

# Bringing Translation into the Canon: The Importance of the *Folhetim* in Translation Studies in Brazil

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John Milton

UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO

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## Abstract

The focus of this article is on the important role of the *Folhetim*, the Cultural Supplement of the São Paulo newspaper, the *Folha de São Paulo*, in the growth of Translation Studies in Brazil in the 1980s and early 1990s. I propose that the *Folhetim* was central to the formation of the discipline, which only later, in the 1990s, began at university level. Central to the *Folhetim* are Haroldo and Augusto de Campos, much of whose work was published in the supplement. And perhaps the fact that the cultural supplement of a newspaper, and not academic journals, first published much of their work resulted in a much greater visibility for literary translation in Brazil.

Keywords: Translation in Brazil; Haroldo de Campos; *Folhetim - Folha de São Paulo*; Nelson Ascher; José Paulo Paes; Augusto de Campos; Boris Schnaiderman

## 1. Introduction

The focus of this article is the enormous role of the *Folhetim*, the cultural supplement of the São Paulo newspaper, the *Folha de São Paulo*, in the growth of Translation Studies in Brazil in the 1980s and early 1990s. I propose that the *Folhetim* was central to the formation of the discipline, which only later, in the 1990s, began at university level. And perhaps the fact that the cultural supplement of a newspaper, and not academic journals, published the early editions of much of Haroldo and Augusto de Campos’ work resulted in a much greater visibility for literary translation in Brazil. The Campos brothers were able to bring translation to the frontline of literary activity in Brazil, make it “respectable”, before, in the 1990s, it was taken up by the academy.

I concentrate on what was published in the *Folhetim*, and large parts of the article list translations and articles on translation published by the *Folhetim*. In *Method in Translation History*, Anthony Pym stresses the importance of “what was translated when” and the explanations that need to be provided for these lists (Pym 38). I try to do this and beg for patience with the lists. It is an “archeological study”, excavating a “building” in the construction of Translation Studies in Brazil in the 1980s. As I later explain, I find it a particularly important building, to continue the metaphor, one that may be considered the early headquarters of Translation Studies in Brazil.

## **2. The *Folhetim***

The *Folhetim* was first published on 23 January 1977 with a selection of current affairs reports and was to be the first “alternative” cultural supplement of a major newspaper in Brazil, full of humour, irreverence, and a certain “marginality” (Roschel), under its first editor, Tarso de Castro, followed by Aldo Pereira, and Nelson Merlin, in 1978. In 1979, under editor Oswaldo Mendes, the *Folhetim* began to address social themes, and space was given to prominent academics.

However, in 1982, firstly under Mário Sergio Conti, and then Rodrigo Figueira Navas, followed by João Moura, Marília Pacheco and Nelson Ascher, the focus of the *Folhetim* now became more literary, though other arts such as cinema were covered, and an occasional issue would analyse other artistic figures and cultural manifestations such as samba (19 December 1982), Anton Webern (4 December 1983), Gustav Klimt (23 December 1984), and social and political themes such as Eurocommunism (6 March 1983), the centenary of Karl Marx (13 March 1983), John Maynard Keynes (5 June 1983), and Carlos Lamarca, the Brazilian army captain who deserted to become a left-wing guerrilla leader during the military dictatorship (10 July 1987). In this new approach, translations, particularly of poems, articles on literary translation, and theoretical essays played a major role.

The *Folhetim* was initially published on Sundays; then, from 14 November 1986, it was published on Fridays. In 1987 it commemorated its tenth anniversary with the publication of *Folhetim - Poemas Traduzidos* (Suzuki Jr.). From 23 July 1988 it was published on Saturdays, and its final issue was published on 25 March 1989.

## **3. The Main Actors**

### **3.1. Haroldo and Augusto de Campos**

We can point to a number of figures, much of whose work was published in the *Folhetim*, who helped to define its literary approach. The central figure is Haroldo de Campos (1929-2003), who was especially active in the field of translation in the 1980s and 1990s, publishing translations of James Joyce, Goethe, Khlebnikov, Vladimir Mayakovski, Ecclesiastes, Homer, Stéphane Mallarmé, Ezra Pound, among others, and scholarly articles collected in *A Arte no Horizonte do Provável* [*Art on the Horizon of*

*the Probable*] (1969), *A Operação do Texto* [*The Operation of the Text*] (1976), and *Metalinguagem e outras Metas* [*Metalinguage and Other Goals*] (1992) and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that the Haroldo was by profession a lawyer, and spent his career in a bureaucratic function at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), but never actually taught there.

His younger brother, Augusto de Campos (1931- ), also a lawyer by profession, translated, amongst others, Mallarmé, Joyce, Pound, Mayakovski, Arnaut Daniel, John Donne, e. e. cummings, and is the author of *Verso, Reverso, Controverso* [*Verse, Reverse, and Controverses*] (1976) and *O Anticrítico* [*The Anticritic*] (1986).

Their theoretical work emphasizes the aural and visual aspects of translation. Haroldo is probably best-known for coining the term “transcreation”, which he first used to designate the operation that refuses the dichotomy form/content and focuses on the poetic form of the text - its phonosemantic configuration. Thus, transcreation aims at the rendering not only of meaning but also of form.

Contrary to the common sense belief that poetry is untranslatable because it is difficult, it is this very difficulty, the complex arrangement of formal and semantic elements, which makes a text all the more translatable:

Thus, for us, the translation of creative texts will always be recreation, or parallel creation, which is autonomous but reciprocal. The more the text overflows with difficulties, the more recreatable, the more seductive it will be in terms of the possibilities which are available for recreating it. In a translation of this kind, it is not only the signified that is translated, but also the sign itself, its physicality, its materiality (its sound qualities, its visual imagetics, everything which, according to Charles Morris, contributes to the iconicity of the aesthetic sign, with iconic sign understood here as that “which in a certain way is similar to that which it denotes”). The signified, the semantic parameter, will merely and only constitute the boundary of the recreative task. And this (kind of translation) can be seen as the opposite of the so-called literal translation. (H. Campos, “Translation as Creation and Critique” 51)

So, recreation, or transcreation, for Haroldo, does not mean free adaptation of the original, but extreme fidelity. It is a reconfiguration that takes into account all elements of the poem - the phonoprosodic, visual, syntactic. Creativity here means being able to find solutions within the semiotic scope of the poem.

His translations and translation theory also stress the way in which certain elements may be “Brazilianised”. His translation of the second part of Goethe’s *Faust*, as well as introducing Germanic neologisms into Portuguese, contains fragments of references to Brazilian writers and the film maker Glauber Rocha.

In Arno Holz’s *Barocke Marine* [*Marinha Barroca*], he and Augusto emulated the sound pattern of the original, creating neologisms, as they did with the fragments of

*Finnegans Wake*, in this case to reflect the German morphology in the Portuguese language:

Über die rollenden Wasser hin,  
lärmend, jauchzjohlen, wonnejubelnd, lustlachend, schwärmend...  
Sobre águas rolantes, eis bramantes, jubilogritantes, alacreberrantes,  
lubrigargalhantes...  
[“On the rolling water,  
the yelling, joyshouting, lustily laughing, rapturous”]  
(H. Campos, “Arno Holz” 97)

Haroldo’s interest in maintaining the form of the original invites a comparison between his work and that of the very solid intellectual and academic tradition of those critics who have praised the translator who attempts to maintain the form of the original. Here we can mention Friedrich Schleiermacher, José Ortega y Gasset, Walter Benjamin, Antoine Berman and Lawrence Venuti. Perhaps the main difference is that Haroldo, together with Augusto, are very much “practheoreticians”. Their ideal of maintaining the original form is very much an ideal, and will only be possible at certain moments in the translation. Of the above list only Antoine Berman translated a large number of literary works.

### 3.2. José Paulo Paes

Another important “practheoretician” is José Paulo Paes (1926-98), originally an industrial chemist, and translator of Dickens, Conrad, Aretino, Sterne, Auden, William Carlos Williams, J. K. Huysmans, Eluard, Hölderlin, Edward Lear, Rilke, Lewis Carroll, Ovid, Seferis, Kaváfis, Kazantzakis, among others, and whose most important articles on translation are brought together in *Tradução: a Ponte Necessária* [*Translation: the Necessary Bridge*] (1990).

Paes praises the Campos’ concept of recreation. However, the key point on which Paes fails to agree with Haroldo and Augusto is the creation of neologisms. Paes comments negatively on terms such as the borrowed calque of “checar” [“to check”] in Portuguese, when equivalents such as “conferir” and “verificar” are readily available. He borrows the term George Steiner uses: “centaur language”, the language which is half horse and half man, the interlanguage that is halfway between the original and target language, the foreignizing language so praised by Friedrich Schleiermacher and used by Friedrich Hölderlin in his translations from the Latin and Greek (Paes, “Sobre a crítica de tradução”).

### 3.3. Nelson Ascher

Also of importance is Nelson Ascher (1958- ), author of a large number of articles on translation, translator of Pushkin, Donne, Hungarian poets, and organizer of *Nothing*

*the Sun could not explain: 20 Contemporary Brazilian Poets*, published in the United States. Ascher's early work was greatly influenced by Haroldo de Campos, who was his M.A. supervisor at the Catholic University, São Paulo, but his recent work is much more pluralist, as seen in his recent interview in *Cadernos de Literatura em Tradução*, no. 11 (Ascher).

### 3.4. Boris Schnaiderman

The other major contributor is Boris Schnaiderman (1917- ), born in the Ukraine in 1917 (the year of the Russian Revolution), and who came to Brazil when he was eight. He was the first Professor of Russian Language and Literature at the University of São Paulo in 1960, in spite of having graduated in Agronomy. He is the major figure in the translation and dissemination of Russian literature in Brazil. He translated great Russian writers like Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Maxim Gorky, Isaac Babel, Boris Pasternak and poets such as Alexander Pushkin and Vladimir Mayakovski and collaborated with the Campos brothers on a number of translations. He was also the first to translate major Russian works directly from Russian; before him, indirect translations (mainly through the French) were the norm.

## 4. An Examination of Several Editions of the *Folhetim*

As mentioned, with the change of editors in 1982, translation began to play an important role in the *Folhetim*. Let us now look in detail at the contents of the issues in which translations or articles on translation appeared in the first half of 1984. On 8 January, in an issue devoted to the Brazilian plastic artist Helio Oiticica and the US poet Wallace Stevens, an article on Wallace Stevens, "Um cidadão de terno cinzento" [A citizen in a grey suit] (2-3) by João Moura Jr and a selection of poems in translation appeared (4-5).

Two weeks later, in an edition devoted to "50 Anos da USP" [50 years of the University of São Paulo], the translation of the Jorge Luís Borges poem, "Poema do quarto elemento" [Poem of the fourth element], translated by Luiz Antônio de Figueiredo, was published (22 January 1984, 2). This was the first issue of the *Folhetim* edited by João Moura Jr., taking over from Rodrigo Figueira Navas.

The 12 February issue was largely devoted to an essay by Haroldo de Campos on "Bereshit - a Gesta da Origem" [Bereshit - the Gesture of Origin], his translation of the Book of Genesis (6-8). His book, *Bereshit - a Cena da Origem*, would be published in 1993. Also in this edition we find a translation by João Moura Jr of Sara Zapata Valeije's poem, "O Paraíso" [Paradise] (2).

The entire 26 February issue, called "A Tradução Literária" [Literary Translation], was devoted to literary translation and will be described in detail in the next section.

On 25 March the *Folhetim* commemorated Octavio Paz' 70<sup>th</sup> birthday with its issue "Octavio Paz: os 70 anos de um poeta" [Octavio Paz: the 70 years of a poet], which contained an article on Paz by Haroldo which would be developed into *Transblanco*, a co-edition with Octavio Paz, to be published in 1986 (H. Campos, Paz, *Transblanco*). The issue continued with "Um poema de John Donne" [A poem by John Donne], translation and introductory notes by João Moura Jr, together with "Elegy: on going to bed" in the translations of Octavio Paz and Augusto de Campos (9-11). This issue also contained translations and notes by Nelson Ascher of poems by the Hungarian Gyogy Somló (4-5).

The 8 April issue was devoted to Giuseppe Ungaretti, "A Flama de Ungaretti" [The Flame of Ungaretti], with "6 Poemas de Giuseppe Ungaretti", translation and introduction by Ecléia Bosi (2-3); and articles on Ungaretti by Haroldo de Campos (6-8), Carmelo Distante (4-5), Eugenio Montale (9) and Marly de Oliveira (8), and finishes off with Haroldo de Campos' poem "Transideração: Ungaretti conversa com Leopardi" [Transideration; Ungaretti talks to Leopardi] (12).

Wallace Stevens is back in the 22 April issue, dedicated to the "Romance Policial" [Detective Novels], with Paulo Henriques Britto's translation of "Sunday Morning", "Manhã de domingo" on the back page (12), as were many poems, both original and translated.

The 6 May issue was dedicated to world poetry: Paulo Leminski's article (3-5) describing characteristics of the poetry, including translations, of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, India and Mexico. Pindar's "First Olympics" (6-8) is translated and introduced by J. Cavalcante de Souza. And finally, "O silêncio das sereias" [The silence of the mermaids] (12), a short story by Franz Kafka, is translated by Modesto Carone.

In the 20 May issue we find Augusto' translation and comments on e. e. cummings' "A leaf falls, loneliness" (3-5). A smaller selection of Augusto's translations of cummings' work had been published in 1960 (A. Campos, *Dez Poemas de E. E Cummings*), and this extended collection would provide the basis for Augusto's extended selection of translations of cummings' poetry in *40 POEM(A)S*, to be published by Brasiliense in 1986.

Also in this issue we find José Paulo Paes' essay on the modern Greek poet, Kostas Karyotákis (6-7), together with translations, and the translation of fragments of Carolo Emilio Gadda's detective novel, *Aquele bruto rolo da rua Merulana - Quer pasticciaccio brutto de via Merulana* (10-11), by Aurora Bernardini e Décio Pigniatari, in addition to an article on Gadda by Alberto Arbasino.

On 10 June we find "*Giacomo Joyce: Um texto inédito de James Joyce*" [Giacomo Joyce: an unpublished text by James Joyce], translation and introduction by José Antonio Arantes (6-7); Allen Tate's poem: "Ode to the Confederate Dead", translated by Celso Lemos de Oliveira (10-11).

And finally in this period, the 24 June issue contains the article "O texto e a sombra: Que tipo de relação a tradução estabelece com o texto original?" [The text and the shadow: What type of relationship does a translation establish with the

original], by Luiz Carlos de Brito Rezende (5), whose main references are Walter Benjamin's "The Task of the Translator" and Haroldo de Campos's ideas on creative translation; "Um poema de Wallace Stevens", "O homem do violão azul" [The man with the blue violin] by Paulo Henriques Britto (6-9); and Décio Pignatari's translation of "The Emperor of ice-cream", "O rei do sorvete", also by Wallace Stevens (12).

## 5. Special Issues

A number of issues of the *Folhetim* were solely dedicated to translation, again emphasizing the importance of translation as a subject worthy of academic interest. The first, "Tradução - Traição" [Translation–Treason] was published on 18 September 1983. The initial article was by USP and PUC professor Francis Aubert on the translation profession, "O tradutor e seus direitos" [Translators and their rights] (3), in which he looks at the wide variety of types of translation and the legal rights of the translator. This is the only essay to appear in the *Folhetim* which examines the more technical side of translation. This is followed by "Tradução e criação" [Translation and creation] (4-5), by the poet and translator Geir Campos (no relation to Augusto and Haroldo), in which he briefly examines a range of comments on domestication and foreignization in translation practice; "Tradução: fantasia e fingimento" [Translation, fantasy and feigning] (6-7) by Haroldo, comments on Pound, translations of Sappho, and Haroldo's own translations of Chinese poetry; "A tradução no Brasil" [Translation in Brazil] (8-11), a history, probably the very first, of literary translation in Brazil, by José Paulo Paes; and finally José Paulo Paes' collection of anecdotes on translation in "Grandezas e misérias da tradução" [The greatness and misery of translation] (12), which looks at metaphors of translation, mistranslation by machine translation, and the mistranslation of *fat* in the German theatre with reference to Hamlet. "He is fat [sweaty] and scant of breath" (5.2.269) was translated into German as "dick" (the German word for "fat"), leading to generations of plump German Hamlets.

The 26 February 1984 issue was entitled "Poesia em tradução" [Poetry in translation], and included an article on Sylvia Plath and translations of six of her poems by Luís Carlos de Brito Resende (2-5); José Paulo Paes' introduction to the importance of animals in poetry and translations of poems by Blake, Apollinaire, Rilke, and Alfred Kreyborg (6); an article on Yeats and translations of "No Second Troy", "The Second Coming", "Leda and the Swan", and "A Coat" by José Paulo Paes in "William Butler Yeats" (8-9); "Leopoldo Lugones", by Luiz Antônio de Figueiredo (10), with an introduction followed by a translation of "Metempsychosis" and "Oceânida"; "Aquela cançozinha de Heine", in which Décio Pignatari introduces and translates Heine's Lied "Wenn ich in deine Augen seh"; "Dylan Thomas 1914-53", by Caio Túlio Costa (11), an introduction to Thomas and a translation of "On the marriage of a virgin"; and, finally, Augusto's translations of Yeats' "Sailing to Byzantium" and "The fascination of what's difficult" (12).

On 23 January 1987 the *Folhetim* commemorated its tenth anniversary. The leader (2) stressed the importance of the translation of poetry, the fact the *Folhetim* had introduced unknown foreign authors and given space to Brazilian translators. This edition would look at theoretical elements of translation. "Natureza e tradução do

canto mítico” [Nature and translation of the mythical canto], by José de Paula Ramos Jr, examining the translation of the Greek hexameter, the metre of Homer, concludes that this is a challenge that few have taken on in Brazil (3-4). In “Tradução, Produção, Subversão” [Translation, production, subversion], Amálio Pinheiro supports a “radical” form of translation, mentioning the Campos brothers and emphasizing both the political and poetic elements of this form of translation (4-5). This is followed by Marilene Carone’s “Freud em português” [Freud in Portuguese] (6-8), which examines the deficiencies of translations of Freud in Brazil, and Sergio Bellei’s “Emily Dickinson no Brasil” [Emily Dickinson in Brazil], which concentrates on the poet’s lyrical aspects and similarities to Brazilian poets (9-11). The issue ends with a translation of Heinrich Heine’s “Morfina” [Morphine] and the Hungarian poet Sándor Weöres’ “Morrer” [Dying], translated by Nelson Ascher (12).

Possibly the most interesting issue of the *Folhetim* was the 30 July 1988 issue, “Os dilemas da tradução freudiana” [The dilemmas of Freudian translation], which looked at the translation of Freud’s works, paying particular attention to the recent French translation by a team headed by Jean Laplanche, who favoured a close translation, introducing neologisms based on Freud’s original uses if necessary. This is the theme of the article by Rubens Marcelo Volich (2-6) and of the interview with Jean Laplanche (6-11). The issue also contains a translation by Antônio Medina Rodrigues, “Às Parcas” [An die Parzen] (12), by Hölderlin, considered by Antoine Berman to be a translator who follows a foreignizing approach.

## **6. The Presence of the Campos brothers**

Haroldo and Augusto de Campos are the authors most frequently published by the *Folhetim*. We can find a total of 29 contributions from Haroldo and 26 from Augusto, including articles, poems and translations, a number of which were made together. The seeds of a large number of later books are to be found in a number of the contributions, or, alternatively, the articles in the *Folhetim* were used to publicize works recently published. For example, Augusto’s article on the Brazilian communist writer Pagu (Patricia Galvão), published on 16 May 1982, coincides with *Pagu: Vida-obra* [Pagu: Life-work] (1982). Likewise, *Maiačovski - Poemas* [Mayakovski - Poems] (1982), translated by Boris Schnaiderman, Augusto de Campos and Haroldo de Campos was advertised by an interview with Augusto on 7 November 1982. Haroldo’s essay on Goethe in the *Folhetim* of 16 May 1982 with a translation of “Nicht mehr auf Seidenblatt” contains elements published in one of his best-known works, *Deus e o Diabo no Fausto de Goethe* (1981).

As mentioned above, Haroldo’s essay on Octavio Paz on 25 March 1984 was developed into *Transblanco*, and then the 9 January 1987 edition was again devoted to Octavio Paz, “Octavio Paz: poesia, tradução, política” [Octavio Paz: poetry, translation, politics], with Haroldo recycling used some of the ideas he had published in *Transblanco*, a co-edition with Octavio Paz, (1986).

On the other hand, we can find the *Folhetim* articles and translations providing the genesis of what would be later developed into complete books. As mentioned,



Augusto's article on Cummings and translation of "A leaf falls" were used in the Brazilian 1986 publication of *40 POEM(A)S*. The interview with Augusto by Rodrigo Figueira Navas in the 27 March 1983 edition "Noigandres, afugentar o tédio" [Noigandres: keeping tedium away], accompanied by a translation of Arnaut Daniel's "Canto 13", forms the basis of the ideas that would be developed in *Mais Provençais* [More Provence poems] (Augusto 1992). Most of the *Folhetim* of 8 June 1986, entitled "Qohélet-o-que-sabe" [Qohélet-he-who-knows] was devoted to Haroldo's translation of the *Book of Ecclesiastes* into Portuguese and also included an essay by Jacó Guinsburg (2-4), Haroldo's essay (4-8) and translation of a fragment of "Qohélet III", (12). *Qohélet/O-que-Sabe: Ecclesiastes: poema sapiencial* [Qohélet/He-who-knows: Ecclesiastes: poem of wisdom], by Haroldo de Campos, would be published some years afterwards by Perspectiva, in 1990, with a second edition in 1991.

A quick browse through the other articles will characteristically show us the enormous variety of the production of the brothers and the authors they translated and/or wrote about who form their *paideuma* (full details in the Appendix): Ezra Pound (AC & HC, HC), Dante Alighieri and Guido Cavalcanti (HC), John Keats (AC), Walter Benjamin (HC), Emily Dickinson (AC), Sappho (HC), Chinese poetry (HC), Jules Laforgue (AC), Mallarmé (AC), and Pushkin (HC).

## **7. The Presence of Boris Schnaiderman**

As one would expect, the great majority of Boris' 18 contributions are translations and essays on Russian literature. As a native Russian speaker, he frequently worked with Haroldo de Campos and Augusto on translations of Russian poets, and, together with them, published *Poesia Russa Moderna* [Modern Russian Poetry] (1986), which included a number of the poems first published in the *Folhetim*.

In the *Folhetim*, together with Augusto and Haroldo he published poems of Pasternak, Mayakovski, Pushkin, Guenádi Aigui, and with Nelson Ascher translations of Marina Tsvietáieva, Pasternak, Pushkin, and Khlebnikov.

He also wrote on film and was interviewed on the importance of literary translation by Nelson Ascher on 23 February 1986, "A tradução enquanto radicalidade" [Translation as radicality] (7-11).

## **8. The Presence of Nelson Ascher**

Nelson Ascher made 17 contributions to the *Folhetim*, translating Marina Tsvietáieva and Pasternak together with Boris Schnaiderman, and, as one would expect from his Hungarian background, Hungarian poets: Miklós Radnóti, Sándor Weores, and Gyogy Somló, in the period in 1984 we examined before, and T. S. Eliot, Jules Laforgue, Paul Valéry, e. e. Cummings, and Pablo Neruda.

## 9. The Presence of José Paulo Paes (1926-1998)

José Paulo Paes, the former industrial chemist, was another of the regular contributors to the *Folhetim*, with 22 contributions including essays on literature and translation, original poems and translations, often from Modern Greek, as in the cases of Kostas Karyotákis, Konstantinos Kaváfis and Gyrgos Seféris. He later published collections of translations of both the latter poets, *Poemas: Konstantinos Kaváfis* (1998) and *Poemas de Giorgos Seféris* (1995). As already mentioned, in the edition of the *Folhetim* solely dedicated to translation (18 September 1983), his essay, “A tradução no Brasil”, was groundbreaking in terms of the historiography of Translation Studies in Brazil and was later published in his collection of essays on translation, *Tradução: A Ponte Necessária [Translation: the necessary bridge]* (1990) and a collection of notes, entitled “Grandezas e misérias da tradução”, also developed into an essay for the same volume (“Sobre a tradução de poesia”).

## 10. Bringing Light to Brazil

Intellectual life in Brazil in the 1980s was very different from today. I personally arrived in Brazil in early 1979 and began to study for my M.A. at the Catholic University, São Paulo (PUC-SP) in early 1980. Libraries were (and still are to a great extent) poor; the Brazilian currency was destroyed by high inflation and was worth little; foreign travel was expensive; Brazilian credit cards were not accepted outside Brazil; thus, unless you had connections abroad and an account at Blackwell’s, Oxford, it was difficult to import books; and, last, but definitely not least, it was the pre-Internet age. Xeroxed books were the norm, and that precious volume the professor teaching the post-graduate course had brought back from outside Brazil would be copied time and time again.

Thus it seems that one of the intentions of the *Folhetim* was, to a certain extent, to attempt to fill this gap, and literary translation would be one of the ways to bring light to the Brazilian reader. This can clearly be seen in a number of issues such as the 10 February 1985 issue, where an article on Yves Bonnefoy is introduced as follows: “Yves Bonnefoy, Tradução e nota introdutória de Lenilde Freitas. Um dos maiores poetas franceses contemporâneos, praticamente desconhecido do leitor brasileiro” [Yves Bonnefoy, Translation and Introduction by Lenilde Freitas. One of the greatest of French contemporary poets, almost unknown to Brazilian readers] (10-12). The subtitle to an article in the *Folhetim* of 20 January 1985 has a similar triumphant note: “Paul van Ostayen, por Philippe Humblé e Walter Costa: Pela primeira vez traduzido no Brasil, um poeta que revolucionou a poesia de Flandres e da Holanda” [Paul van Ostayen, by Philippe Humblé and Walter Costa: For the first time translated in Brazil, a poet who revolutionised poetry in Flanders and Holland] (6-7).

An article in the 23 June 1985 issue was devoted to Polish poets, “Poetas da Polônia sitiada” [Poet in besieged Poland] (12), by Ana Cristina César e Grazyna Drabik, with their translations of poems by Tomasz Jastrun, Anka Kowalska, Ryszard Krynicki, and Adam Zagajewski.

Other issues introduced writers from Eastern Europe, in the crucial year of 1988 (18 March 1988); Japan (3 June 1988); contemporary German literature (13 March 1987); contemporary German theatre (8 July 1988); and Sanskrit literature (3 September 1988).

## 11. Discussion

A detailed study of the polemics in the Brazilian literary world from the 1960s to the 1990s has yet to be written. Augusto and Haroldo de Campos both graduated in Law from the Universidade de São Paulo and were both career lawyers, Augusto worked as a São Paulo state public prosecutor and Haroldo at the Universidade de São Paulo, where he took his Ph. D. with a thesis on *Macunaima* by Mário de Andrade, “Morfologia do *Macunaima* de Mário de Andrade” [Morphology of *Macunaima* by Mário de Andrade] (1972), under the supervision of Antonio Candido, the most important professor of literature at USP and the founder of the important sociological school of literature. Candido sees Brazilian literature as beginning in the eighteenth century, when Romanticism broke free from European influences and affirmed its Brazilian identity, and during this period it was subservient to European literatures. Candido gave no importance at all to translation and excludes it from his theoretical framework. Hence the absence of translation in the Department of Comparative Literature and Literary Theory at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

Haroldo, by contrast, emphasized the Baroque period of Brazilian literature, ignored by Candido, and promoted such authors as the Baroque Gregório de Matos (1636-1696), Sousândrade (1832-1902), and Pedro Kilkerry (1885-1917), both precursors of Modernism. For the Baroque translation is important: “Since the early colonial times, our literature has been marked by hybridism, where foreign elements have blended with native ones” (H. Campos, “A Morte de Narciso” 210). The Baroque is linked to translation, as it “simultaneously means hybridism and creative translation. Translation as transgressive appropriation and hybridism (or cross-breeding) as the dialogical process of expressing the other and expressing oneself through the other, under the sign of difference” (210). This in turn is linked to Haroldo’s concept of Anthropophagy: through translation as a means of critical appropriation, interplay between the national and foreign, he creates a decentred view of literature, which, unlike the work of Candido, does not search for the origin and does not bow to the superiority of the European model (H. Campos, “Da razão antropofágica”).

However, the main factor to arouse the wrath of Candido’s supporters and followers, most of whom took a strong Marxist line, was the adoption by the brothers Campos of Ezra Pound as one of their main mentors. This was totally unacceptable during the period of the military dictatorship (1964-1988), when literature professors were expected to be on the left and politically engaged. Haroldo was actually invited by Candido to be a monitor, the first step on the USP career ladder, but declined, probably because of the possible discomfort and the difficulty he might feel to express his opinions in a hostile context. Moreover, he was highly productive in his position as a lawyer at USP, which was probably not too demanding and which allowed him

considerable free time to read and write. However, he was cold-shouldered by the Department of Comparative Literature and Literary Theory, and the Department and Vernacular and Classical Literature at USP during the period of his great output in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and never asked to lecture. Nevertheless, he did receive invitations from the Departments of Modern Languages and Oriental Languages (where his friend and collaborator Boris Schnaiderman worked).

From 1973 to 1989 Haroldo taught in the São Paulo Catholic University's Department of Semiotics and Communication, at that time a highly rated department, and was made Emeritus Professor in 1990. He was also invited to be Visiting Professor at the University of Texas at Austin (1971 and 1981), and at Yale (1978).

Augusto was never really involved in academic life but did work on a computer graphics project at USP, "Poesia é risco" [Poetry is a risk/scratch] at the Polytechnic Engineering School (Escola Politécnica - Laboratório de Sistemas Integráveis: 1996), together with his son, Cid Campos, and Walter Silveira.

The fact that Haroldo, Augusto, José Paulo Paes and Nelson Ascher were not career academics, and that only in the 1990s did professors in the Humanities areas begin to feel pressure to publish in recognized academic journals allowed these authors to publish much of their best work in the *Folhetim*. Thus USP Professor of Russian Boris Schnaiderman could devote much of his energy to writing about Russian literature in the Brazilian press. Indeed, Haroldo did not publish in the mainstream Translation Studies journals such as *Méta*, *The Translator*, and *Target*, and his work took some years to filter through to non-Brazilian academics.

But it eventually did, and Else Vieira, in two articles on the Campos brothers published in mainstream Translation Studies works ("A postmodern translational aesthetics in Brazil" and "Liberating Calibans"), portrays Augusto and Haroldo as anthropophagic "cannibalistic" translators, whose work is strengthened by what they take and cannibalize from the Old World to form something new. The source text will be absorbed and re-created. And more recently we find a growing number of scholars working on Haroldo's work. We can mention the work of Odile Cisneros from the University of Alberta (Bessa and Cisneros) and Inês Oseki-Dupré at the Université de Provence ("Retraduire La Bible: Le Qohélet" and *Haroldo de Campos*).

The *Folhetim*, then, in many ways, seems to be a mouthpiece for the Campos brothers. Other articles on translation theory respectfully follow their ideas. Examples are the article by Luiz Carlos de Brito Rezende "O texto e a sombra: Que tipo de relação a tradução estabelece com o texto original?" [The text and the shadow: What type of relationship does a translation establish with the original?] (24 June 1984); and Pinheiro's "Tradução, Produção, Subversão" [Translation, Production, Subversion] (23 January 1987).

Indeed, we can link Haroldo's views, and by extension, those of the *Folhetim*, to the title of the conference in which this article was originally presented, "Version, Subversion: Translation, the Canon and its Discontents". Haroldo, discontented and disagreeing with Candido's model, dominant at the Universidade de São Paulo and elsewhere in Brazil due to Candido's influence and network of former students

teaching in the most important Brazilian universities, has a different version of Brazilian literature and subverts the canon, placing translation at the centre of literary studies in Brazil.

The *Folhetim's* canon is essentially Modernist, and, like the Campos brothers, prioritizes authors with an interest in formal innovation. In other words, the *Folhetim* editors are, to use Bourdieu's term (from *Les règles de l'art*), *gatekeepers*, allowing into this alternative canon articles on and translations of canonical modernist figures such as Ezra Pound (7 November 1982; 24 July 1983; 27 October 1985; 8 April 1988) Czesław Miłosz (21 November 1982); Vladimir Mayakovski (26 December 1982; 27 February 1983; 20 March 1983; 27 July 1986; 29 January 1988); Velimir Khlébnikov (14 October 1984), George Trakl (30 January 1983; 20 March 1987); Franz Kafka (3 July 1983); William Carlos Williams (11 September 1983); Gertrude Stein (16 October 1983); Wallace Stevens (8 January 1984; 22 April 1984; 24 June 1984); Octavio Paz (25 March 1984); Giuseppe Ungaretti (8 April 1984); T. S. Eliot (6 January 1985, 13 November 1987; 24 September 1988); Paul Valéry (27 January 1985; 9 January 1987; 24 June 1988; 11 February 1989); Stéphane Mallarmé (10 April 1987); and Jules Laforgue (28 August 1987).

Occasionally we may be surprised to see articles from Antonio Candido and UNICAMP Marxist professor, Roberto Schwarz, well-known author of works on Machado de Assis. Schwarz contributed three pieces, including a savage attack on Brazilian concrete poetry, especially of Augusto de Campos' poems "Pós-tudo" (1985) e "Luxo" (1965) in "Marco Histórico" [Historic Mark] on 31 March 1985 (6-9). Candido's only contribution was an interview on José Martí on 30 January 1983. Seen through Bourdieu's concept of *illusio* (from *In Other Words*), whereby social academic activity takes on the role of a game, whose stakes opposing players recognize, this gesture to Candido and Schwarz seems to be a kind of "fair play", allowing one's opponent to have a say.

We can also look at the importance of the *Folhetim* from Bourdieu's concept of *field* (from *In Other Words*), in that the *Folhetim* was instrumental in creating the *field* of Translation Studies in Brazil. Before the 1980s, despite the existence of programmes in translator training at institutes of higher education such as Faculdade (later Universidade) Ibero-americana in São Paulo, there was no large body of publications, academic associations in the area of translation, and postgraduate courses. Although a considerable number of postgraduate students wrote dissertations and theses on translators and translations, they were all part of Modern or Classical Languages and Linguistics postgraduate programmes. There was no real area, or *field*, of Translation Studies. Indeed, there were few publications. Between the publication of *Escola de Tradutores*, by Paul Rónai, in 1952, and José Paulo Paes' *Tradução: a Ponte Necessária*, in 1990, some 38 years apart, only 13 books on translation were published in Brazil, and the only journal was *Tradução e Comunicação*, published by Faculdade Ibero-americana, originally from 1981 to 1986, with nine issues.

But the Academy did eventually take notice. Haroldo de Campos taught at the Catholic University from 1973 to 1989, and José Paulo Paes was Visiting Professor at the Universidade de Campinas (UNICAMP) (1987) and the Universidade de São Paulo (1987). Also, in the late 1980s, Rosemary Arrojo and Paulo Ottoni, both

deconstructionists, were giving postgraduate courses in Translation Studies at UNICAMP. It was almost as if the Academy was waking up to the importance of the discipline of Translation Studies.

The number of students taking M.A.s and Ph. D.s grew considerably; professional associations were formed: the Grupo de Trabalho de Tradução (GT) of ANPOLL (Associação Nacional de Estudos de Pós-graduação e Pesquisa em Literatura e Linguística) [Brazilian Association of Postgraduation and Research in Literature and Linguistics] (1986), and ABRAPT (Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores em Tradução) [Brazilian Association of Translation Researchers] (1992) were established, and ABRAPT took charge of the Encontro de Tradutores national conferences. Journals were started: of the many which now exist we can mention *TradTerm* (USP) (1995); *Cadernos de Tradução* (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC)) (1996); *Cadernos de Literatura em Tradução* (USP) (1997); and *Tradução em Revista* (PUC-RJ) (2004). It is clear that a large number of academics, from various universities in Brazil, now had the belief, or the *illusio*, that investing one's energies and career in the "game" of Translation Studies was worthwhile, that it was an important academic discipline worth pursuing, and that it should grow in Brazil (Bourdieu, *In Other Words*).

Most important of all, in 1994, the first postgraduate M.A. programme exclusively in Translation Studies began at UFSC. The programme was very successful and opened the Ph.D. programme in 2010. It now has a total of 193 students, 110 Ph. D. students and 83 M. A. students, and had graduated 173 masters and 23 Ph. Ds. UFSC was followed by UnB (M.A. in 2011); USP (M.A. and Ph. D. in 2012) (for more details, see Milton).

## 12. Final words

The *Folhetim* published its final issue on 25 March 1989. The *Folha de São Paulo* now had a weekly Saturday *Letras* section, published in broadsheet, unlike the compact *Folhetim*, and *Letras* contained a mixture of articles and book reviews. The *Folhetim* was no longer quite as necessary, and, indeed, the first issue of the *Letras* section after the demise of the *Folhetim* contained Augusto de Campos' "Intradução" (sic) of Virgil's First Bucolic (8 April 1985, G9). The spirit of the *Folhetim* was living on!

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