

(Non)Translation of Polish Literature during the Portuguese First Republic

Abstract

Within the framework of Iberian-Slavonic and descriptive translation studies, this paper aims to analyse the translation flow from Poland to Portugal during the Portuguese First Republic (1910-1926). To do so, it offers a brief study of five translations brought out in the period covered, while providing answers to questions such as who translated what, when, where, for whom, how and why? More importantly, the paper tries to pinpoint possible reasons that led to the non-translation of many Polish literary texts in the period concerned. By doing so, it intends to contribute to the sum total of knowledge about intercultural exchange between the two cultures concerned.

1. Introduction

In spite of a growing body of works in the relatively recent fields of Iberian-Slavonic¹ and descriptive translation studies,² scholarship still appears to lack a systematic empirical research about the history of translational exchange between Poland and Portugal, especially in the period of the Portuguese First Republic (1910-1926). Such a study may prove to be very beneficial on at least two accounts. Firstly, it can contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of inclusion of foreign literary works in a given (in this case Portuguese) target culture. Secondly, it may help to explore the way in which cultural relations between the two (semi)peripheral languages concerned are shaped.³

Given the above, this historically-oriented empirical research sets out to analyse the literary translation flow from Poland to Portugal during the Portuguese First Republic. Firstly, following methodology for studying translations, it will try and

1 For an overview of the discipline, see Pięta, Hanna, “Estudos Ibero-Eslavos em Portugal: uma disciplina *in statu nascendi*.” *Letras Com Vida* 3 (2011), pp. 146-150.

2 For an overview of the discipline see, for instance, Rosa, Alexandra Assis, “Descriptive Translation Studies”, in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010, pp. 94-104.

3 The terms peripheral (with regard to Portuguese) and semi-peripheral (with regard to Polish) refer to the position of these languages within the international cultural transfer achieved by means of translation and are taken from Heilbron, Johan, “Towards a sociology of translation: Book translations a cultural world-system.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 2:4 (1999), pp. 429-444. By the same token, Polish and Portuguese can be listed among the so-called dominated languages of which Pascale Casanova says that, irrespective of the number of speakers and regardless of their diffusion or literary tradition, they are hardly recognised beyond national borders and their value on the international literary market is low (cf. Casanova, Pascale, “Consécration et accumulation de capital littéraire. La traduction comme échange inégal”. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144 (2002), p: 9) All things considered, much more is translated into than out of Polish or Portuguese.

provide answers to questions such as who translated what, when, where, for whom, how and why? Secondly, it will attempt to indicate possible reasons that led to the non-translation of many Polish literary texts in the period under analysis.

2. Source and target culture background for the period 1910-1926

Before proceeding to the analysis, some brief background information may be in order for readers unfamiliar with the history of the Polish source culture and/or the Portuguese target culture in the period under study.

2.1. Vicissitudes of the Portuguese First Republic

The 16 years of the Portuguese republican regime proved to be a period of considerable political, economical and social upheaval and instability. Started by the 5 October 1910 revolution, the period was characterised by political fractures and governmental instability. The quantitative data for this time-scope speak volumes: during the 16 years under study Portugal had had no less than 8 presidents and as many as 38 prime ministers. It also saw the military involvement in the WWI (from 9 March 1916 onwards) and a brief emergence of two dictatorships (led, in 1915, by Pimenta de Castro and, between 1917 and 1918, by Sidónio Pais) resulting from the lack of socio-political consensus upon the Portuguese army intervention. The time scope under study was also characterized by the application of anticlerical measures, recurring economical crises (reaching their peak in 1913-14 and 1920-22), labour strikes and widespread illiteracy.⁴ The downfall of the Portuguese First Republic was marked by the military coup of 28 May 1926, followed by a period of military rule (*Ditadura Nacional*, 1926-1933) and, subsequently, corporatist regime of António Salazar (*Estado Novo*, 1933-1974).

2.2. The Polish struggle for independence and the initial instability

The 16 years of the Portuguese republican regime coincided with a fairly agitated period in Polish history. Suffice is to say that only in 1918 (i.e. 8 years after the proclamation of the Portuguese First Republic) did Poland manage to regain its long-awaited independence. More importantly, before the Portuguese republican regime collapsed (1926), the so-called Polish Second Republic had had as many as 3 different presidents. It had also participated in wars against Soviet Russia and Ukraine (1919-1920), as well as in territorial disputes against Lithuania and Czechoslovakia (all between 1918 and 1919). During this period Poland saw 3 Silesian uprisings (1919, 1920, 1921) and the implementation of 2 constitutions (Small in 1919 and March in 1923). The end of the examined period is marked by Józef Piłsudski's May *coup d'état* (*Przewrót majowy*, 12 to 15 May 1926), followed by the implementation of

4 Cf. Oliveira Marques, A. H. de, *História de Portugal*, 3rd vol., 13th ed. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1998, p. 248.

Sanacja, i.e., a movement preaching the primacy of national interests, which soon evolved into authoritarian dictatorship.

3. Five target texts and one source text

Once the background information regarding the two cultures concerned has been provided, the next step will be the study of the 5 translations brought out during the Portuguese First Republic. However, before proceeding into the analysis, note should be taken of the fact that, for the sake of thoroughness, the analysis has been extended to 1927, in order to account for (a) the ambiguity in the publication dates of one of the translations (see 3.2.5); (b) possible delays in the publication process and its effects on the flow of translations.

Table 1: Book-length translations of Polish literature published in Portugal (data for 1910-1927)

Target Texts		Source Text		
Date	Title (Subtitle)	Date	Author	Title
1912	<i>Quo Vadis?</i>	1896	Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916)	<i>Quo Vadis?</i>
1913	<i>Quo Vadis?</i> (Argumento. O mais brilhante sucesso cinematografico de sempre)			
1923	<i>Quo Vadis?</i> (Adaptação popular)			
1926	<i>Quo Vadis?</i> (Romance dos tempos neronianos)			
1927	<i>Quo Vadis?</i>			

As can be observed in the rightmost column of Table 1, all the translations rendered in the period under study share one common denominator - they stem from one and the same Polish source text. Accordingly, it seems justifiable to enlarge on the possible reasons that led to the apparent popularity of the source text in the period concerned, before sketching the different profiles of its (re)translations.

3.1. Polish source text

Quo Vadis?, a historical novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, was first published in *Czas*, *Gazeta Polska* and *Dziennik Poznański* newspapers between March and December

1895 and was issued in book form in 1896 by Gebethner & Wolff publishing company. As for the novel's plot, the action is set in the ancient Rome under the hard-line rule of emperor Nero. It tells the story of a young Christian Ligia and a Roman patrician Marcus Vinicius (symbolizing a figurative clash between Christian and pagan cultures) while alluding to several historical events (such as the Great Fire of Rome in 64).

Regarding the novel's worldwide projection, it almost instantly became an internationally acclaimed bestseller and, by the end of 1901, had been translated into all major European languages.⁵ In 1905 Sienkiewicz was awarded Nobel Prize in Literature but he had been celebrated as a national literary icon long before this date.⁶ It is worth noting that the author in question is nowadays considered the second most translated Polish writer of all times, preceded only by Stanisław Lem, a 20th century science-fiction writer.⁷

As far as the novel's Portuguese reception is concerned, previous research has shown that, when measured on the basis of its translations, *Quo Vadis?* seems to outweigh all other Polish literary texts imported by the Portuguese target system.⁸ More specifically, it was concluded that the 24 subsequent retranlations of *Quo Vadis?* account for over 20% of the total number (114) of Polish literary texts translated into Portuguese from 1855 (the date of the first book-length translation from Polish into Portuguese) to 2010 (the final year for which data was collected). Along these years the retranlations were rendered by 24 different translators, brought out by 19 different publishers and scattered among 13 different collections.⁹

With regard to the possible reasons behind the predominance of *Quo Vadis?* in the Portuguese book market for translations of Polish literature, previous study lent support to the hypothesis that it was motivated by (a) the novel's canonised status and financial success on the international book market (especially in France); (b) blatant irregularities on the editorial market (more specifically, inexpensive royalty rates, as well as low publishing costs resulting from the disrespect for authorial rights); and, last but not least, (c) the plot's universality.¹⁰

5 Cf. Krzyżanowski, Julian, *Henryka Sienkiewicza żywot i sprawy*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1966, p.12.

6 Cf. Krzyżanowski, Julian, *Twórczość Henryka Sienkiewicza*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973, p. 26.

7 Cf. UNESCO Index Translationum. Bibliographic Search. "Top 10" Authors translated for a given language. <http://databases.unesco.org/xtrans/stat/xTransStat.a?VL1=A&top=10&sl=POL&lg=0>.

8 Cf. Pięta, Hanna, "Traduções do polaco publicadas em Portugal (1855-2009): Alguns traços mais salientes". *Acta Philologica* 37 (2010), pp. 271-277.

9 For the purpose of this research, in cases where the name of the translator was impossible to discover, (s)he was counted separately.

10 Cf. Pięta, Hanna, "Sienkiewicz em português: Para uma história da recepção de *Quo Vadis?* no Portugal salazarista", in *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*, ed. Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz and Alexandra Assis Rosa. Lisboa: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009, pp. 325-342.

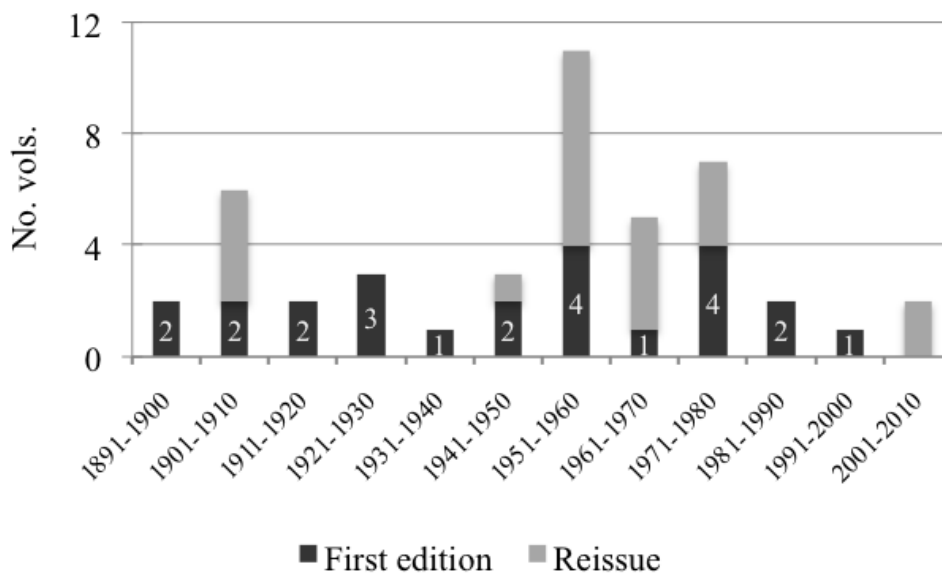


Fig. 1: Chronological distribution of Portuguese translations of *Quo Vadis?* (1891-2010)

With respect to the temporal evolution of the novel's translation flow in Portugal, it can be inferred from Figure 1 that, since 1900 (the date of the first Portuguese translation of the novel) to date, *Quo Vadis?* has been continuously re-translated and re-issued. To put it differently, for more than a century there has been no single decade in which the novel's new translation or re-issue has not been published. One can also observe in Figure 1 that there have been three peaks in the novel's translation flow. Regarding the possible reasons behind these fluctuations, previous research¹¹ has suggested that (a) the first peak (occurring in the 1900s) is, at least partly, due to the simultaneous boom on the French market;¹² (b) the second peak (1950s) is related to the success of the 1951 cinematographic adaptation of the novel by Mervyn LeRoy, which led to the appearance of novelisations and 'opportunistic' translations and/or re-issues; and, finally, (c) the third peak (1970s) can be explained by a growing demand for a new interpretation of the novel after the ideological shift in the Portuguese target culture in 1974 (i.e. the Carnation Revolution and the collapse of *Estado Novo*).

3.2. Portuguese target texts

Let us now look in greater detail at the five translations of *Quo Vadis?* published between 1910-1927. In the following, an attempt will be made to provide answer to queries such as who translated what, when, where, for whom, how and why? More specifically, with a view to identifying the possible target readership and drawing a general profile of these translations, some of the methodological suggestions put

11 *Ibid.*

12 Cf. Kosko, Maria, *La fortune de Quo Vadis de Sienkiewicz en France*. Paris: s/d, 1935; and Kosko, Maria, "Un 'Best-seller' 1900, 'Quo Vadis?'". Paris: Librairie Jose Corti, 1960.

forward by Lambert and van Gorp will be considered.¹³ More specifically, special attention will be paid to translations' preliminary elements,¹⁴ as well as macro-structure.¹⁵

3.2.1. The 1912 retranslation

This anonymous 257-page version of *Quo Vadis?* was brought out by João Romano Torres & C^a and came out 12 years after the first Portuguese rendering of the novel. As for the peritextual information, the text is published in hardback and contains several illustrations in black and white (very often featuring nude scenes), as well as carefully ornamented initials. These features, together with a comparatively high price announced in the back cover (7\$50, as compared to 0\$20 and 1\$00 for translations from 1913 and 1923, respectively), may suggest that the book was oriented towards a more sophisticated (i.e. more well-off), adult readership.

With respect to the translation's macro-structural composition, the text splits into 17 chapters, each with a respective subheading. Importantly enough, neither the number nor the subheadings of individual chapters carry resemblance to the ones appearing in the Polish original. Instead, the chapter distribution suggests strong dependency on a French translation by Bronisław Kozakiewicz published in France in 1898, as well as a Portuguese translation carried out by Eduardo de Noronha in 1900. In fact, the textual affinities to the latter are so evident that it may not be far-fetched to consider the translation under analysis as a plagiarism of the 1900 Portuguese version – incidentally, a common practice on the Portuguese book market in the time-frame under study.

As regards the closeness to the Polish original, though not to the extent of later versions from 1913 (see 3.2.2.) and 1923 (see 3.2.3.), this anonymous translation has nevertheless been cut, most clearly at the expense of short episodes and dialogues, but also at the cost of single minor characters, geographical details and allusions to historical events. More over, more often than not unfamiliar concepts or words not existing in Portuguese are simply omitted. Whether these omissions were made out of concern for understandability or due to the translator's stylistic preferences, it is hard to know. However, all this leads to the conclusion that the text was brought to the reader, not the other way round, to use Schleiermacherian phraseology.¹⁶ The fact that the version under analysis does not have any preface, foreword, not even a commentary that would advertise it as translation further corroborates the suggestion

13 Cf. Lambert, José; Van Gorp, Henrik, "On describing translations", in *The manipulation of literature*, ed. Theo Hermans. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1985, pp. 42–53.

14 In the methodological scheme by Lambert and van Gorp this category includes: data extracted from title and title pages (e.g. presence or absence of translator's name, genre identification, etc.), peritext (such as introduction, preface, lay-out, annotations, illustrations, etc.) and general translation strategies (e.g. whether a given translation is partial or complete).

15 This category comprises information on text division (in volumes and chapters), respective subheadings and internal narrative structure.

16 Cf. Schleiermacher, Friedrich, "On the Different Methods of Translating", in *Translating Literature: the German Tradition*, ed. André Lefevere. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 2002, p. 72.

of the recourse to domesticating strategies aiming at minimizing the strangeness of the Polish source text for the Portuguese target readers.¹⁷

3.2.2. The 1913 retranslation

This 20-page version was brought out by Empresa [sic] da Biblioteca d'Educação Nacional one year after the publication of the translation described in 3.2.1.. As regards the preliminary data, the title page makes no clear reference to the text's translational character and advertises its status as *Argumento 'Quo Vadis?': o mais brilhante sucesso cinematografico* [sic] *da actualidade* [Script of 'Quo Vadis?'. *The most brilliant success of the contemporary cinematography*"]. Furthermore, nowhere in the peritext is there a reference to the author's identity, much less his Polish nationality. This is understandable if one considers that the Portuguese text is based not on the novel *itself* but on its 1912 Italian cinematographic adaptation by Enrico Guazzoni. The publication date is therefore explicable insofar as it coincides with the Portuguese premiere of the aforementioned movie. Nonetheless, irrespective of its origin, the Portuguese text is here considered as translation of the Polish novel, mainly owing to their plots' demonstrable overall affinity.

With respect to the text's macro-structure, it splits into 5 main sections and various subsections, each with a different subheading. A comparison with other Portuguese as well as English, French, Italian and Spanish translations of the Polish novel published before 1913 revealed that the chapter distribution in the version under analysis carries no resemblance to the chapter distribution in the pre-existing versions.¹⁸ While the main plot is kept, the majority of episodes, settings, characters, dialogues and the like has been omitted. Therefore, the resulting Portuguese text can be regarded as a rough retelling of the content of the Polish original, largely simplifying the relationships between the characters and strongly reducing their complexities. In other words, there seem to be no attempt whatsoever to recreate the macro or micro-structure of the Polish source text.

3.2.3. The 1923 retranslation

Quo Vadis? Adaptação Popular [*Quo Vadis? Popular Adaptation*] was brought out by Secção Editorial de 'O Século' and appeared as number 4 in a series 'Romances Ilustrados' ['Illustrated Novels']. Similarly to 3.2.2., this version of *Quo Vadis?*

¹⁷ Cf. Venuti, Lawrence, *The translator's invisibility: a history of translation*. London & New York: Routledge, 1995, p. 20.

¹⁸ The information on the English, French, Italian and Spanish translations published prior to 1913 was extracted from Krzyżanowski (cf. *Dzieła Sienkiewicza w przekładach: bibliografia*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1953). The choice of these languages for a comparative analysis is based on the results of a previous study, which concluded that English, French, Italian and Spanish were the predominant mediating cultures in the Polish-Portuguese translational exchange in the time-span under analysis (see Pięta, Hanna, "Patterns in (in)directness: an exploratory case study in the external history of Portuguese translations of Polish literature (1855-2010)". To appear in *Target* (2012)).

exhibits major macro and micro-textual shifts. Perhaps the most evident difference between this Portuguese target text and its Polish source text is the chapter length and distribution – it comprises 36 chapters distributed on 40 pages. By way of comparison, the first book-length Polish publication of the novel by Gebethner & Wolff counted 75 chapters and 328 pages.

Macro-textual analysis has shown that the main plot is kept whereas secondary episodes and dialogues not essential for the plot's progression have been deleted. Micro textual analysis, in turn, has revealed that the anonymous translator cut out most of the concepts unfamiliar to the Portuguese readers. In so doing s/he simplified and levelled out many characteristics of the language of Sienkiewicz's characters. The micro-analysis further revealed that the adaptation in question exhibits strong affinities with its predecessors and can be safely considered as an abridged version of a Portuguese translation from 1900 by Lemos Nápoles. This, together with the translator's invisibility (which is manifested, for instance, in the conspicuous lack, on the front cover or elsewhere, of a reference to translator's identity or to the Polish source text), seems to indicate that the text was domesticated and meant to pass as an original piece of writing, i.e. one indistinguishable from Portuguese original works.

As regards the preliminary data, the translation's subtitle (*Adaptação Popular*) in itself speaks volumes, inasmuch as it indicates a possible target readership: a general low-class reader unable to afford luxurious editions. The marketing channel (the novel was sold in instalments at newspaper stands on a fortnightly basis), the dime format and, last but not least, the information contained in the information regarding the price (1 escudo) seem to corroborate this suggestion.

3.2.4. The 1926 retranslation

This paperback version was published in a series called 'Bibliotheca de Bons Romances' ['Library of Good Novels'] (no. 22) by Tipografia da Casa Nun' Álvares. Unlike the translations described in previous sections, this version allows for a great visibility of its translator (José Carlos Alves Vieira) both in terms of preliminary information (mainly in the foreword and on the front cover) and the macro-structure (mainly in footnotes).

A prolific translator (chiefly from French and Italian) and an author (chiefly of essays, popularizing works and books on northern regions of Portugal), Vieira (1880-?) was, first and foremost, a priest in Vieira do Minho, Portugal. Most presumably owing to severe repressions targeted at the Portuguese clergy during the First Republic (see 2.1.), in early 1910s Vieira fled to Italy and, subsequently, Spain. According to the preface, it was there that, with recourse to Italian, Spanish and, occasionally, French intermediary versions, he produced his translation. Though, as one can infer from the preface, the translation was concluded as early as in the 1918, it was not until November 1926 (i.e. five months after the collapse of the Portuguese First Republic) that the permission for publication was issued.

One can also learn from the preface that the version under study has been expurgated and authorized by the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities. More importantly, in the very same peritext one can read that the book's aim is to 'provide the disoriented youth with a healthy read'.¹⁹ Keeping this information in mind, it appears safe to suggest that, apart from being a commercial endeavour, the book seems to be a publication with a clear-cut and explicit socio-ideological agenda. The translation's pedagogical appeal is also visible in the macro-structure: the majority of episodes deemed unsuitable for younger audiences has been eliminated and unfamiliar concepts or words not existing in Portuguese have been replaced by borrowings and thoroughly explained in footnotes.

The translator's attempt to, at least partly, retain the original's foreignness, as well as his manifest visibility in the peritextual elements suggest that every effort was made to reduce the degree of domestication or, to use Schleiermacherian phraseology,²⁰ bring the Portuguese reader closer to the Polish original. Furthermore, the analysis of the Portuguese version here described leads to a conclusion that, despite its mediated character, it is the most 'exact' rendition of the Polish source-text. As regards the possible reasons behind this closeness, it may be cautiously attributed to the meticulous recourse to at least three different mediating versions stemming from different mediating cultures.

3.2.5. The 1926/7 retranslation

In his seminal work on the Portuguese translation history, Gonçalves Rodrigues indicates that this translation was issued in a series 'Coleção de Ouro' [Golden Collection] by Livraria Barateira.²¹ There is certain ambiguity regarding the book's peritextual elements and so Gonçalves Rodrigues proposes two possible publication dates: either 1926 or 1927. Despite this reference, it was impossible to track down and consult the volume in question. Furthermore, none of the remaining 27 bibliographical sources consulted for the purposes of this research mentions the retranslation under study.²² This, in turn, may be considered as a telling example of a poor maintenance of Portuguese bibliographical heritage evoked by numerous scholars from the field of translation history.²³

19 My translation; the Portuguese version reads: "proporcionar leituras sãs à juventude desorientada de hoje".

20 Cf. Schleiermacher, Friedrich, "On the Different Methods...", p. 72.

21 Cf. Rodrigues, A.A. Gonçalves, *A Tradução em Portugal*. 5th vol. Lisboa: ISLA, 1999.

22 For a complete list and a brief analysis of the bibliographical sources referred to, see Pięta, Hanna, "À procura de traduções da literatura polaca em Portugal: Algumas questões sobre o uso de fontes bibliográficas na história da tradução." *Itinerarios* 11 (2010), pp. 121-139; and Pięta, Hanna, "Fontes bibliográficas utilizadas no estudo da história da tradução da literatura polaca em Portugal: apresentação e discussão", to appear in *Volume de Homenagem a João de Almeida Flor*, ed. Adelaide Serras et al. Lisbon: CEAUL.

23 See, for instance, Seruya, Teresa, "Introdução a uma bibliografia crítica da tradução de literatura em Portugal durante o Estado Novo", in *Actas do 5º Colóquio de Estudos de Tradução em Portugal "Traduzir durante o Estado Novo"*, ed. Teresa Seruya, Alexandra Assis Rosa and Maria Lin Moniz. Lisboa: UCP, 2009, p. 82.

4. Non-translation

As can be inferred from 3., *Quo Vadis?* proved to be the sole representative of Polish literature in Portugal in the time-frame under study. This, in turn, means that during this period no other Polish book and author had been admitted to the Portuguese receiving culture. In fact, as has been shown in a previous research,²⁴ prior to the establishment of the Portuguese First Republic only two other Polish writers have been imported by the Portuguese target system, namely Jan Czyński and Józef Ignacy Kraszewski. All this suggests that the 5 retranslations of *Quo Vadis?* published between 1910 and 1927 run counter to the general trend of non-translation of Polish literature observable in the Portuguese receptor culture in the time scope referred to above.

As for the possible reasons behind this tendency of non-translation, geographical and cultural remoteness between the two literary systems (which further leads to a shortage or even a complete lack of experts able to tackle the translation)²⁵ appears to be the most significant factor. Another plausible reason behind this trend is related to the inexistence, during the first half of the period under study (that is until 1918, see 2.2.), of the sovereign Polish state, which rendered virtually impossible the maintenance of any official diplomatic relations with Portugal²⁶ or the promotion of Polish literary heritage abroad.²⁷

The publication of 5 retranslations of *Quo Vadis?* on the Portuguese book market in the period under analysis therefore signifies that the works by Sienkiewicz obeyed different dynamics than the remaining Polish authors and works. This was probably also due to the fact that, owing to his canonized status in the 'world republic of letters',²⁸ by the time the Portuguese First Republic was installed Sienkiewicz had already been assimilated into the Portuguese target culture. The plethora of (re)translations issued in the 1900s (see Fig. 1) may well serve as an indicator of this assimilation. This assimilation may also explain why such an ultra-Catholic author as Sienkiewicz had been accepted into the Portuguese literary system during one of the most highly anticlerical periods in the country's history.²⁹

24 Cf. Pięta, Hanna, "Autores polacos em tradução portuguesa (1855-2010): um levantamento preliminar" [Polish authors in Portuguese translation (1855-2010): preliminary research]. To appear in *Cadernos de Tradução* 28 (2011).

25 Cf. Duarte, João Ferreira, "The Politics of Non-Translation: A Case Study in Anglo-Portuguese Relations", *TTR* 13:1 (2000), pp. 95-112.

26 Cf. Almeida, Luís Ferrand de, "Portugal e Polónia", in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão, 3rd vol. Lisboa/Porto: Iniciativas Editoriais/Livraria Figueirinhas, 1967, p. 414.

27 Cf. Wilczek, Piotr, "Czy istnieje kanon literatury polskiej?", in *Literatura polska w świecie*, ed. Romuald Cudak. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Gnomowe, 2006, p. 22.

28 Cf. Casanova, Pascale, *The world republic of letters*. Trans. M.B. Debevoise. Cambridge, Ma. – London: Harvard University Press, 2004.

29 Cf. Stepiński, Krzysztof; Bujnicki, Tadeusz, *Henryk Sienkiewicz w Kulturze Polskiej [Henryk Sienkiewicz in Polish Culture]*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2007, p. 234.

5. Concluding remarks

Based on the analysis of literary flow from Poland to Portugal, the study that has been described here reveals that the presence of Polish literature in translated version in Portugal during the Portuguese First Republic was marginal. More importantly, it has been suggested that the main reasons for this situation are to be sought outside the scope of literature and far beyond the Portuguese literary system described above.

Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the five retranslations of *Quo Vadis?* published between 1910 and 1927 concluded that they exhibit great variations in terms of general profile and intended readership. It has also been concluded that, regardless of these variations, all but one translation tend to increase the degree of domestication and, hence, adapt, to a greater or smaller extent, to the dominant linguistic, aesthetic and ideological norms of the Portuguese receiving culture.

Acknowledgements

This study was carried out as part of research grant SFRH/BD/44203/2008, sponsored by the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT).

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