted in translation and a number of the factors involved: Padre José de Anchieta's attempt to acculturate the Brazilian Indians into Catholicism led him to use a mixture of techniques in his adaptations of Gil Vicente's plays: direct transposition of Portuguese religious terms mixed with adaptation of other religious terms to the religious world of the Indians, a form of enculturation. Tomás Gonzaga was forced to hide his critiques of the Portuguese Luís Cunha de Menezes by adapting them

into the form of a translation, by pretending they were a translation, a "pseudotranslation." Monteiro Lobato's adaptations of *Peter Pan* and *Don Quijote* used a technique of retelling, allowing him to insert his critiques of the Getúlio Vargas Estado Novo, of which he fell foul. And, last but not least, the Clube do Livro, fearing censorship and loss of sales, adapted its translations of classic novels like *Gargantua* and *Hard Times* by cutting many religious, satirical, racial, sexual and stylistic elements.

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