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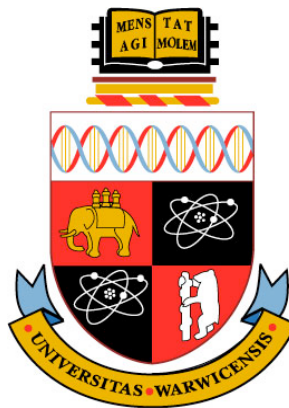
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Translation, Radio and Drama during the *Estado Novo*



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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
WARWICK

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This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother Letinha,  
to João and to my parents, Lena and Rui Manuel.

Oxford, October 2012



## **DECLARATION**

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.

Ana Teresa B. Marques dos Santos

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the relationship between ideology and translated plays broadcast by *Emissora Nacional*, the Portuguese national radio station, during the period of dictatorship (1933-1974). As a substantial part of radio drama – or radio-transmitted drama - production throughout the *Estado Novo* ('New State'), translations conformed to, expressed, but also challenged the regime's values.

Chapter One offers a descriptive overview of foreign broadcast plays and playwrights. It charts the use of translations throughout the period, thereby demonstrating the variety of the material chosen by different programmes.

Chapter Two examines the extent to which the selection of translated radio drama sought to fulfill the cultural and educational aims of *Emissora Nacional*. A consideration of paratextual elements in Chapter Three further identifies core ideological values thus disseminated. Chapter Four discusses the different mechanisms of ideological control at work in the national broadcasting station and briefly focuses on three translations, including two renderings of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, to show how different censorship strategies conditioned images of women in the plays.

The two final chapters draw together the three levels at which manipulation can occur (selection, presentation and actual translation) and offer detailed analyses of two plays. Through a study of the translation of Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock*, Chapter Five discusses the strategies of text manipulation which enabled the play to contribute towards wartime propaganda, in the context of the Portuguese colonial war. Chapter Six offers a reverse case-study by examining Marivaux's *La colonie*. It claims that the play, broadcast shortly before the trial of 'The Three Marias,' represented a subtle form of support for the feminist cause.

The thesis draws on sources that have hitherto been unexplored and which have never been used for a study of translation. It thus contributes towards both the cultural history of the *Emissora Nacional* and of translation in Portugal.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Station
DGS	Direcção-Geral de Segurança
EN	Emissora Nacional
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire
PEP	Plano de Educação Popular
PIDE	Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado
PVDE	Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado
RTP	Rádio e Televisão de Portugal
SEIT	Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo
SNI	Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo
SPN	Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional

## INTRODUCTION

*Uma das experiências, por nós levadas a cabo, aos  
microfones da Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão  
[foi] com a peça 'Inauguração de um Teatro de  
Bairro,' adaptada do francês, no ano de 1938 [...] [S]imulada a morte do principal intérprete da peça,  
por desastre, as linhas telefónicas da EN estiveram  
ocupadas durante duas horas, com telefonemas  
inquirindo do estado de saúde do referido actor, tendo  
êste que chegar ao telefone e falar, para provar que  
estava felizmente vivo!*  
Patrício Álvares, Radiodifusão Nacional<sup>1</sup>

Radio radically altered social habits, family intimacy, people's world views. It was the first medium of mass communication, and the most powerful one in the highly illiterate country that Portugal was before, as well as after, the advent of television. It told its listeners about the beginning of the Second World War, the conferral of the first Portuguese Nobel Prize, and the end of the dictatorship. It emerged as a main source of entertainment, reinventing national music, distracting children, and giving literature a public stage. The above depiction of the audience's reaction to broadcast drama is a suitable illustration of the extent of radio's suggestive power and importance in 1930s Portugal. In the words of one radio drama scholar, 'it is significant that *in no other genre* - not electronic, print or film – could such a set of fictional events have had such an extreme effect' (author's own

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<sup>1</sup> Patrício Álvares, *Radiodifusão Nacional – Função da Rádio, Estética Radiofónica: um critério* (Lisboa: Imprensa Libânio da Silva, 1954), p. 18.

emphasis).<sup>2</sup> Until recently and indeed throughout their history, Portuguese airwaves have always drawn on this particular genre of radio broadcast, whose heyday coincided with the dictatorship period. Radio drama was voted the second most popular type of programme in a 1953 survey of the preferences of the Emissora Nacional's, the national station, audience. Yet, so far no scholarly attention has been paid to it, be it understood as "radio-transmitted drama", daily serials or plays written for radio. Nor to the fact that, as the quotation also shows, broadcasts of adapted stage plays included translations of foreign literary works. The objective of this thesis is to initiate the study of the interface between these two components of one of the main features of cultural life in Portugal during the *Estado Novo*.

The neglect of what has been described as the 'Cinderella subject' is not exclusive to Portugal:

although the metaphor [...] has become a cliché, it is difficult to think of a more appropriate one. None of the people one might expect to be sufficiently enthusiastic about the subject to research it and write about it – dramatic critics, literary scholars, cultural historians, sociologists of the mass media – have shown much interest in it, especially in Britain, even though BBC Radio has serious claims to provide the best radio service in the world and is the envy of many countries.<sup>3</sup>

A researcher of French radio, where plays were also 'exceedingly popular on all broadcasts,' has similarly remarked that '[g]iven radio's critical importance to cultural life in the 1930s, it may seem surprising that historians have generally overlooked these radio programs.'<sup>4</sup> In Spain '[p]ocas investigaciones se han hecho en este campo. Sin embargo, intelectuales,

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<sup>2</sup> Howard Fink is referring to the reactions of the American audience of Orson Welles' *The War of the Worlds* in 'The sponsor's v. the nation's choice: North American radio drama,' in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis (London and New York: Longman, 1981), pp. 185-243 (p. 222).

<sup>3</sup> Peter Lewis, 'Introduction,' in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis, pp. 1-11 (p.1).

<sup>4</sup> Joelle Neulander, *Programming National Identity: the culture of Radio in 1930s France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), pp. 9-10.

escritores y artistas de reconocida talla impulsaron y apoyaron el teatro radiofónico.<sup>5</sup> While television's replacement of radio as the primary broadcast medium in the 1950s, together with the current predominance of visual culture studies partly explain it, scholarly indifference towards early radio drama in particular is also likely to be linked to difficulties associated with studying it.<sup>6</sup> Accessibility to and availability of material were two factors that limited my research. They are common causes for complaint that cross borders, as indicated by Neulander's and Lewis's observations:

Although film has been studied because of existing collections of prints that are easy to access and understand, many historians of the interwar years have ignored the culture of the French radio because the available material is limited and its study is difficult, at best.<sup>7</sup>

There are a number of obstacles [...] in the path of the British student of radio drama – more than in the case of the German student of the *Hörspiele* – that act as deterrents, and these can be summed up in the word 'accessibility'.<sup>8</sup>

In Portugal, the history of radio drama has been limited to nostalgic personal memoirs which reminisce about old time radio and offer anecdotes about programmes and artists, namely José Matos Maia's *A Telefonía. Memórias da Rádio*, António Moreira da Câmara's *Romance da emissora: lugar da memória* (2007), and in particular *Teatro Invisível* by

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<sup>5</sup> Carmen Herrero Vecino, 'Teatro radiofónico en España: Ondas (1925-1936),' *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, 24:3, Drama/Theatre (1999), 557-570 (p. 557).

<sup>6</sup> Tim Crook goes so far as to claim that to a certain extent 'radio drama is subject to a form of cultural discrimination and prejudice determined by greed, snobbery and intellectual arrogance.' Tim Crook, 'International Radio Drama - Social, Economic and Literary Contexts,' <<http://www.irdp.co.uk/radiodrama.htm>> [first accessed 12.09.2007].

<sup>7</sup> Neulander, *Programming*, p.10.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Lewis, 'Radio Drama and English Literature,' in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis, pp. 164-184 (p. 168).

Eduardo Street (1934-2006), the Emissora Nacional's producer that dedicated his life to this genre of radio programmes. They constitute, nonetheless, fundamental contributions to the characterization of a facet of the *Estado Novo* that otherwise remains largely undocumented.

A scholarly history of the national radio station itself is also yet to be completed. While in 2009 the historian Luís Reis Torgal remarked that '[n]ão há nenhum estudo global sobre a rádio, particularmente no período do Estado Novo, em que tanta importância teve',<sup>9</sup> the RTP's own *A nossa telefonia. 75 anos de rádio pública em Portugal*, published in 2010 to commemorate the national radio station 75th anniversary, added little in terms of content to what had been established by existing articles, thesis and books (the book does however include an impressive selection of photographs documenting different aspects of the Emissora's activity, as well as a CD with recordings that date back to 1934, including an excerpt of a Portuguese radio play).

Publications engaging exclusively with the history of the Emissora have so far dealt with roughly the first decade of the regime: Rogério Santos's *As vozes da rádio. 1924-1939* (2005) and Nelson Ribeiro's *A Emissora Nacional nos primeiros anos do Estado Novo: 1933-1945* (2005). Carolina Ferreira's master's thesis, on the other hand, is dedicated to the period of the colonial war, from 1960s to the end of the regime (*O altifalante do regime: a Emissora Nacional como arma de guerra no conflito colonial*, 2007), thus narrowing the focus of Dina Cristo's brief volume *A rádio em Portugal e o declínio do regime de Salazar e Caetano (1958-1974)* (2005) and supplementing the debate on the general history of radio offered by a special number of the journal *Observatório*, 'Para a História da Rádio em Portugal' (2001). By taking a close look at the presence of foreign radio drama in the Emissora, the major personalities involved and the programmes in which it was broadcast, this thesis contributes to a more complete and detailed picture of the activity of the Portuguese national radio station.

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<sup>9</sup> Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), II p. 151, Note 5.

The first decade of the Emissora was also, roughly, the first decade of the Estado Novo. It was a period of institutionalization and consolidation of the regime, namely through the creation, in 1933, of the Direcção-Geral dos Serviços da Censura (Directorate of Censorship Services), the public community centers known as Casas do Povo and the National Propaganda Secretariat, or SPN (Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda). In 1936, the Portuguese Legion, the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth, and, in the following year, the Female Portuguese Youth), and the Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional (Mothers' Effort for National Education) were created. The latter two organisations were meant to collaborate and help the State and the families carry out their education duty.

It was a time when the focus was on nationalism, traditionalism and historicism, which was expressed, for example, by Salazar's wish to 'intensificar o culto dos grandes valores patrióticos,' and epitomized in the 1940 celebrations of the centenaries of the Portuguese independence (1139 and 1640).<sup>10</sup> It was also a period in which a romantic and parochial vision of Portugal as a rural idyl was fostered.

In a country with low rates of urbanization when compared to its European neighbours, there was a great divide between the poor, uneducated rural population and that of the urban areas, which represented an educated elite. This is particularly visible in the percentage of illiterate population living in the two sections of the country, which shows an additional distinction, between genders. According to Vieira, in 1940 the illiteracy rate in Beja, the poorest region of the country, located in Alentejo, was 64,6% for men and 71,4% for women. In Porto and Lisbon, 19,1% and 16,2% of men, respectively, were illiterate, while for women the percentage was 40,2% and 32,7% for each city respectively.<sup>11</sup>

In 1941, the national propaganda agency and the Emissora Nacional were brought closer together by being lead by the same person, the intellectual, journalist and one of

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<sup>10</sup> Salazar quoted in 'Cronologia' in *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, coord. by António Barreto and Maria Filomena Mónica, 3 vols, III (Lisbon: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1999), pp736-791 (p. 747). See for instance Fernando Rosas, "O salazarismo e o homem novo: ensaio sobre o Estado Novo e a questão do totalitarismo," *Análise Social*, 35:157 (2001), 1031-1054.

<sup>11</sup> Joaquim Vieira, *Portugal Século XX – Crónica em Imagens 1930-1940*, 4 vols., IV (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), p. 214.



Portugal's greatest cultural promoters, António Ferro (1895-1956). His leadership shaped the early years of the regime's propaganda and cultural policy. The latter was defined by what he described as 'policy of the spirit,' that is, 'bringing culture, as filtered by SPN's nationalism, to the people, restoring a sense of belonging and pride.'<sup>12</sup>

It was still under his leadership that, as a consequence of the end of the war, the SPN became the SNI, National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo). Other measures included a temporary restoration of the freedom of the press, the curtailment of repression, a general political amnesty and the replacement of the political policy PVDE – Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (Police for Vigilance and Defence of the State) by PIDE, Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado (International Police for the Defence of the State). Salazar's aim was to make the country appear to be in step with the democratic momentum created by the end of the World War II.

After 1949, when the regime's manipulation of the first presidential campaign disputed by an opposition candidate (the republican Norton de Matos) took place, resulting in the latter's withdrawal before the voting and the election of Óscar Carmona, the regime regained control over the country's internal politics.<sup>13</sup> In that year, Portugal became a founding member of NATO and, in 1955, it was admitted to the United Nations.

The 1950s were further characterised by the beginning of the first wave of Portuguese emigration within Europe after WWII (the second wave started in the mid-1980s). The first signs of change in social habits, including the beginning, in 1957, of regular broadcasting by the Portuguese national television, RTP, were also starting to show:

[...] a partir dos anos 50, o tempo livre foi ganhando terreno, na mesma medida em que as instâncias oficiais visavam enquadrá-lo de forma cada vez mais sistemática.

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<sup>12</sup> Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, *Salazar. A Political Biography* (New York: Enigma Books, 2009), p. 173.

<sup>13</sup> See *O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*, coord. by Fernando Rosas, in *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Mattoso, 7 vols, VII (Lisboa: Estampa, 1994), p. 503.

A diminuição do horário de trabalho, a conquista da semana inglesa, o direito a férias pagas, juntamente com o desenvolvimento das vias de comunicação e dos transportes, favoreciam a procura de novos passatempos e a alteração dos hábitos de consumo. A generalização da ida à praia, o excursionismo, o desporto, o campismo, a divulgação do romance radiofónico, dos “serões para trabalhadores,” do cinema e do teatro e, de um modo geral, a política turística implementada por Salazar e António Ferro, constituíram um poderoso conjunto de meios de aceleração da mudança nos costumes populares.<sup>14</sup>

In cultural terms, ‘[c]om o final da década de 1950, os ponteiros do relógio pareciam querer aproximar-se da hora mundial’ and ‘várias peças, nacionais e estrangeiras, entre as quais *Seis personagens à procura de um autor*, de Pirandello, que absurdamente Portugal era o único país civilizado a não ter ainda visto em cena’ were finally allowed to be performed on stage.<sup>15</sup> In addition, there was also a desire for a new Portuguese cinema since as early as 1957. Similarly to the tendencies identified by Luiz Francisco Rebello for the theatre, Anthony de Melo argues that the demand for a ‘fundamental change in the national film practice in an article titled “Cinema Novo” (“New Cinema”), can be examined as part of a greater, international current in world cinema that developed during the late fifties and early sixties.<sup>16</sup>

After the Humberto Delgado 1958 presidential campaign, which resulted in his withdrawal before the election, a constitutional reform put an end to direct presidential

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<sup>14</sup> Elísio Estanque, “O lazer e a cultura popular, entre a regulação e a transgressão: um estudo de caso” in *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 43 (October 1995), 123-145 (p. 142).

<sup>15</sup> Rebello, Luiz Francisco, *História do Teatro Português*, 2nd ed (Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América 1972), pp. 78-9.

<sup>16</sup> Anthony de Melo, “‘Finally, we have our own nouvelle vague.’ António da Cunha Telles Productions and the Cinema Novo Português,” *esarp*, Special Issue: *New Waves and New Cinemas* (2009), 4-21 (pp. 9-10).

elections. However, during the campaign ‘respirou-se em muitos jornais um clima de liberdade e desassombrada crítica ao regime,’<sup>17</sup> and the period eventually will lead to the beginning of the end of Estado Novo. In 1960, while Portuguese troops were being deployed to Angola, the regime prepared the commemorations of the fifth centenary of Infante D. Henrique’s death and welcomed the decision of the International Court of Justice regarding the Portuguese and Indian dispute over Indian territory. Several demonstrations and strikes during that year signalled what was to come. 1961, Salazar’s ‘annus horribilis,’ began with ‘Operação Dulcineia,’ the hijack of the Portuguese ship Santa Maria between Curaçao and Miami, by captain Henrique Galvão (1895-1970), a former head of the Emissora Nacional. In February, the armed struggle began in Angola, and in December the Indian Union annexed Goa, Daman and Diu.

As a consequence of the war, the 1960s were the period when male emigration peaked and subsequently female employment increased. Discontent and unrest on the part of the Portuguese youth and student population (whose military recruitment reached unprecedented highs during this period) translated in particular into the so-called ‘academic crises’ of 1962 and 1969. Meanwhile, the war spread to Guinea-Bissau (in 1963) and Mozambique (in 1964), with consequences in every aspect of Portuguese life, in particular regarding censorship. In 1965, following the award of the Portuguese Writers' Society Prize to *Luanda*, the first book by the Angolan writer Luandino Vieira, which had been published without the censors’ approval, not only the Society’s premises were destroyed and the Society closed down, but the newspaper *Jornal do Fundão* was also suspended for having publicised the news of the award. 1965 was further marked by PIDE’s assassination of Humberto Delgado in Spain.

The war in the colonies changed not only the way radio broadcast and other types of propaganda were used, but also the government’s approach to the EN. According to Carolina Ferreira’s, ‘[s]ó quando surgiram as primeiras ameaças às colónias, a partir de

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<sup>17</sup> Fernando Correia and Carla Baptista, ‘Anos 60: um período de viragem no jornalismo português,’ in *Media e Jornalismo*, 9 (2006), 23-39 (p. 36).

meados da década de 1950, o chefe de governo começou a vislumbrar os benefícios da propagação da mística imperial através da rádio.<sup>18</sup>

The decade ended with Marcelo Caetano's (1906-1980) substitution of Salazar as Presidente do Conselho, following the latter's accident. This would represent the beginning of what became known as 'primavera marcelista,' a 'Spring' period supposedly defined by a slight liberalization of the regime's policies. In this context, the SNI was replaced by the SEIT, Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo (State Secretariat for Information and Tourism) in 1968, and in 1969 PIDE was renamed DGS, Direcção-Geral de Segurança (Directorate General for Security). Salazar died in the following year, while attempts to find a political solution to the colonial problem continued, under increasing international pressure.

The years immediately preceding the Carnation Revolution in 1974 were times of great social, political and military unrest, marked in particular by frequent strikes and protests by different sections of the population, and the subsequent repression. While the colonial war is at the root of the 'forma peculiar do derrube do Estado Novo e da institucionalização da democracia em Portugal,' in Costa Pinto's opinion 'convém evitar [...] a armadilha finalista de ver retrospectivamente uma oposição crescente à ditadura, potenciada pela guerra, culminando no 25 de Abril de 1974.'<sup>19</sup> For this scholar:

[m]ais significativo desse movimento de diversificação [da oposição à ditadura] foram os discretos abalos numa das mais importantes escoras ideológicas do regime: a Igreja católica, que tinha sido até aí um pilar central do Salazarismo e que,

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<sup>18</sup> Carolina Silva Maia Ferreira,, *O altifalante do regime : a Emissora Nacional como arma de guerra no conflito colonial*, Masters Thesis (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007), p. 121.

<sup>19</sup> António Costa Pinto, *O fim do império português* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2001), pp. 9 and 46.

apesar de algumas tensões recentes, [...] tinha apoiado a resistência à descolonização durante os primeiros anos de guerra.<sup>20</sup>

One crucial consequence of growing discontent on the part of the Portuguese military in particular was, apart from failed attempted coup d'états, the formation of the Captain's Movement in 1973. When the Navy and the Air Force joined the movement, it became the MFA, Movimento das Forças Armadas (Armed Forces Movement), which was ultimately responsible for the non-violent overthrow of Marcelo's government and the end of Estado Novo, in April 1974. Radio, which was given the task of signalling the start of the revolution to the conspirators, had meanwhile become a common presence in the living rooms of the Portuguese families: while in 1959 there were 791.257 licensed radio sets, ten years later the number rose to 1.406 and by 1974 it reached 1.516.<sup>21</sup>

One consequence of the obstacles to the study of broadcast drama is described by Howard Fink in his account of the American research process as 'a job of reconstruction,' which needs to be done in the first place, before the 'creation of a context for the phenomenon of American radio drama, before any description or analysis of the artefacts and their creators can become meaningful or useful.'<sup>22</sup> While aspects of the 'context' of the Portuguese phenomenon of translated radio drama are at the very core of the issue that this thesis attempts to tackle, the first phase of the project was a similar 'job of reconstruction.' However, while Fink uses "radio drama" as an umbrella term described by Peter Lewis as encompassing

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<sup>20</sup> Costa Pinto, *O fim do império*, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> Dina Cristo, quoting INE – Receptores de rádio (1958-1974). Dina Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal e o declínio do regime de Salazar e Caetano (1958-1974)* (Coimbra: Minerva, 2005), p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> Fink, 'The sponsor's,' p. 185.

[...] daily serials, like *The Archers* and *Waggoners' Walk*, adaptations of stage plays from Aeschylus to Alan Ayckbourn, of short stories and novels, [...] and even of television plays, [...], plays intended for the stage or television but – the usual fate – finding no takers, as well as original work written specifically for the medium and exploiting its unique qualities,<sup>23</sup>

for the purposes of this thesis “radio drama” refers mainly to stage plays adapted to be broadcast on radio. My preliminary research had to deal with more than 2,000 archival records of radio plays broadcast on the national radion station - Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão or E. N.<sup>24</sup> - during the *Estado Novo* period (1933-1974). The great majority of records considered are held by the Emissora’s successor, Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, or RTP, in its main site in Lisbon, and are divided between two archives completely independent from each other: the written or document archive and the audio recording archive.

Even though ‘a voz do actor é a alma da rádio’ (‘the actor’s voice is radio’s soul’),<sup>25</sup> and the issues of performance and acoustic presentation of literary texts constitute unique features of literature on the radio, due to constraints regarding accessibility only written records, i.e. scripts of radio performances, are analysed in the present thesis, not the audio recordings of the performance itself. Despite my several attempts on different occasions, listening to recordings proved impossible for technical reasons.<sup>26</sup> While the recordings can only be listened to at the RTP archives site, I was told that the audio recording archive does

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<sup>23</sup> Peter Lewis, ‘Introduction,’ in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis, pp. 1-11 (pp. 7-8).

<sup>24</sup> Henceforth EN. This was and still is the common form to refer to the Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão Portuguesa. Although this can be confused with the abbreviation for ‘Estado Novo’ (EN), the latter is not used in the thesis.

<sup>25</sup> According to the (female) character ‘The Listener’ (‘A Ouvinte’) in one of Olavo d’Eça Leal’s *Dialogues*, a popular 1950s EN programme. Quoted in José Matos Maia, *A Telefonía. Memórias da Rádio*, 2nd ed (Lisboa: Âncora Editora, 2009), p. 202.

<sup>26</sup> A few copies of some recordings are also held by the Portuguese National Library, as for instance Oscar Wilde, *Uma mulher sem importância [Registo sonoro]: Teatro radiofónico*, trans. and adapt. by Pedro Lemos, 1970?. The difficulties in listening to them, however, are identical. Peter Lewis acknowledges the same ‘unavailability of most radio drama in a form that can be listened to.’ Lewis, ‘Radio Drama and English Literature,’ pp. 164- 184 (p. 169).

not have a facility allowing researchers or members of the general public to listen to them. I was informed that conversion to a format that can be played by today's music players on computers was theoretically possible, but it never materialized. However, I was given access to the data regarding the audioarchive holdings, which I compiled and organised.

It enabled me to create one single database with data from both archives, a small part of which is presented in the form of an appendix to the thesis. Information from the audio archive is therefore included in statistical analyses and in more general considerations about programmes and plays. One aspect that became evident when contrasting the data from the two archives was the fact that the dates provided by the audio archive records do not correspond to the dates of broadcast, but rather to the date of recording.<sup>27</sup> The broadcast could take place within any number of days thereafter. In cases when only the audio record is known, the date provided by the audio archive is the date that I have used as a reference.

According to the information I was given at the written archive, being listed and held by the archive was not necessarily synonymous with having been broadcast. However, many scripts are not only labelled as 'copies,' but they also bear a stamp stating that the script was to be 'returned' to the programme production department after the performance had been recorded: 'Este programa é propriedade da E. N.. Deve ser entregue na Secção de Produção de Programas após a sua utilização.'<sup>28</sup> Some of these scripts correspond to the text that was meant to be used, or was actually used, by one of the actors involved in the performance. Unless stated otherwise, it is therefore safe to assume that usually episodes corresponding to the records held by the written archive were indeed broadcast.

There is no such certainty about the actual date of broadcast, however. Even though the date indicated on the 1948 script of Maria João do Vale's version of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (30.03.1948) does coincide with the date of broadcast announced in the newspaper *Rádio Nacional*, it is possible that the date on the scripts was merely the

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<sup>27</sup> This was confirmed by technicians working at the audio archive.

<sup>28</sup> *Muito Barulho por nada*, 'Noite de Teatro,' 8-8-1967.

suggested or predicted broadcasting date, but not the actual day when broadcast took place. The date mentioned in the script of *O Doido e a Morte*, for instance, which was one of 'Rádio Teatro's 1969 episodes, is a mere 'suggestion.' This is further confirmed by cases of plays the broadcast of which was eventually not allowed for censorship reasons. Despite bearing the indication of a broadcasting date similar to the one found in other scripts, the broadcast of Leandro Vale's original play *Uma noite igual a tantas* was barred.

A period stretching over several days could be required by the different stages in the complex process of broadcasting a play. On the expense sheet regarding the production of Shakespeare's *Muito barulho por nada* (*Much Ado about Nothing*), a play included in 'Noite de Teatro' supposedly on August 8, 1967, the 'date' given is July 27, 1967, the rehearsal date is 'dia 2, às 18 horas' ('August 2, at 6 p.m.'), the recording date is registered as 'dia 3, às 10 horas' ('August 3, at 10 a.m.'), and the broadcasting date August 8, at 7.30 p.m.. On the script itself, however, the 'date' is July 29, 1967, while the date when the text was received by the 'Exp. da R.P.' (presumably 'expediente da Repartição de Programas,' or the 'office of the programmes department') was August 1. The play was, therefore, submitted to the station and attributed three separate dates for rehearsal, recording and broadcasting. Possible inaccuracies notwithstanding, throughout the thesis the dates identified in the scripts as broadcasting dates are taken to be the actual dates of broadcast, unless stated otherwise.

Apart from the dates, and the different moments and institutional departments involved in the process, one problematic aspect regarding the analysis of the data retrieved from the audio archive in particular was the spelling of the authors' names: Werner Aspenström, for instance, is listed as 'Werner Ascastrone'. This caused great difficulties for the identification of relatively obscure radio authors such as Philipe Levene (in one instance identified as 'Filipe Lexen') or Marjorie Fry ('Marthery Fray'). The difficulty was sometimes increased by the plain titles of the Portuguese translations, as in the case of *Vera* (*Vera*), a play broadcast on 'Teatro das Comédias' in 1966 by one John O'Connor, whom I have not



been able to identify, or that of *Consulta Marcada (Booked Appointment)*, by ‘Cyril Abraham,’ who might be the BBC radio playwright Caryl Brahms. The archival databases are additionally characterised by inconsistent spelling of names, both of authors and translators or ‘adaptors,’ even when the people in question are Portuguese. The playwright Alfredo Cortez’s surname, for instance, is spelt in three different ways, Cortez, Cortes and Cortês. Together with the fact that prior to this study the data held by each archive had not been contrasted against each other, such inconsistency in the spelling of names found in the audio archive records suggests that during the modern day organization of the archive names were most probably registered based on phonetics, while the performance was being played.

The data held by the two archives is, moreover, far from complete, even after the information has been collected in one single database, as has been done here.<sup>29</sup> Although the first broadcast of plays in the EN took place before its inauguration in 1935, there are no entries for the 1930s period (besides that of a copy of Orson Welles’s 1938 groundbreaking broadcast *The War of the Worlds*).<sup>30</sup> Apart from incomplete references to two extracts of BBC works broadcast by the EN probably sometime in the early 1940s (*Blitz*, and *Bomber*), the first complete record dates from December 1947 [although the programme is not identified, the episode, called ‘Vultos de sempre – sobre Alfred Nobel,’ by Domingos Pinto de Sousa, consisted in the ‘dramatização de episódios da vida de Alfred Nobel’ (‘dramatisation of moments of Alfred Nobel’s life’)].

The late 1940s are represented by a couple of other episodes, but the main corpus in the archive dates from after 1950. Several explanations for this might be found, namely a

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<sup>29</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>30</sup> The Portuguese version of *The War of the Worlds* (produced in the United States by Mercury Theatre on Halloween night 1938), *A Invasão dos marcianos*, by José Matos Maia, was broadcast by Rádio Renascença on June 25, 1958. Despite constant warnings throughout the programme, explaining to the listeners that it was a fictional story, the broadcast had an effect upon the audience similar to the one it had had twenty years earlier upon the American listeners, spreading panic and prompting the government to ask for the broadcast to be interrupted. See Eduardo Street, *O teatro invisível. História do teatro radiofónico*, col. Antestreia (Lisboa: Página 4, 2006), pp. 43-4 and ‘Invasão de Marcianos’ <<http://www.classicosdaradio.com/InvasaoMarcianos.htm>> [first accessed November 1, 2009].

possibly different approach to broadcasts and their preservation before the 1950s. When asked about missing scripts which would correspond to episodes held by the audio archive, the Director of the written archive explained that many documents had been destroyed over the years before the revolution and especially in the agitated period immediately after it. While other sources have occasionally provided pieces of information regarding missing broadcasts, as acknowledged in my database, in general no comments can be made as to the absence of plays or authors from the radio drama repertoire of the Portuguese national station.

Further destruction of documents bearing unique testimony to this aspect of life in twentieth-century Portugal has meanwhile taken place. Owing to a shortage of adequate space to keep them, scripts of programmes from the Estado Novo period are now only accessible in pdf format. This means, for instance, that it was not possible to confirm whether pages missing in some scripts were the result of a mistake in the digitalisation process or were indeed missing in the hardcopy format as well. A further consequence, which suggests the importance of this research project and, specifically, of the database arising out of it, is the fact the digitalised copies, or pdf files, are now accessible only through the (online or *in situ*) RTP database.<sup>31</sup> For an online search in this catalogue to be effective, however, it is not the name of the episode, or that of the play or author that needs to be known, but rather the title under which it was registered in the archive, including its exact spelling.<sup>32</sup> The alternative is to make a search by programme title.

The incomplete nature of the data collected has made a periodization of the presence of and approach to translation on radio difficult. Different patterns were nonetheless discernible, for instance in terms of the features of individual programmes.

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<sup>31</sup> When I began my research the database did not, however, grant access to all digitalised scripts, due to an error in the online domain name of the pdfs that I was meanwhile able to identify and correct.

<sup>32</sup> The information provided by the RTP database corresponds to the data collected and listed on the episode's cover sheet, prepared as a result of the digitalisation and web publishing of the scripts. It often indicates an inaccurate broadcasting date, and refers only to the title of the episode, which might not contain any reference to the play or plays broadcast. The names of the translator and of the actors are not included.

Positioned at the intersection of three areas of study, firstly the cultural history of *Estado Novo*, secondly the history of the Emissora Nacional and radio drama in Portugal, and thirdly, the history of translation of literature in Portugal, the analysis of individual programmes has led me to the formulation of the main line of inquiry guiding my research, namely the issue of the connection between broadcast translation and the ideological framework of its setting.

Naturally, other approaches have been used, for instance by Neulander who interrogates 1930s radio drama in France in order to ‘trace the perpetuation of the various gendered stereotypes of family and nation that challenged liberal notions of democracy’<sup>33</sup> in the country. Her object of study, however, are not translations. Although Lefevere has drawn attention to the ‘inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols,’ in other words, ‘poetics,’<sup>34</sup> the amount of data collected in the course of this research has led me to set out to establish the mechanisms through which ideological structures condition and are reflected by translations.

The core assumption behind this question is that, as a cultural product, translation is conditioned by ideological circumstances and thus disseminates the values and ideas that characterise the historical context in which it was produced and used. In the wake of the work developed by James Holmes (1978), Itamar Even-Zohar (1978) and Gideon Toury (1978), and as a result of the so-called ‘cultural turn’ in approaches to the study of translation from 1990, particularly after the publication of *Translation, History and Culture*, by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere that year, ‘a shift from a more formalist approach to translation to one that laid greater emphasis on extra-textual factors,’ including ‘broader issues of context, history and convention’ took place.<sup>35</sup> A new degree of importance was

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<sup>33</sup> Neulander, *Programming*, p. 26.

<sup>34</sup> André Lefevere, *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame* (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>35</sup> Susan Bassnett, ‘Culture and Translation,’ in *A Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. by Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littan, *Topics in Translation*, 34 (Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2007), 13-23, (p. 14).

attached to the place translation occupies in the cultural context and literary history, thus redirecting attention to the ‘target’ setting of translation.

Ideology, one of the components of the setting, was brought to the fore by works such as Theo Hermans’ anthology *The Manipulation of Literature* (1985), whose famous declaration that ‘from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose’<sup>36</sup> has since defined what has come to be known as the ‘manipulation school.’ A further seminal volume was Lefevere’s *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), which claimed the need to study the impact of the images created by translation and acknowledged that translations were ‘produced in the service, or under the constraints, of certain ideological and/or poetological currents.’<sup>37</sup>

The concept of ‘ideology’, which ‘may well come out near the top of the list’ of ‘all essentially contested and controversial concepts in the social sciences,’ is particularly difficult to define.<sup>38</sup> Since Antoine Destutt de Tracy’s (1754-1836) late eighteenth-century coining of the expression, ‘ideology’ has been used with multiple meanings. Most famously, after the original meaning of ‘science of ideas,’ Karl Marx (1818-1883) used it in particular with Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) in *The German Ideology* (first published in 1932) to refer to the system of ideas of the ruling class. In their view, the function of ideology is to help maintain dominance by creating the illusion that the divide between the ruling and the other classes is a natural one. This belief creates and propagates the so-called state of ‘false consciousness.’

While today the notion of ideology has been freed of its association with the ‘ruling class,’ the ideological framework considered within the context of this thesis is that of the Portuguese Estado Novo power elite, i.e. the group of people with the most political,

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<sup>36</sup> Theo Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, (London/Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), p.11.

<sup>37</sup> André Lefevere, *Translation, rewriting*, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Teun A. Van Dijk, *Ideology. A Multidisciplinary approach* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 1.

economic, social and cultural power. Ideology is the world-view or the set of ideas, ideals, values and beliefs of, in particular, Salazar and Marcelo Caetano, their ministers and respective policies, their advisors and all those usually referred to by Portuguese historians as ‘os ideólogos do Estado Novo.’<sup>39</sup> In the beginning of the 1930s in Portugal they were, in the words of Reis Torgal,

a “nova geração” ou as “novas gerações” [que] vão, pois, representar novas lógicas políticas e culturais. Vão, de um modo global, pensar então num ‘novo Estado,’ ou, se quisermos, em ‘novos Estados,’ o que convergirá para a ideia de de um ‘Estado Novo,’ um regime que tem a sua ‘identidade’ ou se como se dizia então [...] a sua “originalidade.”<sup>40</sup>

For the purpose of this thesis, and following Van Dijk’s definition, ‘ideology’ is to be understood as ‘the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge and the opinions –’ of this group of people.<sup>41</sup> In other words, ‘it is the foundation of the social beliefs shared by [this] social group,’<sup>42</sup> namely the basis for the ‘revolução pacífica mas integral’ with which Salazar wanted to ‘atingir todas as manifestações da vida portuguesa e não só a camada política.’<sup>43</sup>

The regime was politically legitimised by its ideological underpinning, which entailed a claim to the monopoly of the corresponding truth or ‘grandes certezas:’ ‘Deus e a

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<sup>39</sup> Maria Filomena Mónica, for instance, refers to ‘os ideólogos salazaristas’ in *Cenas da vida portuguesa* (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1999) p. 24.

<sup>40</sup> Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, I, p. 75. For the scholar, João Ameal (1902-1982), for instance, is one of the ‘ideólogos’ of the regime: “ele é um dos intelectuais mais significativos do regime, tanto no campo da formação de uma ideologia de propaganda, que se sintetiza no anónimo *Decálogo do Estado Novo* (1934), como no domínio da história, quer na visão geral da história de Portugal, quer mesmo na escrita da história do Estado Novo.” (Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, I, p. 105-6.) In the Emissora, João Ameal was responsible for different programmes, namely ‘Presença do Passado’ and, in the late 1940s, ‘Crítica Literária.’

<sup>41</sup> Van Dijk, *Ideology*, p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> Van Dijk, *Ideology*, p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> Salazar’s ‘O Exército e a revolução nacional’ speech, in *Discursos*, I, p. 139, quoted by Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, I, p. 67.

virtude,’ ‘a Pátria e a sua história,’ ‘a autoridade e o seu prestígio,’ ‘a família e a sua moral,’ and ‘a glória do trabalho e o seu dever’ were famously beyond discussion.<sup>44</sup> In this sense, ideology is intimately connected to the notion of power, which in the context of this research is to be understood as Robert Dahl’s ‘intuitive idea of power,’ according to which “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.”<sup>45</sup> Power, in this case, refers not only to being able to manipulate, control and shape the use of foreign radio drama according to the regime’s sets of values, but equally to being able to make the national broadcasting station voice the opposite of those values.

Issues of power have often shaped the discussion of ideology by translation scholars, sometimes against the background of explicit political commitment. Van Dijk, for instance, believes that the use of Critical Discourse Analysis tools ‘[...] should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it’ and ‘critical scholars should also be social and political scientists, as well as social critics and activists.’<sup>46</sup>

While other studies have considered the relationship between ideology and translation for example in the context of the tension between colonizer and colonized, or the marginal position of ‘minority’ languages,<sup>47</sup> the value-system or worldview that the present analysis has attempted to uncover in translation is that of the *Estado Novo*.

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<sup>44</sup> ‘Não discutimos Deus e a virtude; não discutimos a Pátria e a sua história; não discutimos a autoridade e o seu prestígio; não discutimos a família e a sua moral; não discutimos a glória do trabalho e o seu dever.’ ‘As grandes certezas da Revolução Nacional,’ in António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos e notas políticas*, II, 1935-1937, 2nd ed. (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1946), p.130.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Dahl, ‘The Concept of Power,’ *Behavioral Science*, 2 (1957), 201–15 (202–03).

<sup>46</sup> Teun Van Dijk, ‘Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis,’ *Critical Discourse Analysis Volume II*, ed. by M. Toolan, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Critical Concepts in Linguistics (London; Routledge, 1993/2002), II, pp. 104-141, (p. 107).

<sup>47</sup> For instance in Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) and Michael Cronin, *Translation and Globalisation* (London: Routledge, 2003). See also Calzada Pérez’s introduction to her volume *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies*, (Manchester, UK and Northampton MA: St Jerome, 2003), pp. 1-22.

Although the forty-one years long ‘constitutionalized dictatorship’<sup>48</sup> was not a homogeneous phenomenon from start to finish, certain ideas and ideals, namely those encapsulated in the motto ‘Deus, pátria e família’ (‘God, fatherland and family’), maintained their critical importance throughout.

In this sense, as the dominant value-system, it was a constraining factor, and functioned, as suggested by Lefevere, as one of the components of ‘patronage’ - the ‘powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature.’<sup>49</sup>

The present doctoral thesis engages with the bidirectional relationship between ideology and translation. On the one hand, it examines the impact that the dominant ideological setting has upon translations. On the other hand, it focuses on the participation of translation in the disseminating process that ultimately allows (dominant or non-dominant) ideas and values to be conveyed to and possibly, as a consequence, shared by communities. Besides ‘active interventions into texts,’ translations are, indeed, ‘active interventions into the environment of the receiving language.’<sup>50</sup> While in this particular case a fully fledged study of the latter type of repercussion entails the consideration of the EN audience and its reactions, which falls outside the scope of this thesis, insights are offered into the impact of the regime’s ideological foundations upon translation and the use of translations.

Different themes have emerged from the study of the production and use of translations during periods of dictatorship. In their recent volume *Translation under Fascism*, Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge have identified topics such as racism, renewal and expansion, and censorship as central issues common to research into different ‘fascist’

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<sup>48</sup> The expression is used by António Costa Pinto in: ‘Twentieth-Century Portugal: An Introduction,’ in *Modern Portugal*, ed. by António Costa Pinto (Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998), pp. 1-40, (p. 24).

<sup>49</sup> Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*, p. 15-16.

<sup>50</sup> Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge, ‘Translation And the History of Fascism,’ in *Translation under Fascism*, ed. by Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 3-12, (p. 4).

cultures. Cultural and translational policies, both on the part of governments and publishing houses, appropriation of literature or film, as well the phenomenon of pseudo-translations, have been considered in studies engaging with translation in several European countries.

In Portugal, Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz presented a ‘possible introduction’ to the study of translations under the *Estado Novo* in 2001.<sup>51</sup> Since then, research has expanded and different studies have been published contributing towards a characterization of translational practice in the country during that period. In the chapter she wrote for *Translation under Fascism*, Seruya reveals the negative critical attention that translation attracted in the 1940s and 1960s for reasons of commercial competitiveness between publishers, as well as translation and literary quality, and claims that it ‘was clearly considered subversive since, unlike foreign-language work, it could give ‘the many’ access to dangerous reading.’<sup>52</sup>

Censorship, together with collections of translations or translation anthologies, has been one of the main concerns of recent studies about translation under the *Estado Novo*.<sup>53</sup> Not surprisingly, some of the most common arguments for banning foreign literature identified by Seruya and Moniz in *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes* are also seen at work in radio broadcast translations.

Recent scholarship has added new dimensions to the discussion concerning the practice of translation in this particular period of the history of Portugal. Following his

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<sup>51</sup> Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz, ‘História Literária e Traduções no Estado Novo. Uma introdução possível,’ in *Actas do IV congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada*, 2 vols (University of Évora, 2002), II, <[www.eventos.uevora.pt/comparada](http://www.eventos.uevora.pt/comparada)> [first accessed in 2004].

<sup>52</sup> Teresa Seruya, ‘Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Regime,’ in *Translation under Fascism*, ed. by Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 117-144, (p. 133).

<sup>53</sup> On anthologies and collections, see the two volumes on ‘*Colecção Livros RTP – Biblioteca Básica Verbo*’ coordinated by Teresa Seruya (2005 and 2007), as well as Patricia Odber de Baubeta’s study *The Anthology in Portugal*, which includes anthologies of translations. On censorship and foreign works, see *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*, organised by Seruya, Moniz and Rosa, and contributions to *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes*, edited by Seruya and Moniz.



analysis of the practices and translators behind translations done for the regime, João Cotrim has for instance suggested that the regime did not have an official policy regulating the practice of officially commissioned translations.<sup>54</sup> Nelson Ribeiro, on the other hand, has demonstrated how Salazar's government interfered in the BBC Portuguese Service over the work of a Portuguese translator working for the broadcasting station in London.<sup>55</sup> This thesis broadens the scope of the history of translation in Portugal by tracing the practice of translation between 1933 and 1974 in a context that has remained so far undocumented and unquestioned.

One of the chief questions that arises when considering drama broadcast by the Portuguese national broadcasting station interrogates the natural assumption identified by Seruya in the early 'introduction' to the study of translations in the *Estado Novo* that 'um Estado arreigadamente nacionalista e autarcista não estará disponível para aceitar, mesmo na interpretação do passado, a convivência, a paridade com, para já não referir a hegemonia, de presenças estranhas ao tecido autóctone.'<sup>56</sup> Were any translations at all included in repertoires and, moreover, disseminated by the Emissora, 'realização do Estado Novo'?'<sup>57</sup>

Besides the evidence presented in the form of the database, Chapter One answers this question by providing an overview of the foreign broadcast plays and authors.<sup>58</sup> It charts the use of translation throughout the period and considers the different programmes involved and their respective repertoires. Statistical analysis further consolidates the general perspective about the extent of foreign drama's presence in the latter. The chapter shows

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<sup>54</sup> João Pedro Cotrim, *Tradutores e Propagandistas. Da tradução como ferramenta de propaganda do Estado Novo no estrangeiro e da indústria que se desenvolveu em torno desta no Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional/Secretariado Nacional de Informação*, Masters Thesis (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2010), p. 63.

<sup>55</sup> Nelson Ribeiro, 'Salazar's Interference in the BBC Portuguese Service during World War II,' *Journalism Studies*, 11:2, (2010), 257-69.

<sup>56</sup> Seruya and Moniz, 'História Literária,' p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Inaugural speech by the head of the station, Henrique Galvão, in August 4, 1935, quoted in A inauguração oficial da EN pelo Chefe do Estado,' in *Boletim da Emissora Nacional*, 1 (Aug), (Lisboa: Editorial Império, 1935) 16-20.

<sup>58</sup> See the Appendix.

how translations were used from the 1940s onwards, including during the period when the nationalist ideology was particularly active (i.e., the first two decades of the regime). Having established that translations were not deemed to harm nationalist aims, the question subsequently emerges as to the extent to which they were subject to and a reflexion of the regime's ideological framework.

The method adopted to tackle this issue represents an attempt to answer a question similar to that raised by Andrew Clifford in his review of the seminal volume *Translation and Power*, edited by Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler: how might we examine actual translations to see traces of ideological structures?<sup>59</sup> To ground the discussion on issues of 'ideology', 'values' and 'value-systems' has proven to be a more productive tool to understand the impact of the target culture on translation and that of translation on the target culture than the idea that 'various types of power can be exercised against the reader, the text and the translator.'<sup>60</sup> The latter idea, it could be claimed, seems to attach a new concept of 'betrayal' to the notion of translation.

The answer that is put forward by this thesis can be summed up by the term 'choices.'<sup>61</sup> It is in the various processes of selection that translation entails that traces of ideology can be found to be at work. Three main levels at which choices are made, and hence manipulation can occur, during the process of using foreign texts on radio have been identified and are explored: a) selecting foreign texts for radio broadcasting; b) presenting and commenting foreign texts for radio broadcasting; and c) writing the texts or versions of texts to be broadcast.

This is an audience-led methodological distinction, or, in other words, one that arises from the perspective of the audience's experience as they listen to a foreign play

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<sup>59</sup> Andrew Clifford, 'Review of Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (eds.) *Translation and Power*,' *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, 17:2, (2004), 191-92 (p. 192).

<sup>60</sup> Peter Fawcett, 'Translation and Power Play,' *The Translator*, 1:2 (1995), 177-92 (p. 190).

<sup>61</sup> The idea that translation revolves around 'choices' is also emphasised by Tymoczko and Gentzler, for whom it is linked to the notion of 'partiality.' Edwin Gentzler and Maria Tymoczko 'Introduction', in *Translation and Power*, ed. by Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. xi-xxviii, p. xviii.

being broadcast on radio. Before that first contact between listener and oral text, two major decisions were made: which text to broadcast (and translate) and how to present it (if at all). For the purpose of this thesis, these two main sets of choices are respectively identified as the preliminary and the paratextual levels, and they are the focus of Chapters Two and Three. They are followed in Chapter Four by the textual level, which does not necessarily come chronologically after the paratextual one, but rather also includes it. Treating these different sets of choices as separate levels or categories is a methodological option that does not imply that the decisions in question take place independently of each other, or in a linear, unidirectional, systematic and ordered fashion. All lexical, semantic, syntactic, etc., decisions regarding either the translated text itself or any of its paratexts are considered at this level.

Chapter Two, an analysis of the preliminary level, is concerned with the selection of texts for broadcast. It establishes the linkages between the ideologically pre-determined functions of the EN and those of foreign broadcast drama. The chapter demonstrates how a large number of foreign plays were broadcast with the audience's cultural education in mind. Ideology is seen at work in both the didactic aim governing the broadcasting of foreign plays and in the different approaches to the latter, according to the personal ideological setup on the part of the radio producers. A crucial notion in this chapter is that of the intertextual relations that are identified by one particular programme and presented to the audience. While in some cases 'intertextuality' is used to refer to the focus placed by the programme on the influence that one text supposedly had upon another, in other instances 'intertextual' relations mean the links and patterns of connection between texts that are identified by the programme.

In Chapter Three, an analysis of paratextual elements used in broadcasts and the resulting images of authors and works created leads to the claim that, while ideology can be seen as a determining factor in programme design, repertoires were, simultaneously, vehicles for values in tune with the regime's value-system. Questions as to the limits of

conformity with the regime are, however, raised as the chapter also shows how paratextual elements were used to ‘neutralise’ plays that were, from the point of view of the regime, potentially dangerous and unwelcome.

Finally, at a textual level, manipulation and adequacy to the predominant ideology are shown in Chapter Four to have been further achieved through compliance with censorship. A contrastive investigation of two translations of Oscar Wilde’s *Salome*, following an account of the structures of control at work in the EN, provides insight into the different impact of restrictions imposed by censorship throughout the Estado Novo period, thus illustrating how the Emissora’s literary component constitutes a productive example of the evolution of censorship.

The issue of conformity with the regime’s goals and the ideological *status quo* is further taken up in the analysis of two plays in particular, which constitutes the two final chapters. Both cases offer illustrations of the ideological conditioning at work at all three levels. They reinforce the idea that translation is the product of a complex and multi-layered process, towards which all levels of intervention or manipulation contribute. Written, performed and set at the onset of the second World War, Robert Ardrey’s *Thunder Rock*, the focus of Chapter Five, is used in a programme broadcast in 1962, barely one year after the beginning of the war in Africa, as a commentary on the conflict that would greatly contribute to the end of the dictatorship.

The decision, considered in Chapter Six, to broadcast Marivaux’s *La Colonie* a few weeks before the trial of the three most famous female authors of the 1970s in Portugal was equally significant, considering that the French play deals with the issue of women’s role in society. The trial of Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa, who became known as the Three Marias, began in October 1973 in Lisbon, only two months after a version of *La Colonie* was broadcast in the programme ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos.’ Although a number of questions regarding this broadcast remain unanswered, textual shifts and paratextual comments suggest that the play was not seen as an

opportunity to conform to the dominant ideology, but rather to subtly side with those challenging it.

Underlying the three main levels of intervention addressed is a concept of translation that includes the choice of text and translator, as well as the way the translated text is produced and presented to its audience. Although the differentiation between these three levels was an outcome of my analysis of the data collected, the idea underlies Toury's (1995) and Lefevere's (1992) work. The claim made by the thesis that these levels correspond to critical moments which need to be considered when interrogating translations fits into recent academic literature where similar direct references to levels beyond that of the text proper can be found. *Translation under Fascism* mentions, for instance that:

[...] state intervention could shape an era's image of a particular imported author through the choice of particular texts for translation, textual manipulation, and the specific translational or adaptational decisions made during production [of translations]

and that

[...] the position of translations in a particular literary context can be manipulated not only through the restriction of authors and texts for translation but also by the way those translations are framed and presented to the public, both externally and in their textual detail.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Rundle and Sturge, 'Translation and the History of Fascism,' p. 11. An almost identical statement can be found in Gentzler and Tymoczko's introduction to *Translation and Power*, p. xviii.

The scope of the thesis has not allowed, however, for an attempt to be made to use this study of broadcast translations to distinguish between translation and adaptation, one of the most challenging issues concerning the question of translations for radio. When both functions are mentioned on the scripts or on the audio archive listing, they are usually attributed to the same person. In most cases, however, only the ‘adaptor’ is named, which could be due to the possibility that some translations had been done and possibly published or performed on stage prior to their broadcast. Seemingly different terms were used interchangeably, including in announcements and advertisements for programmes published in the newspapers, as well as in reviews of broadcasts. It is therefore not clear, from the promotional text published in the daily radio newspaper *Rádio Semanal* three days before the programme appeared on the airwaves in the late 1940s, whether the broadcast of Maria João do Vale’s version of *Salome* was her own translation: the programme is labelled as a ‘arranjo radiofónico de Maria João do Vale’ and ‘uma adaptação da peça *Salomé* de Oscar Wilde.’ The frequent use of the expressions ‘versão para rádio,’ ‘versão radiofónica,’ and ‘arranjo radiofónico,’ while not excluding the idea of translation, could equally describe radio versions of Portuguese plays, thus suggesting a neglect of the interlinguistic, as opposed to the intermodal, translational component involved in a large number of broadcasts.<sup>63</sup>

On the other hand, the difficult distinction between ‘translating’ and ‘adapting’ constitutes an argument in favour of considering their similarities. A great deal is indeed shared by the two activities. The confession made by the famous adaptor and producer José Matos Maia that ‘[...] adaptar é criar. A dificuldade reside no facto de uma obra ser feita para ser lida e não para ser ouvida’<sup>64</sup> could also be applied to translation done with

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<sup>63</sup> While ‘intermodal’ refers to a focus on the ‘mode change in the transfer process,’ and example of which is ‘the change from the linguistic mode into the image mode,’ ‘interlinguistic’ refers to a change in the linguistic system used. *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina (New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013) p. 262.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Uma entrevista com José Matos Maia, realizador de programas de rádio,’ *Ler* (1990?) (copy of the original article kindly given to me by Professor Thomas Earle).

broadcasting in mind. Despite the fact that translations on radio have not usually been featured in research done by scholars of Translation Studies (radio has attracted attention from Translation Studies only from the point of view of news broadcasting or interpreting, not in a literary perspective),<sup>65</sup> the thesis claims that broadcast drama can and should be considered as ‘texts that rewrite the actual text in one way or another,’ and added to Lefevere’s list of Lefevere’s ‘rewritings,’ ‘such as plot summaries in literary histories or reference works, reviews in newspapers, magazines, or journals, some critical articles, performances on stage or screen, and, last but not least, translations.’<sup>66</sup>

The concept of ‘rewritings’ is no doubt one of the many that can bridge a gap between two disciplines that share more than it might at first appear. Both translations and radio drama have been met by a biased concern with ‘loss’ and attributed a marginal status within, and without, academia – with the exception, in Europe, of the German context, where

it is not at all uncommon for the radio play (*Hörspiel*) to be taught as a form of dramatic literature at both secondary and tertiary educational levels. The *Hörspiel* did, in fact, attain academic respectability some time ago, and radio drama is consequently accepted as an entirely legitimate area of serious literary and dramatic study in Germany.<sup>67</sup>

While in 1942 Morris Cohen pointed out that:

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<sup>65</sup> I am aware of only one work that mentions translation for the radio, David Johnston’s ‘Valle-Inclán: the meaning of form’ in *Moving target: theatre translation and cultural relocation*, ed. by Carole-Anne Upton (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2000), pp. 85-100, and while the author discusses his translation strategies, he does not engage in any other form of analysis of the type of translation he is describing.

<sup>66</sup> Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>67</sup> Lewis, ‘Radio Drama and English Literature,’ pp. 164- 184 (p. 164).

[f]rom an artistic as well as a technical point of view, it is to be regretted that stage plays are thus weakened in total effectiveness on the air. For, through the medium of radio, which must still make its plays intelligible solely through the sense of hearing, something is inevitably lost,<sup>68</sup>

forty years later Susan Bassnett remarked that '[i]t is [...] an indication of the low status of translation that so much time should have been spent on discussing what is lost in the transfer of a text from SL to TL whilst ignoring what can also be gained [...]'.<sup>69</sup> Closely linked to the notion of 'non-professional readers,' i.e. the majority of readers in contemporary societies,<sup>70</sup> as the way through which those readers come into contact with literature, 'rewriting' is a productive definition of literature broadcast on radio for an anonymous and varied mass audience. It locates the research within the assumption that '[a]ll rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way.'<sup>71</sup> It is therefore a particularly useful concept to approach translated radio drama in the context of the analysis attempted by this thesis, which tries to make sense of what it means for translation, or translated broadcast drama, to be 'cultural facts' during the specific time frame of the Estado Novo period.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Morris Cohen, 'Play Adapting for Radio Broadcasting,' *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 28:2 (1942), 179-181 (p. 180).

<sup>69</sup> Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 36.

<sup>70</sup> Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> Bassnett and Lefevere, 'General Editor's Preface,' in *Translation/History/Culture. A Sourcebook*, ed. by André Lefevere, Translation Studies Series (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. xi-xii (p. vii).

<sup>72</sup> Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1995), p. 26.



## **1. OVERVIEW**

*[rádio:] a mais imperiosa voz de comando da  
alma contemporânea*  
António Ferro<sup>73</sup>

The episodes of seventeen drama programmes broadcast between 1940 and 1974 were compiled and organised into a database, amounting to a total of around 2,000 entries:<sup>74</sup> ‘Teatro’ (1940s); ‘Teatro radiofónico’ (1948-1972); ‘Tempo de teatro’ (1948-1972); ‘Teatro das Comédias’ (1950-1974); ‘A história do teatro’ (1956-1960), ‘Noite de teatro’ (1956-1973); ‘Rádio Drama’ (1953?/1958-1959); ‘Vamos ao teatro’ (1959-1960); ‘Rádio Teatro’ (1960-1972); ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ (1961-1964; 1967-1974); ‘Teatro de Ensaio’ (1964-1965); ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ (1964-1967); ‘Onda de teatro’ (1965-1967); ‘Teatro contemporâneo’ (1965-1967); ‘Teatro do século XIX’ (1967-1969); ‘Teatro de todos os tempos’ (1970-1974); and ‘Teatro especial de Natal’ (1972).

Five of these programmes, all of which were produced by Eurico Lisboa filho, are considered in the following chapters and are described in the tables included in the Appendix. Given the scope of the thesis, an analysis of all the programmes is not possible. However, a descriptive overview of the plays and playwrights selected for the different shows complements the narrower focus of the following chapters by providing insight into

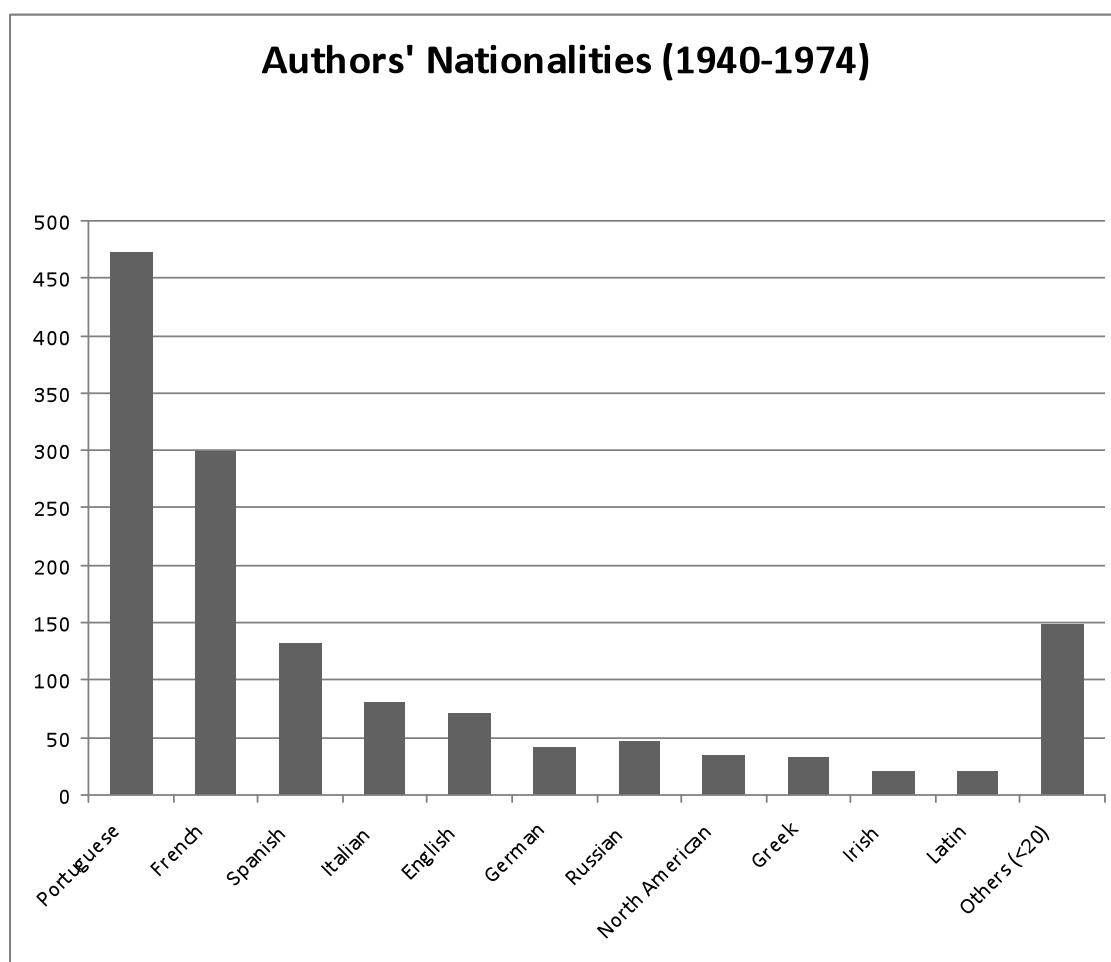
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<sup>73</sup> António Ferro, ‘Programa sem programa,’ in *Problemas da Rádio*, António Ferro (Lisboa: Edições SNI, 1950), pp. 15-30 (p. 15).

<sup>74</sup> The archives hold no records for the 1930s. See the Appendix.

the variety of authors, plays, nationalities, literary periods, producers, translators and adaptors involved in the broadcast of foreign drama during the *Estado Novo* period. The overview concerns the three nationalities associated with the most frequently broadcast plays, which were, as illustrated by Figure 1, French, Spanish and Italian.

Figure 1:



**Figure 1** – Number of plays most frequently broadcast by the Emissora Nacional, according to the authors' nationalities, between 1940 and 1974.

Some of the many names associated with foreign radio drama in the Emissora during the period of *Estado Novo* appear repeatedly in the archival data and should therefore be briefly introduced. First and foremost is Eurico Lisboa filho, who produced radio drama programmes mainly based on foreign plays during roughly two decades. He not only created five different programmes – ‘História do Teatro,’ ‘Teatro do Século

XVIII,' 'Teatro do Século XIX,' 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos,' and "Teatro dos Nossos Dias" – but in most cases he was also the translator of the plays broadcast by them.

In Eduardo Street's words, Eurico José Correia Lisboa filho, a playwright in his own right,<sup>75</sup> was a "homem discreto, educadíssimo, conversador nato, nunca impondo a sua vasta cultura."<sup>76</sup> Born in Lisbon in 1915 (d. 1994), he had a degree in Romance Philology and Pedagogical Sciences from the University of Lisbon. While a student there, he directed the Arts Faculty drama company ("Teatro Universitário da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa"). In 1947 he joined the Lisbon National Conservatoire, where he taught História das Literaturas Dramáticas (History of Dramatic Literatures) and Aesthetics of Drama, as well as Portuguese Language and Culture.<sup>77</sup> He subsequently continued this role as a teacher of the history of drama in the media. First, in the EN, he was responsible for five radio drama programmes between 1956 and 1974. Later, in the RTP (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal), he presented a weekly programme on the same subject until the early 1980s.<sup>78</sup>

Leopoldo Araújo (1924-2005) worked closely with Eurico Lisboa filho, and eventually took over one of his programmes in the 1960s. Not much is known about this translator and producer of radio drama, apart from the fact that he studied Romance philology in the University of Lisbon until 1948, and chose to write his thesis on 'elements for the study of Aquilino Ribeiro's regional terminology.'

A further name that comes up frequently is that of Ricardo Alberty (1919-1992). In addition to his translation activity, he was a children's literature author, and was awarded the Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho Prize in 1958. A second prize in *ex aequo* with Matilde Rosa Araújo was awarded in 1980: the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation 'Grande Prémio de Literatura Infantil.'

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<sup>75</sup> *Gente Bem* (Lisbon: [n. n.], 1940); *O Poder de Fátima: peça em três actos* (Lisbon: [n. n.], 1942); *As mãos e a sombra* (Lisbon: [n. n.], 1950); *Nevoeiro* (Lisbon: [n. n.], 1950(?)).

<sup>76</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 137.

<sup>77</sup> Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Arquivo do Serviço de Belas-Artes da Sector de Teatro, dossier TD7 - 04278 – D, processo Eurico Lisboa filho.

<sup>78</sup> Luiz Francisco Rebello. *100 anos de teatro português*. Porto: Brasília Editora, 1984.

Among the women, Alice Ogando and Odette de Saint-Maurice stand out. Ogando (1900-1981), who was married to André Brun between 1881 and 1926, was a playwright and a prolific translator of plays for theatre, both broadcast and on stage. She also published some poetry, namely *Marias da Minha Terra* (1934), where verses such as “[...] São Marias da Cidade, / – Não são Marias nem nada [...]” represent an expression of the *aurea mediocritas* emphasised by salazarism.<sup>79</sup>

um aspecto facilmente detectável no discurso ideológico do Salazarismo é o da valorização do ruralismo, traduzida na exaltação do viver das comunidades aldeãs [...] o antípoda duma vivência urbana que sobre si carrega a falsa grandeza de precárias magnificiências.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, Odette de Saint-Maurice (1918-1993) was a successful author, who published more than fifty works, mainly for young people. She also translated and wrote texts for radio broadcasting, having won in 1968 the EN ‘Ondas’ prize for the best drama show, the radio serial ‘O Apóstolo da Juventude,’ about the life of St. John Bosco.

### **French Authors**

**Molière** (1622-1673) is the French author with the highest number of plays selected for radio drama, with fifteen plays included in different programmes. Apart from *Dom Juan, ou le festin de Pierre*, all his greatest works were used: *L'École des femmes*, *Le Tartuffe*, *ou l'imposteur*, *Le Misanthrope*, *L'Avare*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, and *Les Femmes savantes*. Adding to these, other episodes were based on *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *La Princesse d'Élide*, *Le malade imaginaire*, *Le Mariage forcé*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, *L'École de Maris*, *Les Amants magnifiques*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*.

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<sup>79</sup> Alice Ogando, ‘Marias da minha terra,’ in *Marias da minha terra*, Alice Ogando (Lisboa: Momento, 1935).

<sup>80</sup> Luis Reis Torgal, *História e Ideologia* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1989), p. 185.

Only for thirteen out of twenty-two different productions of plays by Molière do we know who the translator was. One of the translators listed is the writer António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875). One of the main literary Portuguese figures of the turn of the century, Castilho was also a translator and published six versions of plays by Molière, four of which were used in the EN: *O avaro* ('Noite de Teatro,' 1965), *Médico à Força* ('Noite de Teatro,' 1967), *O Doente de Cisma* ('Noite de Teatro,' 1967), and *As Sabichonas* ('Noite de Teatro,' 1971).<sup>81</sup> These translations, done 'libèrrimamente da prosa original a redondilhas portuguesas,' have been considered to be responsible for familiarizing the Portuguese readership and theatre-goers with Molière, as well as for the success of his plays in the country. Their presence in the 'Noite de Teatro' repertoire suggests that in the late 1960s the programme's producers did not agree with Fidelino de Figueiredo's criticism:

Se Castilho houvesse medido o alcance profundo e íntimo das peças referidas, se houvesse destrinchado que além de valores litterarios permanentes, humanos, havia a enquadrá-los uma moldura invariavel, a sociedade francesa do século XVIII, nunca teria tentado fazer adaptações ou nacionalizações ou versões liberrimas; limitar-se-hia a fazer traducções summamente fieis, de forma que vertidas na lingua portuguesa ellas fôsem sempre peças francesas do seculo XVII.<sup>82</sup>

Four of the plays broadcast between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s were translated and, three of them, adapted by Leopoldo Araújo: *Apaixonados Magníficos* (05.10.64

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<sup>81</sup> The remaining translations of Molière by Castilho were *O Misanthropo* and *Tartufo* (see Bernard Martocq, 'Molière, Castilho e a Geração de 70,' *Colóquio-Letras*, 28 (1975) 39-46). The Molière radio plays whose translator I was not able to determine, including *O Misanthropo* and *O Tartufo*, are, for the most part, works held by the Audio Archive.

<sup>82</sup> Fidelino de Figueiredo, 'As adaptações do teatro de Molière por Castilho', in *Estudos de Literatura: artigos varios*, Fidelino de Figueiredo, 2 vols, II (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1918), pp. 109-141 (p.113). A more recente critique of Castilho's translations can be found in Cristina Almeida Ribeiro, 'Molière segundo Castilho: tradução, adaptação, recriação?,' in *Estudos de Tradução em Portugal: Novos Contributos para a História da Literatura Portuguesa, Colóquio realizado na Universidade Católica Portuguesa em 14 e 15 de Dezembro de 2000*, org. by Teresa Seruya (Lisboa: Universidade Católica, 2001), pp. 97-108.

in 'Teatro das Comédias'), *As Velhacarias de Scapin* (26.01.1966 in 'Noite de Teatro'), *O Burguês Fidalgo* (10.10.73 in 'Noite de Teatro') and *O Avaro* (12.12.73 in 'Noite de Teatro'). His translation of *Les Fourberies de Scapin* had additionally been used ten years earlier, in 1956, in the Lisbon National Theatre, and published in the same year by Contraponto – an issue which is addressed in Chapter Four.

The number of works by Molière broadcast in the EN is not an echo of the preferences regarding staged classical foreign drama for that period in general, but rather, more accurately, of those of the National Theatre. In 1973 Rebello claimed that '[...] Molière seria, de 1891 para cá, o clássico estrangeiro mais representado no Teatro Nacional (catorze peças contra sete de Shakespeare, seu mais próximo concorrente).'<sup>83</sup> In 1970 and 1971 *L'avare* and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* were, furthermore, published in 'Encenação,' the drama collection of Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, the regime's national youth organization for girls.<sup>84</sup>

With sixteen different episodes based on around fourteen plays, the second French author most used in the national station is Alfred de **Musset** (1810-1857). While the number of plays broadcast is almost the same as Molière's, the latter's predominance is a result of the fact that the number of productions for each author is very different: twenty-two for Molière's works and sixteen for Musset's. Three of Musset's works were broadcast in 'Noite de Teatro,' between 1966 and 1967: *Ninguém Diga que Desta Água não Beberei* (23.02.66), *Ruína Proveitosa* (7.03.66), *Com o Amor Não se Brinca* (9.05.1967). The scripts in the archives show that Leopoldo Araújo was again both the adaptor and the translator of the first and last plays. His version of *Il ne Faut Jurer de Rien* (*Ninguém Diga Desta Água não beberei*) was broadcast a second time on 17.10.1984, in the programme 'Tempo de Teatro.'

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<sup>83</sup> Luiz Francisco Rebello, 'Sobre Molière em Portugal,' *Revista Colóquio/Letras*, 16 (1973), 23-29, (25).

<sup>84</sup> See Marta Anacleto, 'Encenações do cómico molieresco para a Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina ou a 'moral de alcance formativo' de Scapin e Harpagão (da princesa e do papagaio),' in *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*, org. by Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz and Alexandra Assis Rosa (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009), pp. 177-195.

Musset's Portuguese radio plays were mainly a result of Leopoldo Araújo's work as a translator, but he was not the only one. There were three 'Rádio Teatro' productions, *Não se pode pensar em tudo* (*On ne saurait penser à tout*) in 1966, and *É necessário fechar essa porta* (*Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée*) and *Pérfida como a Onda* in 1971, but only the translator of the second one is known: Leandro Vale (who also adapted it). The adaptors of the other two plays were, respectively, Dr. Correia Alves and José Brás. Eduardo Jacques and Ema Paul also translated and adapted *Fantasia* (broadcast in 1966) and *Uma Porta deve estar aberta* (1967) respectively. These works were included in 'Teatro das Comédias,' the programme which most often broadcast Musset's plays. Two additional plays were broadcast in each of those years, both translated and adapted by Leopoldo Araújo: in 1966, *Amor e Remorso* and in 1967 *O Burro e o Regato*. 1968 gave the audiences *Carmosina*, *Com o Amor não se Brinca*, *Noite de Veneza*, *Os caprichos de Mariana* and *Uma Decisão Inesperada* (adapted, respectively, by Vilar Fonseca, Leopoldo Araújo, Eduardo Jacques, Noel de Arriaga and again Leopoldo Araújo); finally, in 1970, the same programme broadcast *Dois Caminhos*, whose translator and adaptor are unknown.

One of Musset's contemporaries was Eugène **Scribe** (1791-1861), who with at least ten broadcast plays, is also in a privileged position amongst the preferred French authors, even though only one play is repeated, once: *Os independentes* (*Les Indépendents*), broadcast on 4.06.1963 in 'Teatro das Comédias' and two years later, on 27.08.65, translated and adapted by Ruy Furtado for 'Noite de Teatro.' It is likely that 'Noite de Teatro' also included *O senhor Rigaud* in 1960, and, one year later, *Mahina* – both comedies translated and adapted by Leopoldo Araújo.

As in the case of Musset, it is in 'Teatro das Comédias' that we find the biggest number of Scribe's works. Between 1963 and 1967, seven more plays were broadcast: *O regresso*, *O diplomata*, *Partir a Tempo*, *Plano de Vida*, *O Bezerro de Ouro*, *Quarentena Providencial* and *O filósofo e a bailarina*. They were all adapted by Leopoldo Araújo, (who also translated some of them), except for two cases of translations by women, *Partir a Tempo*, translated

and adapted by Alice Ogando, and *Quarentena Providencial*, translated and adapted by Odette de Saint-Maurice.

As for Alexandre **Dumas** (father; 1802-1870), several works were adapted in particular for 'Teatro das Comédias' between 1964 and 1966: *Eloy Mestre dos Mestres*, *A honra está salva* (*L'honneur est satisfait*) and *As atribuições duma rainha* (probably, *Le verrou de la Reine*).<sup>85</sup> The translators have not been identified, except for the case of *As atribuições duma rainha*, whose translator and adaptor was Jorge Filgueiras.<sup>86</sup> It is very likely that the translators of the other plays were their adaptors, namely, Odette de Saint-Maurice, Botelho Silva and Alina Vaz.

Jorge Filgueiras was also responsible for the translation and adaptation of four out of seven plays by Honoré de **Balzac** (1799–1850): *A fé do descrente*, *Cidadão X*, *Um homem de recursos* (*Les Ressources de Quinola*) and *Um drama burguês* (*L'École de Ménages*), all of them broadcast in 'Teatro das Comédias' between 1963 and 1967. *Madame Firmiani*, the last work by Balzac included in this programme, in 1968, was translated and adapted by Maria Pereira da Silva.<sup>87</sup>

With an implicit preference for comedies, as suggested by its name, 'Teatro das Comédias' was the programme which more often chose texts by Eugène **Labiche** (1815-1888): *Uma mulher de génio*, *Penas de Pavão*, *A cigarra entre as formigas*, *Minha Isménia*, *O caso da rua Lourcine* (*Affaire de la rue Lourcine*), *A gramática* (*La Grammaire*). Two other very famous works appeared in 'Noite de Teatro:' the comedy *A viagem do senhor Périchon* (*Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon*, 1860) – which was broadcast by RTP at least once more, in 1991 - and

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<sup>85</sup> The novels *José Balsamo* (*Mémoires d'un médecin: Joseph Balsamo*), *O Colar da Rainha* (*Le Collier de la Reine*), *Os três mosqueteiros* (*Les trois Mousquetaires*) and *O Visconde de Bragelonne* (*Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*) became 'Folhetins' of around thirty episodes each. They were broadcast over a period of roughly ten years, between 1963 and 1972.

<sup>86</sup> Sometimes the spelling of the surname is 'Figueiras,' but according to the *Dicionário Cronológico de Autores Portugueses*, the correct spelling is 'Filgueiras.' *Dicionário Cronológico de Autores*, coord. by Eugénio Lisboa, 6 vols (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, c1985).

<sup>87</sup> However, the first time Balzac was aired seems to have been 1959, with another piece of prose fiction taken from *La Comédie Humaine: Ursula Mirouet*, adapted by Edgar Marques as a nineteen episode series ('Folhetim').



the farce *Um Chapéu de palha de Itália*. The latter, broadcast on 28.07.1966, appeared on the radio after at least one stage production in Lisbon, in 1949, in the Teatro Apolo, by the famous group Comediantes de Lisboa, directed by António Pedro.

**Guy de Maupassant** (1850-1893) is an illustration of the fact that drama was not the only source genre for episodes broadcast by 'Teatro das Comédias'. The latter is, in fact, the only programme known so far to include works by this short story writer. Between 1962 and 1971 *Um dia Maravilhoso*, *Musotte*, *O peixe e a prata*, *O colar*, *O navio Naufragado*, and *Esopo* were broadcast.<sup>88</sup> Perhaps due to the fact that each one of them was broadcast in different years, they were adapted by different people: in chronological order, Alice Ogando, Mário Pereira, Pedro Pinheiro, João António Barreira, Eduardo Jacques and Maria Pereira da Silva.

Three plays by **Corneille** (1606-1684) were broadcast: *D. Sancho de Aragão* (9.01.1960), *Cinna* (28-10-1963) and *O Cid* (in 30.06.1966 in 'Noite de Teatro' and in 14.05.1968 in 'Teatro das Comédias,' despite being a tragedy). The audience of the last *El Cid* presented by 'Teatro das Comédias' had also been able to listen to the Spanish source of this play, *As Mocidades do Cid*, by the Spaniard Guillén de Castro, which had been broadcast on the same programme one month before, on 01.04.1968. The archive records indicate that the adaptor of all these plays was Leopoldo Araújo.

Both Figaro comedies by Pierre Caron de **Beaumarchais** (1732-1799) were performed in the EN. *O Barbeiro de Sevilha ou a Inútil Precaução* and *As bodas de Fígaro* were broadcast in 'Teatro das Comédias,' on 10.11.1967 and 25.11.1968 respectively. The drama *Os Dois Amigos* had also been broadcast, on 28-10-1964, in 'Noite de Teatro.' The three works were translated, respectively, by Eduardo Jacques, Jorge Filgueiras and Fernando de Paços.

As for Prosper **Mérimée** (1803-1870), the EN broadcast one play (*Inês Mendo*) and one short story (*O beco de Lucrecia*). They were broadcast two months apart, in 1966, in

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<sup>88</sup> *A minha mulher* and *O colar* were also broadcast by, respectively, the programmes 'Companhia da Alegria' in 1963 and 'Um Conto Radiofónico' in 1967.

‘Teatro das Comédias,’ both adapted by Alice Ogando. It was also Ogando who adapted two works by Octave **Feuillet** (1821-1890), *A Vida de um rapaz pobre* and *Cabelo Branco*. While the latter was broadcast as a play in ‘Teatro das Comédias,’ the former was broadcast as a 28-episode ‘Folhetim.’

That was also the format chosen for three texts by George **Sand** (pseudonym of Baroness Amandine Aurore Lucie Dudevant, 1804-1876). Out of a total number of four works selected for the radio, *A rapariga dos Bosques*, *O Maestro Favilla* and *Duas Vidas Um Destino* were ‘folhetins,’ while *O Marquês de Villemer* appeared as one ‘Noite de Teatro’ episode. Ogando’s translation of the latter was published around 1967.

Jean **Marsus**, albeit not French, is a further example of a female author writing in French. Marsus was the pseudonym of Marcelle De Clerck, a Belgian author of crime novels published mainly in the 1940s. She also wrote several radio plays, amongst which the two works included in ‘Teatro das Comédias’ on 6.11.1969 are probably to be found: *Feliz Ano Novo* and *Um Expresso Parou* (both adapted by Rui Pilar).

An additional female writer included was Françoise **Sagan** (pseudonym of Françoise Quoirez, 1935 – 2004), for whom there is only one record in the archives. The play *Les Violons parfois* (1962) was broadcast on 21.05.1966, as *Violinos de vez em quando*, in the short-lived programme ‘Teatro Contemporâneo.’

Jules **Supervielle** (1884-1960), whose poetic theatre was the focus of a 1961 ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ episode (*O Teatro poético de Jules Supervielle – ‘Robinson’ e ‘A Bela do Bosque’*), was also the object of a study by Adolfo Casais Monteiro, published in the influential *Presença. Folha de Arte e Crítica*: ‘Introdução a um Ensaio sobre a poesia de Jules Supervielle.’<sup>89</sup> The second work by Supervielle to appear on EN, again in ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ in 1972, was *O Carnaval da vida*.

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<sup>89</sup> *Presença. Folha de Arte e Crítica*, 2:45, year IX, (June 1935), 12-14. It was also aso published, in 1938, as *Descoberta no mundo interior: a poesia de Jules Supervielle*. Porto, Ed. Presença, 1938.

Jean **Cocteau** (1889-1963) was similarly singled out as a renovator by José Régio, a co-founder of *Presença* (1927-1940), when in the third number of the journal he wrote on the modernist generation. This view was shared by Eurico Lisboa filho who dedicated the 77th episode of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' in 1963 to 'Jean Cocteau - Um dos Maiores Criadores de Teatro do Nosso Século.' The episode, which is based on *A Máquina Infernal*, and *Os Cavaleiros da Távola Redonda*, was broadcast nineteen days after Cocteau's death, prompting the opening line '[o] Teatro encontra-se de luto nos nossos dias. Um dos nossos maiores criadores abandonou-o, levado pela morte, que a ninguém perdoa, nem aos maiores génios, aos maiores talentos.'<sup>90</sup> The play *A Máquina Infernal* was again included in 1972 in 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' corresponding to the last work by Cocteau broadcast before the Carnation Revolution, after the 1969 'Teatro das Comédias' episode based on *O Indiferente*.

Marcel **Achard's** (1899-1974) *Patate* in 'Vamos ao Teatro' (02-09-1959) was a recording of the rehearsal of that play by Teatro Avenida (*Patate* opened in the Lisbon theatre on the following day).<sup>91</sup> Broadcasting a play that had been approved by the censorship to be performed in one of Lisbon's theatres meant that the potential problems with it had already been dealt with. Regardless of its success in Paris, the play is likely to have been censored in some way, considering that in America, where it was adapted for Broadway by Irwin Shaw, the language of eighteen-year old Alexa 'would shock American parents into some measure of protest or discipline.'<sup>92</sup> In 1962, Achard's *O Corsário* was presented in the 52nd 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode.

Guy **Foissy** (1932- ), was twice chosen to be broadcast in 'Teatro das Comédias:' *Meu nome é Rui Barbo* was broadcast on 19.02.1972 and *Coração a Dois* on 30.01.1974.

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<sup>90</sup> Jean Cocteau - *Um dos Maiores Criadores de Teatro do Nosso Século*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 29.10.1963, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> And therefore only the introduction to the recorded scene is held by the archive.

<sup>92</sup> Paul Mankin, 'The Humor of Marcel Archard,' *Yale French Studies*, 23 (1959), 33-38 (p. 35).

## Spanish Authors

Three plays by **Juan del Encina** (c. 1468-1537?) were presented in 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' in 1974, translated, adapted and introduced by Eurico Lisboa filho: *O triunfo do Amor*, (also known as *A Representação do Amor*), *Santíssima Paixão e Morte de Nosso precioso Redentor* and *Santíssima Ressurreição de Cristo*. Both Encina and **Lope de Rueda** (1510-1565), whose 'pasos' *Pagar e não Pagar*, *Os Criados* and *As Azeitonas* were broadcast a few months earlier in the same programme, were contrasted with Gil Vicente (c. 1465- c. 1539). Rueda's 'pasos' were followed, two weeks later ('Teatro de Todos os Tempos' was broadcast every two weeks), by Quiñones de **Benavente's** (? – 1652) *Os Alcaides encontrados* and Agustín **Moreto y Cabana's** (1618 – 1669) *Entremés famoso das bruxas*.

Before these broadcasts, two of Miguel de **Cervantes'** (1547-1616) 'entremeses,' *O Juiz de Divórcios* and *O Retábulo das Maravilhas*,<sup>93</sup> translated and adapted by Eurico Lisboa filho, had been chosen for the 1971 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' programme. *O Retábulo das Maravilhas* had also been broadcast in 1966, in a Leopoldo Araújo's adaptation for 'Teatro das Comédias.' Three further plays by Cervantes were included in 'Teatro das Comédias:' in 1963, *Pedro Malasartes* (adapted by Leopoldo Araújo), in 1969 *Jogo Empatado* (an adaptation by Pedro Pinheiro), and a few months later, in 1970, translated by Manuel Lerenó, *Palradores*.<sup>94</sup>

On 22.07.1971, two months before 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' presented Cervantes' 'entremeses,' it presented a play by **Lope de Vega** (1562-1635): *A Boa Guarda*. He was the most popular Spanish playwright to be performed on the Portuguese national radio, with at least fourteen performances. Three of them were translations of the same comedy, *El Perro del Hortelano*, and, translated and adaptated by Leopoldo Araújo, they were all titled *O Perro do Hortelão*. They were broadcast on 27.01.1965 in 'Noite de Teatro,' on 12.07.1972 in 'Teatro das Comédias' and on 13.03.1974 once more in 'Noite de Teatro.'

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<sup>93</sup> They seem correspond to, respectively, *El juez de los divorcios* and *El retablo de las maravillas*.

<sup>94</sup> This is probably *Los Habladores*.

Accessibility to the scripts allows a comparison to be made between the two plays aired in 'Noite de Teatro,' but excludes the 1972 production. The former coincide as translations of the same source text, but not in terms of its adaptation. The second version is longer than the first one, in which several scenes and lines are missing. This is immediately apparent in the length of each script. This difference might be explained by the length of the programme, which might have changed over time.

There is one more radio production to be added to the three versions of *El Perro del Hortelano* already mentioned: *O Cachorro do Hortelão*, adapted by José Brás for 'Rádio Teatro' on 25.11.1968. This translation immediately contrasts with the other three not only due to the fact that, unlike the others, it is not a verse translation, but also because its title alone indicates that domesticating, rather than foreignizing translation strategies were used. Instead of the word 'perro,' of Castilian origin, the Latin root term 'cachorro' was chosen.<sup>95</sup> Even though the script does not mention the translator of the text, its title and the year of the radio production suggest that it might correspond to Natália Correia's homonymous translation published by Civilização in 1967 (Correia also translated Sartre, Büchner, J. B. Metz and Euripides). 1967 was the year when Natália Correia's own play *A Pécora* was censored. In her brief analysis of Correia's translation of another play by Vega, *Fuente Ovejuna*, Maria Idalina Rodrigues mentions 'o portuguesamento e a modernização epocal de léxico,' thus identifying a translation process similar to the one revealed by the title *O Cachorro do Hortelão*.<sup>96</sup>

Between 1965 and 1974, 'Noite de Teatro' aired two further plays by Lope de Vega, *O príncipe perfeito* on 30.07.1965 and *A Dama boba* on 27.10.1966. This was the year when 'Teatro das Comédias' broadcast *O arrogante espanhol ou O cavaleiro de milagre* and *O vilão em seu rincão*. In 1968 *O melhor alcaide de el-rei* and, five months later, *O cavaleiro de Olmedo* appeared

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<sup>95</sup> See Antônio Geraldo da Cunha's *Dicionário Etimológico Nova Fronteira da Língua Portuguesa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Rio de Janeiro : Editora Nova Fronteira, 1987) and the *Dicionário de Português*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed (Porto: Porto Editora, [n.d.]).

<sup>96</sup> Maria Idalina R. Rodrigues, 'Fuente Ovejuna: as margens da memória,' in *De Gil Vicente a Lope de Vega. Vozes Cruzadas no Teatro Ibérico*, Maria Idalina R. Rodrigues (Lisbon: Teorema, 1999).

on the same programme, followed in 1969 by *O certo pelo duvidoso* and in 1971 by *Casamento em Manzanares* (besides, in 1972 *O Perro do hortelão*, mentioned above). In the archives, the translator is mentioned in nine out of fourteen plays broadcast, with one name repeating itself: Leopoldo Araújo. This probably explains why the volume *Lope de Vega*, which came out in 1972 under the aegis of Verbo, was mainly composed of translations and adaptations by Araújo and Ricardo Alberty.<sup>97</sup>

**Guillén de Castro y Belvis** (1569-1631)'s *As mocidades do Cid* was performed in 1968 in 'Teatro das Comédias' and, in 1971, *O melhor esposo* appeared in 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos.'

**Tirso de Molina** (or Fray Gabriel Téllez, 1584?-1648), comes second amongst the Spanish authors most frequently included on the repertoires. Six works by Molina were produced, whilst Lope de Vega's works were the object of at least fourteen radio drama productions. 'Noite de Teatro' presented all the plays written by Tirso de Molina, with two exceptions: on 29.12.1965, *O Envergonhado no Paço*; on Christmas Eve in 1966, *Os Amantes de Teruel*; on 29.12.1966, *As Quinas de Portugal* and, in 1974, *O Burlador de Sevilha*.<sup>98</sup> Each case was a verse translation<sup>99</sup> and adaptation by Leopoldo Araújo, except for *Os Amantes de Teruel*, adapted and translated by Jorge de Sousa Costa. The plays *Médica por amor* and *Condenado por Desconfiado* were performed in January and March 1967, respectively.

The interest, from 1965 onwards, in Tirso de Molina's plays followed the publication, in 1965, of José Maria Viqueira Barreiro's *Lusofilia de Tirso de Molina*.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Lope de Vega*, trans. and adapt. by Leopoldo Araújo and Ricardo Alberty, col. Gigantes da Literatura Universal, 10 (Lisbon: Verbo, 1972). The translations were not done exclusively by Araújo or Alberty. An excerpt of the third act of Natália Correia's translation of the play *Fuente Ovejuna*, for instance, was also included (mentioned in Rodrigues, 'Fuente Ovejuna,' p. 339.)

<sup>98</sup> The author of this work has however been recently disputed. See Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez and Luis Vázquez, 'El Burlador de Sevilla: Tirso o Claramonte?,' *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, vol. 3 (*Siglo de Oro: Barroco*) (Barcelona: edición crítica, 1992), pp. 460-470.

<sup>99</sup> I not been able to confirm this for *Condenado por Desconfiado*.

<sup>100</sup> Coimbra: Imprensa de Coimbra, 1965. This study appeared originally in *Biblos- Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. XXXVI (1960), pp.265-489. In 1948, in volume XXIV of the same journal another article had appeared on the same topic, by Alonso Zamora Vicente: 'Portugal en el teatro de Tirso de Molina' (*Biblos*, XXIV (1948), 1-41), which

Attempting to ‘dar a conocer [...] un aspecto de “Tirso de Molina” y de su obra íntima e sentimentalmente relacionada con el noble pueblo lusitano,’<sup>101</sup> Viqueira identified as works whose subject is Portuguese *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*, *El Amor Médico*, and *Las Quinas de Portugal*, , amongst others. The three plays are amongst the first Tirso works broadcast by EN, between 1965 and January 1967 (*O envergonhado no paço*, *Médica por Amor* and *As quinas de Portugal* respectively).

The historical inaccuracy of the latter,<sup>102</sup> which was Tirso’s last work and, in Viqueira’s words, ‘la culminación brillante de su lusofilia,’<sup>103</sup> was not corrected by Leopoldo Araújo. His verse translation is in fact all the more relevant if we consider the difficulty, according to Viqueira writing in 1959,<sup>104</sup> in accessing the play even in Spanish.<sup>105</sup> This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Portuguese National Library catalogue lists only one work in Portuguese - a translation of three plays published in 1967 and done by Orlando Neves, the author of the radio version *Médica por amor*.<sup>106</sup>

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was reprinted in Zamora Vicente’s *De Garcilaso a Valle-Inclán* (Buenos Aires, 1950). In Portugal, Manuel de Sousa Pinto had published in 1914 *Portugal e as portuguesas em Tirso de Molina* (Lisboa: Aillaud e Bertrand).

<sup>101</sup> Barreiro, ‘La Lusofilia de “Tirso de Molina,”’ *Biblos*, p. 265.

<sup>102</sup> This aspect was dealt with by Margaret Wilson in ‘The Last play of Tirso de Molina’ (*The Modern Language Review*, 47:4, (Oct. 1952) 516-528). Barreiro seems to have been oblivious to it when in his study, mentioned above, he claims that ‘[n]uestro dramaturgo puso especial cuidado en recoger lo esencial de la verdad tradicional y histórica.’ (Barreiro ‘La Lusofilia de “Tirso de Molina,”’ *Biblos*, p. 313).

<sup>103</sup> Barreiro ‘La Lusofilia de “Tirso de Molina,”’ *Biblos*, p. 313.

<sup>104</sup> Barreiro’s text is dated 1959 but was published in *Biblos* in 1960 (and later, in Coimbra, in 1965, as previously mentioned).

<sup>105</sup> ‘[...] esta pieza no es demasiado accesible a los lectores, pues creo que sólo se publicó dos veces – no dispongo de datos en este momento para afirmarlo rotundamente –, la última, si no me equivoco, en el tomo II de las ‘Comedias de Tirso de Molina’ en la Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua, bajo la dirección de Ménendez y Pelayo [...] en 1907.’ Barreiro ‘La Lusofilia de “Tirso de Molina,”’ *Biblos*, p.310.

<sup>106</sup> Although we cannot not always rely on the National Library catalogue, which sometimes proves to be incomplete and even inaccurate, in this case the fact that only one translation is listed confirms Viqueira’s assessment. Tirso de Molina, *O sedutor de Sevilha e o convidado de pedra*, *O amor médico*, *O tímido no palácio*, translated by Orlando Neves (Porto: Civilização, 1967). In catalogues of other libraries, the same book seems to be listed as *Teatro de Tirso de Molina (O sedutor de Sevilha e o convidado de pedra, O amor médico, O tímido no palácio)*. Dionisio Soler does not list any translation of Molina in his ‘Subsídios para um inventário das traduções de literatura espanhola publicadas em Portugal (1940-1990)’ (part of Dionisio M. Soler, ‘A tradução da literatura espanhola em Portugal (1940-1990)’ in *Act2: Entre Artes e culturas*, coord. by Helena Carvalhão Buescu and João Ferreira Duarte, (Lisboa: Edições Colibri/Centro Estudos Comparatistas, 2000), pp. 125-135, (pp.71-135)).

Amongst the Golden Age authors we find also **Calderón de la Barca** (1600-1681). Leopoldo Araújo's verse translation and adaptation of *O príncipe constante* was included in 1974 in 'Noite de Teatro.' Araújo was also responsible for the translation and adaptation of *O Amor não é para graças* and, most likely, *O Alcaide de Zalameia*,<sup>107</sup> both aired in 'Teatro das Comédias' in 1964 and 1962 respectively. Calderón featured also in yet another programme, 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos,' where Eurico Lisboa filho's translation and adaptation *A devoção da Cruz* was broadcast in 1971.

The contrast between this list and that collected by Dionisio Soler in his study of Spanish literature published (in individual volumes and in anthologies) in Portugal between 1940 and 1990 substantiates the claim that the radio broadcast translations were not, for the most part at least, motivated by the publication of versions of the same works. According to Soler, *A vida é sonho* and *O alcaide de Zalamea* were indeed published within that period, but only after the radio productions mentioned above (the former in 1968, in 1971 and twice in 1973, and the latter in 1968 and 1971).<sup>108</sup>

The EN broadcast five works by Leandro **Fernández de Moratín** (1760-1868): *Quando as meninas dizem sim* ('Rádio Teatro,' 1965), *Sonsinha La Mourragata* ('Teatro das Comédias,' 1966), *O Barão* ('Noite de Teatro,' 1967), *O velho e a menina* and *A comédia nova ou o café* ('Teatro das Comédias,' 1968 and 1969 respectively). Amongst the names of the translators mentioned in the archives (Leopoldo Araújo, Maria Manuel Couto Viana and Manuel Lerenó), that of António Almeida Garrett, identified as being responsible for the 1965 'Rádio Teatro's' version of Moratín *Quando as meninas dizem sim*, is particularly intriguing. It is difficult to establish who this person might have been, despite the famous surname. João Baptista Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), the famous playwright, was a more likely possibility than 'António Almeida Garrett,' which is the name of his brother (António Bernardo) and of a 1940s director of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Porto.

<sup>107</sup> The audio archive record does not refer to the translator, but given the usual accumulation of the two roles by Araújo, it is fair to assume that he was also the translator in this case.

<sup>108</sup> See Soler, 'A tradução da literatura espanhola,' pp.71-135.



Almeida Garrett, the playwright, had expressed his admiration for the younger Moratín as early as 1827, in one of the newspapers that he founded.<sup>109</sup> An additional aspect reinforcing the possibility of Garrett being the author of the Portuguese version of the Spanish play is the fact that he was indeed a translator (namely, of Greek and Latin authors). Incidentally, criticism of Garrett's translations – of Sappho and Catullus – was published around the time when the EN broadcast 'António Almeida Garrett's translation.'<sup>110</sup> The absence of a reference to a Portuguese version of Moratín (both father and son, in fact) in the Portuguese National Library Catalogue and in Rodrigues Gonçalves's *A tradução em Portugal*, seemingly implying that no translation was ever published in volume in Portugal, should also be noted. The 'Rádio Teatro' 1965 production of *Quando as meninas dizem 'sim'* does not include an introduction nor any other form of additional information about the man identified as the translator and adaptor of the play. The play was directed by Maria Manuela Couto Viana, herself a playwright and translator.

According to the archives, she was also responsible for the translation and adaptation of Moratín's *O Barão*, which was included in 'Noite de Teatro' in 1967. If Maria Manuela was indeed the author of this version of the play, which, unlike the Spanish text, is not in verse, it is very likely that she used her brother's own version of the same work. The author António Manuel Couto Viana (1923-2010), director of the Companhia Nacional de Teatro since 1961, was not only the author of the version of *El Barón* performed on 15.11.1964 by that company,<sup>111</sup> but also the director of the 'Noite de Teatro' production.

The Portuguese radio further broadcast the remaining three plays written by Leandro Fernández Moratín: *Sonsinha La Mourragata* was broadcast in 1966 and *O velho e a*

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<sup>109</sup> Almeida Garrett, 'Parte Litteraria e Scientifica – Litteratura Hespanhola,' *O Chronista*, 2:19, (June, July, Aug 1827) 141-2.

<sup>110</sup> Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'Versões garrettianas de Safo,' *Humanitas*, XVII-XVIII (1965-1966), Coimbra, 211-221, later published in Américo da Costa Ramalho, *Para a História do Humanismo em Portugal (IV)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000), pp. 267-276; and also Américo da Costa Ramalho 'Garrett, tradutor de Catulo,' *Colóquio*, 27 (February 1964) 38-41, later published in Américo da Costa Ramalho, *Para a História do Humanismo em Portugal (IV)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000), pp. 277-282.

<sup>111</sup> According to CETbase, register n. 50631. This is the only entry for Leandro Fernández Moratín in this database.

*menina* in 1968, both adapted by Leopoldo Araújo for 'Teatro das Comédias,' the same programme which aired *A Comédia nova ou o café* in 1969, in a translation and adaptation by Manuel Lerenó.

Under António Manuel Couto Viana from 1961 to 1967, the Companhia Nacional de Teatro performed works of another Spanish playwright who was included in the national radio programmes during roughly the same period of time: Alejandro **Casona** (1903-1965). His works had in fact been on Lisbon stages since as early as 1950, mainly but not exclusively through the performances of the Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro Company, which between 1929 and 1964 was the resident company of Teatro Nacional D. Maria II.<sup>112</sup> Eurico Lisboa filho's 48<sup>th</sup> episode of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' aired on 18.09.1962 with the title *Os temas tradicionais espanhóis no moderno teatro de A. Casona*, began precisely by referring to those numerous productions. It was the first Casona's play broadcast in the EN.

Despite (or perhaps, rather, because of) Casona's popularity – CETbase lists eleven different performances based on his works for the period between 1950 and 1971 -, it seems to have been broadcast only four times by the Emissora during roughly the same period of time. In 1969, seven years after Eurico Lisboa filho's episode, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' included some excerpts of *Outra vez o Diabo*, in what seems to be a translation done by Leopoldo Araújo. 'Teatro das Comédias' had also presented, in 1964, Ricardo Alberty's *Sinfonia incompleta*, and in 1967 'Rádio Teatro' broadcast *A farsa do segredo bem guardado*, in a Maria Alexandra Corte Real Correia Alves adaptation.

Plays by Federico Garcia **Lorca** (1898-1936) were also broadcast by the Emissora Nacional, on three occasions. The first programme dedicated to his work was *Aspectos do Teatro de Garcia Lorca*, the 18<sup>th</sup> episode of Eurico Lisboa filho's 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' (1961). It consisted of the farce *A sapateira fantasiosa* and the tragedy *Bodas de Sangue*. The

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<sup>112</sup> According to Vítor Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia breve do século XX teatral,' in *Panorama da cultura portuguesa no século XX*, coord. by Fernando Pernes, 3 vols (Porto : Edições Afrontamento : Fundação Serralves, 2002), pp. 189-296, p. 227 and CETbase, register n. 7897.

play *La zapatera prodigiosa*, which had already been performed in 1960 by Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro company, was chosen for a second time seven years after the first production, in 1968.<sup>113</sup> In this year it was also broadcast on RTP, with Amália Rodrigues in the lead role. In Leopoldo Araújo's 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' it was presented in the episode *Federico Garcia Lorca e o teatro dos Poetas*, alongside *A Casa de Bernarda Alba*. The last play by Lorca to appear on the radio was also a tragedy, *Yerma*. It was included in 1974 a further 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode, dedicated to *A poesia e o povo no teatro de Garcia Lorca*. This play, described in the introduction as 'o drama da mulher sem filhos,' had also been performed on stage in 1955, by Teatro D'Arte de Lisboa. Garcia Lorca's plays were repeatedly staged from at least 1948 onwards, and especially during the 1960s: for this decade alone the CETbase database lists nine productions, some of which also took place outside the capital, namely in Cascais and in Coimbra.

### Italian Authors

Unpredictably perhaps, given, for instance, Rui Pina Coelho's assertion that Goldoni's presence 'nos repertórios de colectivos portugueses ao longo do século XX não será muito mais que residual,'<sup>114</sup> **Carlo Goldoni** (1707-1793) is the most popular Italian author in the EN, with thirteen different productions based on one or more works each. In fact, according to CETbase, between the 1950s and the 1970s an author such as **Luigi Pirandello** (1867-1936) was staged much more frequently. On the radio, however, his works seem to have appeared only three times: *Pirandello e o seu Henrique IV*, in a 1961 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias;' *Henrique IV* in 'Teatro Contemporâneo,' in 1966; and *Seis Personagens à procura de autor*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' in 1968. The fact that Pirandello was looked upon very favourably by the regime, which had invited him, in 1931, as a special

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<sup>113</sup> The same play, translated and adapted by Filipe La Feria, would be the object of a further production broadcast by 'Tempo de Teatro' in 1979.

<sup>114</sup> Rui Pina Coelho, 'A dramaturgia goldoniana em Portugal no século XX,' <<http://www.fl.ul.pt/cet-publicacoes/cet-edicoes-online/cet-artigos/686--dramaturgia-goldoniana-em-portugal-no-seculo-xx>>.

guest of the International Congress of Drama Critics, seems to have had no impact on the Emissora's choices a couple of decades later.

The contrast between radio performances of Italian drama and what was performed on stage is also marked in terms of the plays chosen. While, still according to Coelho, Goldoni's *La Locandiera* is one of the works most used in stage productions, it was broadcast only once, as *A Hospedaria da Porta* in a 1961 'Teatro das Comédias' episode. The radio broadcasts were based on a variety of plays, amongst which only *Il Bugiardo* is repeated, once. After *O Leque* had been included in 'Teatro das Comédias,' in 1955, *O Mentiroso* was broadcast twice in 1959. First, in 'Vamos ao Teatro,' as a broadcast of the Teatro Avenida's production, which marked the beginning of Gino Saviotti's 'Teatro de Sempre's' activity;<sup>115</sup> and later, at the end of that month, as a 'Rádio-Drama' production, adapted by Leopoldo Araújo. While this was the only 'Rádio-Drama' programme dedicated to the Venetian author, 'Teatro das Comédias' would present his plays several times: in 1966, *A hospedaria da porta* and *Jacinta* (the latter being an adaptation of *La trilogia della villeggiatura*); in 1967, *Apaixonados* and one other play, the title of which has not been possible to determine; in 1968, *Pamela*, and in 1971, *Caprichos e preconceitos - as mulheres caprichosas*. Apart from these, three other plays were broadcast during the 1960s (in 1963, *Pantalão, avarento e infeliz*, in 'Rádio Teatro,' in 1964, *A mania do veraneio*, in 'Noite de Teatro,' and in 1965, again in 'Rádio Teatro,' *Velho caturra e surdo*). This means that in the 1960s alone there were nine different radio productions of Goldoni's plays, thus testifying to an interest that can be traced back to the newly discovered potential of Goldoni's drama:

A década de sessenta foi mais profícua para a encenação de textos de Goldoni. Se no pós-guerra europeu este vai perdendo a aura de um autor que representa uma ideia de italianidade garrida e exótica para passar a ser entendido como um autor com uma dimensão universal e capaz de interrogar eficazmente o século que

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<sup>115</sup> See Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia breve,' p. 232. For a critique of this play, see Jorge de Sena, "'O mentiroso" de Goldoni,' in *Do Teatro em Portugal* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1989) pp. 206-207.

decorre, só nos anos sessenta – com o atraso do costume – se vão fazendo sentir estas alterações por cá.<sup>116</sup>

Apart from Goldoni and Pirandello, **Ugo Betti** (1892-1953) also appeared more than once on the Portuguese airwaves. The first time, in 1961, coincided in time with the presence of Betti's works at Teatro da Trindade, in performances by António Manuel Couto Viana's Companhia Nacional de Teatro.<sup>117</sup> *O teatro de Ugo Betti*, the fifteenth 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode, broadcast in 1961, included excerpts of *Vento Nocturno* and *Corrupção no Palácio de Justiça*. The latter was, five years later, the object of a further production, this time by 'Teatro Contemporâneo.' Finally, in 1971, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' presented *Lutar até de madrugada* as part of the episode 'Deus no teatro de Ugo Betti.'

Making appearances on single occasions, several other Italian authors had their works broadcast by the EN: **Diego Fabbri** (1911-1980) and **Emilio de Marchi** (1851-1901) were two exceptions in that they featured in two productions each.

Two further cases merit special attention, since they refer to works intentionally written for the radio. Together with the 1963 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' programme titled *O teatro radiofónico italiano*, they show how aware of the Italian radiodrama productions the EN was. The choice of **Italo Alighiero Chiusano's** (1926-1995) *Noite no palácio real* and **Luigi Silori's** (1921-1983) *Estadia nas barracas* was motivated by a desire to 'ver mais de perto a técnica deste novo ramo do teatro,' which is identified as 'drama radiofónico,' 'rádio drama' and 'peças escritas propositadamente para a rádio.'<sup>118</sup> Both works had been granted prizes awarded by RAI, and are presented together in order to complement each other. Whilst Chiusano's work is a 'reconstituição histórica,' Silori's demonstrates that 'a rádio tem um

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<sup>116</sup> Coelho, 'A dramaturgia goldoniana.'

<sup>117</sup> See Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia breve,' p. 227.

<sup>118</sup> *O Teatro radiofónico italiano*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.2.1963, p. I-1.

campo de acção muito mais vasto, pode levar-nos à fantasia, à mudança frequente de local e de tempo, pode dar-nos sobretudo ambientes.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. I-7.

## **2. PRELIMINARY LEVEL: selecting texts**

*É um valioso agente de educação e de cultura, pela conferência, pelos concêrtos, pelas peças de teatro e pelas lições sôbre todos os assuntos do ensino. [...] A rádiodifusão é, consequentemente, uma função do Estado [...].*<sup>120</sup>  
Cristiano de Sousa, 1935

The previous chapter has shown not only the amount but also the variety of plays and playwrights broadcast by the Emissora between the 1940s and the 1970s. Works from multiple languages, nationalities and genres, as well as from different historical and literary periods were showcased. The fact that the number of plays by French authors was over half of the amount of plays by Portuguese authors, as illustrated by Figure 1 in the previous chapter, can be explained by the powerful influence that French culture had upon Portugal, until at least World War II. However, the status of French culture as a model to be followed does not account for the large number of plays by authors of other nationalities also included in the Emissora's programmes.

This chapter investigates the reasons why so many foreign plays were broadcast by the Portuguese national station, and interrogates into the impact of Estado Novo's ideology on such text selection. The material to be used is one of the first choices involved in the process of radio broadcasting and, from the point of view of the listener, it is therefore located at what can be considered the preliminary level of such process.<sup>121</sup> The importance of this level of decision-making for the impact of, in this case, translation as a

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<sup>120</sup> Speech by Dr. Cristiano de Sousa, quoted in EN, *Boletim da Emissora Nacional*, 1 (August 1935), p. 36.

<sup>121</sup> See, for instance, *British Radio Drama*, ed. by John Drakakis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 65.

cultural and systemic fact is intimately related to the different factors which condition choice. This was acknowledged by Itamar Even-Zohar, who claimed that ‘the polysystem constraints turn out to be relevant for the procedures of selection, manipulation, amplification, deletion, etc., taking place in actual products (verbal as well as non-verbal) pertaining to the polysystem.’<sup>122</sup>

The examination of the criteria determining text selection reveals the ideological framework on which that particular form of manipulation is grounded, which supports the idea that ‘it can be said that any translation is ideological since the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents.’<sup>123</sup> Reinforcing Lefevere’s identification of different control factors determining translation choices,<sup>124</sup> Matsunaga-Watson’s analysis of the selection of texts for translation in postwar Japan has similarly shown that ‘[c]ommercial factors and other external polysystems such as politics, economics, and international relations may play an important role in explaining the emerging pattern of translation and the grounds for text selection for translation [...]’.<sup>125</sup>

On the one hand, source text selection is a fundamental component of the process through which a translated text can be seen to condone or oppose the dominant ideology (political or otherwise), as for instance Zhao’s study of the introduction of Ibsen in China has shown, and Chapters Five and Six will illustrate.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, within the context of a repressive regime such as *Estado Novo*, the dominant ideological framework conditions the preliminary level of decisions regarding translation of literature by determining through mechanisms such as preventive or repressive censorship what can and

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<sup>122</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar, ‘Polysystem Studies,’ *Poetics Today*, 11:1, (Spring 1990) 9-26 (p. 15).

<sup>123</sup> Christina Schäffner, ‘Third ways and new centres: Ideological unity or difference?!,’ in *Apropos of ideology*, ed. by Maria Calzada-Pérez, p. 23.

<sup>124</sup> See Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*.

<sup>125</sup> Matsunaga-Watson ‘The Selection of Texts for Translation in Postwar Japan’, in *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms and Image Projection*, ed. by Eva Hung (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005), pp. 161- 174 (pp. 172-173).

<sup>126</sup> W. Zhao, ‘How Ibsen travels from Europe to China: Ibsenism from Archer, Shaw to Hu Shi,’ in *Translation and Opposition*, ed. by Dimitri Asimakoulas and Margaret Rogers, (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2011) pp. 39-58.



cannot circulate. In this sense, Rundle and Sturge emphasize that ‘translated works are magnets for censorship, since they make manipulation possible at several stages’, including ‘selection for publication,’<sup>127</sup> while Seruya and Moniz recall that ‘the decision of approving or banning a book was clearly a decision about its *circulation* and hence about its prospective translation’ (original italics).<sup>128</sup> While until the 1970s in Portugal the entry of translations of foreign books into the market was restricted by these mechanisms, similar constraints applied to literature broadcast by the Emissora. Different mechanisms of censorship within the EN are addressed in Chapter Four as core elements of the controlling apparatus that ultimately determined choices at all levels, and in particular shifts at a textual level. However, a further and more intricate form of ideological intervention in text selection needs to be taken into account.

By considering the official discourse regarding the EN, this chapter begins by offering insight into the way the Portuguese national radio station was viewed by the government. The format and main characteristics of long lasting programmes the playlists of which relied heavily on translations are analysed and, in the final section, contrasted with those of a very popular programme which also featured several translated texts. This allows the chapter to engage with the issue of the impact of the EN’s ideologically determined role on the presence of translations in broadcast drama programmes. In the case of a particular set of shows, a connection can be identified between text selection and the function attributed to the national radio station by the regime.

As John Drakakis has argued, many different factors can be identified as governing the choice of text for broadcasting:

the choice of plays to be adapted, though often apparently random, is based in part on a number of considerations other than the radiogenic qualities of a particular

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<sup>127</sup> Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge, ‘Translation and the History of Fascism,’ p. 7.

<sup>128</sup> Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz, ‘Foreign Books,’ in *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes*, ed. by Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp 3-20 (p. 4).

text: considerations relating to the status of a particular dramatist's work or, in the case of already established literature, to the larger questions of the BBC's established cultural responsibility.<sup>129</sup>

In Emissora Nacional's case, 'cultural responsibility' went hand in hand with the ambition to educate the audience. The regime, which was 'obsessive about education'<sup>130</sup> but for a long time feared the potentially subversive impact of literacy on the people, considered the Emissora 'um organismo que deveria contribuir para o desenvolvimento cultural do país,'<sup>131</sup> and the educational potential of the latter was regularly emphasized. In this sense, it was as instrumental for the regime as, for instance, cinema, which from the 1950s was meant to contribute towards popular education and literacy policies: '[a] sétima arte ao serviço da educação e mais concretamente de um programa de alfabetização de adultos foi um acontecimento inédito em Portugal [...] [a] utilização do cinema serve duas estratégias, é vista como um recurso propagandístico [...] e como um instrumento educativo.'<sup>132</sup> Although after the Second World War the Emissora was also enlisted as an ally in the battle against illiteracy in Portugal, its cultural role took precedence:

[p]ode dizer-se que, não parecendo ser propriamente uma rádio agressivamente política, nem procurando dar a Salazar um plano exageradamente proeminente (como, de resto, era comum na propaganda do salazarismo), a

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<sup>129</sup> John Drakakis, 'The Essence That's Not Seen: Radio Adaptations of Stage Plays.' in *Radio Drama*, ed. by Peter Lewis (London: Longman, 1981), pp. 111-133 (p. 128).

<sup>130</sup> 'The Estado Novo was obsessive about education. This did not mean it wanted to modernize. Modernization only became an issue in the 1950s,' António Costa Pinto, 'Twentieth-Century Portugal,' p. 35.

<sup>131</sup> Nelson Ribeiro, *A Emissora Nacional nos primeiros anos do Estado Novo, 1933-1945* (Lisboa: Quimera, 2005) p. 126.

<sup>132</sup> Cristina Barcoso, *O Zé Analfabeto no Cinema: O Cinema na Campanha Nacional de Adultos de 1952 a 1956* (Lisboa: Educa, 2002) p. 54.

Emissora Nacional foi, essencialmente, uma rádio ao serviço do Estado Novo e dos seus valores culturais.<sup>133</sup>

By focusing mainly on five radio drama programmes, the chapter illustrates how these values were the justification for the use of foreign drama as a part of the educational effort assigned to the Emissora Nacional by the regime.

### **The Portuguese national radio's mission**

The idea that the Emissora Nacional should significantly contribute towards the consolidation of Portugal's imperial mission, which Henrique Galvão saw as 'mais um soldado que se alista, uma força ao serviço do Estado Novo,'<sup>134</sup> was not Galvão's only interpretation of the station's mission. Imperialist Galvão (1895-1970), who would much later become an oppositionist and be responsible for an internationally famous attack on the regime, was the first director of the Emissora (1935-40). He had been governor of the Angolan region of Huíla and organiser of the 1934 Colonial Exhibition in Porto. During the time he was in charge of the EN, until 1941, he was also Inspector Superior da Administração Colonial (between 1936 and 1949).<sup>135</sup> His support for short wave broadcasts to the colonies was so vigorous that he would later confess, according to Joaquim Vieira, that he considered himself unsuitable for the job, and had only taken up the position so that Portugal could begin broadcasting to its colonies.<sup>136</sup> However, this intention was neither fully shared nor, according to Nelson Ribeiro, understood by the government (even though Galvão's 'Plano de radiodifusão imperial' was launched in 1937). In Ribeiro's opinion this particular branch of the Emissora's broadcasting activity was never adequately

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<sup>133</sup> Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, p. 156.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in 'A inauguração oficial da EN pelo Chefe do Estado,' p.16.

<sup>135</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, p. 117.

<sup>136</sup> *A Nossa Telefonia – 75 anos de Rádio Pública em Portugal*, coord. by Joaquim Vieira (Lisbon: RTP, 2010), p. 59.

supported in financial terms by the government.<sup>137</sup> The speech he gave on the official inauguration of the station, on August 1, 1935, underlined the contribution that the EN was to make to different dimensions of life in Portugal, namely cultural life: '[...] um vasto programa de cultura, de expansão política, de recreio espiritual, de assistência técnica e moral há que cumprir.'<sup>138</sup>

In line with the *Estado Novo*'s character as an 'Estado-educador, a quem incumbia a educação nacional,'<sup>139</sup> additional speeches made on the same day considered the national broadcasting station a 'organismo de alta importância, cuja actividade merece as maiores atenções' and defined as a 'instrumento político de largo alcance, centro de distribuição de certos elementos de cultura importante, agente de recreio espiritual para o povo e para as castas de escol, mecanismo de expansão no mundo de idéas e ideais portuguesas [...].'<sup>140</sup> The Emissora's importance was emphasized 'quer sob o aspecto político-social, quer sob o aspecto meramente cultural e educativo,'<sup>141</sup> referring unambiguously to the educational character of radio plays, amongst other genres of programmes: '[a] ràdiodifusão, que interessa a tôda a actividade e particia brilhantemente de todos os progressos da cultura e da civilização, conquistou uma posição primacial na expansão das idéas e dos conhecimentos. [...] É um valioso agente de educação e de cultura, pela conferência, pelos concêrtos, pelas peças de teatro e pelas lições sôbre todos os assuntos do ensino. [...] A ràdiodifusão é, conseqüentemente, uma função do Estado [...].'<sup>142</sup>

Both the educational and the cultural and literary vocations of the Emissora were promoted under the leadership of Galvão. In 1936, as a way to celebrate the anniversary of the National Revolution (1926), he launched the contest 'Jogos Florais,' 'uma mescla de

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<sup>137</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, pp. 117, 119.

<sup>138</sup> Speech broadcast on August 1, 1935 quoted in 'A inauguração oficial da EN pelo Chefe do Estado,' p. 19.

<sup>139</sup> João Formosinho (org.), *Políticas Educativas e autonomia das escolas*, (Porto: Edições Asa, 2000), p. 32.

<sup>140</sup> Speech broadcast on August 1, 1935, quoted in 'A inauguração oficial da EN pelo Chefe do Estado,' p. 18.

<sup>141</sup> Speech by Dr. Cristiano de Sousa, quoted in *Boletim da Emissora Nacional*, p. 35.

<sup>142</sup> Speech by Dr. Cristiano de Sousa, quoted in *Boletim da Emissora Nacional*, p. 36.

doutrina e alegria,' which were created in order to promote literary production based on popular culture and the values of Portuguese nationality.<sup>143</sup> Two years later, in 1938, the programme 'A Hora do Estudo' ('Study Hour'), and broadcast courses on a variety of topics such as Portuguese, French and English language, alongside history and biological sciences, were created. The pedagogical programmes were meant to cater for illiterate listeners and students in general, in a deliberate effort to please a variegated audience: '[...] Fornecemos aos sábios sessões de alta cultura, aos iletrados cursos de português, às crianças emissões infantis, aos estudantes cursos de cultura geral, etc., etc..<sup>144</sup>

When in 1940 the station was reorganised according to the Decree Law number 30752, those two aspects, education and culture, were included in the four main strands of the Emissora's activity, one aim of which was to 'exercer, no domínio interno, uma acção contínua como instrumento de cultura, educação, propaganda e recreio.'<sup>145</sup> One year later, António Ferro, who was, above all, an intellectual, publicly advised against a predominance of the entertainment component of the national broadcasts, even though he also emphasized that 'o dogma da boa radiodifusão deve ser este: não aborrecer, nunca aborrecer.'<sup>146</sup>

Ferro (1895-1956) was the head of the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (National Propaganda Secretariat) and a close ally of Salazar, in spite of the fact that '[i]n the cultural field, [he] had nothing to do with Salazar and was a cosmopolitan journalist connected to futurist and modernist circles and an admirer of Fascism since the 1920s.'<sup>147</sup> The early *Estado Novo's* cultural policy, 'Política do Espírito,' which 'skillfully combined "modern" aesthetic resources with a true "re-invention of tradition",' was his

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<sup>143</sup> Heloísa Paulo, 'Vida e arte do povo português: Uma visão da sociedade segundo a propaganda do Estado Novo,' in *Do Estado Novo ao 25 de Abril, Revista de História das Ideias*, 16, Instituto de História e Teoria das Ideias, (Coimbra: Faculdade de Coimbra, 1994), 105-134 (p. 134).

<sup>144</sup> Henrique Galvão, 'A Emissora Nacional e os operários,' *Rádio Nacional*, 27 March 1938.

<sup>145</sup> Decree Law no. 30752, article 4, September 14, 1940.

<sup>146</sup> António Ferro's speech as head of the EN, broadcast on June 12, 1941. António Ferro, 'Programa sem programa,' p. 20.

<sup>147</sup> António Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995), p. 195.

brainchild.<sup>148</sup> In the speech he gave in 1941 to mark the beginning of his role as Presidente da Direcção da Emissora Nacional, education was a key word. The priority character of the Emissora's educational vocation was a consequence of the way, at once paternalistic and corrective, in which the station's social function was conceived:

[a] Emissora renunciaria ao seu programa essencial, ao próprio título de nobreza que se contém no seu nome, se passasse o tempo a satisfazer as exigências mediócras de certas camadas da população dos radiouvintes, que precisam de ser orientadas, ensinadas, e nunca lisonjeadas, nas suas baixas tendências.<sup>149</sup>

In his opinion, '[a] Emissora Nacional, o mais poderoso instrumento de propaganda directa que existe no nosso país, pertence, em grande parte, a pesada responsabilidade da educação cívica, moral e artística do nosso povo.'<sup>150</sup>

The Emissora's vocation remained unaltered in the following decade, despite new challenges, namely the advent of television and the many changes introduced, including a new director. In 1951 António Ferro was replaced by António Eça de Queirós (1891-1968), Ferro's right-hand man in the Propaganda Secretariat (meanwhile, in 1944, renamed as SNI, Secretariado Nacional de Informação, National Secretariat for Information), from whose leadership Ferro also retired in 1949, when he left the country and moved to Switzerland. Even though Ferro's departure from the SNI marked the end of an era in terms of the regime's cultural and propaganda policy,<sup>151</sup> the official discourse regarding the EN's bidimensional mission remained unchanged. Culture and entertainment were its

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<sup>148</sup> Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, p. 195.

<sup>149</sup> António Ferro's speech as head of the EN, 1941. António Ferro, 'Programa sem programa,' p. 17.

<sup>150</sup> António Ferro's speech as head of the EN, 1941. António Ferro, 'Programa sem programa,' p. 19.

<sup>151</sup> See, for instance, *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Mattoso, vol. 7 (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), p. 295.

ultimate aims, as illustrated by a summary of the Emissora's activity in Portugal included in a bulletin published by the station in 1955:

[t]he Emissora Nacional is fulfilling its cultural and recreative [sic] purposes by offering to its listeners national and cultural programmes, with regular broadcasting of opera and symphonic concerts [sic], by giving young artists opportunities to exhibit themselves [sic], either by contests or through the department for musical research by developing an efficient and specialized staff, by the social importance of its programmes consecrated to the working class, through its weekly magazine reviews, sport reports, light programmes, its unique 'Hora da Saudade', and by its regular transmissions of radio comedy and drama.<sup>152</sup>

A similar idea was expressed in the 1957 Decree Law which redefined the station's internal organisation. The Emissora was once more meant to 'exercer através [dos] programas [radiofónicos] acção continuada de cultura, educação, informação e recreio,' namely by preparing 'programas culturais, educativos, recreativos e de informação para as suas emissões' and subsidising 'no domínio da sua acção cultural, os autores e entidades que, nas condições fixadas em despacho ministerial, se entenda deverem ser estimulados na sua actividade de investigação ou de criação artística.'<sup>153</sup> The organisation of cultural festivals and contests, as well as the creation of money and other type of prizes to encourage original radio productions would further contribute to the fulfilment of the station's role.

Despite significant changes in the 1960s to the EN's technical capacities, as well as to the ideas disseminated by propaganda, the function of the Portuguese national radio

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<sup>152</sup> Emissora Nacional, *Lisbon Calling. Overseas Service of Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão. Information Bulletin*, 1 (Spring 1955), p. 3.

<sup>153</sup> Decree Law no. 41484, 30 December 1957, quoted in *Emissora Nacional. Lei Orgânica - Regulamento. Regulamento das Instalações receptoras de Radiodifusão* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1966), pp. 6-8.

station continued to be defined in terms of education and culture until the end of the regime. Two years before the 1974 revolution, the director of the Programme Division, João Beckert d'Assunção, believed that the EN and its audience had opposing interests regarding radio broadcasting: '[o] ouvinte e a EN constituem como que duas posições antagónicas, pois enquanto o ouvinte procura algo que o distraia, a EN procura dar-lhe informação e cultura.'<sup>154</sup> The solution to this imagined conflict was to be found in the sensible articulation of the station's goals: '[a] EN tem como finalidade imediata a informação, como finalidade permanente a cultura e como elo destas duas o recreio. Este deve aliciar o ouvinte, ser a moldura onde cabem a informação e a cultura.'<sup>155</sup>

### Broadcast drama and education

An entertaining programme *par excellence*, the Emissora's radio drama did indeed provide a recreational framework for a more 'permanent' aim. The genre is not, however, usually associated with educational goals, unless in very specific cases (when it still does not cease to be an entertaining experience). In 1951, Oscar Haugh published an article in the *Journal of Educational Research* where he referred to the 1940s habit on the part of American 'teachers of speech, the social studies and English' of using 'recordings of radio drama to enrich their regular class offerings.'<sup>156</sup> Yet, even then, 'those who have been hesitant to use them have stated that they fear students have been more entertained than informed.'<sup>157</sup> He

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<sup>154</sup> Beckert d'Assunção, *Teoria da Informação*, I (1971/72), p. 137, quoted in Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal*, p.119. Joelle Neulander identified a similar tension in the context of radio broadcasting and listening in France in the interwar period: '[l]isteners and programmers had a complex relationship. Stations had to understand their audience and comply with its desires, but programmers had their own motivations as well. Private station owners, advertisers, and governments all had missions for the radio.' Neulander, *Programming*, p. 15-16.

<sup>155</sup> Beckert d'Assunção quoted in Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal*, p. 119.

<sup>156</sup> Oscar Haugh, 'The relative effectiveness of reading and listening to radio drama as ways of imparting information and shifting attitudes,' *Journal of Educational Research*, 45 (1951/52), 489-498 (p. 489).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 489.



concluded, nonetheless, that '[e]leventh grade students can acquire a significant amount of information by reading or listening to radio drama.'<sup>158</sup>

The educational value need not be only targeted at the the audience either. A 1940s study of a radio drama produced by students during a period of air raid drills in New York claimed that from the educational point of view the project 'provided many of the values of dramatics, such as interpretation of literature and exercise of the imagination. It also gave an opportunity to train and improve the speech skills of the student.'<sup>159</sup> A more recent example is, for instance, a case of radio drama used as a means to promote development in Africa.<sup>160</sup> As Ayegba Martins demonstrates, the *Rainbow City* series, performed by the African Radio Drama Association in the wake of the 1999 election, promoted civic education at a critical time for Nigeria's political life.<sup>161</sup>

Latin America, on the other hand, is one of the most typical examples of the use of genres similar to radio drama for educational purposes. As Kees Epskamp explained in 1985, '[b]ecause the radio can reach out to so many illiterate people in the rural areas of Latin America, there is a long history of trying to use the novella formula for radio plays that provide people with both entertainment and instruction.'<sup>162</sup>

In the EN, some, although not all, programmes introduced with explicit pedagogical intentions were similarly informed by the need to fight illiteracy, namely the language courses launched in the 1930s, during Galvão's headship, and the 'Rádio Escolar' programme, which began in 1960 and became 'Telescola' in the 1970s. The EN's emphasis on education was such that Silva and Moreira, considering its music programmes and their

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p. 498.

<sup>159</sup> Ralph de Someri Childs, 'Air raid and radio drama,' *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 28: 4 (Dec. 1942), 391-393 (p. 393).

<sup>160</sup> See also Elena Blanco Castilla, Bernardo Gómez Calderón, Francisco Javier Paniagua Rojano 'La utilización de la radio como herramienta didáctica. Una propuesta de aplicación' *FISEC-Estrategias*, Year 3:6, Mesa III (2007), 35-50.

<sup>161</sup> Ayegba Adgebe Martins, 'Radio Drama for Development: ARDA and the *Rainbow City* experience,' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 16:1 (June 2003), 95-105.

<sup>162</sup> Kees Epskamp, 'Radio Drama as a Learning Tool', *International Communication Gazette*, 35, 145-156, p. 153.

goal of ‘fomentar e estimular a educação musical dos cidadãos,’<sup>163</sup> created a pun and suggested that “EN” stood for ‘Educadora Nacional’ (National Educator).<sup>164</sup>

Apart from these attempts at the ‘instruction’ of the audience, many general culture programmes that provided mainly ‘education’ had been broadcast since the station’s early days. This distinction between ‘instruction’ and ‘education’ was back in use after António Carneiro Pacheco was appointed to the position of Minister of Public Instruction in 1936, reinforcing the idea that ‘o importante não é a transmissão dos conhecimentos mas sim a formação das consciências.’<sup>165</sup> The frequent ‘palestras,’ or ‘talks,’ were a case in point. Expanding on a variety of topics - namely literature, theatre, agriculture, military and feminine issues, the Estado Novo, hygiene and childcare -, the talks were privileged moments for the dissemination of the regime’s ‘ideas and ideals.’<sup>166</sup>

Drama, on the other hand, was also considered instrumental in meeting the aim of educating masses of people. This was explicitly acknowledged on the back cover of a volume of radio plays published in the context of the government’s ‘Plano de Educação Popular’ (P.E.P., Popular Education Plan) launched in 1952 as a measure to fight the high illiteracy rates of the Portuguese population at the time:<sup>167</sup>

‘[a] função pedagógica do teatro é reconhecida e aceite como da mais alta importância na educação dos povos. De autores conhecidos, as peças de teatro

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<sup>163</sup> *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, coord. by Rosas, Fernando, in *Nova história de Portugal*, dir. by Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 12 vols, vol. 12, (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1992), p.445.

<sup>164</sup> M. D. Silva and P. Moreira, ‘O essencial e o acessório: práticas e discursos sobre a música ligeira nos primeiros anos da Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão (1933-1949), in *O Estado Novo em questão*, dir. by Domingos and Pereira (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2010) p. 116.

<sup>165</sup> ‘Educação Nacional’ in *Dicionário de história do Estado Novo*, org. by Fernando Rosas and José Maria Brandão de Brito, 2 vols., 2 (Venda Nova: Bertrand Editora, 1996), p. 287.

<sup>166</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, p. 298. According to the same author, between 1936 and 1944, ‘as palestras que se mantiveram ao longo de todos os anos em análise foram as dedicadas ao comentário dos acontecimentos nacionais e internacionais. Transmitidas ao fim-de-semana, tratavam-se de crónicas com características de editorial, em que a Emissora Nacional expressava o seu ponto de vista sobre os diversos acontecimentos que haviam marcado a semana.’ (Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, p. 298).

<sup>167</sup> Decree Law no. 38968, 27 October 1952.

radiofónico contidas neste livro procuram, assim, colaborar na educação moral e estética de todos, especialmente dos que, vivendo nos meios rurais, têm menos acesso ao teatro espectáculo.<sup>168</sup>

Published in P.E.P.'s 'educational collection,' as part of Series 'O,' which dealt with 'leisure' topics ('Recreio'), these plays are a good illustration of how drama represented a compromise between entertainment and pedagogy. On the other hand, they are all by Portuguese authors and, unlike many Portuguese plays broadcast in programmes such as 'Teatro das Comédias,' they seem to have been deliberately written for this purpose – fitting, moreover, some of the regime's ideals and intentions, namely P.E.P.'s ultimate anti-illiteracy goal.

Different types of 'lessons' were conveyed. *Para aprender nunca é tarde*, by the poet João da Silva Tavares (1893-1964), for instance, is the story of a woman who finds herself unable to either read or reply to the letters her husband sends her from Angola, and is thus anxious to learn how to read and write. On the same topic, in Francisco da Mata's *Um homem que ficou bem no exame* a man tries to persuade a much older and well-off friend about the immaterial benefits that come with being literate. Alice Ogando's (1900-1989) *A Sogra*, on the other hand, addresses family relations and the negative connotations associated with being a mother-in-law by telling the story of the transformation of a woman's mother-in-law into her 'mother.' It seems, therefore, that there are grounds to include these plays, and this specific type of radio writing in particular, in discussions regarding the EN's official literature - despite there not being any traces of their broadcast in the Emissora archives. It is likely, however, that they were indeed broadcast; Silva Tavares, Mata and Ogando were

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<sup>168</sup> Plano de Educação Popular, *Peças de Teatro Radiofónico*, XIV, Col. Educativa, Series O, No. 2, (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação Nacional, Direcção-Geral da Educação Permanente, 1955/1973). The volume consisted of the plays: *A sogra* by Alice Ogando, *O maior tesouro* by Miguel Trigueiros, *Para aprender nunca é tarde* by João da Silva Tavares, *Um homem que ficou bem no exame* by Francisco da Mata, *A linguagem dos canários* by Manuel Fragoso, *Um problema diferente* by Miguel Trigueiros, *Há sempre um degrau a subir* by Miguel Trigueiros, *Entre irmãos* by Manuel Fragoso, *O segredo do brasileiro* by Miguel Trigueiros and *O mais belo dos livros* by João da Silva Tavares.

EN authors who saw several of their works ('dialogues,' plays, and in the case of Alice Ogando translations and adaptations) broadcast by the station, namely in the programme 'Uma hora de fantasia' (Silva Tavares) and in 'Folhetim' and 'Teatro das Comédias' (Ogando).<sup>169</sup>

### **Eurico Lisboa filho's didacticism**

Drama and, more specifically, translated drama broadcast by the state-run station was also given a pedagogical role. While translated broadcast plays could not be written with the specific purpose of contributing towards policies put in place by *Estado Novo*, examples such as the ones considered in Chapters Five and Six illustrate that foreign plays were equally used to engage with the dominant ideology.

On the other hand, while programmes were indeed motivated by an educational purpose that can be traced back to the government's notion of the national broadcasting station itself, the fundamental aim of the 'lesson' was not necessarily to convey the ideological values of the regime. The best example is probably that of Ramón del Valle Inclán's (1866-1936) *Ligazón*. A selection of scenes from this play was broadcast as an episode of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' in 1973, despite the play's themes of 'lust' and 'greed,' both acknowledged in the introduction by the producer Leopoldo Araújo. While the performance of the translation of some of Valle Inclán's plays, namely *Juramento de Sangue*, had been forbidden by censorship in 1966 (later approved, with cuts),<sup>170</sup> Araújo's text underlined the role that Valle Inclán's theatre gives to women, whose depiction stood in sharp contrast to the *Estado Novo* idealized motherly image of woman:<sup>171</sup> '[d]evemos ainda

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<sup>169</sup> According to Eduardo Street, Silva Tavares's shadow 'durante 30 anos [...] pairou nos estúdios, nos gabinetes, nos corredores da EN. [...] A]utor de programas onde a música e o diálogo se completavam em arremedos felizes de revista à portuguesa, tinha um outro mérito que lhe garantiu a carreira: a fidelidade ao regime' (Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 30). Francisco da Mata collaborated on children's programmes and on 'dialogues' (Street, *Teatro Invisível*, pp. 45, 64).

<sup>170</sup> Record no. 8155 from the archives of the Commission for Examining and Classifying Performances / SNI (Torre do Tombo).

<sup>171</sup> Chapters Four and Six address the issue of the image of the ideal woman.

mencionar, como nota relevante deste teatro de inspiração popular, a omnipresença da mulher, força criadora paradoxalmente destrutiva, força irresistível da natureza que conduz à perdição os homens que se lhe deparam.<sup>172</sup>

The broadcast by the national radio station of a play with such connotations is surprising, yet the justification for the decision can be found in the official report authorising the broadcast.<sup>173</sup> The play was allowed to be broadcast due to the ultimate educational aim behind its inclusion in the ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ programme: ‘[t]ratando-se de um programa didático, em que se procura caracterizar a obra de um determinado autor, neste caso Valle Inclán, há que ter em conta “as raízes fundas do seu teatro: o instinto, o amor e a morte, a superstição.” Atendendo à finalidade do Programa, não me parece oferecer problemas.’<sup>174</sup> The education in question was a cultural and literary one. This is likely to be the reason why ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ is the only programme known so far to include plays by Valle Inclán.<sup>175</sup>

The first ones, *Farsa Infantil da Cabeça do Dragão* and *Romance de Lobos*, one of the *Comedias bárbaras*, were aired in 1961, as the programme’s 25<sup>th</sup> episode. The programme was still, at that time, under the responsibility of Eurico Lisboa filho, who had been the creator of not only ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ but also all the didactically motivated radio drama programmes whose repertoires included foreign drama. Not much changed in ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ once Leopoldo Araújo took over and what is arguably the programme’s second phase began in 1967, following a seeming interruption of two years (between 1965 and 1966) for which the archives hold no record regarding this programme. Eurico Lisboa filho’s didactic intention remained unaltered, as illustrated by the report above and by the presence of paratextual elements such as introductory texts. The latter were indeed a trademark of Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes.

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<sup>172</sup> Valle Inclán, *Um expressionismo ibérico*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 05.04.1973, p. 1.

<sup>173</sup> See Chapter Four for an investigation of the meaning and function of the official reports.

<sup>174</sup> Valle Inclán, *Um expressionismo ibérico*, Folha de Pareceres.

<sup>175</sup> Other plays included are *Farsa Infantil da Cabeça do Dragão* and *Romance de Lobos*, one of the *Comedias bárbaras*, apart from two other *Retablo de la avaricia* plays, *O Embruxado* and *Rosa de Papel*.

The first of his programmes was ‘A História do Teatro,’ which began in 1955<sup>176</sup> and lasted at least five years, with 203 episodes (Chapter Three deals with this programme in more detail).<sup>177</sup> After the end of ‘A História do Teatro,’ seemingly in late 1960, the first episode of ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ was aired in 1964.<sup>178</sup> Meanwhile, however, ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ had begun.<sup>179</sup> The earliest episode found in the archives indicates January 23, 1961 as the broadcasting date, but since it is the fifth episode of the programme, it is possible that ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ had started before the end of 1960, immediately after ‘A História do Teatro’ – especially considering that for the rest of that year ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ was broadcast fortnightly. Immediately after the end of ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ in 1966, started ‘Teatro do século XIX,’ which lasted two years, from 1967 to 1969. Finally, ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos,’ which was still being broadcast when the Revolution took place in 1974, seems to have begun in January 1971.<sup>180</sup>

The preference for a historical presentation of the plays in ‘A História do Teatro’ and the two ‘Teatro do Século’ programmes was an expression of Lisboa filho’s didactic approach to drama broadcasting. For the former programme, the structure of which was chronologically determined, plays were selected in order to illustrate a given aspect or moment of drama history, as in the case of Corneille’s *A Ilusão Cómica*, *Horácio* and *Polinto*,

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<sup>176</sup> According to Matos Maia’s *A Telefonía*, p.292. The first record found in the written document archives dates from January 1959 and corresponds to episode number 122 (*III Parte: A Renascença em Itália - 16º capítulo: “O Pastor Fiel” - drama pastoril de Giambattista Guarini*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 19.01.1959), but the first reference to *A história do teatro* in the audio archive is *O teatro na Antiguidade egípcia e palestina (2ª parte do 1º programa)*, in 1956, with Biblical texts translated by António Correia Oliveira and João de Deus Ramos as the second part of the first episode. See also Chapter Three.

<sup>177</sup> *IX Parte: “O Teatro do século XVIII (sic)” - 4º capítulo: “A tragédia” (Voltaire: Zaire, Addison: Catão)*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 17.10.1960, episode 203.

<sup>178</sup> The last known episode is number 203 – *IX Parte: “O teatro do século XVIII (sic)” - 4º capítulo: “A tragédia”*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 17.10.1960 (on Voltaire’s *Zaire* and Addison’s *Cato*). See also the references to the end of ‘A história do teatro’ included in the introduction to ‘Teatro do século XVIII’, above.

<sup>179</sup> ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ first episode was broadcast on April 5, 1964, merely five days after the last known episode of ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ was broadcast under Eurico Lisboa filho.

<sup>180</sup> No explanation has been found for the lack of archive records referring to the whole of 1972, i.e. for the period between *O melhor esposo*, by Guillén de Castro, broadcast on December 23, 1971 and Strindberg’s *A Ilha dos Mortos e A Mais Forte*, on January 4, 1973.

chosen to exemplify the playwright's impact on French Classicism.<sup>181</sup> Even though the gap of around a hundred episodes in the set of 'A História do Teatro' episodes known so far does not allow us to see the full evolution of this programme, it does highlights the way in which the programme was organised over time.

Lisboa filho was very consistent in his conception of the series and grouped the material according to two main categories: author and artistic period. When 'A História do Teatro' first began, the episodes were grouped by playwright, so that Greeks (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, etc.) were followed by the Latin writers (Plautus, Menander, Seneca, etc.). Later on, the programme was divided into parts (sometimes also called periods or epochs), each one of which dealing with great artistic movements in literary history. Each of these parts was subsequently divided into chapters, which in turn referred to a particular author or aspect to be considered. Each chapter constituted an episode, unless the chapter was further split into 'points' or 'aspects', in which case each 'ponto' constituted a single episode. The different 'parts' to which episodes 122 to 203<sup>182</sup> refer are, in order of appearance, 'a Renascença em Itália', 'a Renascença na França', 'a Renascença em Portugal', 'a Renascença na Espanha', 'a Renascença em Inglaterra,' 'o Classicismo francês' and, in the last known episodes, 'O teatro do século XVIII.' The chronological order was also followed internally, with a sequential presentation of the authors in each 'part,' according to the date of birth order. A case in point is, for instance, in the fourth period, concerning the French Renaissance, Étienne Jodelle, born in 1532 and discussed in episode 128, before Jacques Grévin, who was born in 1539 and is presented in episodes 129 and 130, and Robert Garnier, the subject of episodes 132, 133 and 134 and born in 1544.

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<sup>181</sup> *VIII Parte: O Classicismo francês - 1º capítulo: Corneille e a sua reforma dramática* ("alguns passos da comédia 'A Ilusão Cômica' e das tragédias 'Horácio' e 'Poliuto', em tradução de Eurico Lisboa filho e de 'O Cid', na tradução do Dr. Leopoldo Araújo"), 'A história do teatro,' 25.07.1960, episode 197.

<sup>182</sup> Episodes 122 to 203 are the only ones known so far, apart from the very first ones on the Classical authors, mentioned above.

Such a compartmentalized structure was completely unique amidst the radio programmes considered.<sup>183</sup> While it was logical, it was also, by comparison with the other programmes, a sophisticated organisation arising from the detailed approach to each topic. This meticulous focus translated into the analysis of many examples of each author's work: within, for instance, the sixth part of 'História do Teatro,' which was dedicated to 'The Renaissance in Spain,' the subject of the tenth chapter, Calderón de la Barca, spread across six different episodes, each corresponding to a 'point' in which a particular play or aspect of Calderón's work was considered: 'O Príncipe Constante,' 'Os Géneros do seu teatro - *A Secreto agravo, secreta vingança*,' 'O Autor e a Obra - Géneros, Estilos,' 'Os Autos Sacramentais,' 'A vida é sonho' and 'Calderón precursor do drama romântico - *A devoção da Cruz*.' The programme resembled a drama anthology, not in the sense of 1930s American radio anthology shows,<sup>184</sup> but in the sense of a collection of selected writing by one or several authors, determined by an educational purpose. Many episodes consisted therefore in a selection of scenes from one or several plays.

In 'Teatro do Século XVIII' and 'Teatro do Século XIX,' however, the norm was that each episode was a whole play, albeit often with cuts. Particularly good examples of this are the 18<sup>th</sup> century plays of which fragments were used in the last 'A História do Teatro' episodes, and which were later given their own individual episodes under 'Teatro do Século XVIII,' namely Lesage's *Turcaret*, Voltaire's *Zaire* and Addison's *Cato*.<sup>185</sup> These plays were also a sign of the intended continuity between 'A História do Teatro' and, four

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<sup>183</sup> Eurico Lisboa Filho was responsible for five programmes out of a total of seventeen programmes analysed.

<sup>184</sup> Unlike America anthology programmes, Lisboa filho's series was very consistent in terms of cast and broadcast works: '[a]nthology shows relied on constantly changing stories and characters instead of a continuing cast and connected stories. One week an ongoing series might present a classic tale by an established dramatist. The following week could offer a contemporary script by a new, unknown writer. Both serious and comedic productions often occurred within weeks of one another, and the overall appeal of particular pieces depended on audience preferences. With such a mixture on the season's program, quality varied; no show guaranteed a marterpiece each and every broadcast.' William H. Young and Nancy K. Young, *World War II and the Postwar Years in America. A Historical and Cultural Encyclopedia*, vol. 2: J-Y (Santa Barbara, California and Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 2010), p. 553.

<sup>185</sup> IX Parte: "O Teatro do século XVIII (sic)" - 4º capítulo: "A tragédia" (Voltaire: *Zaire*, Addison: *Catão*), 'A história do teatro,' 17.10.1960, episode 203.



years later, 'Teatro do Século XVIII,' which develops the narrative of drama history which had begun with the earlier show. The relationship between the two programmes was acknowledged by Lisboa filho in the introduction to the first episode of *Teatro do Século XVIII*:

O Teatro do século XVIII. Por quê o teatro do século XVIII separadamente? Porque, já em tempos, apresentámos aqui, na Emissora Nacional um longo estudo sobre a História do Teatro, que acabou precisamente com a análise da obra dos autores do século XVII [sic]. Assim, o apresentamos na Emissora Nacional o Teatro do século XVIII vem como o retomar a palavra dum discurso, que ficara incompleto? Não, não é bem assim. Se ao ao apresentarmos o 'Teatro do Século XVIII' vimos dar continuação a uma obra que tinha ficado incompleta, não deixamos por isso de apresentar um programa novo, um estudo que por si se completa.<sup>186</sup>

Because 'O Teatro do Século XVIII' followed on from the previous programme, Lisboa filho was concerned to differentiate between the two, stressing the original character of the new programme. This is even more understandable if we consider that 'A História do Teatro' had first been broadcast eight years before, in 1956.

At first sight the novelty was, however, limited. Yet shifting attention to those two specific time frames brought about at least one significant change to the historical perspective adopted. Before the two *Teatro do Século* programmes, *A História do Teatro's* focus had been exclusively on European, mainly Mediterranean drama, first with the early Greek and Latin traditions and then an overview of the Renaissance in Italy, France, Portugal, Spain and England, followed by the French Classicism and a few French, Italian

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<sup>186</sup> Paratextual elements such as the introductory excerpt quoted are considered in more detail in Chapter Three. *O teatro Clássico Francês: as tragédias de Crebillon - "Pirro" (Radamisto e Zenóbia; Pirro)*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 05.04.1964, p. 1.

and English eighteenth-century works. In *Teatro do Século XVIII* and *Teatro do Século XIX*, by contrast, while Western and Southern European, especially French and Italian plays continued to be predominant, Chinese, Japanese and Indian authors, besides German, Russian and Norwegian ones are also included. Eighteenth-century drama, for instance, was considered worthy of attention not only because it was seen to express the main philosophical ideas that emerged at that time, but also because in Lisboa filho's view it served as a vehicle for the introduction of foreign drama into the European literary scene and, more specifically, the first contacts between Oriental and European theatre:

Dedicando-se a presente rubrica a tratar do Teatro do Século XVIII, poderá parecer estranho que tenhamos aqui incluído todo o teatro Oriental anterior. A razão é muito simples: foi precisamente durante o século XVIII que esse teatro de países distantes foi revelado à Europa por orientalistas que o traduziram e tornaram assim acessível aos homens de teatro da civilização ocidental. Isso fez com que esse teatro passasse a influenciar o teatro europeu. Crebillon, Voltaire, Metastásio, Gozzi e o próprio Goethe acusam a sua influência. Ora parece-nos por isso que é precisamente a altura de o estudarmos.<sup>187</sup>

The same idea was expressed by the very titles of the episodes: 'A revelação do teatro oriental' and 'A revelação do teatro indiano.' Lisboa filho's interest in non-European drama, therefore, derived from the 'influence' it had supposedly had upon European authors and works. The professor justified this perspective in the introduction to the first episode of 'revelations' by evoking the authority of European theatre historians in general, with which he put himself on a par:

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<sup>187</sup> *A revelação do Teatro Oriental – V – O Drama chinês de Li Hsing-Tao, "O Círculo de Gis [sic]"*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 27.10.1966, episode 70, p. 1. In a previous episode the justification had been similar: 'foi no século XVIII que a Europa começou a conhecer a literatura e o teatro oriental, que veio a ter grande influência na obra dos autores do Ocidente, como, por exemplo, no Fausto de Goethe.' *O teatro clássico francês: as tragédias de Crebillon – "Pirro" (Radamisto e Zenóbia; Pirro)*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 05.04.1964, p.1.

É costume dos historiadores do Teatro Europeu seguirem a sua evolução a partir do Teatro Grego e só, ao chegarem ao século XVIII, abrirem um parêntesis para estudarem o teatro oriental anterior. Este método é absolutamente justificável porque só nesse século o teatro oriental foi revelado à Europa e passou a ter influência na evolução do teatro desta.<sup>188</sup>

This view paradoxically reinforced the fact that, the name ‘A História do Teatro’ notwithstanding, these programmes produced a history not of ‘drama’ but, more accurately, of ‘European drama.’ An explanation can, however, be found in the words of one such theatre historians, Allardyce Nicoll (1894-1976), whose *World Drama* had been published in England for the first time in 1949:

[...] every work of wide general scope – whether it be a universal history of human events or of literature – must select some definite orientation and clearly what we are most interested in is the development of the Western theatre from its earliest-known days in Greece to its latest manifestations in the playhouses with which we ourselves are currently familiar. [...] The focal point is the theatre of the West and everything must be dependent upon that fact.<sup>189</sup>

If Alardyce Nicoll’s ‘obra sobre a evolução do teatro’<sup>190</sup> mentioned by Lisboa filho in one ‘A História do Teatro’ episode from 1959 (‘Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro’) was the British scholar’s *The Development of the Theatre: A Study of Theatrical Art from The Beginnings to The Present Day*, published in 1937, the coincidence between the Eastern focus of the ‘Teatro do Século XVIII’ episodes and

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<sup>188</sup> *A revelação do teatro oriental - I - Os nós japoneses - I - O espelho da ilusão, O fato de plumas, O encontro com Ohara*, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 02.10.1966, p. 1.

<sup>189</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *World Drama – From Æschylus to Anouilh*, Part X, 2nd ed (London: George Harrap & Company Ltd, 1949/1957), p. 627.

<sup>190</sup> *Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 23.02.1959, p. 5.

Nicoll's later volume *World Drama* could be taken as a sign that the Portuguese drama professor was aware of more than one publication by his British counterpart and had used the latter as a source for his own selection of material for broadcast.<sup>191</sup> The scripts do not include any explicit references to either the source text of the translations or their author (despite the fact that the translator was usually named in Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes). Yet, the nationalities of the plays chosen for the 'Oriental drama' set of episodes match those found in the 'drama of the Orient' chapter of Allardyce Nicoll's famous 1949 study *World Drama*,<sup>192</sup> even though the latter was illustrated by several more plays than the ones broadcast by Lisboa filho. His interest for and access to contemporary foreign works reveals an effort to be on a par with influential work being carried out in Europe:

Several traditional views have dominated the attitude of literary and theatre historians towards eighteenth century English drama. The most influential perspective has been that of Allardyce Nicoll, who lists plays, discovers coherent schools of playwriting, and traces chronology as if it were causality.<sup>193</sup>

This attitude on Lisboa filho's part stands in contrast with Portugal's cultural isolation, especially if we bear in mind the amount of contemporary foreign plays broadcast by his programmes and his frequent preoccupation with the "recently performed" quality of the works selected. Referring to music, Vieira Nery suggests that:

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<sup>191</sup> *Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro*, 'A história do teatro,' 23.02.1959. It is likely that Lisboa filho had his own copy of the influential books by the fellow British academic. On the other hand, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Library holds a copy of the 5<sup>th</sup> edition of *The Development of the Theatre: A Study of Theatrical Art from The Beginnings to The Present Day*, which was published the same year as the broadcast of the Eastern plays by 'Teatro do século XVIII' (in 1966). The Portuguese National Library online archive lists only one holding authored by Nicoll, *A History of English drama 1660-1900*.

<sup>192</sup> Nicoll, *World Drama – From Æschylus to Anouilh*, pp. 625-657.

<sup>193</sup> Stephen Hannaford, 'The Shape of Eighteenth-Century English Drama,' *Theatre Survey*, vol. 21:02 (Nov. 1980), 93-103 (p. 93).

Mais do que uma actuação censória directa do Estado Novo, terão sido o isolamento cultural global do país (acentuado a partir da vitória aliada de 1945) e as próprias limitações do meio musical erudito (em particular a flagrante fragilidade das estruturas de formação pedagógica) os principais responsáveis pelo reduzido e tardio impacto em Portugal das tendências estéticas mais avançadas da criação musical europeia do pós - guerra, apesar dos esforços isolados de associações privadas [...]<sup>194</sup>

The idea that Eurico Lisboa filho's literary and academic interests were shaped by a cosmopolitan view that went far beyond the limits of the Portuguese territory is as a result reinforced.

### **The presence of absent Brecht**

The lack of a reference to one clear case of intertextuality (in the sense of following traces and influences) between the Eastern and Western traditions can be attributed to the particular focus of 'Teatro do século XVIII.' Despite Lisboa's awareness of and particular attention paid to the way Eastern dramatic works 'influenced' European authors, no connection is established between one of the Chinese plays that he selected, 'O Círculo de Giz,' or rather, *Hui Lan Ji*, by the fourteenth-century author Li Xingdao (spelt Li Hsing-Tao),<sup>195</sup> and *Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis* by Bertolt Brecht (1898 – 1956), 'the only work by Brecht which is based on a genuine Chinese literary source,' which is to say *Hui Lan Ji*.<sup>196</sup> The 1948 German play, which was already famous by the time the programme was

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<sup>194</sup> Rui Vieira Nery, 'Políticas Culturais' in *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX*, ed. by Salwa Castelo-Branco (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores / Temas e Debates, 2010), pp. 1017-1030 (p. 1021).

<sup>195</sup> *A revelação do teatro oriental – V - O drama chinês de Li Hsing-Tao "O Círculo de giz"*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 27.11.1966, p. CG-1.

<sup>196</sup> Berg-Pan, 'Mixing old and new wisdom: the 'Chinese' sources of Brecht's *Kaukasischer Kreidekreis* and Other Works,' *The German Quarterly*, 48:2 (Mar. 1975), 204-228, (p. 215). In 1940, before composing this drama during his time in exile, Brecht had written the short story 'Der Augsburger Keidekreis.'

broadcast, was not so much as mentioned by Lisboa.<sup>197</sup> To avoid referring to Brecht can be justified by the playwright's standing with the Estado Novo. However, the eighteenth-century scope of the programme was also a good justification, especially since it was the very justification for the presentation of earlier Chinese plays. Indeed, only intertextual connections between eighteenth century texts were mentioned ('Crebillon, Voltaire, Metastásio, Gozzi e o próprio Goethe acusam a sua [do teatro oriental] influência.')<sup>198</sup>

Brecht was not, however, a taboo subject in the Emissora. Differences in the personal ideological set-up of Lisboa filho and Norberto Ávila, who was chosen to lead the theatre section of the Secretaria de Estado da Cultura from 1974, are likely explanations for contrasting approaches to the possibility of referring to Brecht on the national radio station. The connection missing from Eurico Lisboa filho's programme had been made earlier that same year in an episode of the 10 minute programme 'O conhecimento do teatro' by the playwright and translator Norberto Ávila (b. 1936).<sup>199</sup> In his very brief summary of the main moments of world drama Ávila refers to Brecht and the early Chinese theatre after mentioning Kalidasa: '[u]ma obra muito conhecida, pertencente a este período [dinastia Yuan] é *O Círculo de giz*, de Li Hsing-Tao, em que Brecht viria a inspirar-se para a confecção de uma das suas peças.'<sup>200</sup> Some of Brecht's plays were also mentioned. Ávila, who in a later episode of the programme 'O Conhecimento do Teatro' praised Peter Brook's Brechtian production of *King Lear* in England,<sup>201</sup> included 'Brecht, o criador do

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<sup>197</sup> One year before Lisboa filho's episodes on Eastern theatre, Li Xingdao's play had also been included in 'Teatro das Comédias' (on 22.11.1965). However, the fact there is no script for this broadcast prevents us from confirming whether any mention of Brecht's play was made then. Li Xingdao's play was one of the first Chinese plays to be broadcast by the station: according to the archives, only *O Desgosto do Palácio de Han - drama chinês* was broadcast before it, in November 1964, by the 'Teatro de Ensaio' series.

<sup>198</sup> *A revelação do teatro oriental – V - O drama chinês de Li Hsing-Tao "O Círculo de giz", 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 27.11.1966, p. CG-1.*

<sup>199</sup> Amongst many other authors, Ávila translated Jan Kott's controversial "Shakespeare our contemporary," which was published in 1968 by Portugália.

<sup>200</sup> *Os principais momentos da dramaturgia mundial, 'O conhecimento do teatro,' 19.1.1965, p. 1.*

<sup>201</sup> The episode ended with Ávila's praise for Peter Brook's sound techniques used in the storm scene of *King Lear*: 'seria difícil imaginar para esta cena fundamental maior sobriedade e maior grandeza', *A decoração sonora, 'Conhecimento do teatro,' 04.05.1965, p. 4.* The production

“teatro épico” (*Mãe coragem; A vida de Galilen*)’ among those contemporary playwrights which ‘parecem definitivamente ligados à história da dramaturgia.’<sup>202</sup> A further reference to Brecht’s work made in the EN was Kurt Weill’s opera *Ascensão e Queda da Cidade de Mahagonny* (*Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*), which, according to Dellile, was broadcast by the Emissora in 1970.<sup>203</sup> The libretto, translated by Jorge de Sena, had appeared alongside Ilse Losa’s *O Círculo de giz caucasiano* (*Der kaukasischen Kreidekreis*, or *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*) in the 1963 Portugália volume on Brecht’s theatre.

While public performances of Brecht’s plays were banned, this translation might have prompted the broadcast of *O Círculo de Giz* in ‘Teatro das Comédias,’ in 1965, one year before that of ‘Teatro do século XVIII.’ The prohibition was in place until the end of the regime. However, in 1960 an exception was made for *A alma boa de Se-Tsuan* (*Der gute Mensch von Sezuan*), which the Brazilian theatre group Companhia de Maria della Costa was allowed to perform in the Capitólio Theatre in Lisbon, as a result of Brazilian diplomatic lobbying, only to be forbidden a few days later after having ‘disturbed public order.’<sup>204</sup> The first Portuguese performance of *Der kaukasischen Kreidekreis*, by the theatre company Grupo 4, took place in 1976 in the Teatro Aberto in Lisbon. Yet, the ambiguous attitude of the censorship towards Brecht’s work, which on the one hand ‘mantinha intransigentemente a proibição da representação das peças nos teatros públicos,’ but on the other hand permitted ‘a livre circulação das traduções de dramas, poemas e prosa narrativa, bem como de muitos ensaios críticos a ele dedicados,’<sup>205</sup> had allowed Portugália Editora in 1963 to publish in the second volume of their theatre collection ‘Teatro II’ Ilse Losa’s translation of the play. Unable to perform the play, two years later ‘Teatro das Comédias’ gave the

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had been influenced by Brecht’s epic theatre and the political vision of Polish Shakespeare scholar Jan Kott. See for instance Leанore Lieblein ‘Jan Kott, Peter Brook and *King Lear*’ in *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, Spring 1987, 39-49.

<sup>202</sup> *Os principais momentos da dramaturgia mundial*, ‘O conhecimento do teatro’ 19.1.1965, p.4.

<sup>203</sup> *Do pobre B.B. em Portugal: aspectos da recepção de Bertolt Brecht antes e depois do 25 de Abril de 1974*, coord. by Manuela Dellile (Aveiro: Estante, 1991).

<sup>204</sup> The play was withdrawn after five performances, because it had ‘disturbed public order.’ both Estado Novo supporters and opposers had demonstrated, interrupting the performance. See *Do pobre B.B. em Portugal*, Dellile, p. 40.

<sup>205</sup> *Do pobre B.B. em Portugal*, Dellile, p. 56.

listeners Jorge de Filgueiras' version of Brecht's Chinese inspiration. Li Xingdao's play was not the only Chinese play included in the EN drama programmes, yet it seems to have been the only one appearing in different programmes. Besides Lisboa filho's mistake in the 'Teatro do Século XVIII' second episode on Chinese drama, when *Formosas Damas num Jogo de Poemas*, by the Japanese playwright, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) was performed, two years earlier, in 1964, *O Desgosto do Palácio de Han*, the author of which was not identified, was included in 'Teatro de Ensaio,' while in 1967 *O atribulado casamento de Tsien Tsin*, by an anonymous playwright, featured in 'Teatro das Comédias,' and in 1968 Teu Pin's (spelt 'Tou Pino'), *O amor de Leun-San-Pac* was included in 'Rádio Teatro.'

### **A modern programme**

Some of Eurico Lisboa filho's choices can, however, be associated with theatre renovation attempts. After the four-year long 'A História do Teatro,' Lisboa filho was so aware of the image he had created for himself on the radio as someone whose interests lay in the past that, in as early as the sixth episode of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' he resorted to self-criticism to explain the reasoning that had determined the way he conceived both programmes, preempting criticism. Making use of an imagined dialogue between the 'narrator' of the play and two other people identified as 'A' and 'B', Lisboa filho demonstrated the importance of taking into account not only modern but also past playwrights, whilst revealing a web of intertextual relationships that allowed him to introduce Thornton Wilder as a modern descendant of classical and other past canonical authors:

Narrador – O assunto do nosso programa de hoje é pois 'A Comédia Nova no teatro americano dos nossos dia, [sic] tomando para exemplo 'A Casamenteira' de Thornton Wilder.'



- A – Ora sim senhor! Isto é que são programas de interesse do teatro dos nossos dias... comédia nova!... Até que enfim que o senhor se interessa por coisas modernas...
- B – É que, na verdade, o senhor tinha uma paixão pelo teatro antigo... É muito bonito... mas não nos fala tão directamente como o teatro de hoje...
- Narrador – Sem dúvida que o Teatro dos Nossos Dias é o que traduz o pensamento do homem actual, trata dos nossos problemas, fala-nos mais de perto...<sup>206</sup>

In contrast to the programmes that both preceded and followed it, the works that ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ dealt with were, as indicated by the title, by authors writing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as the ones listed in the table below:

Luigi Pirandello	(1867-1936)
Thornton Wilder	(1897-1975)
Eduardo de Filippo	(1900-84)
T. S. Eliot	(1888-1965)
Ugo Betti	(1892-1953)
Maurice Maeterlinck	(1862-1949)
Federico Garcia Lorca	(1898-1936)
Bernard Shaw	(1856-1950)
Jean Anouilh	(1910-1987)
Jean Cocteau	(1889-1963)

**Table 1** - Selection of authors included in ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’.

<sup>206</sup> *A comédia nova no teatro americano dos nossos dias - “A casamenteira” de Thornton Wilder, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 06.02.1961, episode 6, p. 1.*

The ‘recent’ quality of the works selected for this series could refer to different aspects of drama, including staging, reception and experimentalism. An illustration of the latter characteristic is an Absurdist play the first ever stage performance of which had taken place six years earlier, in 1955: ‘Le Ping-Pong,’ by ‘um dos mais arrojados autores do Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ Arthur Adamov (1908-1970), who together with Ionesco e Samuel Beckett ‘forma o trio da vanguarda.’<sup>207</sup> With this play, chosen so as to present Adamov’s theatre to the EN audience because ‘é indispensável conhecer Artur [sic] Adamov para se ter uma visão perfeita do Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’<sup>208</sup> Eurico Lisboa filho’s ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ was following in the wake of a Portuguese university company which had been founded in 1956 with the aim of ‘fazer teatro de qualidade apoiado em repertório moderno e experimental, por um lado, e, por outro, prosseguir a aprendizagem interna embora com abertura a todos os interessados, através da realização de colóquios, conferências e debates,’ and which ‘acabaria por, na sua diversidade e novidade de interesses, abrir a frente cultural de oposição ao Estado Novo,’<sup>209</sup> CITAC. The Círculo de Iniciação Teatral da Academia de Coimbra, characterised by ‘um teatro de carácter experimental que o situou na vanguarda do teatro português,’<sup>210</sup> had staged Adamov’s *O Professor Taranne* one year before the ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ performance, in 1960, under the direction of Luís de Lima (1925-2002). Lima had been in Brazil before joining CITAC and returned there after two years as director of the group, expelled from Portugal by the political police, PIDE. He left the country without having fulfilled the goal of staging T. S. Eliot’s *Murder in the Cathedral*,

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<sup>207</sup> *Ping-Pong - O teatro de Artur Adamov*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 04.09.1961. Despite being mentioned, neither Ionesco nor Beckett seem to have been broadcast before Leopoldo Araújo took charge of the programme in 1967, although it should be taken into account that there are fifteen episodes missing in the archive from the whole of ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’, and these authors might be found amongst them.

<sup>208</sup> *Ping-Pong - O teatro de Artur Adamov*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 04.09.1961, p. 1.

<sup>209</sup> José Oliveira Barata, *Máscaras da Utopia. História do teatro universitário em Portugal, 1938-74* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2009), p. 169-70. When it was founded in 1956, as an alternative to TEUC (Teatro dos Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra), the group was known as CIAC (Círculo Académico de Iniciação Teatral).

<sup>210</sup> Carlos Porto, ‘Do teatro tradicional ao teatro independente,’ in *Portugal Contemporâneo (1958-1974)*, dir. by António Reis, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Alfa Editora: 1989), pp. 279-290.

the performance of which was not authorised by the censors, but which Eurico Lisboa filho broadcast in ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ in 1961:

Quando Luís de Lima chegou ao CITAC [1960] trazia a secreta esperança de representar *O Assassínio na Catedral* de T. S. Eliot. Prevendo-se as dificuldades que levantaria a aprovação do texto pela Comissão de Censura, procura-se uma intervenção junto de alguém (no caso, um familiar de Rui Vilar) que, pela sua influência no aparelho censório, podia facilitar a aprovação do referido texto. Depois de enviado e ‘recomendado’ a resposta surgiu negativa. Razões invocadas? Nenhuma que tivesse a ver com a importância dramaturgica ou os valores que a peça inculcava. Recusava-se a hipótese de encenação por se pressentir que os estudantes pretendessem utilizar o espectáculo para se associar à voz do bispo do Porto no seu confronto com Salazar.<sup>211</sup>

In other cases, the ‘recent’ element of the work in question referred simply to a recent rereading of an older text, because

[a]o estudarmos o Teatro dos Nossos Dias não podemos referir-nos unicamente às obras recentes da dramaturgia: temos igualmente de considerar as descobertas que o teatro moderno fez de obras anteriores, que só na actualidade são trazidas ao grande público e cuja representação nos nossos dias alguma coisa de novo trouxe ao panorama teatral.<sup>212</sup>

This meant that besides Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912), whose *O scrisoare pierduta* (*A Carta perdida* or *A Lost Letter*) the above excerpt introduced, and Ramón del Valle Inclán (1866-1936), whose ‘valor como dramaturgo só ultimamente foi reconhecido,’<sup>213</sup> the programme included authors such as Ibsen (1828-1906), whose ‘influência em todo o

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<sup>211</sup> Barata, *Máscaras*, p. 318.

<sup>212</sup> “*A carta perdida*” do grande comediógrafo romeno Ion Luca Caragiale, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 19.03.1963, episode 61, p. 1.

<sup>213</sup> “*Farsa infantil da cabeça do dragão*” e “*Romance de lobos*” (p. 8) - *O teatro de Don Ramon del Valle Inclán*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 31.10.1961, p. 1.

moderno teatro ainda se mantém,’ and Strindberg (1849 – 1912).<sup>214</sup> Using once more the character of the student, Lisboa filho anticipated questions and avoided criticism by justifying the presence of a 19<sup>th</sup> century playwright in the programme:

Narrador	-Vamos hoje tratar da maior figura do teatro sueco, Augusto Strindberg.
1 A.	- Mas Strindberg não é um autor dos fins do século passado?
Nar.	- Sim, é.
1 A.	- Então porque é que o vai apresentar no ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’?
Nar.	- Porque é nos nossos dias que a sua obra tem sido revelada verdadeiramente ao mundo teatral. [...] [o]utras suas peças foram logo traduzidas, mesmo em português, mas como disse, só ultimamente foi inteiramente compreendido o seu encanto, e seu vigor dramático. <sup>215</sup>

The reasons for the inclusion of Ibsen’s plays sounded very similar and were equally grounded on the issue of the modern reception of the plays, which were ‘teatro dos nossos dias, pois embora muitas das suas obras tenham já um século, é nos nossos dias que estão sendo reveladas à maioria dos povos da Europa e das Américas, recebidas com entusiasmo e a surpresa de novidade.’<sup>216</sup>

While the main focus of ‘Teatro dos nossos Dias’ was on recent performances, foreign success continued to be a selection criterion. Different plays and authors were often described in almost the same terms (my italics): ‘[f]alecido há poucos anos, em plena actividade de produção dramática, Ugo Betti é *ainda a maior figura do teatro italiano* dos últimos decénios.’<sup>217</sup> Moreover, at least seven of the authors included in ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ had been awarded the Nobel Prize: Maeterlinck in 1911, Benavente in 1922, Shaw in 1925, Pirandello in 1934, O’Neill in 1936, Eliot in 1948 and Mauriac in 1952. Two further cases in point are Giorgio Prosperi’s *A Conjura*, which Lisboa filho thought would arouse listeners’ interest because it had not only been performed in the Piccolo Teatro di Milano

<sup>214</sup> “*Farsa infantil da cabeça do dragão*” e “*Romance de lobos*”, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 31.10.1961, p. 1.

<sup>215</sup> *A poesia e a imaginação nórdica no teatro de Augusto Strindberg*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 06.03.1961, p. 1.

<sup>216</sup> *O simbolismo de Ibsen no drama ‘Solness o construtor’* (catalogued as *Solness o construtor*), ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 03.04.1961, p. 1.

<sup>217</sup> *O teatro de Ugo Betti*, ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ 12.06.1961, episode 15, p. 1.

only three years earlier, in 1960, but had additionally been awarded the Marzotto Prize in 1959,<sup>218</sup> and Pierre Boulle's *William Conrad*, which, 'estreada em Novembro passado no teatro "Récamier" obteve enorme êxito. O público acorreu delirante e a crítica foi entusiástica [sic].'<sup>219</sup>

### **Novelty on stage, radio drama as novelty**

In Paul Claudel's (1868-1955) case, Lisboa filho's attention was drawn to *O Livro de Cristóvão Colombo* (*Le livre de Christophe Colomb*), apart from *O Sapato de Cetim* (*Le soulier de satin*), for an additional reason besides having been famously directed in Paris by Jean-Louis Barrault 'poucos anos' earlier (i.e. in 1953).<sup>220</sup> Together with Robert Daninos' *Um Certo Senhor Blot* (*Un certain Monsieur Blot*), *O Livro de Cristóvão Colombo* allowed Lisboa filho to address the subject of modern staging methods. The former, in particular, 'tem [...] o interesse de apresentar uma construção dramática dum dinamismo invulgar, que permitiu à maquinaria moderna do teatro de [sic] exhibir todos os seus malabarismos, emprêgar a maioria das suas possibilidades desde as rápidas mutações, aos palcos giratórios e às transparências.'<sup>221</sup> Lisboa filho was interested in using the radio to acquaint the EN audience not merely with modern plays, but also with the innovatory possibilities of modern staging practices:

[...] vamos ver como os novos meios de que o teatro espectáculo dispõe levam os autores ao seu aproveitamento. A maquinaria cénica, com palcos rolantes e giratórios, a ampliação do som, a iluminação, o próprio cinema podem trazer ao teatro valioso complemento.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Lisboa claimed also to in possession of the rehearsal script for that Italian production.

<sup>219</sup> *O drama "William Conrad" de Pierre Boule*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 26.06.1962, p. 1.

<sup>220</sup> *O Livro de Cristóvão Colombo*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 05.03.1963, episode 60, p. 1.

<sup>221</sup> *Um certo senhor Blot*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 20.08.1963, episode 72, p. 1.

<sup>222</sup> *O livro de Cristóvão Colombo*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 05.03.1963, episode 60, p.1.

Given that most of these new features were not reproducible on radio, Eurico Lisboa filho's solution so as to convey these new ideas was, on the hand, to appeal to the audience's imagination, and on the other hand to describe the plays' stage directions:

[f]oi por isso que escolhemos essa peça para analisar aqui com os nossos ouvintes. Vamos pois ouvir uma obra de Pierre Daninos e imaginar o que é uma grande encenação moderna que se movimentam [sic] e se transforma, que se dinamiza.

[...] para podermos dar a ideia do espectáculo completo faremos ouvir mesmo as próprias rubricas, com a descrição do movimento cénico e do quadro visual.<sup>223</sup>

Claudel's modern strategies, typical of the 'teatro espectáculo,' were contrasted with those of 'modern radio drama' ('teatro radiofónico moderno'). The expression, which was also used in the EN to mean 'radio broadcast drama,' had been introduced on previous episodes, one of which provided a definition for it and explained radio's possibilities:<sup>224</sup>

Estando nós a apresentar aqui um programa pela rádio, pareceu-nos que seria de todo o interesse, além de analisarmos o que de melhor se apresenta no Teatro dos Nossos Dias, apresentarmos também as peças escritas propositadamente para a radio que alcançaram maior sucesso. A rádio, se por um lado limita o teatro, pois vive só de palavra, dos ruídos, da música, fala só ao ouvido, tem porém uma

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<sup>223</sup> *Um certo senhor Blot*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 20.08.1963, episode 72, p. 1. and *O livro de Cristóvão Colombo*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 05.03.1963, episode 60, p. 1.

<sup>224</sup> In this episode, broadcast as the 59th episode of 'Teatro dos nossos dias' on February 19, 1963, two additional plays written for radio had been presented, but neither RTP archive holds a record for them. See *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas - (Teatro radiofónico italiano)*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.02.1963, episode 59, p. 1.

possibilidade de se dirigir mais directamente à imaginação do ouvinte, de mudanças bruscas de ambiente; presta-se a uma técnica própria.<sup>225</sup>

Within one year, between 1962 and 1963, at least six episodes were dedicated to the topic of drama written for radio.<sup>226</sup> As the above introduction indicates, the choice of plays was again based on success: both Italo Alighiero Chiusano's *Noite no Palácio Real* and Luigi Silore's *Estadia nas Barracas* had won the radio drama RAI Prize.<sup>227</sup> Several reasons supported Lisboa filho's attention paid to this 'novo ramo do teatro' ('new branch of theatre')<sup>228</sup> in 'Teatro dos nossos dias':

Já há dias chamámos a atenção para como nos parece interessante, neste programa radiofónico sobre teatro, tratarmos também do teatro expressamente escrito para a rádio. Sem dúvida que essas produções nos merecem todo o interesse, pois além de aqui ficarem melhor que quaisquer outras, pois que foram escritas atendendo às possibilidades e limites deste meio de comunicação, são ao mesmo tempo uma das mais modernas conquistas do teatro, representam um dos seus aspectos mais modernos.<sup>229</sup>

For Lisboa filho, the great ability of radio drama was to 'interiorizar, fazendo convergir todo o drama para as palavras,' as well as the potential to 'levar-nos à fantasia, à

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<sup>225</sup> *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.02.1963, episode 59, p. 1.

<sup>226</sup> The following episodes concerned drama written for the radio: *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas* - (*Teatro radiofónico italiano*), 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.02.1963, episode 59; *O drama da paixão no moderno teatro radiofónico francês* - "*O mistério da paixão*", 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 02.04.1963, episode 62; *Possibilidades e campo de acção do teatro radiofónico exemplificados com obras italianas: Mauro Pezzati, "O acusado Ricardo"; Fabio della Ceta, "Marciano"; Samy (Rany?) Fayad, "Um homem que venceu na vida"*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 25.06.1963, episode 68; *Teatro radiofónico* - "*O domingo da gente simples*" - *rádiodrama de Vasco Pratolini e Gian Domenico Giagni*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 10.12.1963, episode 80. Two more plays were broadcast in 1962 around Christmas time.

<sup>227</sup> *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.02.1963, p. 1.

<sup>228</sup> *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 19.02.1963, p. 1.

<sup>229</sup> *O drama da paixão no moderno teatro radiofónico francês*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 02.04.1963, p. 1.C.

mudança frequente de local e de tempo, [...] dar-nos sobretudo ambientes.<sup>230</sup> This is what he tried to show in the ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ episodes, which aimed to ‘ver mais de perto a técnica deste novo ramo do teatro,’<sup>231</sup> and to contemplate ‘o campo de acção deste novo género, [...] os seus limites e possibilidades’ (as illustrated, for instance, by the title of one June episode, which read ‘Possibilidades e Campo de Acção do Teatro Radiofónico Exemplificados com Obras Italianas.’)<sup>232</sup> Lisboa filho’s ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ was instructive even when it came to the topic of radio drama itself. Amongst the plays written for radio broadcast by Lisboa we find a similar case to that of Valle-Inclán (considered earlier in this chapter) in that the didactic aim of the programme seems to have justified the inclusion of a play by a playwright whose works were rejected by the censors. In 1966, three years after Vasco Pratolini’s (1913-1991) play for radio *Domingo da gente simples* (*La Domenica della buona gente*, 1952),<sup>233</sup> co-written with Gian Domenico Giagni, was included in ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ the translation of Pratolini’s *Un eroe del nostro tempo* (1949) (*Um herói do nosso tempo*) was banned by the Portuguese censors.<sup>234</sup> They condemned the political content of the book, namely ‘[...] an intense political speculation, extolling the Communist guerrilla groups as being the best elements from the social, political and human viewpoint, whereas Fascists and the youth brought up and shaped by fascism are the worst elements from all viewpoints.’<sup>235</sup>

### Radio, Stage and Page

The selection of plays recently staged sucessfully abroad eventually formed a repertoire that often coincided with what was being staged at the time in Portugal – or,

<sup>230</sup> *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 19.02.1963, pp. 1-7.

<sup>231</sup> *Noite no palácio real; Estadia nas barracas*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 19.02.1963, p. 1.

<sup>232</sup> *Possibilidades e campo de acção do teatro radiofónico exemplificados com obras italianas: Mauro Pezzati, “O acusado Ricardo”; Fabio della Ceta, “Marciano”; Samy (Rany?) Fayad, “Um homem que venceu na vida”*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 25.06.1963, episode 68, p. 1.

<sup>233</sup> In 1953 a film version was made by Anton Giuliano Majano, featuring Sophia Loren.

<sup>234</sup> Quoted in Seruya, ‘Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Regime,’ p. 137.

<sup>235</sup> Teresa Seruya’s translation quoted in Seruya, ‘Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Regime,’ p. 137.



more accurately, in Lisbon. Portuguese fans of Marcel Achard (1899-1974) were able to see his *Patate* in 1959 at the Avenida Theatre in Lisbon, to listen to *O Corsário* (*Le Corsaire*) in the 52<sup>nd</sup> 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' on the Emissora Nacional, and to enjoy in 1964 in Lisbon a performance of *A Idiota* (*L'Idiote*) by the famous actress Laura Alves returning from Brazil.<sup>236</sup> There were instances when plays in the EN both preceded and repeated stage productions. The 18<sup>th</sup> 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode on Federico Garcia Lorca (1898-1936) consisted of two plays - chosen because they were the ones which best expressed Lorca's concept of theatre -,<sup>237</sup> one of which, *A sapateira fantástica* (*La zapatera prodigiosa*) had been performed in the National Theatre D. Maria II the year before, in 1960, by the Companhia Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro. Conversely, António Manuel Couto Viana's Companhia Nacional de Teatro presented Ugo Betti's *A Rainha e os revolucionários* in the Teatro da Trindade in 1963, two years after it was broadcast by Emissora Nacional for the first time in 1961, in the fifteenth 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode 'O teatro de Ugo Betti,' with excerpts from *Vento Nocturno* and *Corrupção no Palácio de Justiça*. Similarly, Montherlant's *A rainha morta* and *Port-Royal* were performed on the same programme in 1961 and 1964 respectively, after at least one of them having been performed in Lisbon, as recalled by Pavão dos Santos: '[p]or 1960, companhias francesas começaram a aparecer. A Comédie-Française passou pelo Tivoli em 1959 e 1961, apresentando, para além de Molière e Marivaux, espectáculos tão importantes como *Port-Royal*, de Henry de Montherlant.'<sup>238</sup>

The time difference between the stage and the radio performance of the latter suggests that despite being well aware of what was going on in Lisbon, Eurico Lisboa filho did not want to broadcast the exact same plays at around the same time. He saw radio as a counterpart to what the theatres offered. His goal was not only to provide a further source of theatrical enjoyment, but to achieve a more thorough perspective on an author's œuvre.

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<sup>236</sup> See CETbase, as well as Vítor Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia breve do século XX teatral,' in *Panorama da cultura portuguesa no século XX*, coord. by Fernando Pernes, 3 vols, vol. 3 (Porto: Edições Afrontamento : Fundação Serralves, 2002), pp. 189-296 (p. 238), and *O Corsário*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 13.11.1962.

<sup>237</sup> *Aspectos do Teatro de Garcia Lorca*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 24.7.1961, p. 1.

<sup>238</sup> Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia Breve,' p. 230.

This is illustrated for instance by Alejandro Casona's (1903-1965) presence in 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias'. His works had been on Lisbon stages mainly but not exclusively through the performances of the Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro company, which was the resident company of Teatro Nacional D.Maria II between 1929 and 1964.<sup>239</sup> They were one of the first aspects mentioned in the prologue to the first Casona play broadcast on the EN in one 1962 edition of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' which stated Lisboa filho's aim to complement what was offered by staged drama (my emphasis):

Alejandro Casona é um daqueles autores que menos carecem ser apresentados ao público português. Muitas são as suas peças que a empresa do Teatro Nacional de D. Maria II revelou em belos espectáculos – 'A Senhora das brancas mãos', 'As Árvores morrem de pé,' 'A Terceira palavra,' 'Inês de Cástro'... - e ainda a bela 'Sereia Ferida' representada no Teatro Monumental. Essas obras chegam para nos revelar a sua imaginação, a sua técnica firme e o seu lirismo, que nos dá um teatro que oscila entre o sonho e a realidade, jogando a cada passo com o subconsciente. *Mas há ainda aspectos da sua criação dramática que não nos foram ainda revelados e que me parece não serem de menor interesse,* como o regresso ao realismo do drama popular, servindo-se dos temas tradicionais dos entremeses e da velha comédia espanhola. [...] *É esse aspecto que escolhemos para estudar no programa de hoje,* tomando para isso duas das suas peças: 'A Justiça do Corregedor' e 'A Moleira de Arcos'.<sup>240</sup>

A further illustration is the choice of a play by Plautus for an April 1971 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' episode. Eurico Lisboa filho's motivation was the presence on different Lisbon stages of Ariano Suassuna's *O Santo e a Porca*, performed by the company Teatro do Arco da Velha, 'uma moderna companhia de teatro, cheia de dinamismo e sangue novo,' between January and June that year: '[p]ois que muito do nosso público pôde e ainda pode

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<sup>239</sup> According to Pavão dos Santos, 'Guia breve', p. 227.

<sup>240</sup> *Os temas tradicionais espanhóis no moderno teatro de A. Casona*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 18.9.1962, p. 1.

admirar a mais moderna versão deste tema, em “O Santo e a Porca,” de Suassana [sic], é altura de fazermos ouvir a fonte de todos os “avarentos,” a “Aululária” ou “A Panela das Moedas,” de Plauto.<sup>241</sup>

The programme can, furthermore, be credited with the first Portuguese performance of some plays by well-known authors. Amongst possible examples are Eduardo de Filippo’s *As Vozes íntimas* (*Le voci di dentro*), included in ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’ in 1961 (after *Os Fantasma*s (*Questi fantasmi*) and *Filomena Marturano* (*Filumena Marturano*) had been staged in Lisbon in 1960 and in 1951 respectively) and Ion Luca Caragiale’s *A Carta Perdida* (*O scrisoare pierduta*), included in the same programme more than one year before the Teatro Experimental do Porto staged it in 1964. Despite stagings of *Os três chapéus altos*, *O burro do Barba Azul* and *Maribel e a estranha família* until 1963, CETbase does not list any production of Miguel Mihura’s (1905-1977) *Sublime Decisión* either, which implies that ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’’s 1963 *Sublime Decisão* is so far the only known performance of the play in Portugal.

In the 1960s a new marketing strategy emerged in the publishing world as a result of the advent of radio serials or ‘folhetins,’ which were so popular that ‘[q]uando [...] correspondiam a um autor com muitos romances editados, o que acontecia com a maioria, várias montras de livrarias e até de tabacarias, [sic] enchiam-se com exemplares das obras,’ sometimes advertising long forgotten books a few days before the novel in question was broadcast.<sup>242</sup> By contrast, the vocation of the programme ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ for contemporary theatre resulted in, at least, one case in which broadcast drama preceded publication – both in Portugal and abroad. When the play *Eu Escolbi* (*al-Sultān al-Hā’ir*), by

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<sup>241</sup> *Marmita – O Santo e a porca*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 16.4.1971, pp. 1-2. The title of the programme is *A eterna juventude de Plauto, ou a mais moderna versão da ‘Marmita’, e a sua influência em ‘O Santo e a Porca’ de Ariano Suassuna* and although the play that it consists of is Plautus’, the archive has listed this programme as being ‘*Marmita*’ - ‘*O santo e a porca*’, a play by Ariano Suassuna. The closing paragraph of the programme, announcing what had just been heard, also says, confusingly, that it was ‘a mais moderna versão da ‘Marmita’, de Plauto, através da comédia de Ariano Suassuna intitulada ‘O Santo e a Porca’.’ (*Marmita – O Santo e a porca*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 16.4.1971, n.no.). The translation *Auluraria* was also submitted by Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina.

<sup>242</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, pp. 162-3.

the Egyptian Tawfik al-Hakim, was broadcast as the twelfth ‘Teatro dos nossos dias’ episode on May 1, 1961, little more than one year had passed since the Parisian version had appeared. Considering that the Nouvelles Editions Latines translation was published on January 30, 1960, the same year of publication of *al-Sultān al-Hā’ir* in Cairo, by Maktabat al-Adab, it must have been the first translation available in Europe. Publication in France might, in fact, have taken place before, or at least at the same time as publication in Egypt. Other neighbouring countries only published it much later. According to the study *La Traducción de Literatura Árabe Contemporánea: antes y después de Naguib Mahfuz*, the Italian *Un sultano in vendita*, translated by Virginia Vacca, was published in Rome in 1964, by Istituto per L’Oriente and in Spain the first contemporaneous Arabic drama work, including plays by al Hakim, appeared in 1963, in the ‘Colección de Autores Contemporáneos,’ published by IHAC- Instituto Hispano Árabe de Cultura.<sup>243</sup> One crucial distinction here is, of course, the fact that while these dates refer to the publication of Southern European translations of Hakim, 1961 in Portugal refers to a radio performance. Yet, the online catalogue of the Portuguese National Library does not list any work by the author who has been considered the father of modern Egyptian theatre (regardless of the spelling variant adopted or the time period in question), which implies that Lisboa filho’s contemporary theatre programme was the means through which the play was first known in Portugal, long before it was made available to readers or theatre-goers in different countries in Europe. This stands in stark contrast to the general backwardness and closedness of the country at the time. In Maria Filomena Mónica’s description of the early 1960s:

Quando, em King’s Road, as saias subiam, no Estoril as adolescentes eram obrigadas a usar fatos de banho com longos saiotes. Quando, nas caves de Paris, a

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<sup>243</sup> See Isabella Camera D’Afflito, ‘L’Italie découvre la littérature arabe: est-ce grâce à Mahfuz?’ and ‘La traducción de literatura árabe contemporánea al español’ in *La Traducción de Literatura Árabe Contemporánea: antes y después de Naguib Mahfuz*, coord. by Hernando de Larramendi and Luis M. Pérez Cañada (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), pp. 53-70 (p. 69) and pp. 20-36 (p. 24).

escuridão era tal que o reconhecimento do parceiro era difícil, as mães portuguesas vigiavam a proximidade entre os corpos dos jovens com atenção maníaca. Quando, nas capelas anglicanas, os pastores abriam os templos a *hippies* de rabo-de-cavalo, nas igrejas portuguesas as meninas não podiam entrar sem meias de vidro.<sup>244</sup>

In spite of the fact that scholar Farouk Mardam-Bey considers Nouvelles Editions Latines a little known publishing house,<sup>245</sup> the time gap between the French and the Portuguese versions makes the link to the French text clearer. As with several other translations used by Lisboa filho in his programmes (namely extracts of Shakespeare's plays included in 'A História do Teatro'), different expressions in the EN script suggest that the source text used was French: '[c]hut!,' 'para vós outros' and '[a]inda!' used as a stand-alone interjection, found in *Eu Escolhi*, correspond to '[c]hut!,' 'pour vous autres' and 'encore!' present in the Parisian *J'ai Choisi*.<sup>246</sup> The spelling of the author's name is a further indication that this might have been the source text: in both translations the name is spelt 'Tewfik El Hakim,' whereas in Italy and in Spain, for instance, the name was, since the 1940s and the 1950s, respectively, spelt as it is now most commonly found – 'Tawfik (or Tawfiq) al-Hakim.'<sup>247</sup> The identical titles of the French and Portuguese translations are a further link between its 1960 French publication and its broadcast on Emissora Nacional sixteen months later. On the other hand, the fact that the title of the French volume in which the play was included was 'Théâtre [sic] de notre temps' ('theatre of our time') and that Eurico

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<sup>244</sup> Mónica, *Cenas*, p. 14.

<sup>245</sup> '[U]ne maison d'édition peu connue,' according to Farouk Mardam-Bey, 'La réception en France de la littérature arabe' in *La Traducción de Literatura Árabe Contemporánea: antes y después de Naguib Mahfuz*, coord. by Hernando de Larramendi and Luis M. Pérez Cañada (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), pp. 81-88 (p. 81).

<sup>246</sup> *O teatro árabe moderno – A originalidade das peças de Tewfik el Hakim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 01.05.1961, pp. 1, 8 and 9 and Tewfik El Hakim, *Théâtre de Notre Temps – Demain, Mort ou Amour, J'ai Choisi* (Paris: Nouvelles Collections Latines, Col. Les Maîtres Étrangers, 1960), pp. 189, 207 and 209.

<sup>247</sup> See Isabella Camera D'Afflitto, 'L'Italie découvre la littérature arabe: est-ce grâce à Mahfuz?' and 'La traducción de literatura árabe contemporánea al español' in *La Traducción de Literatura Árabe Contemporánea: antes y después de Naguib Mahfuz*, coord. by Hernando de Larramendi and Luis M. Pérez Cañada (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), pp. 53-70 and pp. 20-36.

Lisboa filho's programme (which began at the end of 1960 or in January 1961)<sup>248</sup> was 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' seems to be a matter of coincidence.<sup>249</sup> It might have been the very recent quality of the text that determined Eurico Lisboa filho's preference for *J'ai Choisi* out of the three plays included in 'Théâtre [sic] de notre temps' (also included were 'Demain,' and 'Mort ou amour'), yet for the moment the question will have to remain unanswered.

### **Return to the Past**

The fact that out of his five programmes only 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' is specifically concerned with modern and contemporary plays suggests that the erudite professor was more comfortable with earlier drama. While 'Teatro dos nossos dias's' modern vein was pursued and further explored by Leopoldo Araújo, 'Teatro do Século XVIII' and 'Teatro do Século XIX' were followed by 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos,' in the 1970s. As the title suggests, the scope of the programme spanned the periods covered in the four programmes that preceded it. Furthermore, most authors selected, as well as plays in many cases, had indeed featured in Lisboa's other shows. Lisboa's last programme on the Emissora allowed him not only to continue to produce and talk about early drama, but also to continue his teachings. The educational purpose behind it did not differ from his other shows, as illustrated by the inclusion of introductions as thorough and scholarly as the ones found in the previous decades.<sup>250</sup> Moreover, for Lisboa in 1970s Portugal there seemed to be a greater need to teach some particular lessons regarding theatre.

The third centenary of Molière's death in 1973 provided multiple opportunities, both in terms of performances and academic research. Different plays were performed, studies could be read in newspapers, conferences took place, special numbers of literary

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<sup>248</sup> As mentioned before, the first episode known so far is the fifth and it was broadcast on January, 23 1961. Since the date of the second known episode one is two weeks later, it seems unlikely that the first four episodes had all been broadcast in January 1961.

<sup>249</sup> A parallel case in the 1960s is 'Teatro do nosso tempo,' the Lisbon-based theatre company directed by Jacinto Ramos.

<sup>250</sup> Chapter Three addresses this issue in more detail.

journals were published — and seven different plays were broadcast in seven episodes broadcast by the Emissora.<sup>251</sup> They formed two sets, of four and three plays each, produced by two programmes, ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos’ and ‘Noite de Teatro.’ On June 7, 1973, *L’école des maris* (1661), or rather, *A Escola dos Maridos*, inaugurated the first of the two groups, in ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos.’ It was followed by *A escola das mulheres* (*L’École des femmes*, on June 21, 1973), *A crítica da escola das mulheres* (*La critique de l’école de femmes*, on July 19, 1973) and *O Improviso de Versailles* (*L’Impromptu de Versailles*, on July 19, 1973). The intention in broadcasting these four works was, according to Eurico Lisboa filho’s introduction to the last episode, to pay homage to Molière, but not only. He also wanted to teach what he saw as a much needed lesson on dramatic art: ‘[a]presentar estas obras é, a nosso ver, a melhor homenagem que podemos prestar a tão grande homem do Teatro, na altura do seu centenário, e uma das melhores lições para orientação dos jovens que hoje amam o teatro e andam um pouco desorientados por tão complicadas e absurdas coisas que se está pretendendo desta arte’.<sup>252</sup> As Chapter Six shows, this was not the only instance in which Eurico Lisboa filho made use of a ‘Teatro de todos os tempos’ episode to engage with the context of life in Portugal at the time of broadcast.

### Contrasting choices

While the type and style of radio programmes for which Eurico Lisboa filho was responsible during almost two decades in the Emissora Nacional can be explained by his professional training, another professor at the National Conservatoire in Lisbon was responsible for a very different type of programme. The contrast between Álvaro Benamor’s (1907-76)<sup>253</sup> ‘Teatro das Comédias’ and Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes highlights the educational character of the latter. Eurico Lisboa filho’s type of programmes

<sup>251</sup> See José da Costa Miranda, ‘Notas para um estudo sobre o teatro de Molière em Portugal (séculos XIX e XX)’ in *Les Rapports culturels entre le Portugal et la France* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), pp. 171-194.

<sup>252</sup> *O Improviso de Versailles*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 19.07.1973, p. 2.

<sup>253</sup> According to the *Dicionário Cronológico de Autores*. In Eduardo Street’s *Teatro Invisível*, the dates are 1908-76 (Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 95).

was, in fact, exceptional within the state-run broadcaster. The episodes of ‘Teatro das Comédias,’ the most popular radio drama programme in 1953,<sup>254</sup> according to a survey of the audience’s preferences carried out by the Emissora, and, in the words of Eduardo Street, ‘o mais prestigiado teatro invisível que a rádio portuguesa teve e que foi cartaz durante 22 anos,’<sup>255</sup> between 1952 e 1974, did not include an introduction to the performances, which began immediately after the play and the actors had been announced, nor any other kind of comments interrupting the play. The main purpose of the programme was to entertain, as the sources of the broadcast works indicate. In one particular case, the play was in fact a film dramatised for radio. ‘Teatro das Comédias’*s Sansão e Dalila*, broadcast in late 1965,<sup>256</sup> and authored, according to the Audio Archive record, by ‘Cecil Mille,’ was the Portuguese version of *Samson and Delilah*, originally broadcast on November 19, 1951 from Hollywood’s Music Box Theater on the famous programme ‘Lux Radio Theater.’ The ‘most important dramatic show on the radio,’ the programme was run by Cecil B. DeMille, and ‘often became an oral version of the kind of expensive extravaganza for which his films have become famous.’<sup>257</sup> English speaking radio broadcasts were a source of texts for Teatro das Comédias on several other occasions, when plays by meanwhile forgotten British radio playwrights were broadcast: *Consulta marcada* by ‘Cyril Abraham’ (probably meaning ‘Caryl Bhrams’<sup>258</sup>), *O Fabricante de Orquídeas*, by ‘Marthery Fray’ (referring to Marjorie Fry), *A Fita Verde*, by Rosemary Timperley, *Dois Um Cinco não responde*, by Philip Levene and *Representação sem Ensaio* by Michael Brett.<sup>259</sup> A

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<sup>254</sup> ‘Quem se recorda da EN anterior à revolução, invariavelmente, cita sempre o Teatro das Comédias.’ Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 189.

<sup>255</sup> According to Emissora Nacional, *Inquérito Radiofónico* (Lisboa: Emissora Nacional, 1953).

<sup>256</sup> The date in the record in the Audio Archive is November 25, 1965, but the dates in this type of records do not correspond to broadcasting dates. They are instead more likely to correspond to recording dates.

<sup>257</sup> John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. and Howard Fink, ‘The sponsor’s,’ p. 209.

<sup>258</sup> See *BBC Handbook 1958* (London: BBC, 1958), p. 85.

<sup>259</sup> In the section dedicated to ‘missing radio drama’ on the website <http://www.suttonelms.org.uk>, a number of plays by Rosemary Timperley, Philip Levene and Marjorie Fry are mentioned as having been performed in BBC’s ‘Afternoon Theatre,’ including



further example is Frederick Bradnum (1920-2001), who according to Jack Adrian writing for the newspaper *The Independent* in 2002, was ‘arguably one of the greatest half-dozen or so British radio dramatists of the 20th century.’<sup>260</sup> Apart from plays such as Honoré de Balzac’s (1799–1850) *Um drama burguês* (*L’École de Ménages*), Jean Cocteau’s (1889-1963) *Le Bel Indifférent* (written for and performed by Edith Piaf in 1940), Oscar Wilde’s (1854-1900) *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Anton Chekhov’s (1860-1904) *Ivanov* and *The Bear*, short stories were another very common genre of texts selected for Teatro das Comédias, in contrast with Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes, based exclusively on drama: Guy de Maupassant’s (1850-1893) *O Colar*, Kate Chopin’s *O Divórcio de Madame Celestino*, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) *Horácio Sparkins*, O’Henry’s (1862-1910) ‘O Presente dos Reis Magos,’ and Washington Irving’s (1783-1859) *O Fantasma do noivo*. One consequence of the use of short stories is that ‘Teatro das Comédias’ is, according to the records in the archives, the only radio drama programme which included works by a Danish author, Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875): *O Cometa*, *O Sapateiro de Kjolner* and *As três nozes*. Apart from one episode in ‘Teatro de Ensaio’ and two in ‘Noite de Teatro,’ Eurico Lisboa filho was, by contrast, almost the sole responsible for broadcasts of ancient Greek drama (producing at least 29 different episodes in different programmes).

The quality of the acting, which in ‘Teatro das Comédias’’s case includes the performance of Álvaro Benamor himself, was a further contrasting aspect between Benamor’s and Lisboa’s programmes. The weakness of the latter, according to Eduardo Street, was the actors’ performance, whereas in the case of Benamor ‘[p]or vezes, as peças que o forçavam a aceitar ou que não tinha coragem de recusar – quantos candidatos a dramaturgos lhe bateram à porta! – faziam prever uma má noite de teatro, mas o nível da interpretação ‘escondia’ a fragilidade das peças.’<sup>261</sup> These opinions reinforce the idea of

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Marjorie Fry’s *The Maker of Orchids* (September 9, 1964) and ‘*No Reply From One-Four-Five*’ (broadcast on the programme ‘Saturday Matinée’, March 9, 1957) by Philip Levene.

<sup>260</sup> Jack Adrian, ‘Frederick Bradnum,’ *The Independent*, 18 Jan 2002.

<sup>261</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, pp. 95, 137.

Eurico Lisboa filho as a producer who was mainly concerned with the content of the episodes. Scholarly episodes of between 45 and 60 minutes such as ‘A História do Teatro’<sup>s</sup> ‘Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro’ (February 23, 1959) shared little with the ‘Teatro das Comédias’<sup>s</sup> preference for 30 minute adaptations.

In addition to the genre of the source texts, the nationalities of the authors featured in each programme were very different. A comparison (see Appendix) between nationalities included in all five Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes (between 1956 and 1974) and in ‘Teatro das Comédias’ (between 1952 and 1974) shows that France was not too differently represented, with 22% and 29% of episodes in ‘Teatro das Comédias’ and Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes respectively, while the same amount of broadcasts were dedicated to works by English authors in both programmes: 5%. However, the interest in Spanish and Italian literature was very different: 6% of ‘Teatro das Comédias’<sup>s</sup> episodes and 17% of episodes in Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes dealt with Spanish authors, while Italian represented 6% of ‘Teatro das Comédias’<sup>s</sup> episodes and 17% of episodes in Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes. Finally, while 11% of Eurico Lisboa filho’s episodes included Portuguese authors, in ‘Teatro das Comédias’ the latter were represented by 46% of the total amount of episodes. In short, in more general terms, considerably less translated works were broadcast in the most popular radio drama programme of the EN. While translated literature was used both for educational and entertainment purposes, it was the former intention that brought the greatest amount as well as the most contemporary authors to the national station’s drama shows.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter claims that the ideological framework of the regime, which considered education, and more specifically cultural education, one of the Emissora Nacional’s aims, determined the selection of foreign works for the radio drama programmes produced by Eurico Lisboa filho. While radio drama is primarily a form of entertainment by nature, a

notion of both drama and radio as educational tools led to a didactic approach to broadcast drama. As a result, hundreds of plays by established playwrights from all over the world became available through radio broadcasting.

The educational agenda behind the programmes can be seen in particular in the fact that texts were chosen so as to illustrate developments in drama throughout different periods in history, including the modern period and the radio drama genre itself. It was also conveyed by fact that the Emissora's broadcasts were seen as a supplement to staged performances. As a consequence of the interest in disseminating modern drama in particular, the first Portuguese performance of several plays took place on the national broadcasting station. On the other hand, the selection of texts for broadcasting sometimes coincided with that of theatre companies associated with views politically opposed to those represented by the national broadcasting station. Together with examples of plays by authors whose works were forbidden by censorship, these cases can serve as a departing point for an interrogation into the extent to which the educational aim of the programmes was above political ideology. In addition to the lesson on world drama that Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes represent, a close analysis of plays, similar to the ones carried out in Chapters Five and Six, might prove particularly fruitful in elucidating which other ideas - and lessons - were conveyed.

The educational agenda was further expressed by the decision to limit selection to dramatic works, unlike programmes of a different nature, such as the popular 'Teatro das Comédias.' As the next chapter will show, additional criteria employed were the status and popularity of a play or playwright. While the effectiveness of this educational attempt, which needs to take audiences into account, remains to be evaluated, the ultimate goal of Lisboa's programmes was to contribute towards and improve the audience's literary and cultural education through the broadcast of plays deemed to be 'very good' or 'important' in the context of drama history. Broadcasting foreign plays that supposedly met these

imperatives constituted therefore an ideologically determined form of engagement with the target environment.

### 3. PARATEXTUAL LEVEL: presenting and commenting on texts

*Música ou palavra,  
a alma que tu tens é apenas a que  
os homens te emprestam.*  
Fernando Curado Ribeiro, 1964<sup>262</sup>

This chapter considers what might be called the presentational level of the process of using translated texts for radio broadcasting. It examines the implications of the ideological framework underlying radio drama programmes in terms of the presentation of episodes, plays, and playwrights. By analysing the different strategies employed, it demonstrates and reinforces the claim of the previous chapter that Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes were governed by an ideologically-determined didactical intention.

Particular attention was drawn to the verbal or other elements accompanying and presenting a text by Gérard Genette in his 1987 volume *Seuils* (translated into English in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*).<sup>263</sup> He called these elements which attract readers and draw them to and into the text, thus working as the text's threshold or 'vestibule,' 'paratextual elements.'<sup>264</sup> As 'the most socialised side of the practice of literature (the way its relations with the public are organised),'<sup>265</sup> the paratext is one of the mediating mechanisms in which the conditioning effect of an ideological framework can be seen at

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<sup>262</sup> Fernando Curado Ribeiro, 'Excertos de uma carta a um receptor amigo,' in *Rádio. Produção, Realização, Estética* (Lisbon: Editora Arcádia: 1964), pp. 11-15 (p. 11).

<sup>263</sup> Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987); Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997.

<sup>264</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>265</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 14.

work. In fact, according to Tahir-Gürçağlar, ‘the growing emphasis on cultural and ideological issues in translation research has made the study of paratextual elements surrounding translations methodologically indispensable.’<sup>266</sup> The relevance of the paratexts has been further acknowledged by the recent coining of the term ‘paratranslation’ by scholars working at the University of Vigo interested in analysing not only the translation of ‘any paratext that surrounds, wraps, accompanies, extends, introduces and presents the translated text,’ but also ‘the time and space needed’ to do so.<sup>267</sup>

This chapter offers a study of the paratextual elements accompanying the texts used in Eurico Lisboa filho’s broadcast drama episodes. It considers one type of paratext identified by Genette in particular, the peritext. In contrast to the epitext, which is defined as ‘the distanced elements [...] that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of the media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others),’<sup>268</sup> the peritext consists of elements found inside the book: titles, prefaces, postfaces, chapter titles, notes, dedications, illustrations, etc..<sup>269</sup>

The chapter focuses on examples of titles, introductions and commentaries that accompanied Eurico Lisboa filho’s translated plays, and investigates the linkage between these materials and the ideological framework underlying the programmes. The chapter examines how, on the one hand, it was partly by determining the format of programmes and episodes that the didactic mission attributed to the national station could be fulfilled by drama programmes. The presence and content of introductory texts allowed the

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<sup>266</sup> Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, ‘Paratext,’ in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc Van Doorslaer, II (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2011), pp. 113-116.

<sup>267</sup> Yuste Frías, José, ‘Paratextual Elements in Translation: Paratranslating Titles in Children's Literature’ in *Translation Peripheries. Paratextual Elements in Translation*, ed. by Gil-Bardají, Ana, Pilar Orero and Sara Rovira-Esteva (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin : Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 117-134 (p. 118).

<sup>268</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 5.

<sup>269</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 1, 5.

educational goal of each episode to be met – at least from the output perspective. This is illustrated namely by the use of strategies typical of the academic context.

Through the use of different devices, introductions and commentaries represented opportunities to articulate and emphasize ideas and values of critical importance for the regime. On the other hand, the chapter also shows how those short texts allowed the broadcasting of politically sensitive, and previously censored, texts by defusing tensions portrayed in them.

### **Titles**

Two paratextual elements are present in every episode of Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes: the title and the introduction. Both reflect the didactic aim informing the programmes and reveal the particular way in which that objective was achieved.

One consequence of the educational purpose motivating these broadcasts was the historical perspective which informed mainly three of his programmes. Their titles were an immediate indication of the approach taken: 'A História do Teatro' (which, as we have seen, began in 1955 and lasted at least four years, until 1960), 'Teatro do século XVIII' and 'Teatro do Século XIX' (broadcast from 1964 to 1966 and from 1967 to 1969 respectively). Historically-oriented programmes were a trend at this time, as episodes from several different shows found in the archives illustrate, namely 'Pequena História do teatro musicado em Portugal' and 'História do Teatro musicado em Portugal.' Attempting to investigate the start and end dates of these programmes falls outside the scope of this thesis, but the fact that all the episodes found were broadcast in the 1960s and 1970s is a reminder of the extent to which the historical perspective was useful to the regime particularly during the colonial war period.

As research has repeatedly shown,<sup>270</sup> history and its teaching were efficiently instrumentalized by the regime, whose historical discourse incorporated ‘os valores nacionalistas materializados na glorificação e no engrandecimento da Pátria.’<sup>271</sup> Although, as Bastos recalls, part of these values were a Republican inheritance, the aim of the official discourse was the ‘(re)criação da memória colectiva, utilizando toda uma galeria de heróis portugueses, tendo em vista a promoção de valores como o heroísmo, a coragem, o sacrifício, a obediência, a disciplina, o carácter, a vontade, o culto dos grandes ideais, etc.’<sup>272</sup> Together with the war, this is the background against which radio broadcast programmes on the history of Portugal in particular should be considered: ‘O Norte na História e na Tradição,’ ‘História da Moeda Antiga Portuguesa,’ ‘História do livro Impresso em Portugal,’ ‘Os grandes momentos da História do Mundo,’ ‘Panoramas da História, Um programa dirigido pelo Dr. João Ameal,’<sup>273</sup> ‘História de Portugal,’<sup>274</sup> ‘Factos pouco conhecidos da história medieval portuguesa’ and also the explicitly propagandistic short wave programme ‘dedicado aos portugueses do Ultramar e de todos os países do mundo,’ ‘A História que os Portugueses não devem esquecer.’<sup>275</sup>

The link between the promotion of the regime’s values and the broadcast of foreign plays can only be investigated through detailed studies, similar to the one carried out in

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<sup>270</sup> See Luís Reis Torgal, *História e ideologia* (Coimbra. Minerva, 1989); Maria Manuela Carvalho, *Poder e ensino. Os manuais de História na política do Estado Novo. 1926-1940.* (Lisboa: Horizonte, 2005); Maria Cristina Bastos, ‘O ensino de história no Portugal de Salazar’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade do Minho, 1998); and Maria de Jesus Silva, *A história e o liceu no Estado Novo*, unpublished thesis (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1993).

<sup>271</sup> Maria Cristina Bastos, ‘O ensino de história,’ p. 225.

<sup>272</sup> Maria Cristina Bastos, ‘O ensino de história,’ p. 227.

<sup>273</sup> João Ameal (1902-1982), ‘ideólogo e historiador-ideólogo do salazarismo’, is Luís Reis Torgal’s epitome of the ‘intelectual orgânico,’ and author of *Decálogo do Estado Novo* (published by Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional in 1934), a ‘texto fundamental em que eram traçados os princípios práticos do regime,’ as well as a *History of Portugal* (published in 1941) that determined the historical discourse of the regime. (Reis Torgal *Estados Novos*, I, pp. 105-117 and II, p. 87).

<sup>274</sup> Programme by the historian Damião Peres (1889-1976), author of a multiple volume history of the country, which is still used today.

<sup>275</sup> Broadcast from October 1965 until the end of 1968. The programme ‘O Norte na História e na Tradição’ is particularly significant, bearing in mind that ‘[a]ny memory of Arab culture and of cultural diversity in general, already weak even in the south of the country, was the target of disdain or covered by silence. The north, the “Christian cradle of nationhood,” was valued above all.’ Costa Pinto, *Salazar’s Dictatorship*, p. 194.



Chapter Five, of the plays included in the different programmes. However, paratextual elements of one text in particular indicate that while Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes were mainly composed of translated works, he did not fail to highlight the importance of Portuguese dramatic tradition, namely by looking for connections between foreign and Portuguese plays. In one 'Teatro do século XVIII' episode, 'Alfieri, o maior trágico italiano, e uma possível influência de *O Auto de El-Rei Seleuco* de Camões, sobre o seu *Filipe IV*,' Lisboa argues that

o que parece de maior interesse nesta tragédia é o sabermos que Alfieri a escreveu depois de ter estado em Portugal. Amando a poesia e o teatro devemos supor que ele teria tido interesse em conhecer alguma coisa da nossa literatura e, se não conhecia já Camões, decerto que o ficou conhecendo. Se o teatro de Camões não é o que mais importa na sua obra, para um homem de teatro como Alfieri decerto que lhe havia de interessar. Assim, é natural que tenha lido *O auto de El-Rei Seleuco*, e se o leu não será talvez muito admitir uma influência desta peça no seu *Filipe II*. Tanto mais que o conflito do Seleuco é muito mais trágico que cómico. Poderia ter sido ele que levou Alfieri a tratar o drama do príncipe Carlos e de seu pai [...]<sup>276</sup>

Lisboa's historiographical perspective was further consolidated by the periodization according to which 'A História do Teatro' was organised. This was reflected in the titles of individual episodes, as illustrated by episodes number 126 to 129, broadcast between February and March 1959:

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<sup>276</sup> *Alfieri, o maior trágico italiano, e uma possível influência de "O Auto de El-Rei Seleuco" de Camões, sobre o seu "Filipe IV"*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 18.10.1964, p. I-4. The same argument is put forward when in 1971 *O auto de El-Rei Seleuco* is included in 'Teatro de todos os tempos' (in particular on page 14).

III Período: A Renascença em Itália. 19º Cap: A Criação do drama-lírico e a actividade da Camerata Bardi, em Florença	126
Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro	127
IV Período: A Renascença na França. 2º Cap: ‘A tragédia de Estienne [sic] Jodelle: Cleópatra Cativa’	128
IV Período: A Renascença na França. 3º Cap: Jacques Grévin: 1a parte: O [sic] Comédia: Os Pasmados	129

‘O Teatro do Século’ programmes, in contrast, did not analyse one period or author over a number of episodes, hence in consequence, the emphasis changed slightly. Lisboa filho had not only ceased to present different episodes as tutorials grouped as a kind of study unit, but had also decided to present them in a different way.<sup>277</sup> Their introductions still expressed the historical sense underlying the programme as whole:

[s]e o estudo dos grandes expoentes dramáticos tem o maior interesse para a História do Teatro, o estudo da evolução dos géneros não nos parece de menor importância, embora essa evolução apresente no seu caminho obras de autores menores, às vezes quasi ignorados. Assim para vermos como de Marivaux e Sordane se chegou à comédia de Musset somos obrigados a estudar os autores dos primeiros vinte anos do século XIX.<sup>278</sup>

However, their titles became increasingly simpler and more focused on the plays themselves. This is even more so in the case of the last programme. In the early ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ we can still find several traces of ‘A História do Teatro’s scholarly titles, as

<sup>277</sup> A modern observer of such a phenomenon, all too aware of audience ratings, might wonder whether this change was due to the style of other perhaps more popular, programmes broadcast during those years.

<sup>278</sup> *Um momento de imprudência*, ‘Teatro do Século XIX,’ 06.09.1968, episode 52, p. 1.

for instance ‘*Ricardo Coração de Leão* de Sedaine e o aparecimento do “vaudeville” e da “ópera-cômica”,’ or ‘A vida no teatro espanhol do século XVIII e a *Comédia Nova* de Leandro Fernandez de Moratin.’ The great majority of ‘Teatro do século XIX’ titles, in contrast, were of plays, or of plays and their authors’ names: ‘O Conde de Carmanhola,’ ‘A Roca de Barbarina,’ ‘Kean’ - drama de Alexandre Dumas.’ Although these were the kinds of title that Lisboa preferred from then onwards, titles such as ‘As invenções teatrais e a criação dramática de Ésquilo analisadas nas tragédias: *As suplicantes*; *Os Persas*; *Prometeu Agrilhado*’ were still being used in 1973.<sup>279</sup>

### Introductions and references

Regardless of the type of title given to the episodes, the scholarly character of the introductions to the plays is a feature common to all Eurico Lisboa filho’s programmes. These thorough and analytical texts provide very clear indications of the way he conceived the shows. Together with the commentary sometimes added in between sections of the plays, they constituted, in fact, paratextual features unique to Lisboa’s programmes. Out of the 17 radio programmes identified, two more programmes, apart from Lisboa’s, included an introduction to the performances, but no further comments after that: ‘Teatro Contemporâneo’ and ‘Teatro de Ensaio.’<sup>280</sup>

Considered by Watts as ‘perhaps the most important element of the paratext,’<sup>281</sup> introductions were an expression of a particular agenda that shaped the programme’s character and aims, in addition to the more general goal of providing broadcast entertainment. In one episode of ‘Teatro de Ensaio,’ a programme, produced by Carlos Wallenstein (1926-1990) and Goulart Nogueira (1924-1993?), which shared its name with a Lisbon theatre company, the introduction explains that ‘em Teatro de Ensaio ou

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<sup>279</sup> *As invenções teatrais e a criação dramática de Ésquilo analisadas nas tragédias: “As suplicantes”, “Os Persas” e “Prometeu Agrilhado”, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 18.03.1971.*

<sup>280</sup> One episode of ‘Vamos ao Teatro’ has been found which also includes a very brief introduction: *O processo de Jesus*, ‘Vamos ao Teatro,’ 17.06.1959.

<sup>281</sup> Richard Watts, ‘Translating Culture: Reading the Paratexts to Aimé Césaire’s *Cahier d’un retour au pays nata,*’ *TTR* 13:2 (2000), 29–46 (p. 32).

Experimental, apresenta-se muitas vezes uma peça clássica actualizada, isto é, com cenários e maneiras de hoje.<sup>282</sup> For ‘Teatro Contemporâneo,’ by Orlando Vitorino (1922-2003), the introductions allowed explanations to be provided regarding the ‘experimental’ drama with which the programme engaged, and which often coincided with the work of Vitorino’s company ‘Teatro d’Arte de Lisboa.’<sup>283</sup>

In the case of Eurico Lisboa filho, more than reflections of the underlying agenda, the introductions were a critical tool to fulfill it. The content, similar in all his programmes, usually consisted of a brief presentation of the author, including biographical details, and a contextualisation of the play within the author’s body of work and broader literary and artistic context. A sketch of the literary movement the work belonged to, as well as the author’s contribution towards it, was frequently also included. In addition, references to both stage performances of the plays and their critical reception were often made. The latter feature in particular suggests that these texts can make significant contributions towards the history of stage performances in Portugal.<sup>284</sup>

Their paramount importance for Lisboa’s didactic programmes themselves resides in the fact they did not simply ‘provide information and guidance,’ as suggested by Genette,<sup>285</sup> but, together with the play, they were the very lesson. Apart from the success of particular stage productions, mentioned in the previous chapter, it was through the introductions that listeners were told about, for example, the literary value of the plays chosen for the programme. A play’s and playwright’s popularity and reputation featured prominently in the prologues of both ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ and ‘Teatro do Século XIX,’ for instance. The beginning of each new episode sounded like an echo of the previous one, as the following examples illustrate, in chronological order (my italics):

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<sup>282</sup> *Quem usa engenho triunfa (Vizcaíno fingido)*, ‘Teatro de Ensaio,’ 05.07.1964, p. 1.

<sup>283</sup> Created in 1955 by Azinhal Abelho and Orlando Vitorino. Plays performed by the company, as well as their analysis, were published in the collection *Teoremas de Teatro*, which also included discussions of subjects related to theatre. See Pavão dos Santos, ‘Guia Breve,’ p. 226.

<sup>284</sup> See for instance the introduction to *A primeira legião*, ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ 17.03.1964, episode 87.

<sup>285</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 209.

[t]rata-se de um autor, António Bances y Candamo, que segue a escola de Lope e *é o último grande autor* da comédia espanhola;<sup>286</sup>

A *melhor tragédia* espanhola do século XVIII é sem dúvida ‘A Raquel’ de Vicente García de la Rueda [sic].<sup>287</sup>

[v]amos hoje apresentar ‘A Viúva Astuciosa’, umas das comédias que teve *maior sucesso* na vida de Goldoni;<sup>288</sup>

[...] dentro do teatro do século XVIII há um comediógrafo francês, [...] Regnard, que traduz, *melhor que qualquer outro*, o espírito do seu século.<sup>289</sup>

‘Teatro do século XIX’ episodes’ emphasis was identical:

aquilo que o imortalizou e é sempre recordado como um dos *melhores dramas* do teatro romântico é ‘Os amantes de Teruel’[...] que escolhemos para apresentar neste programa;<sup>290</sup>

[a] comédia que hoje vamos apresentar revela-nos dois dos autores francese que tiveram *maior popularidade* na primeira metade do século XIX.<sup>291</sup>

José Zorrilla e Moral foi, sem dúvida, o *maior dramaturgo* espanhol do período romântico.<sup>292</sup>

Value judgements such as these were often supported by references to and quotations from other critics, which also tended to be foreign. These references, which were included to reinforce the play’s or playwright’s quality, value and relevance, were similar to Genette’s allographic prefaces or commentaries in that they functioned as recommendations.<sup>293</sup> Lisboa’s introductions were sometimes careful to establish even the critic’s authority itself:

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<sup>286</sup> “O escravo em grilhões de ouro” – comédia, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 26.07.1964, p. 1.

<sup>287</sup> “A Raquel” – tragédia, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 06.09.1964, p. 1.

<sup>288</sup> A viúva astuciosa, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 17.04.1966, p. 1.

<sup>289</sup> O herdeiro universal, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 07.08.1966, p. 1.

<sup>290</sup> Os amantes de Teruel, ‘Teatro do século XIX,’ 08.03.1968, p. 1.

<sup>291</sup> “O Landaw” ou “A Hospitalidade” - comédia-vaudeville, ‘Teatro do século XIX,’ 23.08.1968, p. 1.

<sup>292</sup> “D. João Tenório” - drama de José Zorrilla e Moral, ‘Teatro do século XIX,’ 27.06.1969, p. 1.

<sup>293</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 264-68.

[a] tragédia *Rei-Édipo* tem sido considerada pelos críticos como a mais perfeita das obras do teatro grego. [...] No nosso século, Silvio d'Amico, o maior crítico de literatura dramática dos últimos cinquenta anos, acrescentou que, na verdade, a condução do drama, toda fundada no interesse suscitado pelo processo de uma investigação, é tal que nem mesmo hoje o teatro foi capaz de encontrar algo de mais eficiente.<sup>294</sup>

Silvio d'Amico (1887-1955), a 'leading critic of his time and certainly not a Fascist',<sup>295</sup> was the founder, in 1936, of the Italian Accademia Nazionale d'Arte Drammatica (today, Accademia Nazionale d'Arte Drammatica Silvio d'Amico),<sup>296</sup> and 'one of the "High Priests" of Italian theatre.'<sup>297</sup> Lisboa's familiarity with d'Amico's work (and in particular with his 'History of Drama'),<sup>298</sup> which he refers to several times,<sup>299</sup> might be connected to his attendance, funded by Gulbenkian Foundation, of the Italian 'Corso Internazionale di Storia del Teatro,' in 1964.<sup>300</sup> D'Amico's work might also have functioned as a source for plays for Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes. A dialogue taken from *La Strega*, by Anton Francesco Grazzini, included in Lisboa's 'A História do Teatro's episode 'Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro,' not only coincides with the fragment to which d'Amico had drawn attention and reproduced, but also shows evidence of Italian linguistic interference: the very un-idiomatic '[e]stás à moda

<sup>294</sup> "A tragédia *Rei-Édipo*", de Sófocles, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 24.06.1971, p. 1.

<sup>295</sup> Pietro Cavallo, 'Theatre Politics of the Mussolini Régime and their influence on Fascist drama', in *Fascism and Theatre. Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), (pp. 113-132), p. 117.

<sup>296</sup> 'Silvio d'Amico,' <http://www.accademiasilviodamico.it>.

<sup>297</sup> Mario Verdone, 'Mussolini's "Theatre of the Masses,"' in *Fascism and Theatre. Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), (pp. 133-139), p. 134.

<sup>298</sup> Lisboa was referring to one of the three editions of the four-volume *Storia del teatro drammatico* that came out before 1958 (Milan: Garzanti). A revised and shortened version by Sandro d'Amico was published in 1960 in Milan, also by Garzanti.

<sup>299</sup> Namely in *Hamlet*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 04.03.1971 and *Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro*, 'A história do teatro,' 23.02.1959, p. 3. Lisboa filho quotes one unidentified publication by d'Amico in *Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 12.04.1973, p. 1.

<sup>300</sup> Gulbenkian Foundation Archive, Theatre Section, record number TD7-04278-D.

antiga,' used in the Portuguese version, seems to be a literal translation of the Italian quoted in Amico's volume '[t]u sei all'antica.'<sup>301</sup>

### The French cultural model

References to the Italian Silvio d'Amico and the British Allardyce Nicoll – whose works Lisboa also referred to, and whose *World Drama* might have been the source of Lisboa's selection of Eastern plays, as mentioned in the previous chapter – reveal that Lisboa's sources were not as limited as the usual depiction of the Portuguese theatrical universe would have us believe. In the words of Osório Mateus, for instance, Portugal was then '[um] país onde o teatro estrangeiro que se exhibia era o que vinha (já com fotografias) na *Avant-Scène* (como décadas antes na *Petite Illustration*), onde as escolhas de repertórios se iam fazer em visitas industriais a Espanha e a França.'<sup>302</sup> Despite being a major, if not the most important, reference for Lisboa filho, *L'Avant-Scène* was not his only French source. Commentaries, summaries of plays or depictions of playwrights were also quoted from introductions to plays published in Hachette's editions,<sup>303</sup> and Georges Pillement (1898-1984)'s *Anthologie du Théâtre Français Contemporain*, a three-volume compilation published between 1945 and 1948:<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> *Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro*, 'A história do teatro,' 23.02.1959, p. 5. and Silvio d'Amico, *Storia del teatro drammatico*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., II (Milan: Garzanti, 1960), p. 58.

<sup>302</sup> Osório Mateus quoted by Paulo Eduardo Carvalho, 'Modalidades de negociação da alteridade: o caso do teatro irlandês contemporâneo nos palcos portugueses' in *Deste Lado do espelho. Estudos de Tradução em Portugal. Novos contributos para a história da literatura portuguesa*, org. Alexandra Lopes and Maria do Carmo Correia de Oliveira, (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2002), pp. 203-228.

<sup>303</sup> As for example in 'Teatro de todos os tempos' episode on Molière's *Improvviso de Versailles*, where 'Eduardo Maynial's' introduction to the Hachette edition of the play is quoted.

<sup>304</sup> 'Georges Pillement, no seu admirável estudo sobre o Teatro Francês Contemporâneo, referece-lhe [a Jean Cocteau] nestes termos: [...]', 'Jean Cocteau - Um dos Maiores Criadores de Teatro do Nosso Século,' 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 29.10.1963, episode 77, p. 1. Pillement, Georges, *Anthologie du Théâtre Français Contemporain*, 3 vols (Paris: Éditions du Bélér, 1945-1948). The fact that on the script the surname of the quoted author is blurred, and only the first letters 'Pill,' the name 'Georges' and the quoted title 'Teatro Francês Contemporâneo' are readable, initially raised the possibility that Lisboa filho might be referring to *Anthologie du Théâtre Français Contemporain (prose et vers) (1850 à nos jours)*, by Georges Pellisier (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1910, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.). However, none of the four editions of this anthology contains the paragraph dedicated to Cocteau that is quoted by Lisboa filho. In fact, chronological aspects

[...] Mauriac sabe construir os seus dramas criando as situações em que essas personagens e sentimentos mais se evidenciam, o choque de almas dá-se na frente do espectador, num diálogo natural, fácil, incisivo. Do seu teatro, escolhi duas peças para analisar: *Os mal amados* e *Asmodée*. [...] Para apresentar *Os mal amados* vou-me servir do resumo que Georges Pillement fez dessa peça.<sup>305</sup>

Despite all the different sources and references used, Lisboa filho often resorted to the bi-monthly *L'Avant-Scène Fèmina-Théâtre*, which aimed at being 'la première publication théâtrale de langue française.'<sup>306</sup> This meant that France, Portugal's dominant cultural model for most of the Estado Novo period, was not only a source for texts, as Chapter Five in particular will show, and a reference point in terms of which successfully staged plays to broadcast, but also a source for critical input.

When, for example, Lisboa filho introduced Jean Bernard-Luc's *Hibernatus* in 1962, he quoted Paul Louis Mignon and Jean-Jacques Gautier (in the newspaper *Le Figaro*) and Max Favaelli (in *Paris-Presse*), pretending to have these journalists with him speaking live to his audiences about Bernard-Luc. On a different occasion, in order to establish the popularity of Pierre Boulle's play *William Conrad*, he quoted three French critics, naming them and their respective publications: Paul Gordeaux in *France-Soir*, Georges Lerminier in *Parisien Libéré*, Christian Megret in *Carrefour* and Marcelle Capron in *Combat*.<sup>307</sup> Similarly, in the episode on Caragiale's *A Carta perdida*, a number of critics and periodicals were mentioned: Guy Verdot in *Franc-Tireur*, Jean Rounault in *L'Avant-Scène*, André Paul Antoine in *Information*, Marescaux from *Humanité* [sic], Sylvain Zegel in *Express* and Jacques Lemarchand in *Figaro Littéraire*. The opinions quoted by Lisboa appeared in a one-page section of each issue of *L'Avant-Scène*. Pierre Boulle's critique offered by Lisboa to

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relating to the publication of this work, the year of the death of its author and the period during which Cocteau's plays were written and staged quickly proved this possibility wrong.

<sup>305</sup> "Os mal amados e Asmodée": O estudo psicológico nos dramas de Mauriac, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 17.10.1961, episode 24, p. 1.

<sup>306</sup> *L'Avant-Scène*, n. 141 (1956), p. 1.

<sup>307</sup> O drama "William Conrad" de Pierre Boule, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 26.06.1962, p. 2.



Portuguese listeners in June 1962 was taken from *L'Avant-Scène* issue number 258, published in February the same year.<sup>308</sup> In the case of Caragiale, the critique presented in 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' can be found in the 'Une lettre perdue et la critique' section of *L'Avant-Scène* number 120 (October 1955); Lisboa ignored the opinions of the three last critics included therein (Jean Nepveau-Degas's opinion in *France-Observateur*, Marcelle Capron in *Combat* and Jean Guignebert in *Libération*) presumably because their brief texts consisted mostly of praise for the performance and the play itself, as well as encouragement for French readers to go to the Théâtre de Poche in Paris to see the play.<sup>309</sup>

*L'Avant-Scène* was used even if no such 'critique' page was included in a particular issue. Such was the case of issue 162, on Pirandello's *Enrico IV*: Lisboa quoted parts of the ten-page introduction to the French version of the play, both of them, translation and introduction, by Benjamin Crémieux.<sup>310</sup> Publications such as *L'Avant-Scène* had a critical role for the dissemination in Portugal of not only French but foreign drama in general. Due perhaps also to his Romance philology training, Lisboa made use of French references even when the playwright in question was not French. In the 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode on T. S. Eliot, it was his French translator Henri Fluchère who was quoted, suggesting that the source text was Fluchère's version. In 'Thomas More- Um Homem que não Muda,' a 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode on Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons*, a quotation of Robert Bolt's own view is made which can be found on page 9 of *L'Avant-Scène* no. 294 (1963).<sup>311</sup> When introducing Arthur Miller's *Lembro-me de duas segundas-feiras*, Lisboa refers to Marcel Duhamel's 'pequena nota que antepôs à sua tradução da peça de Miller *Todos eles eram meus filhos*.'<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> *L'Avant-Scène*, no. 258 (1962) p. 37.

<sup>309</sup> *L'Avant-Scène*, no. 120 (1955), p. 32.

<sup>310</sup> *L'Avant-Scène*, no. 162 (1957).

<sup>311</sup> *Thomas More- Um homem que não muda*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 01.10.1963, p. 1.

<sup>312</sup> *Lembro-me de duas segundas-feiras (O realismo dramático no teatro de Artur Miller)*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 07.08.1961, p. 1.

## The narrator

Eurico Lisboa filho acknowledged the important function of the introductory text of each episode in establishing a play or playwright's status and hence in asserting the quality of the programme, as well as that of the lesson being taught by distinguishing between two types of narrator. The 'narrador' or 'apresentador' ('narrator' or 'presenter') was the person who read the longer, scholarly sections of the introduction. The 'N.P.', or 'narrador da peça,' on the other hand, was in charge of the summary of scenes which had been deleted or which relied too heavily on visual aspects, as well as the description of the setting. It corresponded to the 'narrator' character that the author Richard Hughes (OBE, 1900-1976) considered a sign of 'failure' in a radio play. Commenting on his play *Comedy of Danger*, the first play written especially for radio and broadcast by the BBC in 1924, Hughes said:<sup>313</sup>

Those were the days of the silent film [...] and our "listening play" (as I dubbed it) would have to be the silent film's missing half, so to speak, telling a complete story by sound alone. Yet even the silent film did not, strictly speaking, rely on pictures only. It used sub-titles. Usually there was a sad man thumping appropriate themes on a piano. Some of the grander cinema-houses even employed an 'effects man'; he wound a wind-machine and pattered peas on a drum for the storm scenes; he accompanied the galloping cowboy with clashing coconut shells. We thought of using a narrator but agreed it would be a confession of failure. No, we must rely on dramatic speech and sound entirely- and it had never been done before.<sup>314</sup>

Examples of episodes where both the 'N.P.' and the 'narrator' appear, such as the play considered in Chapter Five, are manifold. While Hughes was referring to the use of a narrator in plays originally written for radio, 'in many radio adaptations explicit direction in

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<sup>313</sup> See Drakakis, 'The Essence,' p. 120.

<sup>314</sup> Richard Hughes, quoted by Tim Crook, 'British Radio Drama - A Cultural Case History,' <http://www.irdp.co.uk/britrad.htm>.

the form of a narrator used to be regarded as the most expedient way of overcoming the problems of translation from theatre performance to radio broadcast.<sup>315</sup> According to Drakakis, the issue caused much debate in England, where many voices opposed the use of such a strategy, until 'by the early 1950s the narrator had become part of the overall dramatic illusion.'<sup>316</sup> Eurico Lisboa filho, however, kept his 'N.P.' 'outside the play as a whole,' producing him 'very much after the fashion of a running commentator, and [keeping] him in a perspective different from that in which the rest of the play takes place,' thus matching Val Gielgud's instructions in 1947 for this aspect of radio adaptations of Shakespeare's history plays.<sup>317</sup> The introduction of a further narrating character and the comments he made provided a critical opportunity for the manipulation of the play. As Chapters Five and Six in particular illustrate, these interventions created expectations and guided the play's reception by the listener by shaping the image of the author and the play, and implicitly suggesting points of view.

One of such perspectives was expressed in terms of intertextuality: Eurico Lisboa filho's scholarly approach to drama often led him to emphasize relationships and common patterns between texts and traditions.<sup>318</sup> His appreciation of classical theatre in particular had an impact on his reading of several modern plays included in 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias's repertoire and his interest in the modern adaptation of classical elements set the tone of some of the episodes. This inter-period dialogue was especially emphasized by the titles of four episodes: two English dramas with a religious theme, T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* in 'As Formas da tragédia clássica no drama moderno de Eliot - O Assassínio na Catedral' and Christopher Fry's *The Firstborn* in 'Os Continuadores do Teatro Clássico nos nossos dias - Christopher Fry e o seu drama bíblico *O Primogénito*', and also two Italian

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<sup>315</sup> Drakakis 'The Essence,' p. 124.

<sup>316</sup> Drakakis 'The Essence,' p. 124.

<sup>317</sup> Val Gielgud quoted by Drakakis, 'The Essence,' pp. 124-5.

<sup>318</sup> 'Sem dúvida que os dois mais curiosos aspectos que apresenta o teatro dos Nossos Dias é a total liberdade de processos e a busca febril de novos talentos, novas técnicas, novos processos de conter o drama. Classicismo, romantismo, realismo, simbolismo tudo se encontra nos nossos dias e às vezes simultaneamente na mesma peça [not readable].' *O teatro poético de Jules Supervielle*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 10.7.1961, p. 1.

works, Turi Vasile's *I cugini stranieri* in 'Os Primos Rivais - A tragédia clássica no teatro italiano dos nossos dias' and Giorgio Prosperi's *La Congiura* in the episode 'A nova tragédia romana *A Conjura*, de Giorgio Prosperi, e como se ensaia uma peça no Piccolo Teatro de Milano.'

Relationships between texts and traditions were also part of the justification for the programme 'Teatro do Século XVIII:'

[m]as o teatro do século XVIII poderá ser por si alguma coisa destacável? [...] E ainda mais um último interesse temos de lhe acrescentar: foi no século XVIII que a Europa começou a conhecer a literatura e o teatro oriental, que veio a ter grande influência na obra dos autores do Ocidente, como, por exemplo, no Fausto de Goethe.<sup>319</sup>

Even though he claimed that his interest was, amongst other aspects, in the impact of Eastern drama tradition upon the work of Western playwrights, what some of his introductions in fact highlighted was the opposite relationship between the two traditions. Despite recognising the Oriental drama's 'influence' upon European literary production, Indian theatre, for instance, was presented as having its roots in Greek theatre:

[e]mbora muitos historiadores do teatro sejam do parecer de que o drama indiano foi espontâneo, e em nada recebeu a influência da grande fonte grega, nós inclinamo-nos para a corrente histórica que considera este teatro impulsionado pelo drama grego, tanto mais que se desenvolveu depois das conquistas de Alexandre. Ora, perante este drama, 'Xakuntálá', embora nos pareça absolutamente original o seu lirismo, e inteiramente oriental o seu ambiente e fantasia [...], não podemos deixar de encontrar semelhança com as Ifigénias de Eurípides, aliás o trágico grego que, pela sua ternura, está mais de acordo com a

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<sup>319</sup> *O teatro clássico francês: as tragédias de Crebillon: "Radamisto e Zenóbia", "Pirro", 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 05.04.1964, p. 1.*

delicadeza de Kalidasa. Mas com ou sem influências gregas, ‘Xakuntálá’ é um encantador poema dramático, que, temos a certeza, vai agradar aos nossos ouvintes.<sup>320</sup>

### Catholicism

The identification of parallels between different traditions allowed the plays to seem less foreign to the Portuguese audience, who could thus relate to them more easily. In some instances, the aspect that bridged the distance between the Oriental and the European tradition was religion. After considering Japanese *noh* drama, Lisboa pointed out the ‘profound similarities’ between the Biblical Job and one of the Indian plays he had selected, *A Ira de Causica* by Kchemisvara. The same introduction also suggested that the reason for the broadcast of *O Círculo de Giz* (*The Chalk Circle* or *Hui Lan Ji*), by the fourteenth-century author Li Xingdao, amongst equally interesting alternative options, was the intertextual dialogue between this particular play and the Bible:

[d]esse vasto repertório [de teatro chinês] que chegou até nós, há um cento de dramas considerados os melhores, dos quais alguns se destacam, como *O órfão da Família Tchán*, que Voltaire e Metastásio imitaram, e o drama burguês *O Círculo de Gis* [sic] de Li Hsing-Tao, poeta do século XIII. Se podemos admitir uma influência grega no desenvolvimento do teatro no Oriente, a partir da Índia, depois de conquistada por Alexandre, temos também de admitir a influência dos temas bíblicos neste teatro oriental. Já vimos a profunda semelhança entre o poema de Job e a *A Ira de Causica*, do indiano Kchemisvara. Hoje vamos ver uma versão chinesa do tão célebre julgamento de Salomão, no drama *O Círculo de Gis* [sic].<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> *A revelação do teatro oriental – IV: O drama indiano de Kalidassa: “Xakuntálá”, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 13.11.1966, p. I.*

<sup>321</sup> *A revelação do teatro oriental – V: O drama chinês de Li Hsing-Tao “O Círculo de giz”, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’ 27.11.1966, pp. CG 1- CG 2.*

The depiction of Li Xingdao's play as 'a Chinese version of the famous decision by Solomon,'<sup>322</sup> revealed that Western superiority, in the particular form of Catholic religion, was the underlying idea in Lisboa's approach to this play. In this point, at least, Lisboa filho diverged completely from Allardyce Nicoll, whose volume *World Drama*, as seen in the previous chapter, might have guided Lisboa's choice of plays to be included in these 'Teatro do século XVIII' episodes. While for the Portuguese scholar the Chinese play was based on the Solomon story, for Nicoll the two traditions were of equal standing, and the Chinese play 'tells the ancient, and universal, story which is familiar to us in the Biblical story of the judgment of Solomon.'<sup>323</sup>

Catholicism was a characteristic mentioned by Lisboa in the presentation of some playwrights. In *O Pobre no Vão da Escada* (*Le Pauvre sous l'escalier*, 1913) broadcast in 1961 as part of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' he said of Henri Ghéon (1875-1944) that he '[j]á era poeta consagrado quando a Graça o tocou e se resolveu a fazer convergir toda a sua inspiração e talento à criação de obras de apologética cristã. Milagres da Fé e as figuras dos grandes Santos, desde S. João Baptista a Bernardette, são os temas que vai buscar e que trata com o carinho dum poeta e dum crente.'<sup>324</sup> Diego Fabbri (1911-1980), whose *O Sinal do Fogo* was also included in the same programme, was introduced as 'um autor católico que procura explicar e propagar a sua fé por meio da emoção dramática que, como poucos, estética e intelectualmente sabe atingir nas suas peças,'<sup>325</sup> and later in the same year François Mauriac (1885-1970) was depicted as 'católico convicto.'<sup>326</sup>

While they are traces of Lisboa's own Catholicism, these remarks, and the source text selection, should not be mistaken for an attempt to evangelize the audience, which was the goal of the Catholic broadcasting station, Rádio Renascença – Emissora Católica

<sup>322</sup> 'uma versão chinesa do tão célebre julgamento de Salomão', *A revelação do teatro oriental – V: O drama chinês de Li Hsing-Tao "O Círculo de gis"*, 'Teatro do século XVIII,' 27.11.1966, p. CG-1.

<sup>323</sup> Nicoll, Nicoll, *World Drama – From Æschylus to Anouilh*, p. 641.

<sup>324</sup> *O pobre no vão da escada*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 26.12.1961, p. 1.

<sup>325</sup> *O sinal do fogo*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 26.06.1961, episode 16, p. 1.

<sup>326</sup> "*Os mal amados*" e "*Asmodée*": *O estudo psicológico nos dramas de Mauriac*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 17.10.1961, episode 24, p. 1.

Portuguesa.<sup>327</sup> His own play *O Poder de Fátima*, had been written in 1942 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Fatima apparitions. It was adapted by Leopoldo Araújo and broadcast in 'Noite de Teatro' a few months after Pope Paul VI's visit to Fátima in 1967, the same year when it was performed in the Teatro da Trindade in Lisbon and 'durante dois anos consecutivos por todo o país pela Companhia do saudoso Mestre Alves da Cunha, e por diversos agrupamentos teatrais do Brasil, da Espanha e dos Estados Unidos da América do Norte.'<sup>328</sup>

Fatima symbolised one of the central features of life under the regime, famously described and encapsulated by 'the three Fs:' fado, Fátima and football. For Eurico Lisboa filho, one of the five children of the Lisbon ophthalmologist Eurico Fernandes Lisboa, Fátima had an additional personal meaning. His father was a member of the medical team which in 1920 had been responsible for moving the Fátima seer Jacinta to the Estefânia Hospital in Lisbon, where she died soon afterwards.<sup>329</sup> One further play by Eurico Lisboa filho, staged in 1950 in the Teatro Apolo, was broadcast by the EN in 1967: *As mãos e a sombra*, which was a June episode of 'Noite de Teatro.' Together with his other plays, the comedy *Gente Bem*, performed in 1940 by Companhia Teatral Portuguesa in the Teatro Avenida, and the one-act play *Nevoeiro*, it expressed 'uma intenção moralizadora de cunho acentuadamente retrógrado,'<sup>330</sup> as well as the influence of Alfredo Cortez, the famous interwar period playwright who was the subject of Lisboa's article published in 1953 in the *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Rádio Renascença's regular daily broadcasts began in 1937. See Rádio Renascença, *Renascença 75 Anos* (Lisboa: Principia Editora, 2012); Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, pp. 104-108; and Nelson Ribeiro, 'Rádio Renascença' in *A Igreja e a cultura contemporânea em Portugal*, org. by Manuel Braga da Cruz and Natália Correia Guedes (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2001).

<sup>328</sup> Introduction to the episode *O poder de Fátima*, 'Noite de teatro,' 10.10.1967. Luiz Francisco Rebello, *100 anos de Teatro em Portugal* (Porto: Brasília Editora, 1984), p. 90.

<sup>329</sup> <http://www.santuário-fatima.pt/portal/index.php?id=40812>.

<sup>330</sup> Rebello, *100 anos*, p. 90.

<sup>331</sup> Lisboa filho, *O teatro de Alfredo Cortez: introdução ao estudo da sua obra* (Lisbon: [s.n.], 1953). Eurico Lisboa filho had also published *O teatro de D. João da Câmara*. Appendix of *Bulletin d'Histoire Du Theatre Portugais*, vol. V, fasc. II, (Lisbon: 1954). His plays were also

The fact that, as argued by Reis Torgal, the Estado Novo was not synonymous with ‘Catholic state,’ but rather ‘apresentava-se [...] como um Estado laico, que, todavia, não abandonava por vezes o discurso católico,’<sup>332</sup> having been pressured by different Catholic sectors especially from the 1960s onwards, supports the claim that references to Catholicism on the part of Eurico Lisboa filho in his introductions to broadcast drama should not be placed within an institutional ideological framework. While the Emissora disseminated values promoted by the regime, namely, for instance in the 1930s, ‘a defesa da família, da ruralidade, da ordem, do sistema corporativo, da vida simples e da matriz católica da sociedade portuguesa,’<sup>333</sup> its director in the next decade, and head of the National Propaganda Secretariat, was a man that ‘Salazar foi procurar ao modernismo, de tendência laica, se não com potencialidades pagãs’ (António Ferro).<sup>334</sup> Furthermore, in the particular case of a contemporary author such as Fabbri, his plays were included in the repertoire of different stage theatre companies of the time: the Companhia Rey Colaço-Robles Monteiro produced Fabbri’s *Pleito de família* (*Processo di famiglia*, 1953) and *Processo de Jesus* (*Processo a Gesù*, 1955) in 1956 and 1958 respectively, while Empresa Vasco Morgado staged *O Sedutor* (*Il seduttore*, 1951) in 1962.<sup>335</sup> Additionally, sometimes the reference to the playwright’s Catholicism was not made at all, as in the case of Lisboa’s introduction to *O Livro de Cristovão Colombo*, by Paul Claudel (1868-1955), to whose work Catholic inspiration was central, or the prologue to the fifteenth episode of ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ ‘O teatro de Ugo Betti.’<sup>336</sup>

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published: *Gente bem: peça em três actos* (Lisboa: [s.n.], 1940); *O poder de Fátima: peça em três actos* (Lisboa: [s.n.], 1942).

<sup>332</sup> Reis Torgal uses Manuel Braga da Cruz’s term ‘catolaicismo’ to describe the Estado Novo. Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, I, p. 439.

<sup>333</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, p. 305.

<sup>334</sup> Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos*, I, p. 426.

<sup>335</sup> According to CETbase and Maria Fernanda S. Borges, *A tradução de teatro na década de 60 (séc. XX) em Portugal*, Masters Thesis (Universidade Aberta, 2008), p. 143.

<sup>336</sup> *O Teatro de Ugo Betti: “Vento noturno” e “Corrupção no Palácio de Justiça”*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 12.06.1961, episode 15, p. 1.



### Radio plays as studies, listeners as students

It was mainly through the ‘narrator’'s, and not the ‘N.P.’'s interventions that the main features of the ideological framework behind the programmes were revealed. In this sense, the introduction to the first episode of ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ was an expression of Eurico Lisboa filho’s own vision of his programmes: ‘já em tempos, apresentámos aqui, na Emissora Nacional um longo estudo sobre a História do Teatro, que acabou precisamente com a análise da obra dos autores do século XVII [sic]. [...] Se ao apresentarmos o ‘Teatro do século XVIII’ vimos dar continuação a uma obra que tinha ficado incompleta, não deixamos por isso de apresentar um programa novo, um estudo que por si se completa.’<sup>337</sup> The keyword ‘estudo,’ mentioned twice in that paragraph and used on other occasions,<sup>338</sup> confirms what other features of the programmes suggest: for Eurico Lisboa filho, the difference between his role in the EN and that in the Lisbon Conservatoire was his audience. Also frequently used by Lisboa when referring to his programmes, the verb ‘analisar’ further acknowledged his intentions. When introducing Paul Claudel’s *O Livro de Cristovão Colombo*, he explained that

[c]omo verdadeiro homem de teatro [Claudel] não desprezou os elementos do espectáculo, que em certos casos podem valorizar extraordinariamente um drama. Já em tempos vimos aqui o maravilhoso drama espectáculo *O Sapato de setim* [sic]. Hoje vamos analisar a sua mais espectacular obra que Jean Louis Barrault há poucos anos pôs em cena, com grande sucesso, *O livro de Cristóvão Colombo*.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> *O teatro clássico francês: as tragédias de Crebillon: “Radamisto e Zenóbia”, “Pirro”, ‘Teatro do século XVIII,’* 05.04.1964, p. 1.

<sup>338</sup> Namely in *VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º capítulo: Calderón. 3º Ponto: “O autor e a obra - géneros, estilos”, ‘A história do teatro,’* 05.04.1960, p. 1: ‘[s]enhores Ouvintes, devendo eu dedicar o programa de hoje ao estudo da personalidade de Calderón de la Barca e à crítica geral da sua obra [...].’

<sup>339</sup> *O livro de Cristóvão Colombo, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’* 05.03.1963, episode 60, p. 1.

On the other hand, Lisboa filho's own awareness of the pedagogical vision of radio drama expressed in his programmes caused him to worry about the most appropriate form and style to present his work on the radio. The acknowledged analytical character of the shows was not easily reconcilable with the paramount need to 'não aborrecer, nunca aborrecer.'<sup>340</sup> As the drama professor who 'ensinava conversando'<sup>341</sup> found out, drama itself provided the solution to this problem:

Senhores Ouvintes, devendo eu dedicar o programa de hoje ao estudo da personalidade de Calderón de la Barca e à crítica geral da sua obra, encontro-me perante um difícil problema que é o método que deverei empregar. Fazer uma prelecção, uma conferência... seria maçador para quem escuta, seria pouco vivo, pouco comunicativo... não está na índole deste programa. Em tudo é preciso adoptar um método... Ora bem: como tema temos o autor, que é Calderón, as suas ideias, as suas obras e os seus personagens. Como elementos, meio de trabalho, de comunicação, estou eu, o microfone, o sr. Jorge Santos procedendo à montagem sonora, o Sr. Fernando Pires, captando o som, e um grupo de actores que me acompanham. Que poderemos fazer?... Não têm uma ideia?... Se dividissemos [sic] entre nós, como direi... os executantes do programa..., todos os elementos do assunto a tratar, talvez pudessemos [sic] transformar uma exposição fria e analítica num diálogo vivo donde as referências ao autor e aos seus dramas saíssem com a correspondente emoção dramática, onde a análise e apresentação dum personagem nos desse o calor da sua fala... Que pensam?... Que lhes parece?...<sup>342</sup>

By explicitly referring to the importance of being interesting to the listeners, Lisboa filho acknowledged the need for an adequate framework. He wanted any analysis of

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<sup>340</sup> Ferro, *Problemas da Rádio*, p. 39. See also Chapter Two of this thesis.

<sup>341</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível* p. 137.

<sup>342</sup> *VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º capítulo: Calderón. 3º Ponto: "O autor e a obra - géneros, estilos"*, 'A história do teatro,' 05.04.1960, p. 1.

Calderón and criticism of his work, in this case, to be conveyed in a format different from that of a 'prelecção' ('lecture') or 'conferência' ('talk'), the academic styles he used on a daily basis as a teacher of future actors and actresses in the Conservatoire. The answer, then, was to dramatise the scholarly analysis made before the play proper, thus turning the broadcasting of the play into a play itself – a strategy reminiscent of the play within the play in *Macbeth*.

The dialogues created as a result involved, nonetheless, the figure of the student. In some episodes of the weekly 'A História do Teatro,' the characters intervening in the dramatised introductions were kept on from episode to episode. This is why in the case of one of the episodes on the English Renaissance, for instance, one participant is the 'ouvinte do costume' ('usual listener'), an expression which referred to the 'ouvinte' character created and repeatedly used by Eurico Lisboa filho, and with whom the audience was meant to identify. The expression implied a regular tuning in modelled on students' unwavering attendance of classes. Before the episode on the tragedies, in which the listeners were led to believe that the programme's producer was late for the start of the show and it was therefore three of his 'students' and the 'usual listener' who tried to convey some ideas about Shakespeare before the 'producer' arrived, all these characters had taken part on an earlier episode addressing the plays of Shakespeare's predecessors:

Ouvinte            Mas então Shakespeare não foi um génio que tudo criou?

Narrador        Não, minha senhora. Shakespeare foi um génio, sim, um génio imenso, mas que adaptou [sic] sobretudo, desenvolveu e deu a forma genial do seu talento e a expressão do seu pensamento profundo, mas, quanto a criação dramática mesmo, criou muito pouco.

Ouvinte            Mas então esses autores que tiveram influência na sua obra têm um extraordinário interesse!?

- Narrador        Sem dúvida e vamos já referir-nos a eles... Mas, primeiro, o senhor, diga aos nossos ouvintes que aspecto tinha o teatro inglês na altura em que o renascimento [sic] surgiu.
- 1º Aluno        Durante a Idade Média, o teatro sofreu na Inglaterra a evolução geral de toda a Europa, desenvolvendo sobretudo o género moralidade. Depois, quando o Renascimento chegou, os autores começaram a escrever dramas dentro das suas formas novas. [...] <sup>343</sup>

In line with the perceived need to educate the EN audience, the listener in these dialogues was systematically portrayed as the character that asked the questions, and as such as the least knowledgeable of all.

### Shakespeare

Attention paid to Shakespeare in ‘A História do Teatro’ exemplifies the interest in explaining, rather than simply enjoying, an author’s oeuvre or a literary period. After the episode on Shakespeare’s precursors, two episodes focused on the poet, together forming the second chapter of the section dedicated to ‘A Renascença em Inglaterra.’ The first sub-chapter, or aspect of Shakespeare to be considered, is likely to have been presented in episode number 195, but is not in the archive. However, the unfailing consistency of the structure of the series programme allows us to fill in the gap. Put schematically, this is how this part of the programme will have looked:

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<sup>343</sup> VII Parte: *A Renascença em Inglaterra* 1º capítulo: “Os Precursores de Shakespeare”: “Campaspa” (John Lyly), “Jaime IV” (Robert Greene), “Dr Fausto” (Marlow), ‘A história do teatro,’ 13.06.1960, episode 194, p. 1.

‘História do teatro’  
VII Part: ‘The Renaissance in England’

- 1st Chapter:  
ep. 194 ‘Aspectos gerais da Renascença em Inglaterra - Os Precursores de Shakespeare’
- 2nd Chapter:  
ep. 195 ‘Shakespeare’ - 1st Point: (?)
- 2nd Chapter:  
ep. 196 ‘Shakespeare’ - 2nd Point: Características da Obra – As Tragédias

Taking into account that the 196th episode, dealing with a second aspect of Shakespeare’s work, focused on the tragedies, it is very likely that the first ‘characteristic’ considered would have been the comedies. The choice of the history plays would have been unlikely, especially because it would mean that there would not be an episode on what was often considered Shakespeare’s most popular genre, the comedies. One element that further suggests that the first episode concerning Shakespeare was dedicated to his comedies is the fact that many works of which excerpts were included in ‘A História do Teatro’ in the late 1950s were later repeated in Eurico Lisboa filho’s other programmes, as noted before. As far as Shakespeare is concerned, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* was included in Lisboa filho’s 1970s *Teatro de Todos os Tempos*, which suggests that it might have been broadcast before, most likely in ‘A História do Teatro.’

The history plays were, moreover, thought of as tragedies by Eurico Lisboa filho and dealt with alongside *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, in episode number 196. Whilst including them in the tragedies group might have simply been a strategy to preempt the need to justify not dealing with them separately, there were reasons for such a claim. Commenting on Heminges and Condell’s grouping of the plays in the First Folio, Michael Hattaway reminds us that ‘[g]eneric classification was bound to be difficult given that most of the English histories centre their action on the reign of a monarch, the narrative ending

with his death. It was therefore inevitable that ‘history’ plays were going to be closely affiliated with tragedy. Some were initially labelled as such.’<sup>344</sup>

Lisboa filho’s justification for denying closer attention to the histories and, thus, their intensely political character, was, plausibly, the impossibility of dealing with all the different groups of plays:

[...] vamos primeiro falar resumidamente nas tragédias em geral. Dentro deste género poderíamos incluir as peças sobre a crónica inglesa que Shakespeare escreveu, mas, como o tempo não permite falaremos apenas das tragédias romanas e das cinco grandes tragédias onde dá o primeiro lugar à fantasia [sic].<sup>345</sup>

### **The history of the history plays**

Apart from time, the fact that the tragedies would potentially be of more interest for the audience, not to mention not as difficult to understand and relate to as the history plays, is also likely to have contributed to the neglect of the history plays. While fragmented archive material regarding other programmes makes it difficult, if not impossible, to comment on the plays which were not broadcast, the relative integrity of ‘A História do Teatro’, as well as its repetitive structure, allows us to safely conclude that the history plays were not included in either of its Shakespeare episodes. If we consider what is known about the other radio drama programmes broadcast up to 1974, it seems that they were never performed in the EN.

This radio silence was consonant with their almost complete absence from the stage during the same period: only two performances are known, both of which were delivered in English, thus limiting the audience to an educated elite. In 1939 *Henry V* was

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<sup>344</sup> Michael Hattaway, ‘The Shakespearean history play’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare’s history plays*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 3-24 (p. 3).

<sup>345</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra – VII Parte, 2º capítulo: Shakespeare, 2º Ponto: Características da obra – as tragédias*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 11.07.1960, episode 196, p. 2.

staged by the Old Vic, and in 1964 the New Shakespeare Company Limited explored the theme of 'love' by staging *Twelfth Night* and giving a public reading of extracts from plays including *Richard III*, *Henry V* and *Henry IV*.<sup>346</sup> A similar phenomenon could be observed at around the same time in neighbouring Spain, where '[a]s far as Shakespeare was concerned, the audience's contact with his work was restricted to the comedies and the romances, together with the odd 'great' tragedy: there were very few productions of the Roman plays and none at all of the English histories, during Franco's rule.'<sup>347</sup>

Various different aspects can be identified as justifications for the lack of interest in the plays in Portugal, both during and before the Estado Novo period. Histories about the politics of English monarchy and civil wars, with their 'endless genealogical patterns, the confusion of names and geography and the complicated dramatic actions,' these plays have, in Dennis Kennedy's expression, 'tended to diffuse their impact anywhere outside the originating nation.'<sup>348</sup> Keith Gregor has also demonstrated how the intricate plot posed substantial difficulties.<sup>349</sup> While for Kennedy the marginal interest that foreign audiences and readers have shown for the plays is 'perfectly understandable,' for Ton Hoenselaars foreign neglect should be addressed in terms of the critical and academic reception of the plays abroad.<sup>350</sup>

The impact of these aspects notwithstanding, the greatest obstacle for Portuguese directors working during the dictatorship in general, and for Eurico Lisboa filho in the

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<sup>346</sup> Rui Pina Coelho, 'Safe Shakespeare: Performing Shakespeare during the Portuguese Fascist Dictatorship (1926-1974),' in *Translation under Fascism* ed. by Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 215-231 (p. 219). All statistical claims, both mine and Coelho's, are based on the database CETbase (<http://ww3.fl.ul.pt/CETbase/default.htm>).

<sup>347</sup> Keith Gregor, 'Shakespeare and the rise of English in post-Francoist Spain' in *Shakespeare without English: the reception of Shakespeare in non-Anglophone countries*, ed. by Sukanta Chaudhuri and Chee Seng Lim (Delhi: Pearson Longman, 2006), pp. 177-191 (p. 180).

<sup>348</sup> Dennis Kennedy, 'Foreword: histories and nations,' in *Shakespeare's History Plays. Performance, translation and adaptation in Britain and abroad*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-8 (pp. 2-3).

<sup>349</sup> Keith Gregor, 'The Spanish premiere of *Richard II*', in *Shakespeare's History Plays. Performance, translation and adaptation in Britain and abroad*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 213-227.

<sup>350</sup> Kennedy 'Foreword: Histories and nations,' pps. 2-3 and Ton Hoenselaars, 'Introduction: Shakespeare's history plays in Britain and abroad' in *Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. By Ton Hoenselaars, pp. 9-34.

national broadcasting station in particular, must have been the political implications of this set of plays at the centre of which the ideas of kingship and nation are explored. This difficulty was not specific to the Estado Novo period. In her review of Bastos da Silva's *Shakespeare no romantismo português: para cada um a sua verdade*, Ana Campos notes that

[...] os dramas de temática histórica não suscitaram grande atenção entre nós, no período analisado, numa época de tanto apreço pelo medievalismo. Subjacentes a este facto poderão estar motivos de ordem ideológica. Com efeito, o ideário absolutista e de direito divino da monarquia Tudor e Stuart – ao qual, no entanto, não podemos querer resumir o drama histórico shakespeariano – eram contrários ao novo espírito liberal.<sup>351</sup>

In a regime dominated by the single party União Nacional (National Union), noncompetitive elections and a great social divide,<sup>352</sup> where 'os pobres eram vistos como uns desgraçados, cuja missão consistia em proporcionar aos ricos a oportunidade para exercerem a caridade,'<sup>353</sup> 'freedom of association was maintained, but parties effectively eliminated through regulation,' and 'the silencing of dissenting views played a vital role,'<sup>354</sup> it was hardly acceptable to let Shakespeare show that 'even as the state was developing, the unified nation which might validate that state was a myth.'<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Ana Campos, 'Shakespeare no romantismo português: para cada um a sua verdade – Jorge Bastos da Silva,' *Sinais de Cena*, 6 (Dec. 2006), pp. 113-115 (p. 115).

<sup>352</sup> 'In 1933 a new constitution declared Portugal "a unitarian and corporatist republic," balancing liberal and corporatist principles of representation. The former, however, were eliminated through subsequent legislation, and the latter limited to the point of insignificance. The result was a dictatorship headed by a prime minister and a national assembly dominated by the National Union through noncompetitive elections.' Costa Pinto, 'Twentieth-century Portugal: an introduction,' p. 23.

<sup>353</sup> 'Sociedade,' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, org. by António Barreto and Maria Filomena Mónica, 3 vols (7-9), 9 (Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1999-2000), pp. 453-460 (p. 455).

<sup>354</sup> Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, p. 166 and Ribeiro de Meneses, *Salazar*, p. 145.

<sup>355</sup> Hattaway, 'The Shakespearean history play,' p. 9.



The Austrian-born producer Leopold Lindtberg, who from 1960 to 1964 put on the complete history cycle in the Vienna Burgtheatre on the occasion of Shakespeare's 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary, commented that "Richard III" braucht nur richtig gespielt zu werden, um den Beweis zu erbringen, dass alle Diktaturen, jede auf ihre Weise, durch seine Schule gegangen sind und dass die Menschen unter ähnlichen Voraussetzungen immer wieder auf ähnliche Art reagiert haben.<sup>356</sup> To use the play's critique of despotism to address the period of Italian fascism was precisely what, Giorgio Strehler had also done in his 1950 production of *Richard III*.<sup>357</sup> Likewise, the key to the conspicuous preference shown by the Portuguese post-revolution stage for this play is likely to be found in its questioning potential. It was not only the first of the history plays to be performed after 1974, but also the most performed since: between 1974 and 2012 there were at least twelve productions of history plays, including two foreign ones, seven of which were of *Richard III*.<sup>358</sup>

### Caesar, Cinema, Censorship

A play which, in the Portuguese context, is similarly believed to have only been staged in democratic times is *Julius Caesar*.<sup>359</sup> A performance of the play, albeit partial, had

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<sup>356</sup> 'Richard III has only to be performed in the right way to prove that all dictatorships, each in its own way, have learned from it and that under similar circumstances men have always reacted in a similar way.' Quoted (from Lindtberg, *Shakespeares Königsdramen*, p. 36-7) and translated by Manfred Draudt 'Shakespeare's histories at the Vienna Burgtheater' in *Shakespeare's History Plays. Performance, translation and adaptation in Britain and abroad*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 210, n. 13.

<sup>357</sup> According to *Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars.

<sup>358</sup> 31-5-1985 Ricardo III (Teatro da Cornucópia); 7-5-1993 O rei Henrique V (Cénico de Direito); 7-4-1995 Ricardo II (TNDMII); 23-5-1995 Ricardo III (Cénico de Direito); 11-7-2005 Ricardo III (Centro Dramático Galego); 2006 Ricardo III (ACTA- A Companhia de Teatro do Algarve); 25-3-2006 Ricardo 3º «Companya Teatre Lliure - Teatre d'Europa», «Teatro Español», «Centro de Artes Cénicas de Réus»; 2007 R.III (Mau artista); 13-06-2007 Ricardo II (TNDMII); 4-07-2007 R2 - exercício a partir de Ricardo II de William Shakespeare (TNDMII); 13-5-2009 Ricardo II GTL - Grupo de Teatro de Letras; 3/2010 Richard III – FdC (Fatias de Cá). *Richard III* seems, furthermore, to have been the only history play performed before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, on 12.08.1863 (*Ricardo III: segunda parte de Los Hijos de Eduardo*, Real Theatro de S. Carlos, text arranged by Ramón Valladares y Saavedra and Laureano Sánchez Garay), according to CETbase.

<sup>359</sup> Stage performances of this play, or based in it, so far known are the 2007 prize-winning *A tragédia de Júlio César*, by Teatro da Cornucópia; the 2007 *César* and the collages *Rapazes decorem o papel até amanhã* [*Guys, memorise the script by tomorrow*], in 1994; *À Procura de Shakespeare* [*Looking for Shakespeare*], in 2004; and *Todo o mundo é um palco* [*All the world*

however taken place during Salazar's time, when in 1960 Eurico Lisboa filho included it in the '*A História do Teatro*' episode on Shakespeare's tragedies.

It is surprising to find this work in the very same 1960 episode from which the history plays were excluded, as noted above. Especially considering that *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus* are also mentioned, as the works which, together with *Julius Caesar*, form the set of Roman tragedies - a group that Lisboa filho defines according to their source ('[a]s que ele extraiu das narrações de Plutarco').<sup>360</sup>

In spite of the fact that the preference was justified by the play's perfection ('[t]omemos para exemplo talvez a mais perfeita destas tragédias: Júlio César'),<sup>361</sup> popularity is likely to have played an important part. Unlike the other two plays, cinema, above all else, had made the public in general more familiar with *Julius Caesar*, as acknowledged by Lisboa filho: 'É pena não podermos fazer um estudo mais pormenorizado desta peça, que muitos dos nossos ouvintes conheceram [sic] pelo menos duma admirável versão cinematográfica, que há tempos correu nos nossos cinemas.'<sup>362</sup> He was referring to the highly successful 1953 film version directed by Mankiewicz, with Marlon Brando as Mark Antony and Deborah Kerr as Portia, which was first broadcast in Portugal in the Monumental cinema in Lisbon, on January 15, 1954.<sup>363</sup> The catalysing effect upon radio of Shakespeare on film has been identified by Douglas Lanier in his analysis of Shakespeare and American radio. Together with film production, a particular staging of *Julius Caesar* is claimed to have caused a surge in interest in producing radio versions of Shakespeare's plays:

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*is a stage*], from 2002 to 2004, where scenes from different Shakespearean plays were performed, including *Julius Caesar*.

<sup>360</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 3.

<sup>361</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 3.

<sup>362</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 4.

<sup>363</sup> According to Cinemateca Portuguesa. In 1959 the BBC also produced a radio version of *Julius Caesar*, directed by Stuart Burge (according to Horst Zander '*Julius Caesar and the Critical heritage*' in *Julius Caesar- New critical essays*, ed. by Horst Zander (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 3-55 (p. 42).

[i]t is striking, for example, that there was so much Shakespearean activity on American radio in the latter half of the 1930s, particularly in 1937 and 1938. Though this Shakespearean boomlet might be traced to several causes, four events stand out: the formation of the Mercury Theater in the summer of 1937, and the immediate notoriety of its first production, an antifascist *Julius Caesar* [...]; the Federal Theater Radio Division's productions of classical drama; the appearance of two Shakespeare movies, Warner's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935) and MGM's *Romeo and Juliet* (1936); and Congressional hearings [...].<sup>364</sup>

The impact of cinema notwithstanding, if we accept that the history plays' questioning of the nature of sovereignty can reasonably be expected to have diverted Lisboa filho's attention from them, it follows that the interrogations into the definition of a tyrant inspired by *Julius Caesar* should have had a similar effect. This was after all the play that, according to the anecdote told by John London in his essay 'Non-German drama in the Third Reich,' was found open on the desk of Claus Graf von Stauffenberg after the 1944 failed assassination attempt on Hitler, of which the German colonel was one of the leaders.<sup>365</sup>

In Portugal, a request by the Teatro do Ateneu de Coimbra company to stage the same play was refused by the Commission for Examining and Classifying Performances only four years after Eurico Lisboa's episode appeared on national radio. The justification given was that '[t]his play [...] could only be authorised after innumerable cuts. It is not convenient to perform cuts on texts by authors such as this one.'<sup>366</sup> The impossibility of making the necessary cuts was not common, as different examples listed for instance in

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<sup>364</sup> Douglas Lanier, 'WSHX: Shakespeare and American radio', in *Shakespeare after Mass Media*, ed. Richard Burt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 195-219 (pp. 200-201).

<sup>365</sup> John London, 'Non-German drama in the Third Reich' in *Theatre under the Nazis*, ed. by John London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 222-261 (p. 250).

<sup>366</sup> Coelho, 'Safe Shakespeare,' p. 54, quoting from the record no. 7620 in the Commission for Examining and Classifying Performances' archives (Torre do Tombo).

Cândido Azevedos's *Mutiladas e Proibidas* illustrate.<sup>367</sup> The obstacle on this occasion might have been linked to the translation, as well as the translator, in question.

Borges, when referring to what seems to have been the same request,<sup>368</sup> adds that the author of the Portuguese translation was Luiz Cardim (1879-1958), who, in the words of João Almeida Flor, was a member of the country's opposition due to 'his staunch support of liberal, democratic, old-republican values.'<sup>369</sup> An English and German lecturer whose 'professional achievement as a scholar, literary translator and Professor of English had a lasting influence upon the reception of Shakespeare in Portugal,'<sup>370</sup> Cardim was 'um dos mais dedicados, mais eruditos e mais produtivos escolares shakespearianos portugueses.'<sup>371</sup> He had published his translation in 1925, six years after having begun teaching in the newly created Humanities Faculty of Oporto University, which was to become known for its republicanism and opposition to the regime's educational reforms. Cardim, who was elected director of the faculty after the government's decision to close it, stopped teaching when this finally materialized in 1931.<sup>372</sup>

This case is further complicated - or perhaps simply becomes increasingly more effective as an illustration of the different censorship criteria dealing with theatre and publishing at the time, the former being much stricter - by one particular translation. One scene from *Julius Caesar*, translated by Luiz Cardim, was published in the September edition

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<sup>367</sup> Cândido Azevedo, *Mutiladas e proibidas: para a história da censura literária em Portugal nos tempos do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997).

<sup>368</sup> Borges, *A tradução de teatro*, p. 156. Pina Coelho's censorship record mentioned above seems to be the same request as the one mentioned by Borges in her work on theatre censorship during the 1960s, even though she refers to it as having been 'approved' by the censors, which might be the result of Borges' misinterpreting the censors' commentary.

<sup>369</sup> Almeida Flor, João, 'Shakespeare in the Bay of Portugal: a tribute to Luis Cardim (1879-1958),' in *Translating Shakespeare for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Rui Carvalho Homem and Ton Hoenselaars (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), p. 254.

<sup>370</sup> Almeida Flor, 'Shakespeare in the Bay of Portugal,' p. 254.

<sup>371</sup> Carlos Estorninho 'Shakespeare na literatura portuguesa,' *Ocidente*, 67 (1964), 114-123 (p. 121).

<sup>372</sup> Almeida Flor, 'Shakespeare in the Bay of Portugal,' p. 244, and Miguel Araújo, 'Faculdade(s) de Letras da Universidade do Porto: identidade e memórias institucionais em confronto' [http://web.letras.up.pt/aphes29/data/6th/FranciscoMiguelAraujo\\_Texto.pdf](http://web.letras.up.pt/aphes29/data/6th/FranciscoMiguelAraujo_Texto.pdf); 'Docentes e Estudantes da Primeira Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto - Luiz Alfredo Pires Cardim' [http://sigarra.up.pt/up/web\\_base.gera\\_pagina?P\\_pagina=1004199](http://sigarra.up.pt/up/web_base.gera_pagina?P_pagina=1004199) and 'A Universidade do Porto de 1911 até à Atualidade - Faculdade de Letras (1919 - 1928, 1961)' - [http://sigarra.up.pt/up/web\\_base.gera\\_pagina?p\\_pagina=122252](http://sigarra.up.pt/up/web_base.gera_pagina?p_pagina=122252)).

of *O Tempo e o Modo* in the same year of the Ateneu de Coimbra's request, 1964.<sup>373</sup> Openly opposed to the regime, *O Tempo e o Modo*, revista de pensamento e acção, a publication of Catholic inspiration and humanist socialism vocation, 'ocupava-se tanto da política como da cultura, da economia como da sociologia, da literatura como das artes, exercendo uma acção crítica que influenciava largos sectores da opinião pública.'<sup>374</sup>

### *Julius Caesar* on the EN

That scene, the forum scene (act III, scene 2), was precisely the one included four years earlier in Eurico Lisboa filho's 'A História do Teatro' episode. The coincidence might have been mainly due to the popularity of this particular moment in the play. This scene, which was also chosen, for instance, by Sarah Hatchuel in her book *Shakespeare from Stage to Screen* as a case study of the depiction of 'power on screen' was, in Cardim's opinion, 'a cena culminante da tragédia, uma das mais maravilhosas de toda a galeria shakespeariana.'<sup>375</sup> However problematic, it had been shown in cinemas, and this is likely to have eased its radio broadcast, just as the fact that Shakespeare's quatercentenary, celebrated in 1964, might have helped in its publication. A selection of scenes from a film version of *Julius Caesar* was similarly shown in the year of the rejected request in order to illustrate the lecture given by professor Joaquim Monteiro Grilo to celebrate the quatercentenary in Casa da Comédia in Lisbon.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Luís Cardim, 'Tradução de 'Júlio César' – Acto III, 2ª', *O tempo e o modo*, 19 (Sept. 1964). Different fragments of this translation were published elsewhere, as for instance a part of act V, scene 5, which was published in *Ocidente*, Jul-Dez 1964, vol. LXVII (pp. 224-225), together with R. M. Rosado Fernandes' essay on 'Júlio César. Considerações sobre alguns aspectos clássicos em Shakespeare,' pp. 217- 223.

<sup>374</sup> 'O Tempo e o modo,' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, org. by Barreto and Mónica, 9, p. 509.

<sup>375</sup> Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare on Screen*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 166-69. Cardim expressed this view in the notes added at the end of his translation of the play (Luiz Cardim, *A Tragédia de Júlio César. Tradução em verso e prosa, conforme o original, introdução e anotações*. Lisboa: Papelaria Fernandes Editora, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, s.d., p. 235).

<sup>376</sup> See 'IV Centenário de Shakespeare,' *Ocidente*, 66 (1964), 203-4.

Crucially, however, both on the radio and in *O Tempo e o Modo* the scene is presented by itself, which significantly reduced its subversive potential. Had they been asked to consider this text in particular, the censors that analysed the Ateneu de Coimbra's request would most probably have been happy with these 'cuts.' Stripped of its content, the forum scene in Eurico Lisboa filho's episode was unable to play a role in the potentially subversive message of the play. The political aspects were cut, and the play's ability to question and suggest curtailed. All that was left was a powerful public address by two Roman leaders.

As a consequence, comments on the scene, or the play, became even more important than usual as the only source of context for the scene. Lisboa filho's summary of the play is therefore surprising, in that it fails to mention the second part of *Julius Caesar*, thus reducing the play to a murder plot. In the introductory dialogue that the 'Narrador' entails with a fictional audience composed of four students, one 'listener' and the 'cleaning lady,' the fourth student fulfilled the narrator's request for someone to 'contar, resumidamente, a acção desta peça.' He explained that it '[t]rata da conspiração dos patriotas romanos que se opõem a que César tome a coroa real e que termina pela morte deste, às mãos precisamente de um dos seus maiores amigos, Brutus.' According to this account, the play was merely about Caesar's death. Despite Brutus being acknowledged as the play's hero, no mention was made of his own tragedy, which was triggered precisely by the events depicted by the scene selected by Eurico Lisboa filho, Brutus' and Mark Antony's public address. The student continued:

Shakespeare faz deste personagem [Brutus] o herói do drama e para o justificar enegrece a figura de César. Brutus é levado ao crime, não pela ambição, mas desejo de servir o seu país. Mas outras figuras de curioso desenho aparecem ainda, como António, partidário de César, que com a sua eloquência consegue sublevar o povo contra Brutus, em defesa da memória de César. Cassius, político astucioso, é aqui o

intrigante. E finalmente, um dos aspectos mais curiosos desta tragédia é o povo, figura colectiva, que nos aparece como personagem importante do drama, levando ao seu desfecho.<sup>377</sup>

It was to the characters that Lisboa filho chose to draw attention. The way in which the introduction depicts them provides us with a glimpse of his own perspective on the play. As acknowledged by T. S. Dorsch in his own introduction to the 1977 Arden's Shakespeare play, the idea that Shakespeare had denigrated the emperor in order to make Brutus the play's hero was shared by many scholars and critics (in contrast to Dorsch himself, who had the opposite view).<sup>378</sup> Even though he did think Shakespeare had reinforced Caesar's negative traits, Eurico Lisboa filho did not hesitate to associate Brutus with the play's hero. He further used this moment to consolidate Brutus' defence by paraphrasing the character's own words: 'Brutus é levado ao crime, não pela ambição, mas pelo desejo de servir o seu país.'<sup>379</sup> Unlike what might have been expected from a respected member of two *Estado Novo* institutions, Lisboa's sympathy lay not with the ruler, but rather with his murderer, on whose actions a very positive light was cast. The contrast between this type of interpretation and that of Dorsch, for instance, has been described by Horst Zander:

[...] *Julius Caesar* has – more than any other Shakespearean play – polarized generations of critics into sympathizing either with the protagonist Caesar or with his antagonist Brutus. More often than not, taking sides in this way implies political overtones: Caesar represents either a tyrant or a martyr, Brutus either a liberator or a vile murderer. This traditional antagonism can be clearly observed during the last decades in two of the most widely distributed editions of the play. Whereas in the

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<sup>377</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 3.

<sup>378</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 3 and William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, ed. by T.S. Dorsch, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Arden, (1955)1977), pp. xxvi-xxxix.

<sup>379</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 3.

The New Shakespeare series John Dover Wilson, to whom '*Julius Caesar* is the greatest of political plays,' regards Caesar as a monstrous tyrant and Brutus as a noble hero, in the Arden Edition T. S. Dorsch emphasizes Caesar's greatness and dismisses Brutus as a naïve and arrogant idealist.<sup>380</sup>

It was perhaps because he was the respected and knowledgeable professor that such an explicit account of Brutus' motivations was allowed to be expressed. Four years later, by contrast, R. M. Rosado Fernandes's analysis of the classical elements of the play published in *Ocidente* not only emphasised the importance of Brutus' misfortune following the murder, but suggested that it had been a mistake:

o trágico da irreversibilidade dos actos humanos tem, a nosso ver, extrema importância para a compreensão do Brutus shakespeariano, e, finalmente, sentimos a força oculta e tenebrosa que, irónicamente escondida dentro do espírito humano, leva o homem ao erro e ao castigo, mesmo que as suas acções tivessem sido ditadas pela mais recta das intenções.<sup>381</sup>

Differences in social and political terms between the years 1960 and 1964 must however be factored in, including when considering the rejection of Ateneu de Coimbra's request to perform *Julius Caesar*. Even though tensions in Angola were growing, 1960 was a generally good year for the regime, politically marked in particular by a partly favourable decision on the part of The Hague International Court of Justice regarding the dispute between Portugal and the Indian Union, and especially by the carefully prepared widespread commemorations of the fifth centenary of Infante D. Henrique's death. The 'Comemorações Henriquinas' were a critical occasion for the glorification of the national past, and subsequent defence of the colonial present. Salazar's 'annus horribilis,' 1961,

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<sup>380</sup> Zander, '*Julius Caesar* and the Critical heritage', p. 5.

<sup>381</sup> Fernandes, '*Júlio César*. Considerações,' p. 222.



which may be seen as the beginning of the end, was still to come. Yet, 1964 was the year when fighting in Angola spread to Mozambique and the effects of the subsequent tightening of censorship were being felt: ‘com o agravamento da situação política no continente e político-militar nas colónias, a Censura não apenas reforçou o seu rigor como passou a impor, com certa frequência, novas directivas gerais, que vinham acrescentar-se às anteriormente determinadas.’<sup>382</sup>

Still, in 1960, reducing *Julius Caesar* to one single scene was not enough. One line deemed too provocative was deleted from the radio version. Other lines were erased in order to save time and to simplify the scene by reducing the number of characters, avoiding dispersion and thus focusing the listeners’ attention on the main speeches (lines 2 to 10 were deleted, including the line where Cassius, who is silent in this scene, is addressed by Brutus). In contrast, the following deletion of Brutus’s incitement ‘[c]ensure me in your wisdom, and awake your senses, that you may be the better judge’ (Act III, Scene 2, l. 16-18) represents the erasure of an address directed at the audience which might have been considered too suggestive. The audience was meant to be passive, and not meant to intervene nor consider how rightful the murder of a dictator might be. Above all, their senses were certainly not to be ‘awaken.’

Paradoxically, however, the translation, whose author was not identified, was not one that shied away from Shakespeare’s explicit praise of freedom (‘Teríeis vós preferido que César ficasse vivo e que todos vós morresseis escravos?’) or even unambiguous assertion of tyranny (‘Se César era um tirano.’).<sup>383</sup> In one instance in particular, the Portuguese text underlined the political importance of Brutus’s actions by rendering the acknowledgment ‘I slew my best lover for the good of Rome’ (Act 3, Scene 2, l. 45) using the more emphatic verb ‘to save:’ ‘matei o meu melhor amigo para salvar Roma.’<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 44.

<sup>383</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, pp. 4-5.

<sup>384</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 4.

The topic debated by Brutus and Mark Antony, the murder and the reasons for it, was nonetheless avoided in both interventions by Lisboa, before and after the scene. As indicated in his introductory comment, he found the collective character of the people, one of the ‘três figuras principais’ of the play, particularly interesting, and it was to their reaction when faced with the orators’ manipulative power that he drew the listener’s attention in his second comment.<sup>385</sup> After the extract of the play, which ended as soon as the plebeians decide that Brutus and his friends are ‘patifes! Assassinos!’ (‘villains, murderers!’ l.157)<sup>386</sup> and before Mark Antony’s reading of the will, Lisboa filho highlighted the ‘habilidade com que estes discursos serve [sic] as intenções dos dois personagens que os proferiram e como aquele povo vibrante por duas vezes mudou o objecto do seu entusiasmo.’<sup>387</sup> The comment was very brief, yet clearly implied that it was the effect of the speeches upon the people, and not, for instance, the issue at hand, that was relevant in this passage. The bland and abstractly phrased last part, ‘como aquele povo vibrante por duas vezes mudou o objecto do seu entusiasmo,’ emphasised the people’s volatility, sounding somewhat patronising. It was so carefully put that it managed to avoid mentioning that what the Roman people’s changeable opinion referred to was the sensitive issue of whether or not their ruler was a ‘tyrant.’<sup>388</sup>

## Conclusion

In 1966 a distinction was made for internal organisational purposes between the Emissora’s ‘educational and recreational programmes,’ which were henceforth responsibility of the ‘first section’ of the Literary Programme Department, and ‘radio

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<sup>385</sup> ‘Para ao menos darmos uma ideia deste drama, vigoroso e empolgante, vamos apresentar duas cenas em que se desenham as três figuras principais, Brutus, Marco António e esse povo que ambos procuram conquistar.’ Although two scenes were announced, only one was broadcast, without evidence of an additional scene having been deleted. *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 4.

<sup>386</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, p. 6.

<sup>387</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra ... as tragédias*, episode 196, pp. 3 and 6.

<sup>388</sup> *A Renascença em Inglaterra – VII Parte, 2º capítulo: Shakespeare, 2º Ponto: Características da obra – as tragédias*, ‘A história do teatro,’ 11.07.1960, episode 196, p. 6.

drama programmes,' dealt with by the 'second section' of the same department. However, the analysis of paratextual elements accompanying the plays broadcast in Eurico Lisboa filho's drama programmes has reinforced the conclusion of the previous chapter that in his particular case programmes belonged to both categories.<sup>389</sup>

Titles, introductions and commentary reflected the didactic aim underlying the shows, as well as the scholarly approach taken. This was conveyed by different aspects, namely the preferred historical presentation of the plays, and the use of fictional dialogues which allowed the introduction to plays to turn into a play itself. The fact that listeners were given the role of students reinforced the educational purpose of the programme and invites more detailed investigation into the implicit depiction of the target audience of the programmes.

Aspects such as the criteria guiding the choice of play for broadcast and the sources for texts and critical commentary were also revealed. They represent another expression of the aim of culturally educating the audience. Through the quotation of foreign critics the frame within which plays and playwrights were introduced to listeners conveyed the historical importance and the universal quality of the plays. These translations can therefore be seen as participating in an international web of what Lefevere called 'rewritings,' including performances, translations, anthologies and criticism.<sup>390</sup>

The dissemination process concerned not only foreign drama, but also values and ideas, such as an emphasis on Catholicism and the reinforcement of the French cultural model's dominance, despite the use of different foreign sources. While devices such as commentaries expressed Lisboa's mediation, they were also a strategy employed to avoid sensitive issues associated for example with Shakespeare's intensely political play *Julius Caesar*, thus allowing a critical scene from the play to be broadcast.

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<sup>389</sup> 'Art. 30º: À repartição de programas literários compete o estudo e a proposta de programas literários de carácter cultural ou recreativo, assim como a apreciação dos que forem encomendados ou apresentados à Emissora Nacional. Art. 31º: A repartição de Programas Literários compreende duas secções: 1ª Secção: Programas Educativos-Recreativos; 2ª Secção – Programas dramáticos.' *Emissora Nacional. Lei Orgânica*, p. 31.

<sup>390</sup> See Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*.

#### 4. TEXTUAL LEVEL: translating texts

*Durante a Guerra Civil de Espanha, os jornais foram [...] foram obrigados a chamar-lhes 'vermelhos.' Sendo esta a designação usada para mencionar os sócios do clube de futebol Benfica, o facto levou a que a Censura determinasse que, doravante, os adeptos do clube se passassem a chamar 'encarnados.'*

Maria Filomena Mónica, *Cenas da vida portuguesa*<sup>391</sup>

Previous chapters have argued that in Eurico Lisboa filho's shows in particular, the educational purpose motivating the selection of radio drama repertoires and shaping their paratextual presentation can be traced back to the ideological framework underlying the Emissora's broadcasts. The question that follows concerns what happened at a further stage in the process of radio broadcasting a translated text: the chapter investigates the impact that ideology had upon the textual level, where there is also a very 'large degree of room for manipulation.'<sup>392</sup>

Translational choices concerning, for example, lexical and semantic items reflect the ideological conditioning at work. In the context of a regime such as the Estado Novo, when such instances of manipulation offered by the text usually represented attempts to make it more adequate to the dominant value system, they usually reflected compliance with censorship. The latter has been defined by translation scholars as 'invariably

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<sup>391</sup> Mónica, *Cenas*, p. 16.

<sup>392</sup> Kate Sturge, "'Flight from the Programme of National Socialism?'" Translation in Nazi Germany,' in *Translation under Fascism*, ed. by Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 51-83 (p. 66).

[involving] blockage of a cultural product from entry into a cultural space, the elimination of a product from a cultural space or its modification through attenuation or cutting.<sup>393</sup> Between 1933 and 1974 in Portugal, censorship controlled all forms of public expression, including published and broadcast news, literary publications and also theatre performances. In Oliveira Marques' opinion «[...] de todos os mecanismos repressivos a censura foi sem dúvida o mais eficiente, aquele que conseguiu manter o regime sem alterações estruturais durante quatro décadas».<sup>394</sup>

In terms of radio broadcasting, however, censorship was only one component of the Emissora's apparatus of ideological control. In order to understand ideologically determined textual shifts in translated broadcast drama, an account of different control strategies employed in the context of the national station's activity is therefore needed.

The chapter discusses evidence gathered from the RTP archives and takes issue with recently made claims that, unlike other radio stations, there was no prior censorship in the Emissora Nacional. After examining legal documents governing the Emissora's activity in order to understand the processes through which affinity between the regime's political values and its employees was established, the chapter offers examples of two different types of prior censorship – which went as far as to reject particular broadcasts. Besides discussing censorial intervention at the paratext level of a play by Ionesco, the chapter analyses and compares textual shifts regarding in particular the characterization of women in two versions of the same play by Oscar Wilde. These cases represent attempts to manipulate the text in order to bring it into harmony with the Estado Novo's image of ideal woman.

While censorship of plays to be broadcast on national radio stations, namely those involving constructs of women who challenge patriarchal structures was not uncommon in

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<sup>393</sup> Denise Merkle and others, 'Exploring a neglected century: translation and censorship in nineteenth-century Europe,' *The Power of the pen: translation & censorship in nineteenth-century Europe*, ed. by Denise Merkle and others (Vienna and Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), pp. 7-26 (p. 14).

<sup>394</sup> A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, 3 vols., 3 (Lisbon: Palas Editores, 1977) p. 299.

the first half of the century, these examples also illustrate different degrees of compliance with censorship guidelines over time. One explanation for this is the status of the producer of the programme. Through the consideration of further individuals, the chapter additionally introduces the idea that the ENR was not as ideologically airtight as its complex ideological control process might suggest. This is once again linked to the issue of status within the hierarchy of the station – which is not synonymous with political leanings, as shown by the additional case of a rejected broadcast produced by an extreme right wing partisan.

### **Ideological control in the Emissora**

When in 1964 the famous radio and stage actor Fernando Curado Ribeiro (1919-1995) published a volume on radio, *Rádio: Produção, Realização, Estética*, he decided to introduce it by means of a letter, or rather, ‘Excerpts of a letter to a radio set friend’ (‘Excertos de uma carta a um receptor amigo’).<sup>395</sup> The frank and intimate tone used to address the radio set reveals how close to radio broadcasting Curado Ribeiro felt. The magical nature of radio is stated, as is its function: ‘tens uma missão: distrair, cultivar e informar.’<sup>396</sup> In addition, the letter contains an unexpected, though apologetic, moment of criticism:

Não te culpo de nada. Sei que falas a voz dos outros, que respiras o ar que já foi respirado, e que as tuas mentiras não te sujam. És como uma arma perigosa, na mão de um criminoso. É ele quem mata. Mas quantas vítimas fazes por dia? Quantos homens atraíoados? Quantas vezes chamaste “vitória” ao crime, “bem” ao mal, “honra” à desonra?

Há um dever novo: não te ouvir, sempre que falas a voz da mentira criminosa.

[...]

Mas a tua boca, enfeitada de seda como a das mulheres do Oriente, cultiva pouco e informa mal. Não gostarias de dar ao homem inculto um pouco de luz, ensiná-lo a ler, a ouvir música, a ver beleza? E de dizer-lhe realmente o que se passa? Não?...

A tua missão quase que se resume à distracção.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> Curado Ribeiro, ‘Excertos de uma carta, pp. 11-15.

<sup>396</sup> Curado Ribeiro, ‘Excertos de uma carta, p. 14.

<sup>397</sup> Curado Ribeiro, ‘Excertos de uma carta, p. 14.

Against the background of the ongoing war which ‘está na origem da forma peculiar do derrube do Estado Novo e da institucionalização da democracia em Portugal,’<sup>398</sup> there was, indeed, much that radio in general, as well as print media and television, could not say. The unsuccessful coup led by the Minister of Defence Júlio Botelho Moniz in 1961, for instance, which in Costa Pinto’s opinion ultimately led to the transformation of ‘the future of the war into the future of the regime,’<sup>399</sup> was never mentioned on radio. As to the war itself, it was a taboo issue, according to the director of Rádio Club Português: ‘[o] Ultramar era um dos pontos em que não podíamos falar. A informação era escassa; ou se mandava lá alguém saber e depois chegava cá e não deixavam...’<sup>400</sup> This did not, however, prevent radio from being used, in Dina Cristo’s opinion ‘como autêntica máquina de propaganda, pelo regime e pela oposição no exílio, em Portugal e em África, numa autêntica guerra da informação [...],’<sup>401</sup> even though the topic was increasingly more absent from the EN airwaves as the conflict progressed.<sup>402</sup> A similarly slanted perspective of a previous conflict had been conveyed years earlier, as a confidential 1930s letter from the EN’s president, Henrique Galvão, illustrates:

Entendi que sendo a Emissora Nacional um posto oficial, o noticiário sobre os acontecimentos deveria ser dado de forma a servir os interesses políticos de Portugal, decerto ligado à sorte do movimento revolucionário – mas de forma a pôr o Governo português, prudentemente, a coberto de reclamações diplomáticas. Isso se tem feito rigorosamente. Assim, tendo sido dos primeiros a ter conhecimento do desastre sofrido pelo General Sanjurjo, ocultámos a notícia por nos parecer inconveniente. Por outro lado, evitámos dar notícias dos revoltosos que nos

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<sup>398</sup> Costa Pinto, *O fim do império*, p. 9.

<sup>399</sup> Costa Pinto, *O fim do império*, p. 45.

<sup>400</sup> Jorge Botelho Moniz, director of RCP and brother of the Defence Minister Júlio Botelho Moniz, interviewed by Dina Cristo and quoted in Cristo, *Rádio em Portugal*, p. 50.

<sup>401</sup> Dina Cristo, ‘A rádio ao tempo de Salazar e Caetano – Censura, propaganda e resistência,’ *Observatório*, 4 (Nov. 2001), pp. 9-32 (p. 17).

<sup>402</sup> See Cristo, *Rádio em Portugal*, p. 51.

pareciam inconvenientes pelas reclamações a que poderiam dar lugar por parte do Governo Espanhol.<sup>403</sup>

The Emissora, tried, in other words, to ‘defender a opinião pública daquilo que a pudesse perturbar, levando-lhe a verdade provada, contrariando a propaganda que procurava desmoralizar e perverter.’<sup>404</sup> It had therefore absolute need for mechanisms of ideological control - of which censorship was only one.

Another example was captain Henrique Galvão (1895-1970) himself, who had been appointed by the government to head the station’s directing board one month before the official inauguration in 1935. At this time, Galvão, who would become an enemy of the regime in the early 1950s, later leading the failed hijack of the Santa Maria ship, was close to the government. A journalist, playwright and author of novels, amongst many other books on different subjects, he was particularly linked to colonial matters: he was Governor of the Huila province in Angola and in 1934 oversaw a Colonial Exhibition in Oporto. The pattern of choosing close political allies as heads of the Emissora would not be broken until the end of the regime:

Quando o António Ferro se vai embora [em 1950] quem é que vem? O filho de Eça de Queiroz, que era um funcionário do António Ferro, da Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo (SEIT). E quando se vai embora o Eça de Queiroz quem é que vem? Vem Jaime Ferreira [em 1958]. Quem é Jaime Ferreira? É notário no Norte, tinha sido muito apreciada a sua presença numa campanha eleitoral e o Dr. Pedro Teotónio Pereira [ministro] escolheu-o. E depois quem vem? Vem o secretário de Salazar [José Sollari Allegro]. E entretanto quem são os chefes de

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<sup>403</sup> Henrique Galvão quoted in Rogério Santos, *As vozes da rádio – 1924-1939* (Lisboa: Editorial Caminho, 2005), p. 153. He was referring to Sanjurjo’s plane crash, in which he died as he was flying back to Spain. The crash took place in Estoril on July 20, 1936.

<sup>404</sup> Galiano Pinheiro, former EN announcer, quoted by Carolina Silva Maia Ferreira, *O altifalante do regime : a Emissora Nacional como arma de guerra no conflito colonial*, Masters Thesis (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007), p. 139.



repartição e de secção? São pessoas de confiança política. O Silva Tavares está cá desde o princípio e era um homem da Legião. Eram pessoas de total confiança.<sup>405</sup>

In 1935, Galvão was also the solution found by the minister Couto dos Santos to solve the struggle for political control over the national broadcasting station between Fernando Homem Cristo, the station's non-official political commissar before the captain's arrival, and the head of the National Propaganda Secretariat, António Ferro.<sup>406</sup> The former, who had sat in Salazar's lectures while studying Law in Coimbra, was the son of a polemic journalist from Aveiro, Francisco Manuel Homem Christo, and younger brother of the man who is considered to be one of the first Portuguese fascists, Francisco Homem Christo filho.<sup>407</sup> Fernando's role in the Emissora was outlined on a 1935 memorandum: 'sou um precursor do Estado Novo e da sua ideologia. Lutei e arrisquei alguma coisa pelo seu advento ainda antes da gloriosa arrancada do Marechal Gomes da Costa. E vim para aqui [EN] [...] especificamente para fazer a propaganda das novas instituições e fiscalizar a ortodoxia das pessoas e das palavras.'<sup>408</sup> His aims in terms of the propagandistic use of the Emissora were at the core of the argument with the Propaganda Secretariat, despite his defence of António Ferro's 'Política do Espírito':<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Eduardo Street, interviewed by Dina Cristo, quoted in Cristo, *Rádio em Portugal*, p. 119.

<sup>406</sup> SPN, Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda and later, in 1945, SNI, Secretaria Nacional de Informação, and in 1968 SEIT, Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo.

<sup>407</sup> See João Medina, *Os primeiros fascistas portugueses. Subsídios para a história ideológica dos primeiros movimentos fascistas em Portugal anteriores ao Nacional-Sindicalismo. Estudo antológico*, in *Vértice – Separata* (Coimbra, 1978), and Cecília Barreira, *Nacionalismo e Modernismo: de Homem Cristo Filho a Almada Negreiros* (Lisbon: Assírio e Alvim, 1981).

<sup>408</sup> Homem Cristo filho quoted by Santos, *As vozes da rádio*, p. 147.

<sup>409</sup> In a speech given at a ceremony for the award of literary prizes, António Ferro defined Política do Espírito as the 'defesa material da inteligência, da literatura e da arte, de todas as manifestações espirituais que nos libertam do realismo (não digo da realidade), que nos facilitam a evasão do quotidiano. [...] Política do Espírito é aquela que se opõe, fundamental e estruturalmente, à política da matéria. Política do Espírito, por exemplo, neste momento que atravessamos, não só em Portugal como no mundo, é estabelecer e organizar o combate contra tudo o que suja o espírito. [...] Política do Espírito é aquela que proclama, precisamente, a independência do Espírito, que o liberta da escravidão do materialismo tirânico, insinuante, que pretende, constantemente, subordiná-lo, embriagá-lo.' (*Diário de Notícias*, 1935).

[...] numa boa proporção, a parte falada dos programas da Emissora Nacional deve ser destinada à propaganda da Nação, do Estado Novo, da sua ideologia e orientação política, das suas realizações e da obra governamental. A propaganda deve ser directa e indirecta. Esta última deve consistir em levar toda a parte falada, mesmo aquela que é aparentemente apolítica, a ter uma intenção política. A melhor forma de o conseguir é recrutar os próprios colaboradores literários ou de cultura geral entre os escritores, intelectuais e artistas afectos à ideologia do Estado Novo; e ferir sempre a nota política, embora de uma forma discreta, na matéria que se pode chamar redactorial, isto é, elaborada na própria Emissora e de autoria interna, como o noticiário, as efemérides, a revista de imprensa, os comentários da semana, etc. Esta forma indirecta de propaganda, que deve ressumar da literatura, da cultura e da informação será uma aplicação dos princípios da Política do Espírito como a entendem o Doutor Oliveira Salazar e António Ferro.<sup>410</sup>

Christo's stay at the Emissora was nonetheless short-lived. As head of the S.P.N, Ferro's ambitions were to have total control of all aspects of the propaganda activity in the country, including that carried out by the Emissora. The conflict between the two men led to the appointment of Henrique Galvão, and in the same year, to Christo's eventual departure from the station. The latter's idea of employing politically close collaborators, including those working for the literary programmes, was not, however, abandoned.

In fact, if complaints made years later by directors of the station regarding the lack of guidelines issued by the government are to be believed, they suggest that a great deal of trust was indeed placed in the recruitment process. Both Jaime Ferreira, who gave up his post in 1963 partly for this reason, and Clemente Rogeiro (head of the EN from 1969) were unhappy about the absence of governmental instructions as to how the station should function: '[d]urante o tempo em que estive na Emissora, como durante o tempo em que fui

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<sup>410</sup> Fernando Homem Christo Filho quoted in Santos, *As vozes da rádio*, p. 148.

presidente da sua direcção, nunca recebi instruções fosse de quem fosse. Nunca. Não havia orientação. Não havia orientação absolutamente nenhuma.<sup>411</sup>

Political affinity, however, was demanded of all permanent staff working at the state-run station. This was established, for example, by the need to meet the prior condition of 'being attuned to the dominant social and constitutional order,' as well as 'actively repudiating communism and all subversive ideas,' established by in a 1966 Decree Law:

Art.º 70º O recrutamento de pessoal para os lugares do quadro geral e de pessoal a admitir nos termos do artigo 18º do DL n.º 41 484, de 30 de Dez de 1957, será feito por escolha ou por concurso, nas condições afixadas no presente regulamento.'

Art.º 119.º São requisitos essenciais para admissão aos concursos:

[...] 6.º Estar integrado na ordem social e constitucional vigente, com activo repúdio do comunismo e de todas as ideias subversivas

7.º Não fazer parte de associações ou instituições de carácter secreto.<sup>412</sup>

Meeting at least these demands allowed another type of strategy of ideological control to be employed, that of strict programme supervision. Referring specifically to information programmes, Dina Cristo has argued that

[n]a Emissora Nacional, o controlo não apenas existia como era rigorosamente assegurado pelos órgãos consultivos da Direcção dos Serviços de Programas: o Gabinete de Estudos de Programas (GEP), que planeava a programação, o Conselho de Planeamento de Programas (CPP), que a apreciava, e o Conselho de

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<sup>411</sup> Clemente Rogeiro interviewed by Dina Cristo, quoted in Cristo, *Rádio em Portugal*, p. 121.

<sup>412</sup> *Emissora Nacional. Lei Orgânica*, pp. 39 and 5.

Programas (CP), que a sancionava de acordo com a política determinada pelo Governo. Além deste apertado sistema, a emissora oficial dispunha ainda de uma larga estrutura de controlo “a posteriori,” da qual faziam parte os informadores, os analistas, os fiscais de programas (dez em 1957 e em 1965), os inspectores, os regentes de estúdio ou o gravador contínuo.<sup>413</sup>

The fact that ideologically determined criteria applied only to the recruitment of permanent staff (‘do quadro’) seems to be the justification for one case at least when the adaptation of a radio play was done by a journalist linked to the political opposition. Even though his status within the Emissora remains unclear, it is unlikely that Álvaro Belo Marques was a permanent member of staff. His name appears only once in the audio archive database, as the adaptor of Oscar Wilde’s *A vantagem de ser constante* (*The Importance of Being Earnest*) included in ‘Teatro das Comédias’ and broadcast in March 1969.<sup>414</sup> While this type of collaboration with the station might be explained by the fact that he was the son of maestro José Belo Marques (1898-1986), who in 1941 had formed the Orquestra Típica Portuguesa and lead the Orquestra de Variedades,<sup>415</sup> after the revolution Álvaro Belo Marques’ role in the military controlled Emissora was a critical one:

Os militares só em 28 de Abril tomaram conta da EN – era uma comissão “ad-hoc” nomeada pela Junta de Salvação Nacional e constituída por três oficiais [...] Depois, com data de 1 de Maio, os militares anunciavam a entrada ao serviço de um grupo de fora da EN, em que se contavam, ao lado de nomes com alguma experiência do meio da rádio, outros que eram praticamente desconhecidos ou cujos méritos eram apenas notórios noutros meios de comunicação, como a imprensa escrita. Constituíam esse grupo, que ficou a trabalhar na directa

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<sup>413</sup> Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal*, p. 85.

<sup>414</sup> There is no documental record of this broadcast.

<sup>415</sup> *A Nossa telefonia – 75 anos de Rádio Pública*, p. 84.

dependência da comissão ‘ad-hoc’: Álvaro Belo Marques, filho do maestro José Belo Marques, que se afirmou logo como líder do grupo [...]’<sup>416</sup>

Furthermore, the ideological proximity of some of the people associated with the EN radio drama production notwithstanding, some translations of classic texts crossed the ideological borders that separated groups with opposing political preferences. The best example is that of Goulart Nogueira and Lopo de Albuquerque’s *Tirésias*, a translation of Guillaume Appolinaire’s *Les mamelles de Tirésias* (1917). In 1962, *Tirésias* was both performed by António Manuel Couto Viana’s Companhia Nacional de Teatro, and published by Contraponto: Edições e Distribuição, the author Luiz Pacheco’s (1925-2008) publishing house. Two years later, it was broadcast on Goulart Nogueira’s programme ‘Teatro de Ensaio,’ one of the many components of his contribution towards the Emissora’s literary production, which also included acting in, and translating and adapting several plays. While Nogueira, as well as Couto Viana, were, in Ricardo Marchi’s expression, ‘intelectuais fascistas,’<sup>417</sup> the foundation of Contraponto in 1950 had been motivated

pela ideia de combate ao regime vigente e pela luta contra as instituições. [Pacheco] concebe uma editora cujo objectivo era a denúncia da situação política, social e literária. [...] Contava com a colaboração de alguns amigos que se propunham para realizar certas tarefas e, por outro lado, garantir a publicação das suas obras.<sup>418</sup>

Because Pacheco’s intention was to publish plays staged in Lisbon, and the translations and translators behind different type of productions of the same play were the same, similar cases can be found. Even though no evidence has been found of an EN performance of this particular rendition, Nogueira’s translation of Heinrich von Kleist’s

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<sup>416</sup> Fernando Serejo, ‘Rádio – Do marcelismo aos nossos dias (1968-1990),’ *Observatório*, 4 (Nov. 2001), 65-95 (pp. 77-8).

<sup>417</sup> Ricardo Marchi, ‘As direitas radicais no Estado Novo,’ *Ler História*, 57 (2009), 95-110 (p. 107).

<sup>418</sup> In <<http://luizpacheco.no.sapo.pt/>> [first accessed in 2010].

*Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* (1811), *O príncipe de Homburgo*, was performed by the Companhia Nacional de Teatro and published by Contraponto in 1961. Leopoldo Araújo, whose political tendencies are not known, but whose name was frequently associated with drama episodes broadcast by the EN, has also had one of his translations published in the same Contraponto theatre collection, 'Teatro no Bolso.' Staged as *As Mentiras de Scapin* in 1956 by the Companhia Rey-Colaço Robles Monteiro in D. Maria II Theatre, and published by Contraponto in the same year as *As Velhacarias de Scapin*, Araújo's version of Molière's *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (1671), was broadcast ten years later in 'Noite de Teatro' (as *As Velhacarias de Scapin*) and, under the title *As Mentiras de Scapin*, in 1968 in 'Teatro das Comédias'.<sup>419</sup>

### Censoring the EN

Street uses the metaphor of 'pills, elixir and injections' to describe the process whereby the EN was supposedly cured of the ills of censorship, further suggesting that some people joined the Emissora precisely for their political allegiance:

A censura na EN foi algo de subtil, invisível, que actuava sem deixar impressões digitais. Sendo uma doença, que na imprensa, no teatro ou no cinema, provocava febre, erupções na pele, ataques de fúria silenciosa, na rádio, fora erradicada com uma vacina que se apresentava nas três versões clássicas: comprimidos, xarope e injeções.

Os primeiros, os comprimidos, actuavam nas contratações, nos concursos públicos.

A lista dos candidatos ia até a António Maria Cardoso [rua António Maria Cardoso:

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<sup>419</sup> According to Tetra Database, the translation was further adapted and staged as a children's play in 1966. Bearing in mind the frequent television broadcasting of Araújo's translations from the 1960s onwards, further research might provide information regarding an RTP performance, thus completing the tour of the Estado Novo's theatre-related institutions made by Araújo's *Scapin*. For a discussion of a further translation of the Molière play see Anacleto, 'Encenações do cómico molieresco,' pp. 177-195.

street where the political police headquarters were] onde dedicados analistas comprimiam as fichas dos concorrentes, excluindo os que tinham uma informação que não abonasse o seu comportamento cívico. Depois, no caso dos concursos, os felizes aprovados apanhavam com o xarope, declarando que eram fiéis à Constituição de 1933 e que não pertenciam a organizações subversivas. Finalmente, e para manter o bom espírito de grupo e uma saudável programação, injectavam-se colaboradores que “não discutissem a nação.”<sup>420</sup>

According to the same EN producer’s account of the official discourse, these processes meant that the Emissora had no need to perform ‘censorship:’ ‘a censura era desnecessária, até rejeitada com indignação.’<sup>421</sup> However, the very aspects which were seen as negating that necessity (‘uma direcção escolhida, chefes criteriosamente seleccionados, funcionários dependentes em todos os concursos de informações adicionais e colaboradores de total confiança ou sujeitos a um permanente “controlo de qualidade”’) <sup>422</sup> were themselves, as Street’s ironical tone implies, censorial mechanisms.

A parallel can be established with the practice of ‘cultural blockage’ identified in the context of studies of the interface between censorship and translation. While according to Denise Merkle ‘cultural blockage’ is based on ‘[...] selection mechanisms [which] intervene to block the entry of those cultural products deemed undesirable or, when entry is allowed, to influence the form of cultural transfer (literal translation, expurgation, adaptation, etc.),’<sup>423</sup> the EN control mechanisms constituted a further type of blockage consisting of selection strategies designed to block the entry or the continued stay of agents deemed objectionable, thus representing a form of preventive and institutional censorship.

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<sup>420</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 73.

<sup>421</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 75.

<sup>422</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 75.

<sup>423</sup> Merkle and others, ‘Exploring a neglected century,’ p. 16.

In Joaquim Vieira's opinion, censorship '[...] atravessara toda a história da rádio pública,' and conditioned the broadcasting of, for example, music by a number of composers and musicians such as Fernando Lopes-Graça, John Lennon, Amália, Vinicius de Moraes and António Calvário.<sup>424</sup> While in private radio stations 'eram os "homens da casa" que [...] tomavam conta do discurso dos seus profissionais'<sup>425</sup> and censorship was performed 'num ambiente de proximidade, colaboração e negociação dos limites, [...] que dava espaço ao diálogo,'<sup>426</sup> Vieira claims that in the state-run station 'não [havia] censura prévia de textos, dado que os redactores ou "assistentes literários", eram escolhidos também por confiança política [...].'<sup>427</sup>

Evidence gathered from the RTP archives has shown, however, that for drama programmes at least this was not the case and prior censorship, 'intended to prevent undesirable material from circulating by requiring it to be submitted for approval in advance of broadcasting'<sup>428</sup> was indeed performed. In this sense, broadcast drama can be compared to staged drama, for which 'il existe une première instance de décision, apparentée à celle du livre, devant laquelle la pièce – text écrit – doit d'abord être présentée. Si cette premier barrage est passé, le texte, muni du fameux: "visé para la commission de censure" peut alors être mis en scène.'<sup>429</sup>

*Feliz Provação*, prepared to be included in the programme 'Onda de Teatro,' was the euphemistically titled translation of Pierre de Marivaux's *L'Île des Esclaves* (first performed in 1725) by Goulart Nogueira.<sup>430</sup> According to the record found in the document archive it was not, however, allowed to be broadcast on the national station. The case illustrates how

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<sup>424</sup> For further details see *A Nossa telefonia – 75 anos de Rádio Pública*, p. 135. See also Manuel Deniz Silva's PhD thesis «La musique a besoin d'une dictature»: Musique et politique dans les premières années de l'Etat Nouveau (1926-1945).

<sup>425</sup> Cristo, 'A rádio ao tempo de Salazar,' pp. 14-15.

<sup>426</sup> Ferreira, tese p. 122.

<sup>427</sup> *A Nossa telefonia – 75 anos de Rádio Pública*, p. 133.

<sup>428</sup> Merkle and others, 'Exploring a neglected century,' p. 15. See also Denise Merkle, 'Presentation,' *TTR - Special issue Censure et traduction dans le monde occidental/Censorship and Translation in the Western World*, dir. by Denise Merkle, 15:2 (2002), 9-18 (pp. 11-12).

<sup>429</sup> Graça dos Santos, *Le spectacle dénaturé, le théâtre portugais sous le règne de Salazar (1933-1968)* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2002), p. 207.

<sup>430</sup> The RTP document archive mistakenly lists this play as belonging to 'Teatro das comédias.'



within the EN, and more specifically among programme producers such as Goulart Nogueira, personal political make-up was not above ideology. Strong personal extreme right wing leanings, as for instance Nogueira's, did not guarantee immunity to criticism, nor the right to autonomy regarding broadcasting. The prohibition of *Feliz Provação* came in the same year of the publication of a memorable number especially dedicated to fascism of the newspaper *Agora* (no. 329, November 4, 1967, Year VII), for which Goulart Nogueira was responsible.<sup>431</sup>

Together with *Ile de la raison ou les petits hommes* (1727) (*The Isle of Reason or the Little Men*) and *La nouvelle colonie ou la ligue des femmes* (1729, rewritten in 1750 and retitled *La colonie*) (*The New Colony or the League of Women*), it forms a thematic trilogy, usually referred to as the 'island plays,' whose critical portrayal of the *ancien régime* allows for the potentially ideological function of drama to be exploited.<sup>432</sup> *Feliz Provação* is, in fact, one of the few cases of scripts in the written archive which was not granted authorization to be broadcast. Unlike what is commonly found in other scripts, however, no document explaining the decision taken regarding this play is attached to the script.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> *Agora*, dir. by Goulart Nogueira, 329, Year VII (November 4, 1967). Alongside many other texts by Portuguese authors, including Nogueira himself ('Permanência do Fascismo'), this number published Mussolini's 'Doutrina Fascista.'

<sup>432</sup> Considering what is known about Nogueira's political options, the war context and the themes explored by Marivaux, his choice of play is intriguing and invites further investigation. For a study of two additional versions of the play staged not only during the Estado Novo, but more specifically 'num quadro de contestação crescente da ordem estabelecida,' see Christine Zurbach, 'Marcas de politização em traduções de Marivaux do Portugal pré-revolucionário' in *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*, org. by Teresa Seruya and others (Lisboa: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2009), pp. 197-211. Chapter Six in this thesis addresses the broadcast of *La Colonie*, which also inspired *As Novas Leis*, a play by Odette de Saint-Maurice broadcast on radio in 1992 (see *As Novas Leis - A Colónia*, 'Tempo de teatro,' 20.02.1992).

<sup>433</sup> An analysis of this case needs to bear in mind the ideological recontextualization achieved by the staging of this play barely two years later by Teatro dos Estudantes de Coimbra (TEUC). See Zurbach, 'Marcas de politização.'

### Censoring radio plays

The documents or 'Folhas de Pareceres' ('Appraisal Sheets') consisted of reports written prior to the broadcast of individual drama episodes in order to authorize or reject scripts. They can be found in the document archive attached to scripts of a number of plays included in different programmes, particularly those broadcast from the 1960s onwards.<sup>434</sup> Their design evolved from a simple sheet in the 1960s where a 'parecer' (qualified opinion) was meant to be recorded, to the highly structured layout used in the 1970s. The latter format included technical details regarding the episode, namely date and time of recording and date and time of scheduled broadcast, followed by four main sections, each of which was meant to be signed by a different person: 'O Assistente' was meant to collect 'information,' 'O Chefe da Secção' was responsible for giving his opinion about it (the 'parecer'), 'O Chefe da Repartição' was in charge of the 'parecer or despacho,' and finally 'D.S.P.,' or 'Director do Serviço de Programas,' was responsible for the final decision, or 'despacho.' A reflection of the station's hierarchical structure, the authorization or rejection process would normally involve three of these people.

The 'information' collected was a brief summary of the play, and in the case of Eurico Lisboa filho's programmes, it often repeated what the introduction to the play stated. In addition, it sometimes indicated that changes had been suggested. The other sections were usually filled with a single expression, '[d]e acordo,' and '[a]provado.' Critical comments regarding the quality of the text were also frequently found under 'informação,' as the case of "Teatro de todos os tempos"'s 1971 version of Lope de Vega's *A Boa Guarda* illustrates: the verse translation was considered by the 'assistente' to be 'muito decalcada sobre o verso – os sonetos não são claros. Em suma: linguagem deficiente.' Moreover,

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<sup>434</sup> Although examples of reports have only been found for drama episodes broadcast after 1960, this might be due to a number of reasons, namely the fact that there are almost no scripts in the document archive for the 1940s. On the other hand, it could also have been the outcome of the stricter ideological control active in the country after the beginning of the war (for further details see in particular Azevedo, *Mutiladas*).

despite the fact that the year is 1971, the text causes some concern regarding its moral content. It was, in fact, allowed to be performed only due to the expression of regret present in the well-known play ('[o] tema é conhecido e dado o total arrependimento não levanta problemas'). The 'chefe de secção' further reported that 'foram feitos cortes e correcções ao texto. A peça tem uma finalidade moral e o arrependimento é o remate do pecado. Não oferece problemas, em meu entender.' This assessment was finally confirmed by the Chefe da Repartição, who 'approved' the play.<sup>435</sup>

The contrast between the 'folhas de pareceres' and handwritten deletions or corrections found in some texts can contribute towards an understanding not only of the criteria guiding censorship of play texts in the Emissora, but also of the moments of censorial practice and the agents behind it. In the case of Ionesco's (1909-1994) *O Rinoceronte* (1959), included in Leopoldo Araújo's 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' in 1967, the erasure of paratextual sentences referring to totalitarian regimes must have taken place before the text was submitted for approval, since the report merely states that the script was 'sem problemas' (without problems).<sup>436</sup>

The lines were part of Araújo's introduction to the play, where he quoted the playwright's own critical opinions regarding worldwide stagings of the play. The obliterated sentence was the end of Araújo's somewhat shortened translation of Ionesco's statement which read: '[the play is the description] de la naissance d'un totalitarisme qui grandit, se propage, conquiert, transforme un monde, et le transforme totalement, bien sûr, puisqu'il est totalitarisme.'<sup>437</sup>

In the second instance, the censored sentence was one of Araújo's own comments. Following a brief and very selective summary of the play's stage performances, Araújo remarked that it had been performed in Poland, Hungary and Romania – but, significantly,

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<sup>435</sup> *A Boa Guarda*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 22.7.1971, Folha de Pareceres.

<sup>436</sup> *O Rinoceronte*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 10.12.1967, Folha de Pareceres.

<sup>437</sup> Eugène Ionesco, *Notes et Contrenotes* (Paris : Gallimard, 1966), p. 286.

not in Russia. This is the moment when the deleted sentence, which can still be almost entirely deciphered, apart from one word, appeared (in italics):

Representada para lá da cortina de ferro, na Polónia, na Hungria e na Roménia, ‘O Rinoceronte’ não teve ainda, que nos conste, audiência na Rússia...

*Os processos de fanatização do totalitarismo da extrema direita são bem semelhantes aos do totalitarismo da extrema esquerda...* Moveram-se diligências para que Ionesco modificasse o texto *a fim de que só o nazismo surgisse como interpretação daquele [?] fenómeno...* Ionesco mostrou-se inabalável e as negociações falharam.<sup>438</sup>

Even though self-censorship is known to be very difficult to identify (Merkle argues that ‘[u]nless genetic or paratextual material describing the translation process has been left by the translator, it is impossible to distinguish with certainty what changes have been made by the translator versus those made by a reviser, copyeditor or the publisher’),<sup>439</sup> this seems to be a case where it can be seen at work. Bearing in mind the complex scrutinizing system through which the scripts had to go before broadcasting was approved, it is unlikely that Araújo submitted the text to an additional pair of controlling eyes. The conclusion

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<sup>438</sup> *O Rinoceronte*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 10.12.1967, p. 1. There are two copies of this script in the archive and they differ only very slightly. At this moment, it is not possible to determine which is the original and which is the copy – even though the fact that there are less typographical errors in the 12-page script seems to suggest that that was the copy. One of the differences between the scripts is that in the 15-page one the obliterated sentence reads ‘*Os processos de fanatização do totalitarismo da extrema direita não são bem semelhantes aos do totalitarismo da extrema esquerda...*’ However, the negation does not seem to make sense, given the idea being expressed and the play’s own ambiguity. A few years later, in an interview to Gabriel Jacobs, Ionesco himself would confirm what Araújo is reporting here, even though the latter replaced Ionesco’s reference to Czechoslovakia by Hungary: ‘my plays were performed in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Rumania, and published in Russia; but the Russians had called for changes in one play, and as I didn’t make them it wasn’t performed – that was *Rhinoceros*. They wrote to me: We know you are a progressive, but we are in the position of having to educate our public and they don’t always understand very easily; so you must make it clear who the rhinoceros are. I refused, so they banned the play’ Eugene Ionesco and Gabriel Jacobs, ‘Ionesco and the Critics: Eugène Ionesco Interviewed by Gabriel Jacobs’ *Critical Inquiry*, 1:3 (Mar 1975), 641-667 (p. 646), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1342835>>.

<sup>439</sup> Denise Merkle, ‘Censorship,’ in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 1 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), pp. 18-21 (p. 19).

registered in the 'folha de pareceres' indicates therefore that the erasures were made prior to the scrutiny, as the result of a process of self-conscious correction of the text.

An implication of the strong controlling apparatus at work in the state-run station was that the practice of self-censorship was likely to be very common amongst people working for the Emissora. Given the repetitive pattern that tended to characterise the Emissora's choice of plays over time,<sup>440</sup> textual shifts identified in different versions of the same work broadcast years apart can not only illuminate that particular form of censorship, but also provide insight into the evolution of this ideological control mechanism. One possible example is that of the broadcast of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*.

### Three Salomes in the EN

The first play by Oscar Wilde to be performed on the Emissora Nacional seems to have been *Salomé*, broadcast on March 30, 1948, as part of a programme produced by Maria João do Vale called, simply, 'Teatro.'<sup>441</sup> Later the play was performed for a second time before the end of the *Estado Novo*, on September 29, 1971 as part of Leopoldo Araújo's programme 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias.' The aspect which firstly and more distinctly sets these two texts apart is the fact that the first is the adaptation and performance of the play as a unit, whereas in 1971 only some parts of the play were performed.

Araújo's aim was to approach 'drama of our time' from the perspective of the concept of 'art for art's sake,' as indicated by the title of the episode ('Oscar Wilde – A arte pela arte', or 'Oscar Wilde – Art for art's sake'). Further, Emissora Nacional's second *Salome* was broadcast within the context of an intertextual dialogue with the homonymous work by the Portuguese author Eugénio de Castro. His *Salomé* had been published for the first time in 1896,<sup>442</sup> the year of the first performance of Wilde's play, which took place in

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<sup>440</sup> A quick scan of my database suffices to reveal this repetitiveness towards the last years of the station, which among other reasons can be explained by economic factors.

<sup>441</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro,' 27.03.1948, p. 6.

<sup>442</sup> In Eugénio de Castro, *Salomé e outros poemas* (Coimbra: Livraria Moderna, 1896).

Paris (the play was published before it was performed; it came out in French in 1893 and in English in 1894). An at least partial justification for the joint presentation of the works lay in Leopoldo Araújo's view that Wilde's *Salome* was a 'poema dramático',<sup>443</sup> which in turn echoed the review of the Parisian première of the play, directed by Lugné-Poe at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, in 1896: '*Salomé* a presque toutes les qualités d'un poème, la prose en est musicale et fluide comme des vers, elle est chargée d'images et de métaphores.'<sup>444</sup>

The juxtaposition of the image of Castro's *Salome* and that of Oscar Wilde's created an opportunity for Leopoldo Araújo to place the Portuguese poet amongst other foreign authors who had explored the same topic, namely Flaubert and 'um espanhol' ('a Spanish'), Goy da Silva.<sup>445</sup> An affinity between Wilde and Castro was indeed likely. A leading literary figure of his time, Eugénio de Castro was a Portuguese poet born in 1869 (d. 1944) who is currently known for his 'somewhat mechanic [sic] symbolism.'<sup>446</sup> The fact that Castro was mentioned in Stuart Merrill's article 'Pour Oscar Wilde: épilogue,' is a clear indication of his interest in Wilde's work. Castro was, in fact, the only Portuguese mentioned in the article. Merrill published it in the symbolist magazine *La Plume* on January 1, 1896 so as to publicly thank the different people that had helped him in the attempt to write to Queen Victoria on behalf of his friend Wilde, imprisoned since May 1895. One of the people named was Eugénio de Castro: '[r]emercions surtout [...] Eugénio de Castro et de Carvalho, qui me proposèrent de soumettre la pétition aux hommes de lettres portugais [...]'.<sup>447</sup> When in 1971 the excerpt from Castro's *Salomé* was included in the 'Teatro dos

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<sup>443</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 2.

<sup>444</sup> 'Salomé has almost all the qualities of a poem, the prose is as musical and as fluid as verse, it is charged with images and metaphors.' The first production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* took place on 11th February 1896, at that French theatre. The British premiere took place posthumously on 10th May 1905, at the Bijou Theatre, in London. *La Plume*, Paris, 1.03.1896.

<sup>445</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 2.

<sup>446</sup> Helder Macedo, 'Eight centuries of Portuguese Literature: an overview,' in *Companion to Portuguese Literature*, ed. by Stephen Parkison, Cláudia Pazos Alonso, T. F. Earle (Woodbridge: Thamesis, 2009), pp. 1-24 (p. 20).

<sup>447</sup> 'Let us thank above all [...] Eugénio de Castro and de Carvalho, who have suggested that I submit the petition to the Portuguese men of letters,' Stuart Merrill, 'Pour Oscar Wilde: épilogue,' *La Plume*, Paris (1.01.1896), p. 9.

Nossos Dias' episode, it served as an introduction to Wilde's play, not only contextualizing it, but also presenting the eponymous character.

Herein lies one of the major differences between the 1970s and the 1940s broadcast of Wilde's play. The introductory stanzas provide the listeners with space and time references which were not present in the earlier production by Maria João do Vale. Even though the latter did include a paragraph, in what seems to be a stage direction, describing the spatial context in which the action was about to take place, the absence of a narrator in the list of *dramatis personae*, unlike what would later become general practice, indicated that in this production such a role was not expected to be fulfilled and in consequence that particular paragraph was not broadcast. This is further confirmed by the fact that the paragraph was not attributed to any character in particular. Since the opening paragraph was not meant to reach the audience, the latter remained ignorant of details concerning the spatial and temporal dimension of the plot. In contrast, the sections from Eugénio de Castro's poem which were added to the 1971 episode reinforced the exotic aspect of the atmosphere in which listeners were about to 'see' Salomé move.<sup>448</sup>

Despite being presented together, Castro's and Wilde's Salomes are very different. Much closer to, for instance, the Biblical version of the princess (the epigraph of the poem is a quote from St. Mathew's Gospel) and unlike Wilde's interpretation, Castro's Salome asks for John the Baptist's head not for herself, as a result of her own voluptuousness and hurt pride, but rather in accordance with her mother's will – even though, unlike what Salome does in the Bible, she is not simply obeying and pleasing her mother. Castro's Salome is won over by the perspective of glory and power with which her mother seduces her through the identification of John's beheading with the greatest glory Salome might ever have asked for.<sup>449</sup> She is very different from Wilde's character in that she is

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<sup>448</sup> Namely mentioning a garden, a swimming pool with fish, red flowers, strong sunshine, lion cages, and lakes with flowers from the Nile (*Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, pp. 2-3).

<sup>449</sup> 'Herodias então diz baixinho à princesa:/ -"Pede-lhe, minha filha, a cabeça de João!" / A princesa estremece: / - "O que dizes, matá-lo? / Fazê-lo mergulhar no enregelado sono? / Oh!

manipulated by her mother and falls victim to her own vanity. Unlike Wilde's Salome, who claims '[n]ão escuto a minha mãe. É para meu próprio prazer que eu peço a cabeça de Iocanaã numa bacia de prata,'<sup>450</sup> she is not as emancipated. She is, similarly to what is described in St Matthew and St Mark, a tool in her mother's hands, although she is also, differently from the Gospels, controlled by her own weakness. These contradictions between the two Salomes were, however, avoided by Leopoldo Araújo, whose selection of stanzas from Castro's poem depict the moment prior to her entrance in the palace.

The idea of the princess created by the radio drama version is also, accordingly, closer to the Biblical character than that of Wilde's text. The softening of Salome in the 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' translation, whose author was not identified, was achieved through several strategies, one of which was shared by an earlier Portuguese translation of the play. As Karen Bennett has pointed out, in João do Rio's 1908 Brazilian translation, Salome is 'left sweet and innocent (and thus a victim of more wildly forces)' through the elimination of the expression of her savvy:[...] "Of a truth I know it too well".<sup>451</sup>

On the one hand, the deletion in both radio versions of this significant remark on the part of the princess raises the possibility of an enduring Portuguese perspective of a softened Salome created by João do Rio's translation. This translation, whose title

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não... tomara eu, minha mãe, libertá-lo, / vesti-lo como um rei, sentá-lo sobre um trono!". / Mas Herodias diz: / -"Pede a sua cabeça / Se uma glória quer's ter como ainda ninguém teve, / [...] E o mundo saberá, filha, que os teus encantos / Fazem rolar no chão cabeças de profetas! / Essa morte dará um par de asas radiantes / Ao teu nome; andarás em pompas de vitória! / Se quer's que a tua glória exceda as mais brilhantes, / Rega com sangue quente as raízes da glória!" Eugénio de Castro, 'Salomé' in *Salomé e outros mitos. O feminino perverso em poetas portugueses entre o fim-de-século e Orpheu*, Paula Morão (Lisboa, Edições Cosmos, 2001), pp. 113-4.

<sup>450</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 13. 'It is not my mother's voice that I heed. It is for mine own pleasure that I ask the head of Iokanaan in a silver charger,' Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1995)), p. 86.

<sup>451</sup> The expression quoted by Bennett appears in Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 68. Bennet, quoting from *Salomé* translated by Lord Alfred Douglas, in *Oscar Wilde: Plays* (Middlesex, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), p. 322, quotes the expression as being 'I know not what it means.' Karen Bennett, 'The Seven Veils of Salomé,' *The Translator*, 9:1 (2003), 1-38 (p. 10).



identified the play as ‘poema dramático,’<sup>452</sup> was, according to Bennett, the text ‘by means of which the Portuguese first became acquainted with the play.’<sup>453</sup> On the other hand, it allowed the character to conform to the idealised woman of the *Estado Novo*, where a wife, for instance, was ‘uma mãe dessexualizada, já que o prazer erótico era encontrado cá fora com “as outras”.’<sup>454</sup> A further deletion in the later version, where besides Salome’s savvy regarding sexual matters the tetrarch’s incestuous look was also eliminated, reveals an even stronger adherence to moral standards in the 1970s:

Salome            I will not stay. I cannot stay. Why does the Tetrach look at me all the while with his mole’s eyes under his shaking eyelids? It is strange that the husband of my mother looks at me like that. I know not what it means. Of a truth I know it too well.

1948:

Salomé            Não posso ficar ali. Porque está sempre o tetrarca a olhar para mim com aqueles olhos de toupeira? É estranho que o marido de minha mãe me fite assim.

1971:

Salomé            Não fico. Não posso ficar. Porque está sempre o tetrarca a olhar para mim com os seus olhos de toupeira sob as pálpebras trémulas?<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> Bennett believes that João do Rio’s *Salomé: poema dramático em 1 acto*, published in Rio de Janeiro and Paris by H. Garnier in 1908 was the first known translation in Portugal. (Bennett, ‘The Seven Veils’, p. 9). According to Cetbase it was the text used for the Companhia Rey Colaço-Robles Monteiro performance of the play in 1926. However, volume 5 of A. A. Gonçalves Rodrigues’s *A Tradução em Portugal – tentativa de resenha cronológica das traduções impressas em língua portuguesa, excluindo o Brasil de 1495 a 1959* (Lisboa. Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1992) indicates that *Salomé: peça em um acto*, translated by Alexandre Souto (or Santos, both names are mentioned), was published in Porto in 1902 (without indicating the publisher) and in 1910 by Oficina do *Commercio do Porto*. A translation by Manuel Cabral Machado, *Salomé*, published in 1910, is also mentioned, without the publisher’s name. One further translation at least was published before 1933: *Salomé*, by António Alves, published in 1920 in Paris and in Lisbon by Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand.

<sup>453</sup> Bennett, ‘The Seven veils,’ p. 9.

<sup>454</sup> José Gameiro, ‘Uma nova visão da família e do casamento,’ *Portugal Contemporâneo (1958-1974)*, dir. by António Reis (Lisboa: Alfa Editora, 1989), pp. 357-366 (p. 362).

<sup>455</sup> *Salomé*, ‘Teatro,’ 27.03.1948, p. 5; *Salomé*, ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias,’ 29.07.1971, p. 4; Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 68.

### A charm less lethal

The two radio versions of Wilde's play, and the corresponding textual shifts prompted by censorship are further distinguished by one of the strategies employed to characterise Salome's hold on the men who admire her. Once again in contrast to the earlier broadcast, the 1971 *Salomé* did not include the suicide of the Young Syrian, the secondary character who prefers to die rather than to be a witness to Salome's desire for another man.

Without his death as an interruption of the dialogue between Salome and Iokanaan, and without the need to remove the corpse from the scene to avoid that it being seen by the tetrarch, the last part of the confrontation between the princess and the prophet was condensed into successive lines and, consequently, stood out:<sup>456</sup>

Salome	[...] There is nothing in the world so red as thy mouth... Suffer me to kiss thy mouth.
Iokanaan	Never! daughter of Babylon! Daughter of Sodom! never!
Salome	I will kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan. I will kiss thy mouth.
The Young Syrian	Princess, Princess, thou who art like a garden of myrrh, thou who art the dove of all doves, look not at this man, look not at him! Do not speak such words to him. I cannot endure it... Princess, do not speak such things.
Salome	I will kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan.
The Young Syrian	Ah!
He kills himself, and falls between Salome and Iokanaan	
The Page of Herodias	The young Syrian has slain himself! The young captain has slain himself! He has slain himself who was my friend! [...]
First Soldier	Princess, the young captain has just slain himself.
Salome	Suffer me to kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan.
Iokanaan	Art thou not afraid, daughter of Herodias? [...]
Salome	Suffer me to kiss thy mouth.

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<sup>456</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 9.

1971:

- Sal [...] Não há nada no mundo tão vermelho como a tua boca... Deixa-me beijar-te, Iocanaã...
- Ioc Nunca, filha de Babilónia! Filha de Sodoma! Nunca!
- Sal Hei-de beijar-te, Iocanaã!
- Sir Princesa, princesa, tu que és a pomba das pombas, não olhes para esse homem, não o fites! Não lhe digas essas coisas! Não posso suportá-las... Princesa, princesa, não digas essas coisas!
- Sal Hei-de beijar-te, Iocanaã!
- Ioc Não tens medo, filha de Herodíade? [...]
- Sal Deixa-me beijar-te, Iocanaã.<sup>457</sup>

Paradoxically, even though the suicide is omitted, the references to the blood, one of the omens symbolising death and tormenting the tetrarch, are kept, thus becoming for the EN audience an inexplicable presence in the scene:

- Herod. Salome, Salome, dance for me. I pray thee dance for me. I am sad tonight. Yes, I am passing sad tonight. When I came hither I slipped in blood, which is an ill omen; also, I heard in the air a beating of wings, a beating of gigantic wings.

1971:

- Tet. Salomé, Salomé, dança para mim. Suplico-te que dances para mim. Estou triste, esta noite... Quando entrei aqui escorreguei em sangue, o que é de mau presságio, e ouvi (tenho a certeza de que ouvi) um bater de asas no ar, um bater de asas gigantescas.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 73-4; *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 9.

<sup>458</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 83; *Salomé*, 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' 29.07.1971, p. 10.

In Wilde's play the Young Syrian provides an antithesis to the tetrarch, as an additional suitor of Salome. He is the latter's opposite in ways more than one. Firstly, in terms of age (the Young Syrian is one of the only two characters that is identified by age. As to Herodes, we know that he was married for the second time). Secondly, in terms of status: even though the Young Syrian was, according to Herodes himself, son of a king and a guest at the tetrarch's house, the latter had 'driven his father from his kingdom' and Herodias had made the Syrian mother her slave; the young man was, moreover, subject to Herodes in that he was one of his captains.<sup>459</sup> Finally, they oppose each other in terms of origins, given that the Young Syrian is a foreigner. Araújo's deletion of the suicide of the young captain, therefore, not only significantly diminished the strength of his characterisation and, more importantly still, of the expression of his devotion to Salome, but also greatly weakened the counterpoint effect that can be ascribed to his function as one of Salome's suitors. This led, in turn, to the limiting of the metonymic perspective of Salome as a woman admired and desired by 'all' men.

The toning down of Salome was further consolidated by a subsequent deletion. Herodes' remarks concerning the Young Syrian's interest in her are made at the moment when the king is commenting on the Young Syrian's death:<sup>460</sup> '[...] It is strange that the young Syrian has slain himself. I am sorry he has slain himself. [...] I remember that I saw that he looked languorously at Salome. Truly, I thought he looked too much at her.'<sup>461</sup> The omission of this moment in Araújo's text led to the loss of the confirmation of the extent of the young man's passion for the princess, which in turn was the reason why the subtle reactions, on the part of Herodias, to the aforementioned comments made by her husband were also deleted, including her bitter accusation '[t]here are others [apart from the Young Syrian] who look too much at her.'<sup>462</sup> In other words, the omission in the 1971 radio

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<sup>459</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, pp. 75-6.

<sup>460</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 76.

<sup>461</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 76.

<sup>462</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 76.

version of the Young Syrian's suicide implied also the erasure of the expression of jealousy felt by the mother as well as by the father-in-law of the princess.

The balance created by the triangle Herodes, Salome and Young Syrian was thus disturbed, namely in terms of what it revealed about Salome's destructive power. In Wilde's text, the Young Syrian slays himself due to his devotion to her, she has Iokanaan beheaded because she desires him, and Herodes orders Salome's death as a consequence, ultimately, of his own attraction to her. In contrast, Leopoldo Araújo not only did not expose his audience to the portent of Iokanaan's and Salome's death represented by the suicide, but also reduced the number of deaths in the play to two.

In this sense, another meaningful triangle was rendered ineffective through the deletion of the suicide, as death is the theme underlying a further triumvirate equally centred on Salome: Young Syrian, Iokanaan, and Salome. Given that both men die because of her, albeit for different reasons, the Young Syrian functions in this case as Iokannan's counterpoint. The relevance of the young man's tragic action consisted in giving us a measure not only of the extent of his passion for the princess, but, more crucially, of her overwhelming allure. To do without the very brief yet tragic suicide scene was, therefore, to deprive the text of a core element in the characterisation of Salome's seductive, and hence destructive, power. Araújo's *Salomé* was less captivating, less dangerous and less powerful than Wilde's vision of his main character.

### **Complying with censorship**

The prohibition to publish references to suicide had been active since before the 1933 Constitution with which the Estado Novo formally began, and it would remain in place until the 1970s. In 1932 a regulation published by the *Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Censura* forbade references in publications to a number of themes and crimes, including those regarding 'suicídios, com excepção dos cometidos por criminosos reconhecidos e

como tal apresentados ao público.<sup>463</sup> A paragraph taken from the 1931 Decree Law number 20,431 prohibiting the description of cases of suicide committed by under eighteen year-olds was repeatedly added to documents over time, namely in 1961, when a number of new censorship guidelines concerning military issues in particular were issued ('Novas directivas gerais de censura'), and again eight years later, in the 1969 document 'Instruções gerais sobre a censura à imprensa'.<sup>464</sup> In 1972, another law determined that '[a]lém dos escritos ou imagens que integrem crimes punidos na lei penal não é permitida a publicação dos que: [...] e) Descrevam em termos pormenorizados e sensacionalistas casos de vadiagem, libertinagem, uso de estupefacientes, suicídio e crimes violentos'.<sup>465</sup> Since, as recalled by the journalist Manuel Ramos, '[l]oucos não havia. Eram suicídios, loucos e abortos. Nada,' to live in Portugal was not to live '[...] num país real, mas numa "Disneylandia" qualquer, sem escândalos, nem suicídios, nem verdadeiros problemas'.<sup>466</sup>

Different cases illustrate this particular restriction imposed upon plays. Francisco Ventura's *Filho Sozinho* (1937) was withdrawn from the 1938 contest for the selection of plays to be included in the repertoire of National Propaganda Secretariat's Teatro do Povo because it ended with a suicide.<sup>467</sup> A further example is a case parallel to the two broadcasts of *Salome*. References to suicide were kept in the 1946 version of Júlio Dantas's (1876-1962) *Antígona*, staged in the National Theatre, yet they were deleted in the 1966 radio broadcast of the play.<sup>468</sup> While in Alves Mendes' opinion 'a peça de Dantas só pôde ser encenada [in

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<sup>463</sup> Quoted in Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 37.

<sup>464</sup> Quoted in Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, pp. 45, 63.

<sup>465</sup> Decree Law no. 150/72, May 5, 1972, Article number 14, Paragraph number 1.

<sup>466</sup> Journalist Manuel Ramos, who worked in the daily *Jornal de Notícias* between 1956 and 1966. Quoted in Isabel Forte, *A censura de Salazar no Jornal de Notícias* (Coimbra: Edições Minerva, 2000), p. 130.

<sup>467</sup> João Florindo, *Francisco Ventura, um dramaturgo popular*, Master Thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (2009), p. 76.

<sup>468</sup> According to Alves Mendes, the play was approved with cuts by the Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (record number 8202, in Torre do Tombo). Considering further deletions made to the radiobroadcast version, Alves Mendes considered the latter a 'revisão domesticada da peça representada em 1946.' Inês Alves Mendes, *Do texto para o palco: Antígona no palco português do século XX (1946-1993)*, D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University (2011), p. 132.

1946] graças à breve conjuntura política do final da Segunda Guerra Mundial,<sup>469</sup> it is difficult to use the same argument to justify keeping the suicide in the version of *Salome* used by Maria João do Vale in a radio drama show broadcast three years after the end of the war.<sup>470</sup> The latter text not only kept the indications regarding the suicide given by the stage directions and the other two secondary characters, but also made the action more explicit to listeners through an added sentence attributed to the Young Syrian (my italics):

The Young Syrian	Princess, Princess, thou who art like a garden of myrrh, thou who art the dove of all doves, look not at thos man, look not at him! Do not speak such words to him. I cannot endure it... Princess, do not speak these things.
Salome	I will kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan.
The Young Syrian	Ah!

He kills himself, and falls between Salome and Iokanaan

The Page of Herodias	The young Syrian has slain himself! The young captain has slain himself! He has slain himself who was my friend! [...]
First Soldier	Princess, the young captain has just slain himself.
Salome	Suffer me to kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan.

1948:

O jovem sírio	Princesa, tu que és a pomba das pombas não olhes para este homem, não lhe digas essas coisas. Não posso suportá-las... <i>Prefiro morrer, e mato-me a teus pés.</i>
Sal	Iocanaã! Iocanaã!
O jovem sírio	Ah!

MATA-SE E CAI ENTRE SALOMÉ E IOCANAÃ

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<sup>469</sup> Inês Alves Mendes, *Do texto para o palco*, p. 132.

<sup>470</sup> Unlike *Salome*, the effects of the end of the war were also more significant for an intensely political play such as *Antígona*. See Inês Alves Mendes, *Do texto para o palco*.

O pagem de Herodiade O jovem capitão matou-se! [...]  
 Primeiro soldado      Princesa, o jovem capitão acaba de se matar!  
 Sal      Deixa-me beijar-te Iocanaã!<sup>471</sup>

The comparative analysis between the two translations confirms that '[t]hroughout the decades, the three main areas attracting the censors' attention never really changed, apart from shifts in emphasis according to the political moment [...]' and 'these were 'politics/ideology,' 'morality/sex' and 'religion.'<sup>472</sup> On the other hand, Maria João do Vale's version contrasts with the stricter compliance with censorship guidelines reflected in the 1971 text.

This might be surprising especially considering that 'a censura logo desde o início do governo de Marcelo Caetano começaria a dar mostras cabais de moderação, reflectindo de imediato as diferenças de estilo do novo chefe do governo.'<sup>473</sup> However, the so-called 'primavera Marcelista' (the 'political spring' that characterised the beginning of Marcelo Caetano's government) did not last long: '[a] partir de 1970 arrefece a expectativa de entusiasmo com que uma parte muito vasta da opinião recebera o acesso de Marcelo Caetano ao governo. Os milagres não aconteciam e os problemas continuavam.'<sup>474</sup>

In terms of censorship, '[a] partir de 1970, acompanhando a tendência geral de refluxo da liberalização de Caetano, registar-se-ia um certo recuo na linha de moderação da censura à imprensa iniciada em 1968,'<sup>475</sup> which explains Araújo's careful deletions in 1971,

<sup>471</sup> *Salomé*, 'Teatro,' 27.03.1948, p. 13; Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 73-4.

<sup>472</sup> Seruya, 'Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Regime,' p. 132.

<sup>473</sup> 'Censura,' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Barreto and Mónica, 7, p. 282.

<sup>474</sup> José Hermano Saraiva, 'O Estado Novo', in *História de Portugal*, dir. by José Hermano Saraiva, 6 (Lisbon: Alfa, 1983), pp. 135-166, p. 164. For further details see, in particular, *A Transição falhada*, coord. by Fernando Rosas (Lisboa: Editorial Notícias, 2004) and Fernando Rosas, 'O Marcelismo ou a falência da política de transição no Estado Novo,' in *Do Marcelismo ao fim do império*, coord. by J. M. Brandão de Brito (Lisboa: Editorial Notícias, 1999), pp. 49-51.

<sup>475</sup> 'Censura,' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, Barreto and Mónica, 7, p. 282.



as well as the 1972 reinforcement of the prohibition to mention suicide, amongst other subjects. In Azevedo's opinion, there were no 'mudanças substanciais na actuação da Censura durante o consulado de Marcelo Caetano, comparativamente ao tempo de Salazar, se bem que [...], pontualmente, em relação a alguns casos concretos, porventura entre os mais conhecidos, fosse então notório o propósito da Censura em corrigir algumas situações.'<sup>476</sup>

### **Maria João do Vale and Virgínia Victorino**

On the other hand, Maria João do Vale, or rather, Virgínia Victorino's status was such that she is likely to have had an exceptional degree of licence within the Emissora Nacional in the late 1940s. A very successful author and playwright, Victorino<sup>477</sup> was the 'mother' of radio drama in the Portuguese national broadcasting station. She was the key figure behind the beginning of the Emissora's regular broadcasting of radio drama in 1938, after accepting captain Henrique Galvão's invitation three years earlier and joining the station as a member of the jury of literary contests and of the Conselho Permanente de Programas ('permanent programme committee').<sup>478</sup>

An authoritarian woman, 'com uma noção invulgar na época sobre o que devia ser uma leitura interpretada na rádio,' Victorino created not only the programme *Teatro Radiofónico*, but also the first theatre company of the national broadcasting station. For

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<sup>476</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 136.

<sup>477</sup> Different dates are given for Virgínia Victorino's birth and death: according to the Chronological Dictionary of Authors (*Dicionário Cronológico de Autores*) she was born in 1898 and died in 1969; for the key literary critic of the time, João Gaspar Simões, Victorino was born in 1898 and died in 1967 - the dates given also by Eduardo Street (*Teatro Invisível*, p. 41); in Júlia Lelo's master thesis, the dates are 1895 and 1968; and the National Library publication about Victorino's literary estate give the years 1895-1967. As shall be noted further ahead, there is similar confusion concerning the dates of publication of her poetry books. See Simões, João Gaspar, *Perspectiva Histórica da Poesia Portuguesa* (Porto: Brasília Editora, 1976); Júlia Lelo, *Virgínia Victorino e a vocação do teatro: o percurso de um sucesso*, Masters Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (1993); and Biblioteca Nacional, *Espólio Virgínia Vitorino [Esp. N56]: inventário*, Lisboa, B.N., 1998.

<sup>478</sup> See Lelo, *Virgínia Victorino*; Biblioteca Nacional, *Espólio*, pp. III and 58, and Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 41.

Eduardo Street this fact alone speaks of Victorino's 'força dentro da EN'.<sup>479</sup> She was also responsible for the programme 'Recital de Poesia.' In Eduardo Street's expression, she was furthermore 'a primeira e uma das melhores intérpretes que o teatro invisível teve, e esta opinião coincide com a de dois actores que com ela trabalharam: Carmen Dolores e Canto e Castro'.<sup>480</sup> In keeping with the habit of taking part as an actress in the radio plays that she produced ('rara era a 6ª feira, às 22 horas, em que Virgínia Victorino não aparecesse no teatro radiofónico como a principal intérprete'),<sup>481</sup> in the 1948 episode of 'Teatro' Victorino was Salome herself.

She was equally very famous outside the EN, the name Maria João do Vale being a pseudonym used exclusively on the radio.<sup>482</sup> It identified only one part of the twofold personality, at once an actress, adaptor, and translator on the one hand, and a famous sonnet writer and playwright on the other. Virgínia Victorino was indeed a staple name in the Portuguese poetical and theatrical scene of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Pazos Alonso, she authored the most successful book of Portuguese women's poetry of the early 1920s, *Namorados*, which had fourteen editions in total.<sup>483</sup> She is, accordingly, one of the names that scholars researching the 1920s in Portugal most quote.<sup>484</sup>

Incidentally, while in 1948 her radio persona was responsible for Wilde's *Salome*, twenty-five years earlier, Virgínia Victorino, the poet, published her own homonymous sonnet. Her 'Salomé' was part of the collection *Apaixonadamente* ('Amorously'), first

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<sup>479</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 93.

<sup>480</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, pp. 47, 93-4.

<sup>481</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 94.

<sup>482</sup> Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 94.

<sup>483</sup> Cláudia Pazos Alonso, *Imagens do eu na poesia de Florbela Espanca* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1997), p. 27 and following. Cláudia Pazos Alonso draws attention to the fact that Gaspar Simões, in *História da Poesia do Século XX*, as well as many critics after him, give the year 1918 as the publication date of Victorino's *Namorados*, which Alonso claims to have published in 1920 (Pazos Alonso, *Imagens do eu*, p. 27, n.46). Júlia Lelo, on the other hand, claims that it was first published in 1921 (Lelo, *Virgínia Victorino*, p. I). António Ferro's review of the book, 'Um livro de versos. 'Namorados,' por Virginia Vitorino' was published in *Diário de Lisboa*, no. 34, on May 16 1921, p. 2 (quoted in <http://antonioferro.wordpress.com/2012/04/04/critica-a-namorados-de-virginia-victorino/>)

<sup>484</sup> See list in Pazos Alonso, *Imagens do eu*, p. 33.

published in 1923 and so popular with the public that it had a sixth edition, which came out in 1945 (after the first five were published within one year of the first edition, according to the National Library publication on Victorino's works).<sup>485</sup>

Despite the negative opinion that current critics have of her now long forgotten poetry,<sup>486</sup> her publications had consistent commercial success at the time, and some reviews, including foreign ones, were very laudatory. In a 1923 review of *Apaixonadamente* which came out in the literary magazine *Mercure de France*, Victorino was placed alongside some of the greatest female authors of Portuguese and foreign poetry known thus far:

La poésie portugaise n'est-elle pas tour à tour élegie et satire? Et qui donc, après Bernardin, après João de Deus, après Camoens lui-même, a su retrouver là-bas le secret de la pure et poignante élegie d'amour, sinon Virginia Victorino, qui, pour nous dire sa peine ardente, semble continuer en vers les Lettres de la Religieuse?

Sous le titre bien significatif de *Passionnement*, elle nous offre aujourd'hui la suite de ses déjà célèbres *Namorados*, et il n'y a que Marceline Desbordes-Valmore ou Elisabeth Barrett Browning qui pourraient lui être comparées. Chez elle tout est simplicité, sincérité, pur élan de cœur; elle se donne toute, comme un rameau résineux et parfumé, au feu qui l'embrasse, et elle n'a pas besoin de raffinement pour nous séduire; car son livre est une confession.<sup>487</sup>

Included in the 1923 *Apaixonadamente* was Victorino's own take on the subject of the play that Maria João do Vale was to broadcast in 1948. In the sonnet, Victorino decided to focus on the particular moment of the dance, which takes centre stage in Wilde's text

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<sup>485</sup> Biblioteca Nacional, *Espólio*, pp. 25-39. For Lelo, the 5th edition, in 1924, was the last one (Lelo, *Virgínia Victorino*).

<sup>486</sup> See Pazos Alonso, *Imagens do eu*, o. 27 and following.

<sup>487</sup> Ph. Lebesgue, 'Lettres Portugaises', *Mercure de France*, 606, Year 34 (15.09.1923), 825-829 (p. 828).

but is conveyed by no more than a (notoriously) vague indication.<sup>488</sup> The exclusive attention paid by the Portuguese sonnet to the figure of Salome as she performs her seductive dance, thus becoming ‘Deusa do Ritmo’ (‘goddess of rhythm’),<sup>489</sup> in Victorino’s expression, anachronistically fills in the empty space left by Wilde’s/Maria João do Vale’s significantly elusive comment ‘Salome dances the dance of the seven veils’ (‘Salomé dança a dança dos sete véus’).<sup>490</sup>

It also confirms that, in sharp contrast to Leopoldo Araújo’s 1971 version and, moreover, to Eugénio de Castro’s poem therein included, Victorino, a lesbian according to Eduardo Street,<sup>491</sup> was not afraid of engaging with depictions of powerful feminine seduction. Characterised by ‘sinestesia e movimento’,<sup>492</sup> her Salomé is the energetic (‘ergue-se toda e logo cai, de joelhos’; ‘E corre sempre!’) and intensely seductive image of a woman who causes fire flames to faint (‘Desmaiam chamas...’) as her ‘corpo já não anda, esvoaça / Sobre os tapetes flácidos, vermelhos....’<sup>493</sup>

### The Irish Nora

Maria João do Vale/Virgínia Victorino was responsible not only for the broadcast of the largest number of plays by women authors, including Agatha Christie, Dorothy Parker, Elsa Larronde, Suzzanne Malard, Selma Lagerlöf and Esther Hawley, but also for several radio performances of works depicting strong female characters besides Wilde’s Salome, namely Elisa in John Steinbeck’s ‘The Chrysanthemums,’ broadcast in 1951, and

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<sup>488</sup> The fact that the dance is also at the epicentre of Flaubert’s short story ‘Hérodias’ (1874), suggests a possible influence from the French short story.

<sup>489</sup> Victorino, ‘Salomé,’ quoted in Morão, *Salomé e outros mitos*, p. 254.

<sup>490</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, in *The importance of being Earnest and other Plays*, p. 85, and *Salomé*, ‘Teatro,’ 27.03.1948, p. 21.

<sup>491</sup> ‘A sua vida privada que hoje não seria (?) fonte de conversas, provocava histórias de humor fácil, sorrisos duvidosos que a afectavam. Com poucas pessoas tinha alguma intimidade. Uma quadra de Silva Tavares e [sic] que correu pelos corredores da EN, [sic] traduz a mentalidade da época: ‘Virgínia que aberração / Como podes gostar disso / Tu só comes pão com pão / havendo pão com chouriço.’ Street, *Teatro Invisível*, p. 41.

<sup>492</sup> Morão, *Salomé e outros mitos*, p. 36.

<sup>493</sup> Victorino, ‘Salomé,’ quoted in Morão, *Salomé e outros mitos*, p. 254.

and Ibsen's Nora, broadcast also in the 1950s.<sup>494</sup> Considering not only the regime's strictness in terms of moral standards, but also the fact that in 1936 in England Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, 'was adjudged pernicious because Nora's final reasons for leaving set a bad example,'<sup>495</sup> probing into the translation used in Emissora Nacional by Maria João do Vale in the 1950s would be a very interesting exercise. Yet, the text does not seem to have survived and the only record of its existence is a list of titles of plays broadcasting held by the archives.

One other Nora, however, was not granted authorization to join Maria João do Vale's powerful women on the 'invisible stage.' John Millington Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* (first performed in 1903), translated as *A Sombra da Ravina* by Leandro Vale, was not allowed to be performed on the 'Rádio Teatro' programme merely three months after TEP's (Teatro Experimental do Porto, Oporto's Experimental Theatre) staging of the play in January 1963.<sup>496</sup> The RTP archive does not hold a report regarding this particular script. However, a play about a woman who decides to leave her husband for a wandering tramp was likely to be considered unsuitable for the national airwaves of a country where

[t]he 1940 Concordat between the Estado Novo and the Vatican made divorce impossible for couples married in the Catholic Church. [...] Normative images of sexual and social relations emphasized the natural complementarity of gender roles and the primacy of procreation as the only justification of the couple. The legal treatment of adultery effectively licensed men to murder adulterous wives, in so far

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<sup>494</sup> This is not a script, but rather an entry in a list of works broadcast by the Emissora. In the Emissora's written archive several books can be found which are solely composed of such lists.

<sup>495</sup> Drakakis, 'The Essence,' p. 117.

<sup>496</sup> Translated by Deniz Jacinto, the play had been granted permission in 1961 by the censorship services to be performed by Círculo de Cultura Teatral (or TEP) and by Centro de Desporto Cultura e Recreio do Pessoal dos CTT (the Mail Services Staff Centre for Sport, Culture and Leisure), also in Porto, in 1968.

as the maximum sentence for killing a wife under these circumstances was three months banishment from a man's home province.<sup>497</sup>

Unlike the case of the two performances of *Salome*, where preventive self-censorship, particularly in the 1971 script, disfigured Wilde's text in order to make it conform to the dominant ideological framework and to censorship restrictions, the script of *A Sombra da Ravina* bears evidence of objections raised in the context of the institutional scrutiny of play texts prior to their broadcast. Different excerpts are underlined by hand throughout the script, thus revealing the criticism that they attracted. On one particular occasion, the issue was the disrespect for the Church implicit in Nora's words (underlining according to the script):

TRAMP [...] And I was thinking, and I coming in through the door, that it's many a lone woman would be afeard of the like of me in the dark night, in a place wouldn't be so lonesome as this place, where there aren't two living souls would see the little light you have shining from the glass.

NORA {Slowly.} I'm thinking many would be afeard, but I never knew what way I'd be afeard of beggar or bishop or any man of you at all. {She looks towards the window and lowers her voice.} It's other things than the like of you, stranger, would make a person afeard.

Vagabundo [...] E pensava, quando entrei a porta, que muitas mulheres teriam medo de um rapagão como eu, na noite escura, ainda que fosse num lugar menos solitário do que este, onde não há duas almas viventes que vejam a luzinha que brilha por detrás da sua janela.

Nora Parece-me que algumas teriam medo. Mas eu, eu nunca soube o que fosse ter medo de mendigos, de bispos, ou de qualquer outro homem...

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<sup>497</sup> Hilary Owen, *Portuguese Women's Writing 1972 to 1986. Reincarnations of a Revolution* (Lewiston: The Edwin Meller Press, 2000), p. 5.

Quem mete medo às pessoas, estrangeiro, não são os homens decididos como vocemecê.<sup>498</sup>

Yet, the main objections were to references of a sexual nature, particularly when made by Nora:

NORA {Looking uneasily at the body.} Maybe cold would be no sign of death with the like of him, for he was always cold, every day since I knew him,—and every night, stranger [...]

Nora Pode bem ser que num homem como ele nem mesmo o frio provasse que está morto; porque frio foi-o ele sempre, todos os dias, desde que o conheci... e todas as noites estrangeiro [...]<sup>499</sup>

- as well as allusions to Nora's extra-marital relationships:

TRAMP {Pointing to Micheal.} Maybe himself would take her.

NORA What would he do with me now?

TRAMP Give you the half of a dry bed, and good food in your mouth.

Vagabundo Talvez o pastor queira tomar conta dela patrão...

Nora Que havia ele de fazer de mim agora?

Vagabundo Podia dar-vos metade duma cama seca, e qualquer coisa para enganar a fome.<sup>500</sup>

The play's depiction of Nora stood in complete contradiction to the Estado Novo's image of the angel-like wife whose (submissive) role was as important for the family as Salazar's was for the country:

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<sup>498</sup> *A sombra da ravina*, 'Rádio Teatro,' 15.04.1963, p. 3.

<sup>499</sup> *A sombra da ravina*, 'Rádio Teatro,' 15.04.1963, p. 2.

<sup>500</sup> *A sombra da ravina*, 'Rádio Teatro,' 15.04.1963, p. 11.

Salazar quis governar Portugal como vós quereis governar a vossa casa: com família unida e forte. Salazar quer Portugal livre e independente como vós quereis a vossa casa: sem a intromissão de estranhos impertinentes. Vós quereis, em vossa casa, a família unida em volta do chefe, Salazar quer a mesma coisa nesta ‘Pequena Casa Lusitana.’<sup>501</sup>

Nora’s infidelity and eventual abandonment of her home conveyed disregard for the patriarchal matrix promoted by the regime. Against an ideal of a Catholic inspired family ‘representada como uma genuína unidade de virtudes morais e um modelo a atingir,’<sup>502</sup> Nora and Daniel Burke’s difficult and loveless marriage was deemed unacceptable.

Besides images that contradicted the regime’s perception of ideal woman, the cases of *A sombra da ravina* and *Salomé* share the fact that in the EN, the Portuguese names behind these plays were pseudonyms. As indicated in the expense sheet of *Uma noite igual a tantas* (a play about a Christmas Eve written by Leandro Vale for radio), ‘Leandro Vale’ was the pen name of Leandro Marques Dinis Júnior (b. 1940).<sup>503</sup> In the archives the pseudonym is associated not only with the translation and adaptation of a number of plays, but also with the largest number of plays the broadcast of which was not authorised.

Such was the case, in 1971, of his adaptation of Calderón de la Barca’s *A vida é um sonho*, and Leandro Vale’s own *Uma noite igual a tantas*. The latter’s broadcast in the

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<sup>501</sup> Quoted by Gameiro, ‘Uma nova visão da família,’ p. 358.

<sup>502</sup> ‘Família’, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, org. by Barreto and Mónica, vol. 8, pp. 19-21(p.19).

<sup>503</sup> Dinis Júnior, who was a candidate at a local government election, was 61 years old in 2001, according to the webpage created in the context of that election. ‘Candidatos,’ <http://www.pcp.pt/autarquias2001/candidatos/vimioso.html> (first accessed in October 2011).



programme 'Rádio Teatro' was scheduled for December 27, 1971, however it was not allowed because the play was considered to be 'realmente muito fraca.'<sup>504</sup>

While Leandro Vale further authored, amongst other volumes, *Cuba: uma ilha de paz*, published around 1995 by Editora Erasmós, Leandro Dinis Júnior is a name currently linked to the Portuguese Communist Party, and to the theatre company Teatro em Movimento, 'uma companhia de descentralização teatral, criada em 1980 [...] responsável, desde o seu início, pela organização do Encontro Internacional de Teatro de Torre de Moncorvo [...]'.<sup>505</sup> Despite the fact that the Emissora's 'orientação política era assegurada por um grande controlo sobre todos aqueles que falavam ao microfone e que na sua maioria perfilhavam os ideais do Estado Novo,' cases such as that of Leandro Vale can be regarded as signs that the national radio station was not as politically homogeneous as might be expected. Further research might however find it necessary to establish a difference between a case like his and that of people who 'passaram pela estação oficial [e] que se transformariam em futuros dissidentes, como Humberto Delgado e Maria Lamas, além do próprio Henrique Galvão, que entraria em ruptura com o regime já depois da sua saída da Emissora Nacional.'<sup>506</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, in tune with its status as 'voz do regime,' the Emissora was characterised by several mechanisms of ideological control, which need to be taken into account in order to understand the ideologically motivated textual shifts found in translated plays. On the other hand, this section has equally revealed that in spite of the different control strategies employed, the Portuguese national radio station was not immune to political tension and ideological dissonance. The scene has been set for further

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<sup>504</sup> More detailed reasons for the rejection are given in the report, which, despite the unclear handwriting, seem to be linked to the way the subject of the play was explored. *Uma noite igual a tantas*, 'Rádio Teatro,' 27.12.1971, Folha de Pareceres.

<sup>505</sup> 'Teatro em Movimento,' <http://teatroemmovimento.wordpress.com/teatro-em-movimento/>, (first accessed in October 2011).

<sup>506</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, pp. 304-5.

discussions, namely regarding the rejection of particular play texts and the participation by members of the political opposition in the EN drama programmes. The link between this question and the issue of the translator's condition is an additional avenue for further research that stands out.

Criteria conditioning the process of recruitment of staff represented an attempt to ensure political affinity amongst those working for the station. This is the justification for the claim made by a recent publication that no prior censorship of texts was performed within the station.<sup>507</sup> The chapter has, however, challenged this assumption and argued that reports sanctioning drama scripts prior to broadcasting are indeed evidence of institutional prior censorship. They further reveal the complex and multi-phased process through which a play needed to go through before being approved for broadcasting. Involving many different people who could intervene in the text in different ways, such a process is a reflection of the importance that the ideologically conditioned selection of employees had at a textual level.

Even though episodes found in the written archive whose broadcast was not authorised are, paradoxically, not accompanied by a report, particular objections are identifiable in Synge's *A sombra da ravina*. While a more detailed and thorough understanding of this particular play needs to be gained, namely by comparing this version of the text with that approved by censorship for stage productions, marked lines in Synge's EN version were a result, and evidence, of institutional censorial strategies. They stand in contrast with deletions of sensitive paratextual elements made to Wilde's *Salome* before the script was submitted for approval, and which the chapter claims to have been the product of self-censorship - a form of ideological manipulation which is further illustrated in the following chapter.

Both plays provide examples of images of women censored at a textual level. While references to Nora's sexuality were considered problematic and most likely led to the

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<sup>507</sup> See *A Nossa telefonia – 75 anos de Rádio Pública*.

rejection of the script, different lines with similarly sexual connotations were omitted in Wilde's translations, thus creating a softened image of Salome. Differences between the latter plays concerning omissions have however emerged. In the 1970s translation, the toning down of Salome's depiction as a powerfully seductive woman, in particular, was reinforced through further compliance with censorship restrictions regarding references to suicide.

The contrast between the two broadcasts can be explained not only by the fact that censorship guidelines remained generally unaltered after Marcelo Caetano succeeded Salazar, but equally by Virgínia Victorino's status within the Emissora. It further suggests that the corpus of rewritings composed by the national station's drama broadcasts can make a significant contribution towards the study of the different impact of censorship over time.

## 5. Translation and the war

*In war, truth is the first casualty*<sup>508</sup>.

Following the more general considerations about different programmes and episodes in the previous chapters, the purpose of this section is to provide a more in-depth analysis of one play in particular. The previous chapters have shown how aspects of the regime's ideological framework motivated and were reflected by the use of translated plays in drama programmes broadcast by the Portuguese national radio station. The detailed analysis offered by this chapter, as well as as the next, brings together all three levels of decision at which manipulation occurred.

The chapter approaches the issue of ideology by investigating how the selection of the play, its presentation and the textual shifts that can be identified therein work together to produce the broadcast of a translated play that functioned as a commentary on critical aspects of life in Portugal at the time of broadcast. Choices made at the preliminary, paratextual and textual levels are examined against not only the American and French source texts of the translation in question, but, crucially, against the socio-historical background of the time. A contextualised interpretation of the choice of text, the

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<sup>508</sup> Attributed to Aeschylus (525 BC - 456 BC).

identification of the function and impact of paratextual elements, and the foregrounding of particularly meaningful translational choices are thus enabled.

The aim is not to reconstruct ‘the translational norms and strategies at a given moment in history,’<sup>509</sup> but rather to demonstrate the connection between core dominant ideas and ideals and the translated play in question. Representativeness, therefore, is not a major concern.<sup>510</sup> The plays under scrutiny in this and in the following chapter were chosen for analysis because of the relationship that they seemed to establish with the target context, given the themes that they explore and the socio-historical moment in which they were broadcast. This section focuses on Robert Ardrey’s *Thunder Rock*, broadcast by the EN less than two years after the beginning of the colonial war.

After considering the original American play, the Chapter begins by establishing the source text of the Portuguese version. While the Portuguese translator is unknown, relevant similarities with and differences between the two texts are further discussed. A study of the numerous manipulative strategies used in the translation illustrates how several devices identified in the previous chapters were employed. Their impact is interpreted by taking into account the precise historical moment in which the broadcast took place – and with which it engaged, namely the context of the early years of the Portuguese colonial war.

### **Robert Ardrey’s *Thunder Rock***

To be broadcast in Eurico Lisboa filho’s programme ‘Teatro dos Nossos Dias’, plays needed to have been recently produced or to be considered modern. For Lisboa filho, the latter quality of a work could be conveyed in a number of ways, provided that it brought to the dramatic art ‘something new’ (‘o que faz que hoje chamemos moderna a uma peça de teatro é o trazer-nos qualquer coisa de novo’).<sup>511</sup> The novelty could be introduced either by the ideas, the language, the process of telling the ‘conflict,’ the

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<sup>509</sup> Van Doorslaer, ‘Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Corpus Selection in Translation Studies,’ *TTR*, 7:2 (1995), 245-60 (p. 246).

<sup>510</sup> For further details see in particular Van Doorslaer, ‘Quantitative and Qualitative.’

<sup>511</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 1.

‘conflict’ itself, or the subject. The broadcast of Robert Ardrey’s 1939 *Thunder Rock* in 1962 was meant to illustrate a ‘modern subject,’ even though Lisboa justified this opinion by referring to the strategies used by the playwright, rather than the content of the play: ‘a inovação está em dar-nos o mundo imaginário que um homem profundamente interiorizado, cria.’<sup>512</sup>

The imaginary world of the protagonist of this play set in America in 1939 is the main device created by Ardrey to convey the work’s anti-isolationist ideas. After quitting his job as a reporter, disillusioned David Charleston moves to a deserted island in Lake Michigan to take up the post of lighthouse keeper. Leading the solitary life he had wished for and with no one to talk to, he imagines that he shares the island with a small community made up of people he had read about in a bronze memorial tablet found on the lighthouse wall: the captain and some of the passengers (European emigrants) of a ship that had wrecked near the island in 1849.

The play takes place on two different days, a month apart, both of which are the dates of the monthly visit by Charleston’s inspector, Flanning. On the first visit, Flanning arrives on the island with Charleston’s old friend and colleague Streeter, and on the second day he has come to take Charleston away. In the meantime, different conversations take place that determine Charleston’s radical change. The first of these, which occurs on the first day, is a discussion about the state of the world with his old friend Streeter, who had just decided to go to China to fly military planes in the Second Sino-Japanese War. This is the beginning of a process whereby Charleston will be shown by his imaginary friends that ‘[w]e’ve reason to believe that wars will cease one day, but only if we stop them ourselves. Get into it to get out of it [...]. Problems can only be solved by doing them.’<sup>513</sup> As a result, Charleston finally decides to stop hiding from the world and leaves the island.

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<sup>512</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 1.

<sup>513</sup> Robert Ardrey, *Thunder Rock. A Play in Three Acts*, in *The Five Plays of 1940*, Robert Ardrey (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1940), p. 126.

An adaptation of this play for a different medium had made Ardrey's work famous elsewhere before being broadcast in the EN. After a poor reception in New York, in November 1939, where 'Robert Ardrey found himself characterized as a thoughtful, interesting writer who just could not quite make the grade theatrically,'<sup>514</sup> the play was performed to great acclaim in London, where in June 1940 it was staged with the secret financial support of the Ministry of Information. Two years later, in 1942, a film adaptation with Michael Redgrave as David Charleston was made by the Boulting Brothers: the twins John and Roy Boulting (1913-1985 and 1913-2001). The British film directors, who finished the film while on special leave from the RAF and the Royal Armoured Corps, respectively, had already attracted attention in 1940 with the propaganda film *Pastor Hall*. The anti-Nazi stance of the latter was further reinforced by *Thunder Rock*, which included a 'long addition to the play, which is a montage intermingling the fictional Charleston's career in the 1930s with the actual events of that decade, and especially the rise of Fascism in Europe.'<sup>515</sup> *Thunder Rock*, in which the brothers were 'seeking to capitalize upon the prevalent mood of disillusion with the policy of appeasement and all it stood for,'<sup>516</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> Gerald Bordman, *American Theatre: A Chronicle of Comedy and Drama, 1930-1969*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 185. In New York the play was produced by the experimental group Group Theatre, in 1939.

<sup>515</sup> Julian Petley, 'The pilgrim's regress: the politics of the Boultings' films,' in *The Family Way. The Boulting Brothers and Postwar British Film Culture*, ed. by Alan Burton, Tim O'Sullivan and Paul Wells (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), pp. 15-34, p. 16.

<sup>516</sup> Anthony Aldgate, 'Signs of the Times: *Thunder Rock*,' in *Britain Can Take It: The British Cinema in the Second World War*, Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994, pp. 180-81) quoted in James Chapman, 'Why We Fight: *Pastor Hall* and *Thunder Rock*,' in *The Family Way. The Boulting Brothers and Postwar British Film Culture*, ed. by Alan Burton, Tim O'Sullivan and Paul Wells (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), p. 81-96 (p. 91). Two contradictory opinions about the film's success are expressed in the volume *The Family Way*. According to Laurie Ede, of the Boulting brothers' films '[o]nly *Thunder Rock* appeared in the *Kinematograph Weekly* "box-office winners" lists.' On the other hand, Andrew Spicer's opinion is that '*Thunder Rock*'s inspiring message, Redgrave's admired performance and the film's sophisticated visual style made it a middle-class favourite, a *succès d'estime*, rather than a box-office winner.' Laurie Ede, 'High reason: the Boultings meet the ghost of Matthew Arnold,' in *The Family Way. The Boulting Brothers and Postwar British Film Culture*, ed. by Alan Burton, Tim O'Sullivan and Paul Wells (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), pp. 35-47 (p. 38) and Andrew Price, 'Misfits and the marginalised: gender in the Boultings' feature films' in *The Family Way. The Boulting Brothers and Postwar British Film Culture*, ed. by Alan Burton, Tim O'Sullivan and Paul Wells (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), pp. 68-80 (p. 69).

became, together with *Pastor Hall*, one of the most famous anti-Nazi propaganda films of the time.

In Portugal, the film *O farol das ilusões* was shown for the first time in Lisbon's Coliseu on June 1, 1947.<sup>517</sup> In 1964, two years after the EN performance, a translation by Cezar Augusto was broadcast by RTP.<sup>518</sup> The radio version was not, however, based on the English language text, but rather on a French translation of the play. While to establish the source text of a translation is a pre-condition of the comparative method of describing translations, in this case the exercise proves to be fruitful for an additional reason; shifts in the French translation not only provide part of the explanation for the Portuguese translational choices, but also create a contrastive backdrop that contributes to their understanding.

### *La Tour d'Ivoire*

Although the title of the 53<sup>rd</sup> 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' episode was "A Torre de Marfim" de Robert Ardrey,<sup>5</sup> a number of linguistic aspects distinguished the Portuguese text from the English language play, suggesting an intermediary language had been used. The central place that the French drama magazine *L'Avant-Scène* occupied not only in Lisboa filho's work but in Portugal in general as a provider of play texts and theatre-related news, as discussed in the Chapter Three, meant that it was the obvious place to look for the source text of *A Torre de Marfim*. Lisboa had used the publication on several other occasions.

One such instance was the 51<sup>st</sup> episode of 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias,' broadcast on October 10, 1962, shortly before *A Torre de Marfim* was performed in the same programme.

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<sup>517</sup> According to Videoteca archival data in Lisbon.

<sup>518</sup> Record PT-TT-SNI-DGE-1-7704, Archives of the Commission for Examining and Classifying Performances / SNI (Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. There are no records for either the publication (in the digital database of the National Library) or the performance (in the CETbase database) of a Portuguese version of the play.



An unidentified quotation from Paul-Louis Mignon by Eurico Lisboa filho proved to be a commentary by the French critic regarding the play *Le vélo devant la porte*, published alongside the play itself in 1960 in number 211 of *L'Avant-Scène*. In spite of the fact that Lisboa filho is not likely to have been the author of *A Torre de Marfim*, the coincidence of titles alone suggests that the text is a translation of the French *La Tour d'Ivoire*, which appeared in the same French periodical in 1958. The fact that the script fails to name the author of the translation suggests that it is very likely that it was done by someone else other than the drama professor. This was, in fact, a rare case of negligence on the part of Lisboa filho, who was in the habit of naming the translator and the adaptor of the plays presented in his programmes, including when he himself fulfilled the roles, which was often.

The translator was equally ignored by *L'Avant-Scène*, whose *La Tour d'Ivoire* was Jean Mercure's adaptation of Ardrey's play, which had been used in the October 1958 performance directed by Eugénie Mondovi at the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens. The EN script makes no direct reference to the journal, but a host of choices present in the French version, apart from the title, are mirrored throughout. When, for instance, the French translates 'a radio can be man's best friend' as 'la T.S.F. peut devenir le meilleur ami de l'homme,' and '[t]hat's right' as '[c]'est exact,'<sup>519</sup> the Portuguese translation presents very similar choices, both syntactically and lexically: 'a T.S.F. pode tornar-se o melhor amigo do homem,' and the unidiomatic '[é] exacto.'<sup>520</sup> Similarly, 'you're a problem' and 'how much do I owe you?,' which in French became '[v]ous êtes une énigme!' and '[j]e te dois de l'argent... Combien?,' read in Portuguese 'Charleston, você é um enigma!' and '[o]uve uma coisa: eu devo-te dinheiro... Quanto?'<sup>521</sup>

Two cases of handwritten corrections made to the Portuguese text further confirm that unidiomatic expressions were the result of interference from French: Inspector

<sup>519</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 6 and *Ardrey, La tour d'ivoire*, trans. by [n.n.], *L'Avant-Scène* (1958), p. 10.

<sup>520</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 2 and p. 4.

<sup>521</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 21 and p. 22 and *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 12.

Flanning's assertion that he is 'old enough' to be Charleston's father reads in French 'Je suis assez vieux pour être votre père' and in Portuguese, before being corrected, 'Eu sou bastante velho para poder ser seu pai.'<sup>522</sup> Placed before 'velho', the pre-adjectival position of the adverb 'bastante' is the same as that of 'assez,' but as a consequence the expression means 'I am quite old' and not 'old enough.'<sup>523</sup> A few lines below the French word 'carnet' is crossed out by hand and replaced by the Portuguese 'agenda,' none of which is as unspecified as the English term used, 'thing.' The initial sentence in Portuguese was '[f]az-me o favor de guardares esse carnet,' which corresponded to the French '[f]ais mois le plaisir de débarasser ma table et de rentrer ce carnet!' and to the English '[c]lear this junk off my table and put that thing away.'<sup>524</sup>

The Portuguese text can also be seen to follow the French one when, on several other occasions, the latter text is more explicit than the American one, namely in terms of the meaning not of a particular word but of a whole attitude or intention. As he implicitly tries to stir the interest of his friend Charleston, who, according to the stage directions, 'listens attentively, but without apparent reaction,' Flanning lists a number of current problems in the world and ends by saying '[i]t's drama, my boy, sheer stark drama.'<sup>525</sup> In both the French and the Portuguese text, this moment is used to offer a more explicit rendition of Flanning's ultimate intention:

Flanning      C'est un drame, mon garçon, un drame bouleversant dans lequel nous vivons. Et vous voulez me faire croire que ça ne vous intéresse pas?

<sup>522</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 12 and *A Torre de Marfim*; 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 4.

<sup>523</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 19; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 12 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 4.

<sup>524</sup> The fact that the Portuguese version eliminates the reference to the table made by Charleston in this sentence was probably due to the fact that it had so far only been mentioned in the stage directions. It was merely a prop that was not noticeable or relevant for the radio broadcast. *Thunder Rock*, p. 23; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 13 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 4.

<sup>525</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 20.

Flanning Mas é em todo o caso um drama apaixonante. [...] Você quer convencer-me que nada disto o interessa?<sup>526</sup>

Shifts in the French text such as the addition of small details and the deletion of some elements from the English language text are also reflected in the Portuguese version. Two examples of added elements are the references to the composer Richard Wagner (included as an extra example given by Charleston of very successful people contemporaneous with his imaginary friends),<sup>527</sup> and to the Munich Pact (added to the description of the 1933 book that that accurately predicted the 1930s in Europe and that Flanning is trying to make Charleston read).<sup>528</sup> The reference to England in Flanning's summary of the book, deleted in French, is also left out of the Portuguese text.<sup>529</sup>

### **An antidote to defeat**

Underlying both versions was the aim was to domesticate the play, in order to enable a more contemporary and target culture-oriented reading of it. More than one decade after being interpreted in the 1940s as anti-isolationist in the United States and anti-Nazi in England, in France the play was considered to be 'anti-discouragement.' Thirteen years after the end of the war, the emphasis ceased to be placed upon the conflict and was shifted to notions much more relevant to mid-century France. According to one critic's opinion following the performance by the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens in October 1958:

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<sup>526</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 12 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 4.

<sup>527</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 95; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 26 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 14.

<sup>528</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 45; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 16 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 8.

<sup>529</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 45; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 16 and *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 8.

[l]a pièce de Robert Ardrey [...] enseigne aux intellectuels de gauche à ne pas se laisser aller au découragement, à ne pas abandonner leurs recherches et leurs combats en faveur d'un progrès scientifique et social infini, à ne pas céder à leur fatigue, à l'incompréhension, voire à l'hostilité qui les entourent.<sup>530</sup>

In a later and very different social context, the Portuguese audience was similarly offered an interpretation of Ardrey's play centred on the need to, in another French critic's words, '[se] garder de la tentation du désespoir.' The idea was echoed by Eurico Lisboa filho's introduction, where through the voice of the added narrator he depicted Ardrey's play as 'uma sólida argumentação contra o derrotismo para que muitos se sentem tentados.'<sup>531</sup> The similar sense of despair notwithstanding, in Portugal it concerned social issues which were very different from the French ones a few years earlier. The Portuguese version played down the importance that its source text attached to scientific and social progress. On the one hand, scientific development was not as relevant for the Portuguese context in 1962. On the other hand, there was a need to comply with censorship guidelines, which were particularly sensitive to references to religion and to 'aspectos económicos e sociais, capazes de reflectirem [...] a luta de classes.'<sup>532</sup>

Charleston      Have the vision to look ahead. See a world where science is a new religion! See America, your adopted land, where the poor go to school with the rich! [...]

Charleston      Faites violence à votre imagination, bon Dieu! Essayez d'entrevoir un monde où la science est une religion nouvelle! En Amérique, votre pays d'adoption, les pauvres vont à l'école avec les riches! [...]

<sup>530</sup> Paul Morelle's criticism quoted at the back of the play in *L'Avant-Scène (La tour d'ivoire*, p. 34).

<sup>531</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 1.

<sup>532</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 121.

Charleston      Façam um esforço sobre a imaginação! Procurem antever um mundo  
em que a ciência a todos deslumbra, onde todos aprendem a ler  
[...]<sup>533</sup>

‘Derrotismo’ was undoubtedly to be fought against. Described as ‘inimigo da unidade moral da Nação,’<sup>534</sup> it constituted a further example of a concept deemed unacceptable by the regime, especially during periods of war: António Ramos de Almeida’s *A Sinfonia da Guerra*, for instance, had been forbidden in 1940 because, amongst other reasons, it was considered to be a ‘livro de versos derrotistas, contra a guerra.’ In 1966, when in Portugal ‘war’ was synonymous with the independence struggles in Africa, the circulation of Urbano Tavares Rodrigues’s *Imitação da Felicidade* was ‘rigorously forbidden’ because it was ‘dissolvente, derrotista e corrosivo do espírito militar, portanto anti-nacional.’<sup>535</sup>

When Ardrey’s play was broadcast by the Emissora in November 1962, the notion of spirit of defeat had additional connotations. There were many reasons at that time to give in to what the *status quo* would call ‘derrotismo,’ or a pessimistic outlook. The present tense used in the expression ‘para que muitos se sentem tentados’ is an eloquent translation of the opportune relevance of the play’s anti-defeatism message. The regime was under threat in ways more than one, both literally and metaphorically.

It had only been one year after what is commonly considered the *annus horribilis* for Salazar’s regime (1961), which had started with the capture by political exiles of the liner Santa Maria in January, followed by the beginning of the Angolan independence war in March and the attempted *coup d’état* by the Minister of Defence, General Botelho Moniz in the following month, and had ended with the invasion and annexation of the Portuguese

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<sup>533</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 97; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 26 and *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 14.

<sup>534</sup> In the statutes of the ‘legionaries’. See Reis Torgal, *Estado Novos*, II, pp. 241-242.

<sup>535</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 169 and 172.

territories in India, Goa, Daman and Diu, by the Indian Union, in December. These incidents had furthermore contributed to a new military uprising in Beja in January 1962, and, in the Spring, to numerous strikes and demonstrations by university students, as well as demonstrations against the regime by the population in general.

In 1962, as the war in Angola progressed, the United Nations and the United States continued to push Portugal to make changes to its colonial policy, whilst preparations for independence wars went ahead in the other colonies: both the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front) and Frente de Luta pela Independência Nacional da Guiné (Front for the Liberation and Independence of Guinea-Bissau) were created in that year. This was a time for the radicalization of youth groups, as well as the beginning of clandestine broadcasts by anti-regime radio stations, such as Rádio Voz da Liberdade, based in Algiers.<sup>536</sup>

Almost two years after the beginning of the war in Africa, ‘derrotismo’ referred to the fear that Portugal might not win the colonial struggle, which was about to be multiplied by the other territories, but above all it resonated deeply with the vulnerability of the regime, whose very existence was being menaced: ‘afigura-se que se está perante a falência de uma política, o esbarrondar das instituições, o estertor de um regime. Entre muitos homens do Estado Novo e da oposição são dados seis meses de vida ao governo de Salazar.’<sup>537</sup> Ardrey’s play was thus an encouraging answer to the mood that characterised the country that year:

[...] correm notícias de que o dia 1 de Maio de 1962 será assinalado por tumultos violentos, atentados, incidentes pelo país. [...] Persiste um sentimento de mal-estar, e alguns incidentes menores vêm a produzir-se, salvo em Aljustrel, onde se registam

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<sup>536</sup> For more details about the radicalisation of youth groups and subversive radio stations, see Ricardo Marchi and Dina Cristo respectively.

<sup>537</sup> ‘It seems that we are facing the break-down of a policy, the crumbling away of the institutions, the death-rattle of a regime. Salazar’s government is given six more months of life by many New State and opposition men.’ Franco Nogueira, Alberto *História de Portugal*, (Lisbon: Livraria Civilização Editora, 1981), p. 129.

dois mortos e quatro feridos. Continua pesada a atmosfera durante o Verão daquele ano e, com intermitências, rumores insistentes anunciam atentados contra Salazar.<sup>538</sup>

In this sense, Eurico Lisboa filho's radio drama episode can be seen as taking part in the early effort to raise the morale made by the EN. Carolina Ferreira points out that in 1963, shortly after *Torre de Marfim* was broadcast:

[o] entusiasmo inicial [em relação à guerra] diminuía de tom junto da opinião pública e os reflexos desse sentimento sentiam-se nas grelhas de programação. Apenas a Emissora Nacional continuava a fazer aumentar o tempo dedicado à informação e aos programas ultramarinos, numa evidente tentativa de combater o desânimo que ameaçava tomar conta dos portugueses, ao perceberem que a guerra afinal estaria para durar, ao contrário do que inicialmente o regime veiculara.<sup>539</sup>

### **The relative importance of one war**

*A Torre de Marfim* illustrates how, in 1962, foreign radio drama also contributed towards this attempt on the part of the Emissora to encourage positive reactions to the colonial war. This was achieved through a number of alterations made to the text, particularly in terms of references to war. The role played by the source text in conditioning these textual shifts must not, however, be ignored. In its conversion to French, the material in the third and final acts underwent substantial modifications which had a considerable impact on the Portuguese translation.

The French version dissolved the ambiguity of the American text through, for example, the introduction of chunks of dialogue which conveyed Charleston's initial

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<sup>538</sup> Franco Nogueira, *História de Portugal*, p. 130.

<sup>539</sup> Ferreira, *Altifalante*, pp. 141-2.

detachment in a much more explicit way. It also omitted the final dialogue of the play, between Charleston and Streeter's ghost, another figment of Charleston's imagination.

In the English text, the function of Streeter's character (and ghost) and of the two dialogues he had with Charleston is to provide a counterpoint to the latter's ideas about getting involved in worldly matters, in other words, the war. The final dialogue between the two friends is the reverse of the talk they had at the beginning of the play. The resulting parallel between the two moments reveals the extent to which the protagonist has in the mean time changed his mind. In French, however, the text creates a different parallel. By deleting the second and final dialogue between the two men, *La tour d'ivoire* maintains the counterpoint effect that serves to show Charleston's new way of thinking, but changes its mechanism and, consequently, the note on which the play ends. Instead of having the interaction with Streeter's ghost demonstrating that Charleston is now on his side of the argument regarding participation in the war, the French translation prefers to emphasise the idea of defeat.

Arriving on the same plane that is meant to take Charleston away for good, Cassidy is Charleston's substitute in the lighthouse. Yet, while in Ardrey's original version Cassidy speaks only one line (he greets Charleston), in French he additionally takes Charleston's place in the argument in favour of an isolationist reaction to worldly affairs. Cassidy, who arrives at the island at a moment when the reversal of the protagonist's way of thinking is complete, appears in the French text as a younger version of Charleston. His redefined role ensures therefore that the audience of the French production is made aware of the menacing spirit of defeat up to the moment when the curtains fall.

The main consequence of this modification is that the Second World War is not as present at the end of the French play as it is in the English language text. In *La tour d'ivoire*, Charleston leaves the island because '[u]n homme qui se bat contre la misère, l'ignorance ou la tyrannie – un homme qui se bat pour un idéal – n'a pas besoin de l'assurance de



vaincre. Ce qu'il cherche, c'est l'assurance que cet idéal triomphera un jour,' and not because he thinks that people should '[g]et into it [the war] to get out of it.'<sup>540</sup>

Further changes throughout the play contribute to the softened presence of the war. One such example is the omission, in French, of the highly effective voice of the radio news bulletin reader, which in the English text interrupts Charleston's conversation with Streeter's imagined ghost to report on Hitler's keynote speech before the Reichstag. Moreover, *La tour d'ivoire* does not even include a reference to the fact that the date of Charleston's departure from the island is September 1, 1939. In other words, Charleston's eventual decision to become a man of action and get involved in the Second World War was much clearer in the American text. For the French audience in 1958 his story was rather about the more abstract dilemma between taking action and hiding away from difficulties in general. The effect upon the Parisian audience was that of 'nous remettre, comme on dit, le cœur à l'ouvrage.'<sup>541</sup>

In the Portuguese case, the end of the play is unknown. The last pages of the script are missing, which makes it impossible to understand exactly how the transformed Charleston was portrayed. However, the surviving part of the incomplete third and final act clearly shows that the source of the translation was the French and not the American text. The French and the Portuguese final acts do not begin in a similar way because the radio play was shortened through the deletion of the opening casual dialogue between Charleston's imaginary friends. Yet, the first Portuguese lines provide a good illustration of the closeness to the French text:

Charleston     *(To them all, almost gaily)* I have to apologise, my friends, for getting  
so worked up last night. Took myself too seriously.  
*(He goes back to his packing)*

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<sup>540</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 33, and *Thunder Rock*, p. 126.

<sup>541</sup> According to Paul Morelle's criticism quoted at the back of the play. *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 34.

As a matter of fact, you did me a great favour. I had to quit the newspaper business, once upon a time, because I'd lost my detachment. You've restored it. Thanks very much. Oh. (*He goes for books*)

Kurtz I do not understand.

Charleston Very simple. I cared too much, in the old days, how things were going to come out. I don't care any longer. (*Puts books in valise*)

Kurtz You go back to your old trade?<sup>542</sup>

Charleston [...] Je vous dois des excuses à tous. Particulièrement, pour ma conduite de cette nuit. J'ai été grossier, mélodramatique et absurde.

Kurtz Mais non.

Charleston Mais si. Je ne m'explique pas pourquoi j'ai agi ainsi. Peut-être parce que je prenais les choses trop à cœur. Je crois bien que ça a été le malheur de ma vie d'attacher, à mon insu, trop d'importance à tout. Même quand je suis venu ici à Thunder-Rock, quand j'ai sollicité ce poste, je me suis cru détaché de tout. C'était faux. Je me souciais encore de beaucoup de choses.

Kurtz De quoi, par exemple?

Charleston C'est difficile à dire. De tout et de rien. De l'avenir du monde et du destin des hommes. Je n'espère pas être clair.

Kurtz Vous lêtes pourtant.

Charleston Quoi qu'il soit, laissez-moi vous remercier, tous. Vous m'avez rendu un grand service. Vous avez écarté la malédiction qui pesait sur moi. A présent, je me fous de tout!<sup>543</sup>

Charleston Devo-lhes as minhas desculpas. Fui grosseiro, melodramático e absurdo.

Kurtz Por quem é?

Charleston Eu procuro explicar a mim mesmo porque procedi assim. Talvez porque tomei as coisas muito a peito. Parece-me bem que foi a desgraça da minha vida, dar demasiada importância a tudo. Mesmo quando para aqui vim para Thunder-Rock, quando pedi este posto,

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<sup>542</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 110.

<sup>543</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, pp. 29-30.

- julguei que me separava de tudo. Engano. Preocupava-me ainda com muita coisa.
- Kurtz Com o quê, por exemplo?
- Charleston É difícil dizer. Com o futuro do mundo e o destino dos homens. Não espero ser claro.
- Kurtz É-o em todo o caso.
- Charleston Seja como for, deixem-me agradecer-lhes a todos. Prestaram-me um grande serviço. Afastaram a maldição que pesava sobre mim. Agora não me importo com coisa nenhuma.<sup>544</sup>

The clear evidence that the Portuguese text followed the French play published in *L'Avant-Scène* supports the claim that the two plays ended in a similar way. It is therefore likely that, in the Portuguese text, Streeter's imagined ghost and the radio news bulletin were similarly omitted, with a comparable and subsequent effacement of the Second World War's presence and role in the final act of both the French and Portuguese versions of the play.

This was, moreover, in tune with the strategies adopted throughout the Portuguese translation regarding the war in general, which further enhance this effacement. In fact, nothing in the radio version explicitly locates the plot in 1939, nor indicates that the war which 'was approaching' was the Second World War. Different explanations can be found for these shifts, namely the wish to avoid references to a sensitive topic. On the other hand, explicit references to the Second World War would contradict the effect of additional textual shifts, the aim of which was to allow the war referred to in the play to be interpreted as the colonial war. However, it is difficult to distinguish between this type of reason and what Gideon Toury describes as (operational) matricial norms, which affect the matrix of the text, and concern the distribution of textual material.<sup>545</sup>

<sup>544</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 15.

<sup>545</sup> According to Toury, operational norms 'may be conceived of as directing the decisions made during the act of translation itself.' Toury, Gideon, 'The nature and role of norms in literary

A further explanation that can be found is the need to reduce the length of the play in order to fit the 'Teatro dos Nossos Dias' running time (around one hour). Time constraints are a common priority when preparing a text to be performed on the radio. In a study of adaptation techniques used in drama adaptations for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.) carried out a couple of years after the EN broadcasting of *A Torre de Marfim*, Gail Wynston pointed out that '[b]ecause the average stage play runs approximately two hours with intermissions, and most radio plays produced by the C.B.C. run one hour, time appears to be one of the prime concerns of an author adapting his stage play for radio.'<sup>546</sup>

One particular illustration of a deletion in the Portuguese translation that can be explained in different ways concerns the use of the radio voice, which appears three times in the original play. First, in the second act, Charleston uses it in order to prove to his imaginary friends that they are all dead and only exist as figments of his imagination. When he first turns the radio on, only music is heard, yet later, closing the said chapter, a radio news reader describes the failure of President Roosevelt's and Pope Pius XII's appeals to Germany for peace. Finally, in the third act, a radio voice interrupts the conversation between Charleston and Streeter's ghost to announce the beginning of the war. Apart from the probable omission of the radio in the third act, as in the French text, the Portuguese play, unlike the latter, does not show Charleston using the radio in the second act at all. To prove to his imagined companions that they are not real, the Portuguese Charleston relies on only one additional strategy used in the English language text, which is to make the friends read the memorial tablet that first allowed him to imagine them.<sup>547</sup>

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translation', in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. by L. Venuti (London and New York: Routledge: 1978/2000), pp. 198-211 (p. 202).

<sup>546</sup> Gail P. Wynston, *Adapting Stage Drama for Radio: Techniques of Preparing Stage Scripts for Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Production*, Masters Thesis, University of British Columbia (1976), p. 6.

<sup>547</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 101, *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 27, *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 15.

Had the intention been the mere avoidance of the war subject, the paragraph describing the radio broadcast would have been the only passage omitted at this moment in the play. However, the Portuguese second act ends several lines before that moment should take place,<sup>548</sup> as soon as Melanie (a name translated as Melania, which is a rare case of domestication of proper nouns in this translation), one of the imaginary friends, starts reading the memorial panel, subsequently realizing that she, as well as Charleston's other companions, were not alive. Several lines expanding this revelation before the final introduction of the radio voice, which reinforces it, are deleted. Similarly, the erasure of the radio in the scene when it first appeared in the American and French texts, where it was introduced simply to play a Viennese waltz by Strauss, is unlikely to be the outcome of the wish to bypass a polemic subject.

In this particular case, the apparatus is certainly not connected to the war. The radio was only one of the different methods that Charleston tried to use in order to convince his imaginary friends that they were only a product of his own imagination: he made them hear a dog barking twice, even though there were no dogs on the island; he made them feel a gust of cold wind; he told them the truth; he asked Joshua, the only one of them who knew that they were all figments of Charleston's imagination, to let them know the truth; he ordered them to turn on the 'little box,' which he said was called a radio; and finally he asked them to read the memorial panel on the wall of the lighthouse.<sup>549</sup> The Portuguese play, in contrast, considered it enough to have only the dog barking once, Charleston's direct acknowledgment of the truth and a shortened reading of the panel.<sup>550</sup> In spite of the outcome being a more condensed and less detailed scene, these shifts allowed the passage to retain its original function and, as such, it is possible that they did not have a relevant impact on the reception of the play by the audience.

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<sup>548</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 9.

<sup>549</sup> *Thunder Rock*, pp. 98-106, *La tour d'ivoire*, pp. 27-8.

<sup>550</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, pp. 14-5.

### The critical importance of another war

While the subsequent omission of an explicit reference to the Second World War in the case described above can be considered a by-product of the need to reduce the length of the text, it also served the purpose of avoiding specific references to the sensitive topic of the world conflict and its sides. This happened elsewhere in the play. The following section of Streeter's speech, in the first act, was completely deleted in the Portuguese text.:

Streeter        [...] Pourquoi n'irais-je pas en Chine? Parce que les Chinois ont perdu d'avance?  
                     [...] Guerre ou paix, un job est un job. Il se trouve que descendre des bombardiers japonais est mieux payé que la livraison d'inspecteurs!<sup>551</sup>

Even though it was broadcast long after the Second World War, during which time the EN had had 'um papel de grande importância na defesa da neutralidade portuguesa,'<sup>552</sup> this was the type of statement that censorship, be it of books, performances, or media content, forbade because they were 'matérias susceptíveis de prejudicar as relações com outros países.'<sup>553</sup> While the text follows the French translation by alluding in vague terms to the 1930s and 1940s events, more direct references were deleted. When Flanning described a book about those decades, the modifications introduced by the Portuguese text are the outcome of a simplification and length-reducing process that characterises the whole Portuguese text:

Flanning        [...] Il a écrit ce livre en 1933! Avant cela, il avait fait une série de grandes reportages, les dix années précédentes, en Europe. Alors, il s'est attaqué aux dix suivantes. C'est formidable, il a tout prévu: l'Allemagne, l'Italie, la Russie, tout!

Charleston     'Tout?

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<sup>551</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 13.

<sup>552</sup> Ribeiro, *A Emissora*, p. 305.

<sup>553</sup> *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, org. by Barreto and Mónica, 7, p. 282.

Flanning ... Sauf dans les derniers chapitres, vous verrez... A partir de 1938, on dirait que son optimisme l'a emporté... Il n'avait pas prévu Munich, par exemple. Bah! ce n'est pas très grave. Prenez ce livre, Charleston, lisez-le. (*Il sourit, lui tend le livre.*) Pour une fois ça ne vous fera pas de mal. Il dit mieux que je ne pourrais jamais le faire, dans quel monde fascinant nous vivons.<sup>554</sup>

Flanning [...] Escreveu este livro em 1933! Antes, tinha feito uma série de grandes reportagens na Europa. É formidável. Previu tudo: a Alemanha, a Itália, a Rússia...

Charleston Tudo?

Flanning Salvo nos últimos capítulos, vai ver... A partir de 1938, dir-se-ia que o optimismo o arrastou... Não previu Munique, por exemplo. Mas isso não é grave. Tome, Charleston. Leia-o. Eu nunca lhe saberia dizer tão bem em que mundo fascinante nós vivemos.<sup>555</sup>

Yet, when certain names and events were named, the Portuguese text ignored them (deleted parts are underlined):

Flanning [...] C'est un privilège, mon garçon, de vivre dans le monde d'aujourd'hui... (*Charleston écoute attentivement, mais sans réaction apparente.*) Hitler, Mussolini... Dictateurs contre démocratie, fascisme, communisme... Comment tou cela va-t-il tourner, pouvez-vous me le dire? Aurons-nous seulement encore une année de paix? Et les réfugiés. Qu'allons-nous faire de tous ces réfugiés venus d'Allemagne, et d'ailleurs? Les affaires vont un peu mieux chez nous et pourtant nous avons encore du chômage, des greves... Le capitalisme d'un côté, les travailleurs de l'autre. C'est un drame, mon garçon, un drame bouleversant dans lequel nous vivons. Et vous voulez me faire croire que ça ne vous intéresse pas?<sup>556</sup>

<sup>554</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 16.

<sup>555</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 8.

<sup>556</sup> *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 12.

Flanning        [...] É um privilégio, meu filho, viver-se no mundo de hoje... Há antagonismos, é certo, ameaças... Mas é em todo caso um drama apaixonante. Haverá guerra?... Você quer convencer-me que nada disto o interessa?<sup>557</sup>

Apart from the obvious deletions of political references, it can be claimed that this passage contains an example of manipulation of referential meaning, defined by Nida as referring ‘primarily to the cultural context identified in the utterance.’<sup>558</sup> The question ‘Aurons-nous seulement encore une année de paix?’, describing a doubt shared by many in the first half of 1939, was modified to reflect the Portuguese situation almost thirty years later. While war in Angola had already begun, the other colonies were also preparing to start fighting for their independence (Frelimo, the Mozambique Freedom Front, for instance, had been created in June 1962, merely four months before the broadcast), and hence instead of asking ‘[a]urons-nous seulement encore une année de paix?’ the Portuguese text asks: ‘[h]averá guerra?’.

Further strategies were employed that manipulated the text so as to allow the play to be seen as commentary on Portuguese affairs. In the translation of references to the war between the Chinese and the Japanese, the synecdoche ‘Orient’ replaced the English and French ‘China’ because of the much more relevant connotations of the former in terms of the Portuguese context at the time:

Streeter        [...] I’m going to China for one reason. I’m sick of reading the newspaper.’

Streeter        Je ne me sacrifie pas pour une cause! Je vais en Chine parce que j’en ai assez de lire les journaux [...]

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<sup>557</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 4.

<sup>558</sup> Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 70.



Streeter            Vou para Oriente porque estou farto de ler os jornais [...]<sup>559</sup>

Although here the preference for the synecdoche might have been due to a reluctance to associate one of the characters with fighting for China, a few moments later, a significant addition in the Portuguese text, besides the choice of ‘Oriente’ as a replacement for ‘China,’ confirms the aim of associating the idea of fighting to that of Asia in general:

Streeter            So that’s it. Get out of it. Sit on a rock in the middle of Lake Michigan. Pick your nose. Examine your navel. You call that getting out of it? I’ll take China.

Streeter            Ah! Nous y voilà! S’asseoir sur un roc au milieu du lac Michigan et contempler son nombril, les doigts dans le nez... C’est ce que tu appelles en sortir? Excuse-moi, je préfère la Chine!

Streeter            Ah! É isso! Sentamo-nos num rochedo a meio do lago Michigan e contemplamos o umbigo, com os dedos no nariz... É a isso que chamas fugir? Desculpa. Prefiro ir lutar para o Oriente!<sup>560</sup>

In this passage, Streeter is making a sarcastic criticism of Charleston’s chosen way of dealing with the world’s problems by escaping and ignoring them, and ends his comment by stating that he prefers instead to do precisely the opposite of Charleston. The unproblematic expression ‘to prefer China’ was made more explicit by adding that Streeter’s objective in going was specifically to join the war. If the translation was done with broadcasting in mind, the aim of the explicitness might have been to make the text clearer for the audience listening to the play. On the other hand, as a consequence of the

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<sup>559</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 31; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 14 and *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 6.

<sup>560</sup> *Thunder Rock*, p. 33; *La tour d'ivoire*, p. 14 and *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 6.

addition, the play's central opposition between inactivity and action in the name of an ideal or belief is foregrounded, and ultimately, the option of getting involved in the war is underlined.

This was exactly the message that the government wanted to convey on the national broadcasting station at this moment in time. When the play was broadcast, in November 27, 1962, almost a year had passed after the invasion by the Indian Union of the Portuguese territories in India, in December 1961. It had been ten months after Salazar's January 1962 public acknowledgment in the National Assembly that '[d]adas a distância e a superioridade esmagadora da União Indiana, [não havia] nenhuma esperança de salvar Goa da eventual invasão inimiga, sem apoio aliado.'<sup>561</sup> In the meantime, the war in Angola had become the most prominent topic, in terms of both national and foreign affairs. For the Portuguese audience listening to Robert Ardrey's play in 1962, 'Oriente,' where Streeter was going to join a war, was therefore synonymous with the Oriental Portuguese territories, not only in India but also in Macau and Timor. Especially because, despite the annexation of the territories in India by the Indian Union, the Portuguese government did not acknowledge the Indian sovereignty over Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Aveli until one year after the April revolution, in 1975.<sup>562</sup> Bearing in mind that the 'províncias ultramarinas' were considered as a whole and, since the 1951 revision of the Constitution and of the Colonial Act,<sup>563</sup> a part of Portugal (in 1958, in an interview to the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, Salazar said that there were no Portuguese 'possessions,' but rather

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<sup>561</sup> Quoted in *Portugal Contemporâneo (1958-1974)*, dir. by António Reis, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Alfa Editora: 1989), p. 36.

<sup>562</sup> Decree Law no. 206/75, April 5, 1975: 'Tratado entre a Índia e Portugal Relativo ao Reconhecimento da Soberania da Índia sobre Goa, Damão, Diu, Dadrá e Nagar Aveli e Assuntos Correlativos.'

<sup>563</sup> The changes introduced by the 1951 Colonial Act and constitutional revision concerned mainly terminology, rather than policy: there was not an 'empire' but rather the 'ultramar português' and Portugal did not have 'colonies,' it had 'provinces,' some which were located outside Europe. See for instance *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, org. by Barreto and Mónica, vol. 9, p. 540; and Costa Pinto, *O fim do império*, p. 22.

pieces of Portugal scattered around the world),<sup>564</sup> it can be further argued that the synecdoche ‘Orient’ represented all the Portuguese colonial territories.

It is because ‘Orient’ would be identified with the Portuguese territories that not all references to China were translated in a similar fashion, as ‘Orient,’ but only those, as the ones quoted above, that were directly linked to the character’s decision to go there to fight. When he first mentions his leaving for China, Streeter does not reveal his true occupation there and the Portuguese translation, simplifying and shortening the French dialogue by condensing sentences, keeps the reference unchanged:

Charleston	Où ça?
Streeter	En Chine.
Charleston	En Chine?
Streeter	Tu as bien entendu.
Charleston	En ce moment?
Streeter	J’ai fait la paix avec la Standard Oil. nous avons décidé de considérer le passé comme le passé. ( <i>Il tend un verre à Charleston</i> )
Charleston	Mais il ya de la guerre en Chine.
Streeter	<i>levant son verre.</i> Il y a toujours eu la guerre en Chine. A la Standard Oil. Skoll!
Charleston	Tu es un menteur. <sup>565</sup>

Charleston	[...] Mas para onde vais?
Streeter	Para a China.
Charleston	Neste momento?
Streeter	Fiz as pazes com a Standard Oil.
Charleston	Mas há lá guerra!
Streeter	Há sempre guerra na China.
Charleston	És um mentiroso. <sup>566</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> Quoted in Nuno Mira Vaz, *Opiniões Públicas durante as guerras de África* (Lisboa: Quetzal, 1977), p. 140.

<sup>565</sup> *La tour d’ivoire*, p. 13.

<sup>566</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 5.

## Manipulative strategies

In one crucial moment, however, a seemingly contradictory decision by the Portuguese translator is to reproduce Ardrey's criticism of the war:

Charleston	Alors, en arrivant ici, le premier jour j'ai aperçu cette plaque. [...] un être humain, c'est un problème à la recherche d'une solution. Seulement, de leur temps, on trouvait la réponse à la fin du livre, toujours, dans tous les cas. Un mot magique: l'expansion! Il y avait encore des pays à mettre en valeur, des ressources inexploitées... Aujourd'hui, c'est fini. 90 ans ont passé. On a bouclé la boucle. Et si tu cherches une réponse à la fin du livre, sais-tu ce que tu y trouves? Un page blanche. C'est fini... Alors, quoi faire? Le besoin d'expansion, nous n'y échappons pas. Mais ce ne sont plus des individus ou des groupes isolés, ce sont des peuples entiers qui s'ébranlent demain des continents. C'est l'expansion par la force. La guerre! Et là, à ce point-là, la véritable horreur commence. La civilisation se tire par la fenêtre.
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Charleston	Então, ao chegar aqui, logo no primeiro dia, vi esta placa. [...] um ser humano é um problema à procura duma solução. Somente, no tempo deles, encontrava-se sempre a solução, no fim do livro. Uma palavra mágica: a expansão. Hoje, na maioria dos casos, ela acabou. Mas a necessidade de expansão continua. Já não são porém indivíduos ou grupos isolados, são povos inteiros em busca de continentes. A expansão pela força, a guerra! Aqui o verdadeiro horror começa. A civilização foge pela janela.
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Given the different shifts in the Portuguese text listed above, the inclusion of this excerpt in the translation is a puzzling choice. However, when a few lines below, after the

end of the act, the narrator comments on what has just been heard, it becomes clear that Charleston's statements are kept because they are subsequently subverted. Their manipulation provided an opportunity to defend some of the regime's key ideas regarding the Portuguese colonial empire. The voice of the narrator completely overturns Ardrey's criticism, while acknowledging it. The narrator's commentary transforms what in Ardrey's text was an attack on the expansionist type of war into a defence of colonial powers:

Nesta peça, em que Robert Ardrey mostra o seu horror pela ambição de conquista nos povos beligerantes dos nossos dias, faz o elogio dos povos colonizadores. Sem fazer qualquer referência a Portugal, é o espírito de expansão pacífica, de que os portugueses foram indiscutivelmente os maiores pioneiros, que ele termina por elogiar.<sup>567</sup>

While the 'N.P.' or 'narrator of the play' introduced acts, read brief paragraphs that corresponded to Ardrey's stage directions, and summed up parts of the text which have been left out for reasons of length, the 'narrator' and his commentary are crucially determining strategies employed in the radio version of this play. Two different mechanisms are used by the narrator in order to subvert the ideas conveyed by the play. Firstly, in the beginning of this paragraph, he misinterprets the text and thus completely subverts the opinions expressed in the play (both American and French), claiming that Ardrey 'faz o elogio dos povos colonizadores.' Then, in the second part of his commentary, he introduces a compliment on Portugal as a colonising power by making an additional unfounded interpretation of Ardrey's implicit intention ('é o espírito de expansão pacífica, de que os portugueses foram indiscutivelmente os maiores pioneiros, que ele termina por elogiar').

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<sup>567</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 9.

It is significant that the narrator preferred to attribute these views to the playwright, and not, for instance, to Charleston, the character who had just voiced them. The latter option would have been fully justified, especially because the expression of Charleston's opinions about the war at this moment in the play is essential to show how he eventually changes his mind. This is one of the few moments when we hear Charleston unambiguously stating his views regarding the core issue of the play. At this stage he is still against getting involved in the conflict, but he will soon think otherwise. However, the 'narrator' needed to support his own interpretation by invoking the ultimate authority, that of the playwright. The goal was to strengthen the criticism of 'the belligerent people' and, by contrast, to reinforce the praise of Portugal. The latter was underlined by the repetition of the idea of 'compliment' ('faz o elogio' and 'termina por elogiar').

The cumulative aspect of all the shifts introduced in the text until this moment further contributes to the manipulative effect of the narrator's critical clarification of Charleston's statement. Whilst the claim that Ardrey condemns 'a ambição de conquista nos povos beligerantes' is true when referring to the American play, the fact that the Portuguese text does not offer any explicit indication that the action takes place in 1939 allows 'dos nossos dias' to be interpreted not as 'the twentieth century' but, in a stricter sense, as the current moment, the year 1962. As a consequence, '[o]s povos beligerantes dos nossos dias' are, in the specific case of Portugal in 1962, the Indian Union and Angola. They are the people that, according to the authoritative and knowledgeable voice of the narrator, the author associated with 'horror' and 'ambition for conquest.' In sharp contrast to Ardrey's intended meaning when he set the play in 1939, the 'conquest' that these people were aiming for must therefore be interpreted as the achievement of independence from Portugal. They oppose, in Ardrey's supposed perspective, the colonising countries, which are, by contrast, associated with pacifism and subsequently worthy of praise.

This extraordinary comment is at the heart of this radio drama version of *Thunder Rock* because by providing an explanation of the play, through the narrator's voice, it

manipulates and completely subverts Ardrey's text. The American playwright is seen by the Portuguese EN audience to have stood for the precise opposite of what he had actually meant two decades before. On the other hand, it is an intriguing intervention on the part of the narrator because the praising of Portugal as a colonial empire is based on a concept contrary to the regime's agenda at the time.

Pacifism had always been a very sensitive concept.<sup>568</sup> The obviously polemic nature of such a construct at a time when the country was at war was expressed for example by tight censorship constraints regarding that particular subject. According to Cândido de Azevedo, less than one year before the Emissora's broadcast of *A Torre de Marfim*, the censors forbade, for instance, the book *E o paraíso voltou*, by Manuel de Campos Pereira, because amongst other aspects 'é largamente desenvolvido o tema do pacifismo e nele aparecem um sem-número de pensamentos do mais irreverente desrespeito contra [sic] a função militar e todas as ideias em que se baseiam as tradições e os hábitos.'<sup>569</sup> Pacifism was an expression of disregard for the military institution and traditions, and therefore it could not be considered acceptable by the censors, many of which were military personnel.<sup>570</sup> The narrator's commentary at the end of the first act of *A torre de marfim* managed, therefore, to harmonise two opposite issues which were among the most discussed by Portuguese society at the time:

[a] colonização portuguesa, nas suas várias vertentes, quando abordada criticamente em relação à política do governo, e o antimilitarismo, constituíram sempre para a Censura uma área [...] muito sensível, o que se compreende muito bem, considerando quer o carácter fortemente nacionalista e a concepção de Império Português subjacente à política ultramarina do 'Estado Novo,' quer o facto do

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<sup>568</sup> See Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, and references to 'antimilitarismo e colonização portuguesa' (pp. 168-180).

<sup>569</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 171.

<sup>570</sup> For further details see Joaquim Cardoso Gomes, *Os militares e a censura. A censura à Imprensa na ditadura militar e Estado Novo (1926-1945)*, (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006).

Exército – que esteve na origem do movimento revolucionário de 28 de Maio de 1926 e na formação do ‘Estado Novo’ – se ter mantido como um dos principais pilares de sustentação do regime.<sup>571</sup>

On the other hand, at this initial stage of the war, the pacifist characterisation of Portugal, especially when located far away from the present moment, in the beginning of the colonising process, might nonetheless have conformed with the government’s take on the war. When the notions that being a coloniser is a positive quality and that the colonisation pursued by the Portuguese was a pacific one are set against the background of the outset of the war in Africa, the implied suggestion is that of the need for (military) defence. For Maria Manuela Cruzeiro, the idea that Portugal was forced to fight translates the regime’s perspective on the struggle: ‘[para o poder político] o que havia não era guerra, mas uma revolta a exigir uma contra-revolta. Os soldados não iam para a guerra, mas em “Missão de Soberania.”’<sup>572</sup> Portugal, a former pacifist, was thus being attacked by the ‘povos beligerantes dos nossos dias,’<sup>573</sup> an expression which in the context of an international ‘anti-Portuguese campaign,’<sup>574</sup> included far more than the Angolan people, since ‘os movimentos de libertação [eram] sempre reduzidos ou a um grupo de terroristas infiltrados por Estados vizinhos, ou, mais tarde, a mercenários comunistas antiportugueses.’<sup>575</sup>

### **A Portuguese reading**

To someone familiar with Robert Ardrey’s play in English, the surprise at this balancing act by the narrator arises also from the expectation that Robert Ardrey’s call to arms play might have been used by a programme broadcast by the national radio station to

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<sup>571</sup> Azevedo, *Mutiladas*, p. 168.

<sup>572</sup> Maria Manuela Cruzeiro, ‘As mulheres e a guerra colonial: um silêncio demasiado ruidoso,’ *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 68 (04.2004), 31-41, (p. 32).

<sup>573</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 9.

<sup>574</sup> Jaime Nogueira Pinto, *Portugal: os anos do fim. O Fim do Estado Novo e as origens do 25 de Abril* (Lisbon: Difel, 1995), p. 101.

<sup>575</sup> Costa Pinto, *O fim do império*, p. 22.



promote the war, appeal to the war effort and stimulate recruitment in a much more explicit way. The narrator's intervention at the end of the first act would be an ideal moment for this, but he invoked instead Portugal's ancient and praise-worthy pacifism. As a result, in this passage at least, the call to arms is only subtly conveyed as an implicit suggestion, the unspoken logic conclusion following discreetly presented ideas, in particular that of threat.

Through the contrast established by the narrator between the belligerent and the pacifist colonising people, namely Portugal, the latter is portrayed as a victim. This resonated with the perspective commonly held in the country at the outset of the war. In April 1961, speeches in the National Assembly, for instance, spoke of victims being 'em grande parte mulheres, crianças e velhos indefesos, sacrificados à sanha bárbara dos atacantes',<sup>576</sup> and the first newspaper headlines surprised people and claimed, for instance, that '[a]s ferozes hordas de cruéis assassinos insistem nos ataques no Norte de Angola'.<sup>577</sup> The image of the victim is further but subtly expanded as the narrator's intervention ends with an allusion to the vulnerable Portuguese settlers (who were indeed the first most direct victims of the attacks):

Charleston refugia-se na sua 'Torre de Marfim', na sua imaginação poderosa de escritor, e procura, por meio dela, ver esses seres confiantes, que em terras distantes e por desbravar vão procurar refazer as suas vidas. E a confiança dessa gente corajosa vai trazer a resposta às suas dúvidas e desencorajamento.<sup>578</sup>

The narrator is obviously referring to Charleston's imaginary friends, a group of mid-nineteenth century European emigrants on their way to America in the hope of a

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<sup>576</sup> Sílvia Espírito Santo, *Adeus, Até ao teu regresso. O movimento nacional feminino na guerra colonial (1961-1974)*, Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2003, p12 *apud O Século*, 21 April, 1961, p. 1.

<sup>577</sup> Member of Parliament Maria Irene Leite da Costa's speech in Assembleia Nacional in April 1961. *O Século*, 13 May 1961, p. 1.

<sup>578</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 9.

better life. Yet, implicit is a parallel with the Portuguese settlers, ‘brave people’ (‘gente corajosa’) who are emigrants in Africa, where they went to ‘refazer as suas vidas.’ While ‘terras distantes e por desbravar,’ is a characterisation that fits some parts of America in mid-nineteenth century, when applied to Africa in the 1960s it also evokes the ‘vocaç o mission ria e civilizadora da P tria, herdeira de um passado glamoroso perpetrado por exarcebadas hist rias de feitos e her is’ which was ‘incutida e estimulada aos portugueses e portuguesas’ since their schooldays throughout the Estado Novo.<sup>579</sup> This civilising mission of the Portuguese, as well as the idea of threat, was indeed instrumental in the early effort to legitimise the war, particularly within some sections of the larger Portuguese Catholic community.<sup>580</sup>

The ‘brave people’ are thus the Portuguese emigrants whose ‘confian a’ will help to fight against the ‘doubts and dispiritedness’ towards which, according to the play’s introduction, ‘muitos se sentem tentados.’<sup>581</sup>

The present and future tenses used by the narrator (‘sentem’ and ‘vai trazer’) indicate that these sentences applied to the “Teatro dos nossos dias”’s audience in 1962. The verb ‘trazer’ (‘a confian a dessa gente corajosa vai trazer a resposta  s suas d vidas e desencorajamento’) is also meaningful. Through this particular choice of verb the narrator is placing himself on the same location as the receivers of the ‘answer,’ as if he himself also needed the brave people to bring him hope. The difference between ‘trazer a resposta’ and the more common ‘dar a resposta’ is precisely the inclusiveness of the first option: the emigrants in *Torre de Marfim* and in the Portuguese colonies will not ‘take’ an answer to Charleston, but rather ‘bring’ a solution to ‘us:’ to me, Eurico (the narrator/commentator), and to you, listeners.

<sup>579</sup> Esp rito Santo, *Adeus, At  ao teu regresso*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>580</sup> According to Nuno Est v o’s research on the Catholic reaction to the independence wars: ‘A «civiliza  o crist » e a «amea a» de que era alvo v o funcionar como os p los estruturadores no modo de equacionar esta primeira via de legitima  o da Guerra Colonial entre certos meios cat licos.’ Nuno Est v o, ‘Os Meios Cat licos perante a guerra colonial: Reconfigura  es da quest o religiosa em Portugal: reconfigura  es da quest o religiosa,’ in *Lusitania Sacra*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, 12 (2000), 221-265 (p. 231), <<http://repositorio.ucp.pt/handle/10400.14/4393>>.

<sup>581</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, ‘Teatro dos nossos dias,’ 27.11.1962, p. 1.

The emigrant parallel between Ardrey's fictionalised world and the Portuguese colonies is additionally reinforced by the fact that, later in the play, the 'narrator of the play' refers to Charleston's imaginary friends as 'emigrants,' instead of calling them 'náufragos' ('shipwreck victims'). The latter term would have been a much more relevant characterisation of the group in terms of the plot of the original play, and therefore a choice much more consistent with the emphasis given by Eurico Lisboa filho to Charleston's imaginary world as the play's greatest 'innovation' and the main source of its modernity.<sup>582</sup> However, the summary that the 'narrator of the play' offers of the beginning of the second act is: 'A cena inicial repete-se, mas as personagens falam com muito mais humanidade. [...] Vem a dor e o desespero daqueles emigrantes, que trazem em si, quasi todos, uma desilusão.'<sup>583</sup>

### Conclusion

In short, Charleston and the American people in general were as much in need of encouragement and hope in 1939 as the Portuguese people in 1962. Whilst Ardrey wrote his play as a commentary on the threat faced by the world in 1939, almost twenty-two years later it was chosen to be performed on a drama programme broadcast by the Portuguese national radio station in order to comment on the threat to Portuguese colonies and, consequently, to the Portuguese regime. Such an interpretation of the play was the product of textual modifications made to allusions to the two wars mentioned in the American text (the Second World War and the Sino-Chinese War), namely by means of the addition and deletion of elements. This, however, is not exclusive to the Portuguese version. The use of those manipulative strategies constitutes the aspect which, together with each play's length, most distinguishes the French and the Portuguese translations from the English language

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<sup>582</sup> See the narrator's introduction to the play, *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 1.

<sup>583</sup> *A Torre de Marfim*, 'Teatro dos nossos dias,' 27.11.1962, p. 13.

work. On the other hand, not all omissions are a product of the manipulative process the play was subjected to, and can be explained by a need to shorten the length of the play due to airtime constraints. Unique to the radio drama version are the critical interventions made by the narrator, which subvert the meaning of the play.

It is not uncommon, amongst the few studies to date on the history of the EN, to come across an examination of the relationship between the national radio station and the colonial war.<sup>584</sup> Research has led to the expected conclusion that the state broadcaster was indeed the ‘voice of the regime,’ or a ‘arma de mobilização da opinião pública ao serviço do regime,’<sup>585</sup> and as such, a crucial contribution to different aspects of wartime propaganda. However, these studies only refer to information programmes, in particular news programmes. This chapter has addressed the question as to whether a similar propagandist function was equally fulfilled by the EN radio drama programmes, in particular by the broadcast of foreign plays. The chapter demonstrated how the preliminary, paratextual and textual aspects were key components of a rewriting process whereby translated drama was broadcast with the specific intention of addressing particular and more immediate aspects of Portuguese life at the time of broadcast. In this way, the chapter offers insight into an additional form of engagement with the target environment.

While ‘[a] Emissora Nacional assumiu-se sem complexos como um instrumento político e de persuasão, como a rádio oficial do regime,’<sup>586</sup> the broadcast translation of Ardrey’s play and, above all, the comments added through the voice of the narrator align it with the government’s perspective of the events of that period, including a sense of threat. Products of the manipulation of the text, these ideas are nonetheless subtly conveyed. As a result, the play conveys an ‘anti-defeatism’ or anti-‘derrotismo’ message, yet it is not an explicit pro-war play – a suggestion that might be further supported by future research, namely a contrast with the Boulting brothers’ film version.

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<sup>584</sup> For further details see Ribeiro, *A Emissora*; Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal* and Ferreira, *Altifalante*.

<sup>585</sup> Ferreira, *Altifalante*, pp. 141-2.

<sup>586</sup> Ferreira, *Altifalante*, p. 120.

## 6. Translation and the Condition of Women

*Uma de nós perguntou:  
Mas o que pode a literatura?  
Ou antes: o que podem as palavras?*<sup>587</sup>

The previous chapter has offered insight into the way the broadcast of Robert Ardrey's play engaged with the dominant ideological framework and, more specifically, the issue of the colonial war in the early 1960s. A further eloquent illustration of the use of translated plays as commentaries on the broader social and historical situation of the country at the time of broadcast is the performance of *La Colonie*, one of Pierre de Marivaux's (1688-1763) works, in 1973. This was the date of one of the most famous events in Portuguese literary life in the final years of the regime, the trial of the three Portuguese female authors of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa. Broadcast shortly before the trial began, the subject of Marivaux's *La Colonie* coincided with the underlying question at issue in the trial: the condition of women.

Even though in the French text Marivaux's feminism, object of much scholarly discussion, is subverted, significant changes were introduced in the version broadcast by

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<sup>587</sup> 'One of us [women] asked: "But what can literature do? Or rather: what can words do?"', Barreno, Maria Isabel, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa, *The Three Marias: New Portuguese Letters*, trans. by Helen R. Lane (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 284.

the EN which allowed it to represent a subtle form of support of the women's cause at a decisive turning point for the feminist movement in Portugal.

An analysis of the specific Portuguese social context in which the broadcast took place is followed by the presentation and summary of the scholarly argument over the extent to which *La Colonie* is a feminist play. Finally, through a detailed examination of the textual shifts that characterise Eurico Lisboa filho's *A Colónia*, as well as the relationship that can be established between this text and that of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, the chapter complements the previous chapter, illustrating an alternative relationship between a broadcast play and the regime's official ideas and positions.

### ***La Colonie* in the EN**

Even though the text of the radio play *Assembleia de Mulheres*, broadcast by 'Teatro das Comédias' in 1964, cannot be known because it is an audio recording, this is likely to have been the first performance of a translation of *La Colonie*, the play translated, adapted and included by Eurico Lisboa filho in one of his own programmes nine years later. The translator Odette de Saint-Maurice (1918-1993), a usual contributor to EN's radio drama programmes, was also the author of a similar play herself. Her work *As Novas Leis*, broadcast in 1992 in 'Tempo de Teatro,' the RTP 1990s radio drama programme, is a play which, according to the script, was 'inspired by' Marivaux's *La Colonie*.<sup>588</sup> A further, unacknowledged, inspiration seems to have determined the title chosen by Saint-Maurice for her version of Marivaux's play. The title of the translation, 'Assembleia de Mulheres,' was an echo of Aristophanes's (c. 450 BC – c. 388 BC) *Ecclesiazusae* (*Women at the Ecclesia* or *Assemblywomen*).

Aristophanes's *Women at the Ecclesia* (c. 392 BC) and *Lysistrata* (411 BC) are often mentioned whilst discussing *La Colonie*, with which they share the central issue of women's

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<sup>588</sup> See *As Novas Leis - A Colónia*, 'Tempo de teatro,' 20.02.1992.

rights and role in society. This common aspect was highlighted by Eurico Lisboa filho in the 1973 introduction to his own translation of Marivaux's play, which he believed to be '[i]nspirada certamente na 'Assembleia das Mulheres' de Aristófanes [uma vez que] os gregos em tudo e a todos antecederam.'<sup>589</sup> In this play, the women of Athens, dressed as men, infiltrate into the democratic assembly (Ecclesia) and as they take over the running of the city, set up a communal government in which women and ownership of all property are shared. The play is a comical depiction of the communist defence of shared property, a common idea in Athens in Aristophanes's time, who considered it 'fantastic and funny.'<sup>590</sup> While the idea of sharing constitutes part of the link established with *La Colonie*, in the latter it is the citizen's rights, and not their property, that are to be equally distributed.

It is therefore significant that, unlike other critics such as Simone Beta, who considers *La Colonie* a 'reappearance of *Lysistrata* in the European theatre' of the eighteenth-century, Lisboa filho pairs *La Colonie* with *Ecclesiazusae* and not with *Lysistrata*.<sup>591</sup> While both works depict seizure of control of the city by the women, portraying a gynaecocracy, in *Women at the Ecclesia* the women's ultimate goal is to obtain power and achieve a radical change of the political system, so as to make it more equitable. In *Lysistrata*, however, women's goal in obtaining control is at the service of a transitory aim, to put an end to the war:

In *Lysistrata*, the women do not aim to seize power permanently. Their plot is defined or limited by the single goal of effecting a reconciliation among the warring parties. After that, they will return to their individual homes, which are seen as the

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<sup>589</sup> *As Novas Leis - A Colónia*, 'Tempo de teatro,' 20.02.1992, p. 1.

<sup>590</sup> Douglas M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens: an introduction to the plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 315.

<sup>591</sup> Simone Beta 'The Metamorphosis of a Greek Comedy and its protagonist: Some Musical Versions of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*', in *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage*, ed. by Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 240-257 (p. 242). See also, for instance, Derek F. Connon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks: Tradition and Revolt in Marivaux's *La Colonie*,' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 11:2 (Autumn 1988), pp. 173-84).

locus of traditional values. They are a one-purpose army, disbanded at the end of their campaign and recontained within the domestic sphere. On this conception of the women's goals, there is no scope for them to put their economic and political ideals into effect and rule the city as a commune.<sup>592</sup>

The play, which was performed in 411 BC at a crucial moment of the closing years of the second Peloponnesian War, a twenty-five year-long intense conflict (431-404 BC), tells the story of the Athenian Lysistrata, who organises the citizens' wives in all the belligerent Greek states so that by jointly refusing their husbands sexually they force the men to bring the ongoing war to an end and return home. In 1973 the colonial war in Africa was also ongoing, but probably due to the highly controversial nature of the struggle by then, Eurico Lisboa filho was no longer interested in the possible connections that could be established between this topic and Marivaux's work, in contrast to the case of Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock* considered in the previous chapter. As the association with *Women at the Ecclesia* suggests, in the early 1970s Lisboa was instead interested in the potential of using *La Colonie* to comment on a different but equally critical issue of current affairs at the time.

The fact that Lisboa filho had already produced *Lysistrata* is a testament to his interest in the general issue of women's condition and aspirations. He nonetheless saw the play as a satire to women and war, as the title of the episode indicates. *Aristófanes, a comédia 'Lisístrata' e a sátira à guerra e às mulheres* was broadcast in 1956, as the thirteenth episode of 'A História do Teatro.' It was the first in a series of Aristophanes's works broadcast during the period when the programme was dedicated to Classical drama. Three more plays followed, all of which were broadcast in 1956. Illustrating the topic 'Aristófanes e a Comédia Antiga,' episodes fourteen and fifteen dealt more specifically with 'A crítica

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<sup>592</sup> David Konstan, *Greek comedy and ideology* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 53.



dramática em Aristófanes’ and ‘A poesia e a comédia fantástica,’ offering performances of, respectively, *As Rãs* (*Batrakhoi* or *The Frogs*) and *As Aves* (*Ornithes* or *The Birds*).<sup>593</sup>

Broadcast once again, fifteen years later, in Lisboa filho’s programme ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos,’<sup>594</sup> *As Rãs* was not the only case of a play selected for this 1970s programme after having been first produced for *A História do Teatro* almost two decades earlier. This suggests that the 1970s criticism of the Emissora, which was labelled ‘Maçadora Nacional’<sup>595</sup> and accused of being boring, lacking innovative work, was not without foundation:

[s]urdos e cegos os responsáveis pela estação oficial insistiam no mesmo tipo de programas, não estimulavam o aparecimento de novos colaboradores, acreditavam nos folhetins produzidos, em que a grande mudança estava na rotação dos seus reponsáveis.<sup>596</sup>

A brief analysis of the ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos’ episodes of the first half of 1973 alone shows that Plautus’ *Amphytrion*, Seneca’s *Hercules Furens* and *Thyestes*, Aeschylus’ trilogy *Oresteia*, as well as Molière’s *L’Impromptu de Versailles* had all been included in *A História do Teatro* between 1956 and 1960. Eurico Lisboa filho seemed nonetheless to make an effort to introduce a degree of novelty by adding different plays to the selection of works made in his previous programmes. Molière is a good example: after choosing *Les femmes savantes* and *L’Impromptu de Versailles* as illustrations of French Classicism in ‘A História do Teatro’ in 1960, Lisboa used ‘Teatro de Todos os Tempos’ episodes one decade later not only to revisit *L’Impromptu de Versailles* but also to present *Le Misanthrope*,

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<sup>593</sup> Episode 15 was dedicated to radio drama actor Alves da Cunha, who had recently died, and after an episode on *O Teatro e culto dos mortos em várias culturas da Antiguidade*, the play *Pluto* (*Ploutos* or *Wealth*) was broadcast in the 18<sup>th</sup> episode of ‘A história do teatro,’ titled *Aristófanes, Pluto e a Época Média da Comédia Grega*.

<sup>594</sup> This was not the only Aristophanes’ play to be broadcast more than once by the EN. In 1964 ‘Noite de teatro’ presented Goulart Nogueira’s version of *Ploutos: Pluto ou o dinheiro*.

<sup>595</sup> Cristo, *A rádio em Portugal*, p. 154.

<sup>596</sup> Street, *Teatro invisível*, p. 175.

*L'école des maris*, *L'école des femmes* and *La Critique de l'école de femmes*. Still, the latter play seems to have been the only one never to have been performed on the Emissora until then. *Le Misanthrope* had been included in 'Rádio Drama' in 1969, *L'école des femmes* in 'Teatro das Comédias' in 1962 and *L'école des maris* in 'Noite de Teatro' in 1970.

The fact that 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' was a programme characterised by repetition of plays broadcast in previous years reinforces the relevance of selecting *La Colonie*, of all of Marivaux's works, to be broadcast in the Summer of 1973. Until then, Lisboa had presented only two works by the eighteenth century author: *As Falsas Confidências* (*Les Fausses Confidences*) and, in one episode only, *A Dupla Inconstância* (*La Double Inconstance*) and *O Preconceito Vencido* (*Le Préjugé Vaincu*) were broadcast in 1965 as part of 'Teatro do Século XVIII.' As in the case of Molière, Marivaux's plays had also been performed in different programmes at different moments during the 1960s. This might have been a result of the renewed interest that some of the most important French *metteurs en scène* had in the playwright from the mid-1940s onwards:

toutes les revues retracent l'histoire de la redécouverte de Marivaux en rappelant les étapes principales: Jean-Louis Barrault et *Les Fausses Confidences* de 1946, Jean Vilar et *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* au T.N.P. en 1955, les expériences controversées de Roger Planchon (*La Seconde Surprise de l'Amour* en 1958) et Patrice Chéreau (*La Dispute* de 1973). Il semble que toute mise en scène, aujourd'hui [1988], doive encore tenir compte de ces grandes références.<sup>597</sup>

Two episodes of 'Noite de Teatro' broadcast in 1960 and in 1966 were *O Pedante Corrigido* (*Le Petit-Maître Corrigé*) and *Um Feliz Estratagema* (*L'Heureux Stratagème*). In 1968, *O Jogo do Amor e do Acaso* (*Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard*) was included in 'Teatro das

<sup>597</sup> Christine Bonfils, 'Le Théâtre de Marivaux et sa présentation au public', *Marivaux d'hier, Marivaux d'aujourd'hui. Actes du Colloque de Riom (8-9 octobre 1988) et Actes du Colloque de Lyon (22 avril 1988)*, dir. by Henri Coulet, Jean Ehrard and Françoise Rubelin, (Paris: Edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), pp. 207-217, p. 211.

Comédias.’ Had Lisboa’s motivation rested simply on Marivaux’s œuvre *per se* he could have preferred to produce one of these plays. However, Lisboa’s choice in the summer of 1973 did not concern Marivaux’s work in general, but was rather a specific preference for *La Colonie*.

### A timely choice

The intention to broadcast the play as a commentary on the current situation was acknowledged from the start. In his introduction, Lisboa claims that *La Colonie* engages with a current subject: ‘[...] do seu teatro [o de Marivaux] fazem também parte algumas pequenas peças, que não gozaram de sucesso, na sua época, talvez por arrojadas para então, mas que hoje são bastante actuais, como “A Ilha da Razão ou Os Pequenos Homens,” “A Ilha dos Escravos” e sobretudo “A Colónia”, onde [é] posto de brincadeira o problema da emancipação das mulheres, o que só quase dois séculos depois se verificou.’<sup>598</sup> The fact that such emancipation had still not occurred in Portugal is not mentioned, yet Article 5 of the 1933 Constitution, which created the Estado Novo, partly prevented women to have rights equal to men, namely in terms of the labour market:

[o] estado Português é uma República unitária e corporativa, baseada na igualdade dos cidadãos perante a lei [...] A igualdade perante a lei envolve o direito de ser provido nos cargos públicos, conforme a capacidade ou serviços prestados, e a negação de qualquer privilégio de nascimento, nobreza, título nobiliárquico, sexo ou condição social, salvas, quanto às mulheres, diferenças resultantes da sua natureza e do bem da família [...].<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1.

<sup>599</sup> The Portuguese Constitution, 1933, art. 5.

By the time Lisboa broadcast the play in 1973, two years had passed since the Article had been amended and the original reference to the ‘good of the family’ deleted. The limitations imposed by female nature, however, remained unaltered.

Claims and grievances expressed by female characters in *La Colonie* might, in fact, have been uttered by women living in Portugal at the time of the radio performance. As we know it today, the one-act play *La Colonie* is a rewriting of *La Nouvelle Colonie ou La ligue des femmes* (*The New Colonie, or the Women’s League*), a three-act play which had been a flop. Performed in 1729 in Paris at the Théâtre de l’Hotel de Bourgogne by actors of the Comédie-Italienne, it was withdrawn after the first performance. Of this earlier version only a ‘divertissement,’ together with the synopsis and reviews printed in the June 1729 *Mercure de France* are known today. Marivaux returned to his material twenty years later, and in 1750 a revised, one-act version, now with the title *La Colonie*, was published in the same gazette. Despite Eurico Lisboa filho’s claim that the play was only first performed in 1925, *La Colonie* was also performed at the time of its publication in *Mercure de France*, by amateurs in a private house.<sup>600</sup> Because of this beginning and also the fact that *La Colonie* was not included in editions of Marivaux’s drama until 1878, the play has been seen as surrounded by ‘a good deal of confusion,’ bearing ‘the stigma of uncertain origin.’<sup>601</sup>

The colony in question is that of a group of people who took refuge on an island, escaping the war in their home country. Stranded, the community is temporarily without a leader, which creates ‘the most beneficial context in the world’ for the women ‘to discuss their rights in regard to men.’<sup>602</sup> Having been chosen as representatives and leaders of the female community, two of the women, Madame Sorbin and Arthénice, are fully engaged in the attempt to introduce a new way of ruling the life of the community:

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<sup>600</sup> See *A Colônia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1 and Beta ‘The Metamorphosis of a Greek Comedy,’ p. 242.

<sup>601</sup> Peter V. Conroy, Jr., ‘Marivaux’s Feminist Polemic: *La Colonie*,’ *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 1 (Oct. 1980), 43–66 (p. 44).

<sup>602</sup> ‘le gouvernement de notre patrie a cessé’, ‘la conjoncture du monde la plus favorable pour discuter notre droit vis-à-vis les hommes.’ Pierre Marivaux, *La Colonie*, in *Marivaux. Théâtre Complet*, ed. by Marcel Arland (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), p. 642.

Mme. Sorbin [...] Vous savez bien que les hommes vont dans un moment s'assembler sous des tents afin d'y choisir entre eux deux hommes qui nous feront des lois; on a battu le tambour pour convoquer l'assemblée.

Arthénice Eh bien?

Mme. Sorbin Eh bien? Il n'y a qu'à faire battre le tambour aussi pour enjoindre à nos femmes d'avoir à mépriser les règlements de ces messieurs, et dresser tout de suite une belle et bonne ordonnance de séparation d'avec les hommes [...]<sup>603</sup>

In Portuguese, their aims are as clearly expressed as in French, but the use of the possessive 'nosso' ('our') qualifying the women's drum highlights both their alliance and their opposition to men (my underlining):

M.me S. A senhora sabe muito bem que, dentro de momentos, os homens vão reunir-se nas tendas, para escolherem dois, dentre eles, que nos ditem leis; tocaram o tambor para convocar uma assembleia.

A. E então?

M.me S. Então? Nada mais temos a fazer senão tocar também o nosso tambor para convencer as [unintelligible, possibly 'nossas'] mulheres a desprezarem as leis desses senhores e redigir logo uma ordem para nos separarmos deles [...]<sup>604</sup>

The expression 'também o nosso' was in fact added by hand to an otherwise very literal translation which before handwritten corrections unidiomatically read 'para animar as [unintelligible] mulheres a desprezarem' (my underlining).

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<sup>603</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 643.

<sup>604</sup> *A Colônia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 2.

The two allies attempt to set up a regime whereby women are no longer relegated to a limited sphere of action but are instead given the right to actively participate in the governing of the colony and in all activities in general:

Arthénice      Messieurs, daignez répondre à notre question; vous allez faire des règlements pour la République, n'y travaillerons-nous pas de concert? A quoi nous destinez-vous là-dessus?

A.                Senhores, dignem-se responder às nossas perguntas. Vão fazer regulamentos para a república? Não nos querem de acordo? A que é que nos destinam?<sup>605</sup>

Once again, the Portuguese translation changes the idea slightly, yet meaningfully. While in French Arthénice suggests that men and women participate together in the making of the law, in Portuguese she wonders whether men are interested in having women's agreement regarding the upcoming laws. Because the question is asked in the negative, Arthenice's assumption is that men are not keen on securing women's accord. The implication is that if the men had it their way, the female perspective would not be taken on board. Women's agreement or disagreement regarding man-made laws meant to rule both men and women was therefore negligible and the female perspective was ignored.

This was not very far from the truth in Portugal at the time Eurico Lisboa filho was making this type of choices for his version of the text. In spite of the fact that the right to vote, given to women for the first time by the military dictatorship in 1931, was kept and expanded under the *Estado Novo*, it was only when Marcelo Caetano became Prime Minister in 1968 that all women became voters. Before this, a law passed in 1946 had granted suffrage to married women who were either literate or, if illiterate, liable for taxes, thus

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<sup>605</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 662 and *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 14.

broadening the 1931 determination that only certain women could vote.<sup>606</sup> However, despite the advantageous character that the 1968 measure had for the regime, given that ‘women were more conservative than men,’<sup>607</sup> it still did not apply to municipal elections, in which the right to vote was limited to the head of the family, the man. Meanwhile, men had only to be able to read and write. In short, ‘[o] sufrágio universal para os adultos do sexo masculino e do sexo feminino, sem restrições socialmente significativas, só seria adoptado pela primeira vez em 1974.’<sup>608</sup> In terms of women’s rights, the comparison with other countries is shocking if we bear in mind that the women’s suffrage movement had won the right to vote in England in 1918 and in America in 1920.

There were therefore many reasons why Portuguese women in 1973 would not agree with the rule of law, namely the determinations of the Constitution itself, as mentioned above. The female perspective did not, however, go totally unnoticed when it came to policy making. In fact, unlike the First Republic, the Estado Novo granted women not only the right to elect but also to be elected, namely to sit in the National Assembly. As early as 1934, three women were elected to serve as deputies for the first time in Portuguese history. The pioneers were the Maria Amália high school rector Maria Guardiola (who was also the leader of Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina or Portuguese Female Youth for thirty years, until 1968), the doctor Domitília de Carvalho and Maria Cândida Parreira. These three women ‘although they were unmarried and conservative, practising Catholics, did not come from the single party or from the small fascist movements. They certainly did not come from the moderate feminist movement of the

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<sup>606</sup> According to the Decree Law no. 19 694, 1931, only those women aged 21 and over with a secondary school or university diploma, widows, divorced women and married women with husbands abroad could vote.

<sup>607</sup> As mentioned in a memorandum of the Corporatist Council, quoted by Anne Cova and António Costa Pinto, ‘Women and Salazarism’, in *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. by Christine Fauré (London and New York: Routledge, 2003) pp. 610-623 (p. 615).

<sup>608</sup> Rui Ramos, ‘Para uma história política da cidadania em Portugal,’ *Análise Social*, 39:172 (2004), 547-569 (p. 547).

liberal Republic.<sup>609</sup> They were, in other scholars' expression, 'legitimadoras da trilogia Deus-Pátria-Família.'<sup>610</sup>

On the other hand, it was only in 1971 that Maria Teresa Lobo became the first female member of a Portuguese government. While Ana Paula Ferreira acknowledges 'Salazar's interest in bringing some women to the forefront of social and political life,' for this scholar 'these so called feminine victories [were] recognizably targeted at an elite of intellectual, and preferably single, women [who] were to become the token women and occasionally the mouthpieces of the regime's anti-feminist agenda.'<sup>611</sup> This seems to echo Salazar's early comment made at the time of the inaugural female election: '[i]n both the upper and lower houses there will be some women – which does not mean that the state or the women have converted to feminism.'<sup>612</sup>

The fact that female participation in the National Assembly during the regime was always scant might also have been partially due to widespread female illiteracy, which was much more common than male one. By the end of 1974, for instance, one and half times more women than men were illiterate (130,000 women and 80,000 men).<sup>613</sup> This helps to explain the similarly limited presence of women in the single party:

[t]he União Nacional (UN; National Union) was a party of notables that benefited from a well-entrenched organization in the provinces and close ties to the local administration, and which was dependent on the state. The number of women in

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<sup>609</sup> Cova and Costa Pinto, 'Women and Salazarism,' p. 615.

<sup>610</sup> Áurea Adão and Maria José Remédios, 'A narratividade educativa na 1ª fase da governação de Oliveira Salazar. A voz das mulheres na Assembleia Nacional portuguesa (1935-1945)', in *Revista Lusófona de Educação*, 5 (2005), 85-109 (p. 92).

<sup>611</sup> Ana Paula Ferreira, 'Home Bound: The Construct of Femininity in the Estado Novo,' *Portuguese Studies*, 12 (1996), pp. 133-144 (p. 136); Maria Reynolds de Sousa, 'As primeiras deputadas portuguesas', *A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa. Visão histórica e perspectivas actuais*, 2 (1986), 427-44 (pp. 430-31).

<sup>612</sup> Salazar's comment was published in the newspaper *O Século* on 19 November 1934 (p. 1) and is quoted by Anne Cova and António Costa Pinto, 'O Salazarismo e as mulheres - uma abordagem comparativa', *Penélope*, 7 (1997), 71-94 (p. 80); and by Cova and Costa Pinto, 'Women and Salazarism,' p. 615.

<sup>613</sup> Ferreira, José Medeiros, 'A evolução da Sociedade Portuguesa,' in *História de Portugal: Portugal em Transe*, dir. by José Mattoso, 8, (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994), pp. 166-167.



the National Union remained very low during the regime of the New State: on average, they formed 3.7 percent of the total membership (from the foundation of the National Union until the end of the New State 44 years later.)<sup>614</sup>

Lack of skills was, in addition, a cause of poor female participation in other areas of activity. It is, for instance, the reason put forward by Isabel Ventura for the reduced number of women in journalism, given that in 1970 only twenty-four women were members of the Sindicato dos Profissionais da Imprensa de Lisboa: '[...] se o acesso à profissão não estava vedado às mulheres por qualquer cláusula jurídica [...], a falta de competências e de ferramentas básicas para o exercício da profissão eram, claramente, um factor de bloqueio.'<sup>615</sup>

Even though the Colonial War and the subsequent rise in male emigration in the 1960s, as well as the replacement of Salazar by Marcelo Caetano at the end of that decade produced some changes, until the end of the regime in 1974 the female space was the domestic one. According to the 'official discourse of the Estado Novo on the separation and complementarity of the sexes [which] inexorably promoted a domestic focus for women's lives,'<sup>616</sup> the model to be followed was that of the woman who 'manages her home as Salazar manages his country.'<sup>617</sup> Women were the product of an education focused on the home and the family, and raised

a ouvir reproduzidas mensagens inspiradas nas encíclicas *Rerum Novarum* (1891) e *Quadragesimo anno* (1931) que definiam o seu papel de mulheres como boas donas de casa e mães de família, predisposição com que supostamente a natureza as

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<sup>614</sup> Cova and Costa Pinto, 'Women and Salazarism,' p. 615.

<sup>615</sup> Isabel Ventura, *A Emergência das mulheres repórteres nas décadas de 60 e 70*, Masters Thesis, Universidade Aberta (2007), p. 26.

<sup>616</sup> Virginia Ferreira, 'Engendering Portugal: Social Change, State Politics, and Women's Social Mobilization', in *Modern Portugal*, edited by António Costa Pinto (Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998) pp. 162- 188 (p. 164).

<sup>617</sup> See Gameiro, 'Uma nova visão da família,' p. 358. See also Chapter Four of this thesis.

dotou, e a que a ideologia salazarista acrescentou a devoção à Pátria e a ocupação do governo doméstico.<sup>618</sup>

The same was expected of women in Marivaux's colony. To Arthénice's question as to what the men intended for the women to do ('A quoi nous destinez-vous là-dessus?'), the men reply:

Hermocrate	A rien, comme à l'ordinaire.
Un autre homme	C'est à dire à vous marier quand vous serez filles, à obéir à vos maris quand vous serez femmes, et à veiller sur votre maison: on ne saurait vous ôter cela, c'est votre lot.
Madame Sorbin	Est-ce là votre dernier mot? Battez tambour; ( <i>A Lina</i> ) et vous, allez afficher l'ordonnance à cet arbre. ( <i>On bat le tambour et Lina affiche</i> ).
Hermocrate	Mais, qu'est-ce que cette mauvaise plaisanterie-là? Parlez-leur donc, seigneur Timagène, sachez de quoi il est question.
Timagène	Voulez-vous bien vous expliquer, madame?
Madame Sorbin	Lisez l'affiche, l'explication y est.
Arthénice	Elle vous apprendra que nous voulons nous mêler de tout, être associées à tout, exercer avec vous tous les emplois, ceux de finance, de judicature et d'épée.

Hermócrates	A nada, como de costume, ou, quer dizer, a casarem-se, a obedecerem aos maridos e a cuidarem da casa. Não lhes podemos tirar isso: é quinhão que lhes cabe.
M.me S.	É essa a vossa última palavra, senhores? A trompa que toque! Lina, vai afixar o cartaz naquela árvore. ( <i>Trompa.</i> )
H.	Mas que quer dizer esta brincadeira, sem graça? Fale-lhes, Timágenes, e veja se sabe o que é.
T.	Quererá a senhora explicar-se?
M.me S.	Leia o cartaz. Tem lá explicação.

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<sup>618</sup> Espírito Santo, *Adeus, até ao teu Regresso*, pp. 17-18.

A.                                    Ele ensinar-lhes-á que nós queremos tomar parte em tudo, associarmo-nos a tudo, exercer convosco todos os empregos, das finanças, da jurisdição e das armas.<sup>619</sup>

Female ambition in the play was similar to that of real life Portuguese women in the same year of the broadcast, when careers in the diplomatic service and public office, for example, were not available to women. Arthénice's statement that women 'want to be involved in everything, to be associated with everything, and to share with men all the jobs' might have been uttered by Portuguese women present at the III Congresso da Oposição Democrática held in the same year of the broadcast (1973), in preparation for the autumn legislative elections. The women's committee set up by the Comissão Democrática Eleitoral demanded

[s]alário igual para trabalho igual; igualdade de promoção para a mulher trabalhadora; igualdade de acesso a todas as profissões; absoluta igualdade no plano jurídico em relação ao marido; substituição da pequena economia doméstica, opressiva e humilhante [...].<sup>620</sup>

In *La Colonie*, the men's first reaction to the women's demands is incredulous indifference:

Madame Sorbin            [...] je dresserai des lois aussi, moi.  
M. Sorbin, *riant*            Toi! hé, hé, hé.

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<sup>619</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 662, and *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, pp. 14-5.

<sup>620</sup> From "Necessidade e importância de um movimento democrático de mulheres.' III Congresso da Oposição Democrática, Aveiro (4 a 8 de Abril de 1973). Arquivo Mário Soares," quoted by Vanda Gorjão, *Mulheres em tempos sombrios: oposição feminina ao Estado Novo* (Lisboa: ICS, 2002).

Timagéne, *riant* Hé, hé, hé, hé.  
 Arthénice Qu'y a-t-il donc de si plaisant? Elle a raison, elle en sera, j'en serai moi-même.  
 Timagène Vous, madame?  
 M. Sorbin, *riant* Des lois!  
 Arthénice Assurément.  
 M. Sorbin, *riant* Ah bien! tant mieux, faites, amusez-vous, jouez une farce; mais gardez-nous votre drôlerie pour une autre fois, cela est trop bouffon pour le temps qui est court.

M.meS. [...] eu também vou fazer leis.  
 S.(rindo, juntamente com Timágenes:) Tu! Ah! Ah! Ah!  
 A. Que há nisso de tão engraçado? Ela vai fazê-las e eu também.  
 T. A Artenice?  
 S. Leis?! (nova gargalhada)  
 A. Com certeza.  
 S. Tanto melhor! Façam-nas, divirtam-se, representem uma comédia, mas guardem as vossas brincadeiras para outra vez; isto é muito cómico para este momento.

Later, shocked objections follow. This, however, does not impact on the women's determination and Arthénice and Madame Sorbin appear confident of their success:

Madame Sorbin [...] Je vous annonce et vous signifie [...] que votre femme, que vous aime, que vous devez aimer, qui est cotre compagne, votre bonne amie et non pas votre petite servante, à moins que vous ne soyez son petir serviteur, je vous signifie que vous ne l'avez plus, qu'elle vous quitte, qu'elle rompt ménage et vous remet la clef du logis [...]

M.me S. [...] [a] tua mulher, que te ama e que tu deves amar, que é a tua companheira, a tua amiga e não tua criada, a menos que tu

sejas também o seu criado, participa-te que já não te pertence,  
que te devolve a chave de casa. [...]<sup>621</sup>

All goes well until they are suddenly tricked by Hermocrate into a quarrel that almost instantly breaks down their alliance and brings their enterprise to an end.

Hermocrate's twofolded strategy is to divide and rule. On the one hand, he creates a rift between Arthénice and Madame Sorbin by igniting the controversy regarding the different social classes to which they belong; on the other hand, he feigns a war that prompts irreconcilable reactions on the part of each one of them. The women give up their claims and each goes back to being a wife and an unengaged citizen, at peace with the men. Petty issues which the two female leaders prove to be unable to overcome cause the abortion of the feminist project. Because *La Colonie* ends with a display of the large distance separating women's ambitions and their inherent breability, the resulting portrayal of women in the play is not a positive one:

Son [de la colonie] euphorie initiale se dissout comme celle de L'Île des esclaves en une incapacité fondamentale pour l'exercice politique autonome. Ce semblant d'utopie féministe cache en guise de "nature" humaine un insidieux antiféminisme, l'inégalité innée qui fait que les choses sont très bien comme elles sont déjà, moyennant une petite leçon de douceur. Les deux pièces se résolvent ainsi en une pareille réaffirmation du *statu quo*.<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 666, and *A Colônia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 17.

<sup>622</sup> Philip Stewart, 'Îles Ironiques,' in *Impréssions d'îles*, org. by Françoise Létoublon (Paris: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1996), pp. 271-80 (p. 277).

### *La Colonie*, an ambiguous play

Critical disagreement on how to interpret the play has been mainly based on the implications of this abrupt and, from a certain perspective at least, frustrating ending. While Marcel Arland, for instance, thinks that it is '[u]ne pièce alerte et fort plaisante, où l'on pourrait découvrir en Marivaux le premier de nos écrivains 'féministes',<sup>623</sup> others assert Marivaux's anti-feminism. Lauren Taaffe's question referring to a similar issue raised by *Lysistrata*'s ending summarises the problem: '[...] how does a feminist production reconcile the women's return to marriage, silence, and the patriarchal construction of gender roles with the outspokenness of the heroine?'<sup>624</sup>

For Peter Conroy, the unexpected dénouement does not affect the 'subversive' and 'pro-feminist' character of Marivaux's ideas in *La Colonie*, because:<sup>625</sup>

[t]hough frankly disappointing from both dramatic and ideological points of view, this ending can be defended as a traditional comic *finale*, voluntarily illogical. As such, it would belong to that comic tradition of final curtains when long-lost relatives suddenly return from far-off journeys or when disguised lovers finally reveal their true identities and their real affections. Such an ending, then, would not betray Marivaux's feminist sympathies. Rather, it would be a wink of complicity to the perspicacious. This is unreal, impossible, Marivaux would be saying; but this is what the genre demands, and therefore it is how I must end the comedy. Or it is what the audience demands, or the social prejudices of the time require.<sup>626</sup>

Conroy sees the comic aspect of the play as a contribution to Marivaux's 'provocative formulation of the struggle between the sexes, [...] a challenging and wryly

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<sup>623</sup> Marcel Arland's edition of Marivaux, *Theatre Complet* (Paris, 1949), p. xxxi.

<sup>624</sup> Lauren K. Taaffe, *Aristophanes and Women* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 145.

<sup>625</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 53.

<sup>626</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 56.

affirmative feminist statement,<sup>627</sup> because '[b]y disguising (partially) this social-thesis play as a comedy, Marivaux could hope that the audience would laugh – and thus accept the play – in spite of its seriousness.'<sup>628</sup>

Derek Connon agrees with this effect when he states that:

we must never forget that Marivaux was writing comedy. [...] One has to engage the attention of one's audiences before attempting to convey any message to them, and the way to do this in a comedy is by making them laugh. The traditional comic devices used by Marivaux may, on the philosophical level, contradict his political message, but, on the much more important theatrical level, they are there to support it.<sup>629</sup>

Yet, this critic's opinion is ambiguous. While he reminds us that:

such devices, being a legacy of the *commedia dell'arte*, were a familiar source of comedy, which formed such a natural part of comic drama for Marivaux, his actors and his audience that they could be used without compromising the effect of the more revolutionary aspects of the work,<sup>630</sup>

he also points out that our laughter is directed at what a feminist interpretation of the play would like us to take seriously - the women's ambitions.<sup>631</sup> For Connon, '[w]hat is clear, is that those who claim *La Colonie* as an unequivocally feminist tract are going too far:

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<sup>627</sup> Peter V. Conroy Jr., 'Marivaux's *The Colony*,' *Signs*, 9:2 (1983/4), 336-360 (p. 336).

<sup>628</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 54.

<sup>629</sup> Connon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 183.

<sup>630</sup> Connon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' pp. 182-3.

<sup>631</sup> Connon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 173.

Marivaux laughs at his women too much for his support of them to be unambiguously wholehearted, and, of course, their revolt is not allowed to succeed.<sup>632</sup>

Apart from the overthrow of the feminist revolution, the play's ambiguity is further complicated by Timagène's, and the play's, last line:

Timagène      Je me réjouis de voir l'affaire terminée. Ne vous inquiétez point, Mesdames; allez vous mettre à l'abri de la guerre, on aura soin de vos droits dans les usages qu'on va établir.

T.                Eu alegro-me por ver a questão terminada. Não se inquietem, pois, minhas senhoras. Ponham-se ao abrigo da guerra. Ter-se-á em atenção os vossos direitos nos novos usos que se vão estabelecer.<sup>633</sup>

The characters leave the stage following the assertion that the women's demands regarding their rights will be met. However, this fulfillment is dependent on the men and, as a consequence, '[d]epending on the reader's own disposition, that ambiguous comment can be optimistic (the promise of a new social order vindicates the women's struggle and indeed grows out of it), or pessimistic (this is just another idle promise that will never be honored).'<sup>634</sup>

In sharp contrast to Derek Connors, Conroy highlights the fact that '[*La Colonie*] confronts the issue of woman's rights and her legitimate role in a society totally dominated by men who are unwilling to share any of their political power,'<sup>635</sup> thus becoming Marivaux's 'most powerful pro-feminist statement.' Such a stance on the part of Marivaux is unsurprising if, with Conroy, we see his plays as 'distinctly oriented towards women.'<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Connors, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 183.

<sup>633</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, Marcel Arland *Marivaux. Théâtre Complet*, 1949 p. 671 and *A Colônia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 20.

<sup>634</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 57.

<sup>635</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 44.

<sup>636</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 43.



Conroy supports this opinion by remarking how '[m]ost of his dramatic productions, written for the troupe of Italian *bouffe* players then in Paris, were focused on the female lead, Sylvia, and created for her central, critical roles [...]'.<sup>637</sup> After considering all the genres that Marivaux practices, this scholar concludes that the French playwright produced an 'entire oeuvre [which] reveals a special interest in women, a positive and sympathetic concern that is unique in the eighteenth century for its breadth and depth,' and is therefore, 'the French writer of the eighteenth century most sympathetic to women and the most understanding of their situation as women.'<sup>638</sup>

Some years before him, Kathy Lüthi had reached a similar conclusion as she was studying the female characters in the works of Marivaux. She claimed that '[l]e tempérament et le caractère de Marivaux firent de lui l'ami des femmes. Il a pour elles [les femmes] une sympathie et une considération particulières, et la principale valeur de son œuvre réside dans l'étude approfondie des caractères féminins.'<sup>639</sup>

Marivaux's feminist stance in *La Colonie* in particular can be seen to be so strongly expressed, in fact, that Roman Zylawy thinks that it must be seen as the explanation for the play's failure on stage: '*La Colonie* was doomed to failure because of the poignancy of its content and due to the century's unpreparedness for such bold feminist rhetoric.'<sup>640</sup>

According to the introduction to the 1973 broadcast, Eurico Lisboa filho shared Zylawy's view. He thought that Marivaux's œuvre includes 'algumas pequenas peças que não gozaram de sucesso, na sua época, talvez por arrojadas para então, mas que hoje são bastante actuais, como "A Ilha da Razão ou Os Pequenos Homens," "A Ilha dos Escravos" e sobretudo "A Colónia" [...]'.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 43.

<sup>638</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 43.

<sup>639</sup> Käthy Lüthi, *Les femmes dans l'œuvre de Marivaux* (Bienne: Les Éditions du Chandelier, 1943), p. 28.

<sup>640</sup> Roman Zylawy, 'Marivaux's feminism in *La Colonie*', *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Conference*, 25th Meeting (1974), pp. 208-11 (p. 208) quoted by Connon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 173).

<sup>641</sup> *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 1.

### Eurico Lisboa filho's *A Colônia*

The critical indecision as to whether this work should be placed alongside early feminist statements or not is caused by the ambiguity created by the play. On the one hand, Marivaux's reworking of his material, twenty years after the first attempt, can be seen as an indication that the subject was important to him.<sup>642</sup> In addition, '[...] the very fact that Marivaux wrote such a play and allowed his female characters to express these views with such eloquence seems to indicate strongly that he had a degree of sympathy with them.'<sup>643</sup> Yet, on the other hand, '[...] time and again, we are struck by the comic effect of the dichotomy between the ideology expressed by the women and the reality demonstrated by their actions.'<sup>644</sup>

Transposing these claims, it can be argued that the fact that Eurico Lisboa filho translated, adapted and produced this play in particular is a similarly eloquent indication of where his own sympathies lie. Especially if we take into account that identifying the work's boldness as the reason for its unfortunate early reception was an acknowledgment of the play's pro-feminist stand. The textual elements support this implicit introductory claim that the play is a feminist work. Moreover, in Eurico Lisboa filho's version of the play, part of the ambiguity that has been keeping scholars busy is dissolved.

Limits to his role as the play's 'translator' and 'adaptor'<sup>645</sup> prevented Lisboa from making Marivaux assume in Portuguese the openly feminist position that Roman Zylawy thought was lacking: 'Marivaux does not actually take an explicitly open stand in women's favour. In the course of the play he also shows the less desirable traits of women.'<sup>646</sup> However, Lisboa did make use of the other option available to him: to not show the so-called 'less desirable traits' of the main female characters, in other words, to reduce the

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<sup>642</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 45.

<sup>643</sup> Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' pp. 173-4.

<sup>644</sup> Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' pp. 173-4.

<sup>645</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, no distinction was made between these two categories.

<sup>646</sup> Roman Zylawy, 'Marivaux's feminism in *La Colonie*', *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Conference*, 25th Meeting (1974), pp. 208-11 (p. 208) quoted by Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 173.

extent and diminish the strength of the play's criticism of women. This was mainly achieved in two complementary ways, which can be summarised as cuts made to the play. The main differences distinguishing those two types of cuts are related to the specificities of a radio drama production and the different moments involved therein. More specifically, they touch upon the difficult distinction between the tasks of translating and adapting for the stage – be it an invisible or a visible one.

The first type of cuts identified in this translation are the ones which, chronologically, were done first. They concern the omission of certain characters and passages present in the French text. These elements were omitted in all the scripts handed out to the eight-strong cast. The fact that the RTP archive holds two scripts for this broadcast, each of them belonging to a different actress/character, allowed the identification of a second type of cuts, which were made by hand and not included in all scripts. The contrast between the two different scripts show that changes made to the original translation were only added, by hand, to the script of the actor whose lines were changed. They suggest, in consequence, that these modifications were done at a very late stage. Furthermore, they may have been a product of the actresses' own input regarding the text they were meant to perform. This is not uncommon practice in stage performances of translations, as the example studied by Margaret Rose and Cristina Marinetti in a recent volume on 'staging and performing translation' illustrates: 'when the work on the adaptation started [...] the translator became part of a team composed of writer, director, producer and actor, resulting in an adaptation which includes many suggestions and ideas deriving from group discussions.'<sup>647</sup>

In the case of Eurico Lisboa filho's *A Colónia*, the most significant changes to the translation are found in the script of Maria Schultz, who played Madame Sorbin. The other script belonged to the actress Raquel Valdez, who played Lina Sorbin. Maria Amélia

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<sup>647</sup> Margaret Rose and Cristina Marinetti, 'The translator as cultural promoter: or how Renato Gabrielli's *Qualcosa Trilla* went on the Road as *Mobile Thriller*', *Staging and performing translation*, pp. 139-154 (p. 141).

Schultz Certã's (1914 - ?) was an experienced actress who had famously appeared in 1942 in the play *Novos e Velhos*, an adaptation by Lino Ferreira, Fernando Santos and Almeida Amaral of Fernando del Villar's homonymous play, performed in the Teatro Variedades in Lisbon. She had also taken part in Henrique Campos' 1946 film *Um Homem do Ribatejo*. In the 1960s she worked regularly for the Emissora Nacional, mainly participating in the children's programme 'Meia Hora de Recreio'.<sup>648</sup>

One of the most important modifications introduced in Maria Schultz's script (in other words, Madame Sorbin's interventions) concerns Hermocrate's divisive strategy to break down the two female leaders' alliance. As previously mentioned, the plan included using Arthénice and Madame Sorbin's contrast in terms of social class so as to create an acrimonious argument between the two. Crucially, in Portuguese, the row was omitted. The first deletion concerns the initial subtle offence that Hermocrate caused to Madame Sorbin: (cuts are underlined in the quotation below, and they correspond to deletions found only in Maria Schultz/Madame Sorbin's script):

Hermocrate	Vous l'emportez, madame, vous triomphez d'une résistance qui nous priverait du bonheur de vivre avec vous, et qui n'aurait pas duré longtemps si toutes les femmes de la colonie ressemblaient à la noble Arthenice. Sa raison, sa politesse, ses grâces et sa naissance nous auraient déterminé bien vite; mais à vous parler franchement, le caractère de madame Sorbin, qui va partager avec vous le pouvoir de faire des lois, nous a d'abord arrêtés, non qu'on ne la croie femme de mérite à sa façon, mais la petitesse de sa condition, qui ne va pas ordinairement sans rusticité, disent-ils...
Madame Sorbin	Tre dame! ce petit personnage avec sa petite condition...

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<sup>648</sup> In 1967 she took part in 'Meia Hora de Recreio's' '*A Lagartixa Ambiciosa*', '*O Cravo da Páscoa*' and '*A Prenda do Cuco*'.

- H. Venceu, M.me Artenice. Triunfou duma resistência que nos privaria da felicidade de viver convosco e que não teria durado muito tempo, se todas as mulheres da Colónia se parecessem com a nobre Artenice. O seu espírito, a sua graça, o seu nascimento ter-nos-iam determinado depressa, mas, para lhe falar francamente, o carácter de M.me Sorbin, que vai partilhar consigo o poder de fazer leis, fez-nos parar logo; não que a não julgemos mulher de mérito [unintelligible] seu modo; mas a modéstia da sua condição, que geralmente não vai sem rusticidade...
- M.me S. Oram vejam! A modesta personagem, com a sua modesta condição...

Without this successful attempt to irritate Madame Sorbin, there is no triggering of her reaction, which in French was articulated by the wish to use her recently obtained power to suppress the nobility, thus becoming socially equal to her companion Arthénice. A number of lines uttered in French by Madame Sorbin were translated but later crossed out from the Portuguese version, namely '[h]á um [artigo] que me desagrada e que eu risco. É o da nobreza. Ponho-a de parte, para tirar também as modestas condições. Acabem-se essas ninharias,' and '[...] eu ordeno, em virtude do meu pleno poder, que as ditas Artenice e Sorbin sejam iguais.'<sup>649</sup> Logically, as a consequence, not only Hermocrate's encouragement of the women's argument but, more importantly, Artenice's reaction to this demand, were ignored. The EN audience did not, therefore, listen to the ensuing escalation of the argument, namely Arthénice's insulting response to her ally ('[n]ão, eu nasci com um privilégio [sic], que hei-de conservar, M.me Artesanato [...] Vamos, justifique-se da rusticidade de que a acusam.').<sup>650</sup> From here onwards, the French dialogue contains a sequence of mutual insults exchanged in an increasingly irritated tone. All of these lines were crossed out from Madame Sorbin's Portuguese speech and listeners do not find out

<sup>649</sup> *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 19.

<sup>650</sup> *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 19.

that Madame Sorbin compares Artenice to ‘uma criança a chorar por um brinquedo’ and ironically calls her ‘M.me Eleita, a Nobre,’ while her former companion calls Madame Sorbin ‘mulherzinha’ and ‘esta extravagante.’<sup>651</sup> Meanwhile, Hermocrate continues to carry out his role as instigator very efficiently, yet in Portuguese all his doings were silenced (all the underlined lines were crossed out):

- M.me S        Isso não vale nada. Oponho-me.
- A.               O que eu digo não vale nada?!
- M.me S        Absolutamente nada; menos do que nada.
- H.               Não sou do seu parecer, M.me Sorbin. Apesar de ser homem., acho  
uma coisa justa.
- M.me S.        Pois eu não.
- [...]
- Claro, falo como mulher de modesta condição. Compreende; nós  
não mudamos de homens, de maridos; enquanto que não se passa o  
mesmo com as damas, que troçam da ordem e fazem como os  
homens. Mas a minha lei vai encarreirá-las.
- H.               Que é que responde, M.me Artenice? Que devo eu escrever?
- A.               Que maneira haverá de nos entendermos com esta palradora?

### **The women’s argument**

Hereafter the Portuguese translation remains unaltered. Without the row and the discussion about each woman’s requests regarding changes to be introduced in the law, the performance merely indicates Artenice’s and M.me Sorbin’s intention to make two particular additions to the regulations, without, however, providing an explanation as to what they are:

- A.               Eu só insistirei num artigo.
- M.me S        E eu igualmente!

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<sup>651</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 19-20.

A.                    Que maneira haverá de nos entendermos com esta palradora?  
(*Gritos e passos*)

With these changes, the strength of female vanity as ‘the dispute which breaks the women’s assembly,’<sup>652</sup> is depleted. Even though Derek Connon fails to distinguish between the different types of vanity expressed in the text, it is social vanity that which ultimately antagonises the two leaders. This conclusion, however, is simply not applicable to Lisboa filho’s *A Colónia*.

While in the Portuguese text references to the women’s concern regarding their physical appearance are kept, particularly in the scene in which the protagonists try to convince the other women to make a vow of ugliness, the omission of a part of the final scene described above conditions the outcome of the play and the depiction of the women. They are no longer so clearly portrayed as having ‘personalities [which] make them incapable of ever living up’ to the ‘perfectly reasonable feminist polemic presented by Marivaux.’<sup>653</sup> In fact, in the Portuguese radio version the sole aspect that makes Artenice and Madame Sorbin abandon their cause is the war.

The second part of the strategy conceived by Hermocrate’s, the play’s *deus ex-machina*, consists in the attempt to make the women take up arms and join the men in a feigned military invasion. The ‘gritos e passos’ that accompany Artenice’s last speech quoted above are an indication of the piece of news with which Timagène/Timagènes interrupts her (the underlined expression was crossed out):

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<sup>652</sup> Connon, ‘Old Dogs and New Tricks,’ p. 650.

<sup>653</sup> ‘So there is a strong dichotomy between the women’s aspirations and their capacity for success, between their common-sense ideology and their foolish behaviour, between the sympathetic picture they give of their social exploitation and their frequent disagreeableness. Marivaux presents a perfectly reasonable feminist polemic, but places it in the mouths of women whose personalities make them incapable of ever living up to it. The politics are ideological and revolutionary, the characters are traditional stereotypes.’ (Connon, ‘Old Dogs and New Tricks,’ pp. 176-7).

Timagène, *à Arthenice* Madame, on vient d'apercevoir une foule innombrable de sauvages qui descendent dans la plaine pour nous attaquer. Nous avons déjà rassemblé les hommes; hâtez-vous de votre côté d'assembler les femmes, et commandez-nous aujourd'hui avec madame Sorbin, pour entre en exercice des emplois militaires; voilà des armes que nous vous apportons.

Madame Sorbin      Moi, je vous fais le colonel de l'affaire. Les hommes seront encore capitaines jusqu'à ce que nous sachions le métier.

M. Sorbin            Mais venez au moins batailler.

Arthénice            La brutalité de cette femme-là me dégoûte de tout, et je renonce à un projet impraticable avec elle.

Madame Sorbin      Sa sottise gloire me raccommode avec vous autres. Viens, mon mari, je te pardonne; va te battre, je vais à notre ménage.

T.                      Arthenice! Senhora! Acabamos de ver uma inumerável multidão de selvagens, que correm para a planície, para nos atacarem! Nós já reunimos os homens. Apresses-se, por seu lado, para reunir as mulheres e, com M.me Sorbin, comandem-nos a nós todos, para entrarem assim no exercício dos empregos militares. Aqui têm armas, que lhes trazemos.

M.me S              Eu faço-o a si coronel do regimento. Os homens serão ainda comandantes até que nós saibamos do ofício.

S.                      Mas venham ao menos combater!

A.                      A brutalidade desta mulher faz-me enjoar de tudo e renuncio a um projecto impraticável, na sua companhia.

M.me S              A parva toleima reconcilia-me com os homens. Vem, marido, eu perdoo-te. Vai combater, que eu vou para a nossa casa.

In the Portuguese translation, the ambitious feminist project, sternly defended from the beginning of the play until this brief final moment, is quickly overthrown because of a two-line dispute. Although Arthenice's question, put prior to the news of the war, '[q]ue maneira haverá de nos entendermos com esta palradora?' suggests that an understanding



between the two women is difficult, ‘palradora’ is not a pejorative adjective. If the actress playing Artenice said it in an affectionate manner, for example, it would not be an incoherent choice for the Portuguese text at this moment. Without the previous argument between Artenice and Madame Sorbin, its cynical tone and the irreconcilable social positions of each woman, the audience relates Artenice’s depiction of Madame Sorbin as ‘palradora’ to the fact that the former also wants to have a chance to speak, because she too wants to add something to the law. ‘Palradora,’ in fact, is not a common choice for the French ‘harangère’ (‘fishwife’), defined by the Dictionnaire Larrouse as ‘autrefois, femme qui vendait au détail du hareng ou d’autres poissons; femme querelleuse et grossière dans son langage et ses manières.’ In his translation of the play, Peter Conroy used the term ‘fishmonger.’ In Portuguese, a much more accurate, and definitely insulting, adjective would have been ‘peixeira.’ Artenice’s question, therefore, is not synonymous with a form of insult, but is rather to be interpreted as the expression of a mild irritation.

The two line dispute of the Portuguese translation, reduced to two very light forms of insult, is a consequence of Madame Sorbin’s prompt decision to not take part in the war and let the men take the lead. Artenice reacts to this decision by accusing Madame Sorbin of being brutal, a claim which does not make sense without the previous argument between the two women, especially if we recall that moments earlier Artenice herself had expressed the women’s wish to take part in battles alongside men:

Arthénice      Elle vous apprendra que nous voulons nous mêler de tout, être associées à tout, exercer avec vous tous les emplois, ceux de finance, de judicature et d’épée.

[...]

Hermocrate    D’épée, madame?

Arthénice      Oui d’épée, monsieur; sachez que jusqu’ici nous n’avons été poltronnes que par éducation.

A.           Ele ensinar-lhes-á que nós queremos tomar parte em tudo, associarmo-nos a tudo, exercer convosco todos os empregos, das finanças, da jurisdição e das armas.

[...]

H.           Das armas também ?!

A.           Das armas, sim. Fique sabendo, senhor, que, até aqui, nós só fomos poltrona por educação.<sup>654</sup>

In the Portuguese text, Artenice's choice of attribute to qualify Madame Sorbin is not supported by her growing irritation, and as a result it is even more puzzling than in the French text. An additional consequence of having deleted the disagreement between Artenice and Madame Sorbin is the simplification of Artenice's statement that she would no longer take part in the women's uprising. While the French text reads '[l]a brutalité de cette femme-là me dégoûte de tout, et je renonce à un projet impraticable avec elle,' '[n]a sua companhia' was eventually eliminated from the translation ('[a] brutalidade desta mulher faz-me enjoar de tudo e renuncio a um projecto impraticável, na sua companhia'). The aim of the Portuguese version was not to show that the women had ceased to struggle because they broke down as a team, but rather that they simply gave up the idea altogether. The war is thus the single cause of a sudden and simple rift that splits the two protagonists.

### **The war**

Even though the play was broadcast only a few days after Guinea-Bissau's independence from Portugal was proclaimed, the reference to war at the end of the play was not considered to be objectionable. Hermócrates' feigned conflict was a mere trick

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<sup>654</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, pp. 662-3, and *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 14-5.

and, as such, possible connections to the ongoing colonial war were unlikely.<sup>655</sup> A previous allusion to war, however, was deleted for its criticism. This was a typewritten modification to the text which can be found in the two actresses' scripts. Persinet's statement blaming the war for his unhappy love life, '[m]ais qui est-ce qui a rompu la paix? Maudite guerre, en attendant que tu finisses, je vais m'afliger tout à mon aise, en mon petit particulier,' was initially translated as '[m]as quem foi que rompeu a paz? Maldita guerra.' However, the last word, 'guerra' was subsequently crossed out and replaced by the abstract term 'coisa.'<sup>656</sup>

Unlike the Portuguese translation, in Marivaux's text the abrupt *dénouement* is caused not only by the news of the impending war but also by the social class row. Yet, it is consensually interpreted as 'frankly disappointing from both dramatic and ideological points of view,' 'unsatisfactory,' 'illogical,' 'artificial,' 'bustling' and 'little developed.'<sup>657</sup> The criticism can also be applied to the radio play, where the women's sudden decision to abandon their project is feebly supported and stands in stark contrast to the ideas forcefully defended throughout the play, therefore causing surprise and incredulity. Since it is too illogical to be taken seriously, it constitutes a comic moment, evidently fulfilling a need, imposed above all by the original text, to have the feminist project aborted. On the other hand, despite the fact that the question posed by the feminists' demands for equal rights remain unanswered, and still 'no political or social result is realized even in the fictional

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<sup>655</sup> 'Hermocrate: Attendez, messieurs, on en viendra à un accommodement, si vous le souhaitez [...]; mais il me vient une idée, voulez-vous vous en fier à moi? [...] mais comme nous avons la guerre avec les sauvages de cette île, revenez tous deux dans quelques moments nous dire qu'on les voit descendre en grand nombre de leurs montagnes et qu'ils viennent nous attaquer, rien que cela. Vous pouvez aussi amener avec vous quelques hommes qui porteront des armes, que vous leur présenterez pour le combat.'

'H.: Esperem, amigos, que, se quiserem, vamos arranjar um acordo [...] Tenho uma ideia. Querem confiar em mim? [...] como nós temos guerra com os selvagens desta ilha, voltem ambos, dentro de momentos, a dizerem-nos que eles estão a descer dos montes, em grande número, para nos atacarem. Apenas isto. Podem também trazer consigo alguns homens com armas, que vocês lhes emprestem, para o combate.' Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p., and *A Colônia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 18.

<sup>656</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p., and *A Colônia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 6.

<sup>657</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' pp. 56, 65 and 65; Roman Zylawy, 'Marivaux's feminism in *La Colonie*', *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Conference*, 25th Meeting (1974), pp. 208-11 (p. 211) quoted by Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 180; Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 180).

world of the theater,<sup>658</sup> the unlikelihood of such a sudden and brief finale underlines the space given throughout the play to feminist criticism and demands.

As to the claim that having the play ending in laughter, Marivaux, as well as Lisboa, laugh at women too much for their support of them to be wholehearted,<sup>659</sup> it should be noted that in the Portuguese translation the play does not exactly end on a humorous note. Having caused no argument between the women, Hermócrates's speech does not sound as cynical as in French and it is easier to believe in the sincerity of his final promise:

Timagène      Je me réjouis de voir l'affaire terminée. Ne vous inquiétez point, Mesdames; allez vous mettre à l'abri de la guerre, on aura soin de vos droits dans les usages qu'on va établir.

T.                Eu alegro-me por ver a questão terminada. Não se inquietem, pois, minhas senhoras. Ponham-se ao abrigo da guerra. Ter-se-á em atenção os vossos direitos nos novos usos que se vão estabelecer.<sup>660</sup>

Had the perspective been that of the *status quo*, and the intention been to disparage the women's demands for equality, as might have been expected from a programme broadcast by the Portuguese national radio station, Hermócrates' feigned war would not have been the only reason for the women to abandon their cause. Had that been the case, the women's row and the criticism of supposedly female traits that it entails would not have been deleted, but rather seized as an opportunity to ridicule women's struggle for equal rights. In other words, the opportunity to convey the idea that such a struggle was pointless, as well as to reinforce that women belonged to the domestic sphere would not have been missed.

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<sup>658</sup> Conroy, Jr., 'Marivaux's Feminist Polemic,' p. 56.

<sup>659</sup> Cannon, 'Old Dogs and New Tricks,' p. 183.

<sup>660</sup> Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 671 and *A Colónia*, 'Teatro de todos os tempos,' 02.08.1973, p. 20.

### *A Colónia and Novas Cartas Portuguesas*

Against the social context of life under the regime, the manipulation that produced the shifts and the text described above was likely to be interpreted, at any given time during the Estado Novo, as a reinforcement of Marivaux's support for the women's cause. In 1973, the year before the revolution, the significance of such a manipulative approach to the text was considerably enhanced by circumstances.

The moment Eurico Lisboa filho chose for the broadcast of this play was indeed an extremely meaningful one: August 1973 was only two months away from the beginning of the trial of Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Fátima Velho da Costa, the co-authors of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*. The book, denouncing women's condition in Portugal, was a scandalous best-seller. Its publication in 1972 by Estúdio Côr led to the prosecution of its three authors and publisher, the author Natália Correia, on the charge of 'abuse of the freedom of the press' and 'outrage to public decency.' As a result of the efforts on the part of the authors, who smuggled the book to France and made it known to feminist writer Christiane Rochefort, the volume attracted a great deal of international attention. In spite of the fact that initially the book not always read by its foreign supporters,<sup>661</sup> the cause of the three Portuguese writers was taken up by women's liberation organizations and international writer's groups. Demonstrations were held at Portuguese embassies and consulates in the United States, as well as 'in France, Belgium, Sweden, Germany and England,'<sup>662</sup> and the 'universal transnational oppression of woman under patriarchy' was denounced.<sup>663</sup> According to a March 1973 edition of the *Feminist Chronicles*, '[t]he Portuguese government suddenly postponed the trial of the three Marias in a delaying tactic calculated to relieve public pressure and discourage further demonstrations.' The

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<sup>661</sup> Ana Margarida Martins, 'Novas Cartas Portuguesas: The Making of a reputation,' *Journal of Feminist Scholarship*, 2 (2012), pp. 24-39 (p. 33) claims that 'the international solidarity campaign that developed in 1972-73 around the banning of Novas Cartas provides a spectacular example of massive international consumption of a text that was mostly not read at all, at least during the heated years of the protest.'

<sup>662</sup> 'Media', *Feminist Chronicles*, 1973.

<<http://www.feminist.org/research/chronicles/fc1973a.html>>.

<sup>663</sup> Owen, *Portuguese women's writing*, p. 11.

trial, which had been scheduled for July 1973, was postponed until October that year: '[a]s autoras estavam sob um regime de liberdade vigiada, pois no dia 10 de cada mês tinham de se apresentar na polícia, pelo que o processo se poderia eternizar. [...] O processo aberto a 5 de Julho [de 1973], tinha sido remetido para 25 de Outubro [de 1973] e, depois de uma audiência dedicada ao interrogatório das acusadas, foi de novo remetido para 31 de Janeiro de 1974.'<sup>664</sup>

It was during this lapse of time in the Summer of 1973, between the first and the second date of the trial, that Eurico Lisboa filho decided to broadcast Marivaux's play, on August 8, at 10 p.m.. Merely four days after the first date of the trial in July, he sent the script of his version of *A Colónia* to the 'D.S.P.,' 'Direcção dos Serviços de Programas' (Head of Programme Services). Bearing in mind that alterations crucial to the manipulation of the meaning of the text were added by hand to only one copy of the typed script, the text approved to be broadcast in 'Teatro de Todos os Tempos' must have been the original, unrevised, script, complete with the women's final row. Broadcasting the play in August, when the great majority of Portuguese people are on holiday, usually away at the beach, as opposed to, for example, in October, the month of the trial, can be seen as sign of caution.

While the feminist cause had always been a polarising issue during the *Estado Novo*, it had become a particularly sensitive subject after the publication of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, especially given that the book's 'depiction of the marginalisation of women became a metaphor for the marginalised condition of all Portuguese, both men and women.'<sup>665</sup> In spite of the fact that its publication was immediately followed by the censor's decision to ban the book and confiscate all its copies, according to Darlene Sadlier 'about 100 copies of the estimated 3,000 printed were sold,' and the book continued to circulate

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<sup>664</sup> Manuela Tavares, *Feminismos. Percursos e desafios (1947-2007)* (Lisboa: Texto Editores, 2011), p. 187.

<sup>665</sup> Macedo, 'Eight Centuries of Portuguese Literature,' p. 23.

clandestinely.<sup>666</sup> Unlike the foreign press, Portuguese media did not report on the case, as one of the co-authors, Maria Teresa Horta, who was also a journalist at the time, recalls: ‘o meu director nunca enviou um jornalista para cobrir o evento [o julgamento]. É verdade que a censura não deixaria passar, contudo, seria uma forma de marcar uma posição e de mostrar solidariedade. A imprensa estrangeira estava lá, os meus colegas não.’<sup>667</sup>

Eurico Lisboa filho thought, by contrast, that a play in which ‘o problema da emancipação da mulher é posto de brincadeira’ should be known:

esta comédia, que na primeira versão, em 3 actos, de 1729, caiu à primeira representação, surgiu, reduzida, a um acto único, em 1750, nas colunas da revista “Mercure de France,” só sendo assim representada em 1925, sem sucesso ainda. Nos nossos dias, porém, o seu agrado é imenso e é uma obra que a todos os títulos interessa conhecer.<sup>668</sup>

After having been responsible for the broadcast of *Les Fausses Confidences*, *La Double Inconstance*, and *Le Préjugé Vaincu* in 1965, Lisboa had the specific aim to show a different side to the French playwright:

Marivaux, o maior comediógrafo francês do século XVIII, que desenvolveu no seu teatro um delicado estudo de caracteres e se impôs pelo seu gracioso diálogo, cheio de subtilezas, que fez escola sob o nome de ‘marivaudage,’ não foi apenas o autor das elegantes comédias de amor, que ainda deliciam o público moderno [...], do seu teatro fazem também parte algumas pequenas peças, que não gozaram de sucesso, na sua época, talvez por arrojadas para então, mas que hoje

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<sup>666</sup> Darlene Joy Sadlier, ‘Radical Form in Novas Cartas Portuguesas,’ in *The Question of How – Women Writers and New Portuguese Literature* (New York, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1989), p. 6.

<sup>667</sup> Quoted, unreferenced, by Ventura, *A Emergência das mulheres*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>668</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1.

são bastante actuais, como “A Ilha da Razão ou Os Pequenos Homens,” “A Ilha dos Escravos” e sobretudo “A Colónia”<sup>669</sup>

This less known aspect of the work was, in Peter Conroy’s words, ‘Marivaux’s active social consciousness and his willingness to explore difficult and controversial issues.’<sup>670</sup> This critic considers that ‘[...] the light and frivolous side of [Marivaux’s] innovative *marivaudage* has until recently hidden more serious concerns,’ and he singles out *L’Ile des Esclaves*, *L’Ile de la Raison*, *La Double Inconstance*, and *La colonie* as plays which ‘examine social structures and interpersonal relationships based on force and coercion.’<sup>671</sup> Christine Zurbach has also acknowledged the importance of the play’s ideological dimension to its foreign reception:

[a] exportação da obra de Marivaux tem sido pouco expressiva e é geralmente limitada a alguns textos sistematicamente revisitados devido à pertinência das suas temáticas sócio-ideológicas [...] ou, como no caso da tradução portuguesa, graças ao seu estatuto canónico.<sup>672</sup>

In the context of the publication, persecution and veiled discussion of a book whose protagonists ‘revelam, pela fala e também pelo silêncio, as estruturas sociais profundamente castradoras a que estão submetidas,’<sup>673</sup> the broadcast of Lisboa’s version of *La Colonie* constituted a form of support for the women’s cause against oppression.

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<sup>669</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1.

<sup>670</sup> Conroy, Jr., ‘Marivaux’s Feminist Polemic,’ p. 44.

<sup>671</sup> Conroy, Jr., ‘Marivaux’s Feminist Polemic,’ pp. 43 and 44.

<sup>672</sup> Christine Zurbach, ‘Des riens dans des toiles d’araignée: o teatro de Marivaux em tradução’, *Cumplicidades comparatistas. Origens/Influências/Resistências. Actas do VI Congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada/ X Colóquio de Outono CEHUM*, (Braga: Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 2010), p. 9.

<sup>673</sup> Cláudia Amorim, ‘De Clausuras e de paixões ou de paredes e de flores: uma leitura das *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*,’ *O Marrare. Revista da Pós-Graduação em Literatura Portuguesa*, 9:8 (2008), pp. 13-20, p.16.



Furthermore, it provided an answer to a fundamental question raised by the Three Marias. Their twentieth-century recasting of the Portuguese nun ‘soror Mariana,’ the protagonist of *Letters of a Portuguese Nun* (1669), is composed of many different types of material, including prose essays, poems and letters written by a host of modern Anas, Marias and Marianas who embody the archetype of the oppressed woman. Modern day oppression in 1970s Portugal is expressed within the context of the evolution of women’s condition: ‘[q]ue mulher não é freira, oferecida, abnegada, sem vida sua, afastada do mundo? Qual a mudança, na vida das mulheres, ao longo dos séculos?’<sup>674</sup> Eurico Lisboa filho allowed an answer to this question to be provided through radio by an eighteenth century character engaged in freeing women from the ‘rídica humildade que [os homens] nos impuseram desde o começo do mundo’: ‘[...] o mundo é uma herdade. Os deuses lá de cima são os senhores e vocês, os homens, desde que há mundo, foram sempre sózinhos os seus feitores.’<sup>675</sup> In a way similar to *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, which, in the words of Maria Isabel Barreno’s defence lawyer attempts to ‘expor em toda a sua crueza a situação de inferioridade social da mulher,’ the radio play’s female protagonists denounced marriage as an oppressive institution: ‘o casamento, tal como foi até aqui, não passa de uma escravidão.’<sup>676</sup> It was because, in Arthénice’s words, ‘as mulheres, até aqui, estiveram sempre submetidas aos seus maridos,’ that Maria Ana in *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* only wanted love ‘na igualdade; por isso recusei marido, recusei homem.’<sup>677</sup>

Whilst the Three Marias awaited their trial, Lisboa’s broadcast was able to engage with the issue underlying their persecution. It suggests that for him, unlike for scholars

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<sup>674</sup> Barreno and others, *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, p. 177.

<sup>675</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1 and p. 17. (‘l’humilité ridicule qu’on nous a imposée depuis le commencement du monde’; ‘le monde est une ferme, les dieux là-haut en sont les seigneurs, et vous autres hommes, depuis que la vie dure, en avez toujours été les fermiers tout seuls,’ Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 154).

<sup>676</sup> Duarte Vidal, *O Processo das Três Marias. Defesa de Maria Isabel Barreno* (Lisboa: Editorial Futura, 1974), p. 34. *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 6 (‘le mariage, tel qu’il a été jusqu’ici, n’est plus aussi qu’une pure servitude’ Marivaux, *La Colonie*, p. 611).

<sup>677</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 6; *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, p. 180 (‘les femmes, jusqu’ici ont toujours été soumises à leurs maris.’ Marivaux, *La Colonie* p. 611).

such as Christine Bonfils, Marivaux was more than just an ‘auteur féministe pour le XVIIIème siècle.’<sup>678</sup> Due to the character ‘bastante actual’ of *La Colonie*, in ‘Teatro de todos os tempos’ in 1973, helped by some meaningful alterations to the text, Marivaux was also capable of participating in the denouncement of the situation of women in Portugal.<sup>679</sup> Even though questions remain as to the precise details of the text’s manipulation, namely regarding who exactly did it and when did the different modifications take place, the fact remains that at a turning moment for Portuguese women’s writing and the subsequent ‘rebirth of Portuguese feminism during the 1970s, the development of which was an indication of the process of transition toward democracy,’<sup>680</sup> the state-controlled radio station broadcast a play about a community of women who rebel against men in search for emancipation.

## Conclusion

This chapter claims that the broadcast of Marivaux’s *La colonie* on the eve of the trial of the Three Marias, authors of the polemic *Novas cartas portuguesas*, can be seen as representing a subtle form of support for the women’s cause. While the French play has divided critical opinions and is interpreted both as criticising women and defending feminism, a number of features characterising the Emissora Nacional’s version not only softened the play’s criticism of women, but also strengthened its feminist message.

The most fundamental alteration made to the translation is the omission of one of the two key elements for the failure of the feminist cause depicted in the play. As a result, the ending of the Portuguese translation is not believable and the feminist claims made throughout the text stand out. Against what might have been expected from a drama programme broadcast by the Portuguese national station, this case is an illustration of the

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<sup>678</sup> Bonfils, ‘Le Théâtre de Marivaux,’ p. 216.

<sup>679</sup> *A Colónia*, ‘Teatro de todos os tempos,’ 02.08.1973, p. 1.

<sup>680</sup> Cova and Costa Pinto, ‘Women and Salazarism,’ p. 620.

manipulation of the text according to an ideological framework which is not the dominant one.

The case of the broadcast Marivaux as an illustration of the subversive potential of translations can be further investigated by considering stagings of different plays by Marivaux which took place at around the same time in Portugal.<sup>681</sup> The time of the broadcast, as well as the impact that the trial of the three female writers had on the Portuguese literary universe cannot be dissociated from this particular radio play. Further research into the connections established might involve an analysis of a previous radio version of the play, by Odette de Saint-Maurice. The existence of two different scripts of the version specifically considered in this chapter should also be taken into account by future studies engaged with the issue of the process of ‘translating’ and ‘adapting’ a foreign play for radio broadcasting.

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<sup>681</sup> Christine Zurbach has analysed how the translation used in the Teatro dos Estudantes de Coimbra (TEUC)’s 1969 performance of *Ile des Esclaves* (1725) was ‘manipulada no plano textual e verbal por acrescentamentos ou cortes pelo tradutor José Vilas’ and complemented by the ‘inclusão de um poema introdutório de estilo e conotação brechtianos.’ Zurbach, ‘Marcas de politização’, p. 198.

## CONCLUSION

*You had your time - you had the power  
You've yet to have your finest hour  
Let's hope you never leave old friend  
Like all good things on you we depend  
So stick around 'cos we might miss you  
When we grow tired of all this visual  
Queen, 'Radio Gaga'*

The study of translated plays broadcast by the Portuguese national radio station during the *Estado Novo* period is an attempt to provide an answer to a fundamental question which has been formulated in different ways by several scholars of translation, namely Theo Hermans: 'how [do] translations [...] relate to their socio-cultural environment?'<sup>682</sup> Since the focus was not simply on the process of translating texts, but rather on the use of translations or 'rewritings' for radio broadcasting, the issue was addressed in terms of the three main categories or levels of choices involved in the process.<sup>683</sup> As critical decision-making moments, these are the levels at which ideological structures underlying manipulation can be seen at work.

The thesis has focused on a particular set of five programmes broadcast between 1956 and 1974 and produced by Eurico Lisboa filho: Chapters Two and Three paid more attention to the early, historically oriented programmes, while Chapters Four, Five and Six have drawn on examples taken from the later programmes. It was shown that the presence

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<sup>682</sup> Theo Hermans, 'Translation as Institution,' in *Translation as Intercultural Communication: Selected Papers from the EST Congress*, ed. by Mary Snell-Hornby, Zuzana Jettmarová and Klaus Kaindl (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997), pp. 3–20 (p. 6).

<sup>683</sup> See Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*.

of foreign drama in these programmes was motivated by the aim to teach listeners about drama history. As a result, plays were chosen to illustrate critical developments in the dramatic genre throughout time. The ultimate purpose of the programmes, to improve the audience's literary knowledge, reflected the dominant ideology, which saw both the national broadcasting station and plays in general as didactic tools. The translations included in these programmes constituted therefore a form of engagement with the target environment.

The educational aim of the programmes was acknowledged, reinforced, and indeed fulfilled through the use of paratextual elements, namely introductory texts and commentaries. These forms of intervention validated choices made, revealed the criteria determining the text selection process and guided the play's reception by the listener by shaping the image of the play and the playwright, and implicitly suggesting points of view. It was demonstrated that ideas about the works which were foregrounded by paratextual materials were consonant with core values of the dominant ideology. On the other hand, the texts framing the translations allowed the partial and, to a great extent, decontextualised inclusion of politically sensitive texts, whose subversive potential was thus neutralised.

The examination of ideologically motivated shifts at a textual level placed the practice of self-censorship within the broader apparatus of ideological control at work in the Emissora. It was shown that unlike what is commonly believed, play texts were subjected to institutional prior censorship. The case of two censored translations of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* provided examples of ideologically manipulated rewritings of the image of this female character. The contrastive examination of the two broadcasts further demonstrated that the EN drama episodes can provide useful insight into the different impact that censorship constraints had upon translations over time.

The detailed discussion of Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock* and Pierre de Marivaux's *La colonie* in the final chapters drew together the three levels of decision considered. The plays illustrate how the choices made at the preliminary, the paratextual and the textual

levels converged to produce manipulated and manipulative broadcast translations. The cases complement each other by providing examples of ultimately opposed forms of engagement with the target environment. The texts were used both to promote and to question the regime's official positions regarding the war and the condition of women respectively. While both plays function as commentaries on issues central to Portuguese society at the time of broadcast, the contrast between the way each one of them engages with the official ideology at different moments in time represents an opportunity for further research. By demonstrating how translated broadcast drama had not only an educational but also a subversive character, this thesis offers a complementary perspective to the argument that during the dictatorship period translation was 'clearly considered subversive since, unlike foreign-language work, it could give "the many" access to dangerous reading.'<sup>684</sup>

Together, *A torre de marfim* and *A colónia* provide a suitable illustration of the complexity involved in the consideration of the ideological aspect of translation, an idea that underlies all the chapters. Different aspects of the analyses offered by the thesis have revealed an important tension between the dominant ideological framework and opposing sets of values. In the context of the Portuguese national radio station, a binary approach to this problem is not an effective way to address it. The present exploratory investigation has set the scene for more detailed considerations of the extent to which there was room, within the EN, for challenging the *status quo*.

Many questions are, indeed, left unanswered. One of the most fundamental ones concerns the performance of the plays. To consider a work for radio as a text is a reductive, albeit necessary, approach, and the study of radio performances of translated works is likely to be particularly interesting for Translation Studies scholars given the paramount importance of words for radio broadcasting. Ideas about translated broadcast drama also need to be taken into account. Even though preliminary research carried out in

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<sup>684</sup> Seruya, 'Translation in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Regime,' p. 133.

the course of this project suggested that critical coverage of radio drama production in newspapers was marginal, the analysis of such texts might determine, for example, whether Brecht's conceptualization of radio drama had any impact in Portugal during this period. It would furthermore enable scholars to address the question of the comparison between the reception of broadcast plays and that of translations done for other media in a country with low literacy levels.

For a more complete understanding of the implications of broadcasting foreign drama, audiences should equally be considered by future studies. Further comparisons might then be drawn between similar uses of broadcast drama in other countries, namely in France, where according to Neulander

[t]he Popular Front attempted to use radio as a means of mass education, setting up an elaborate cultural program for the radio in late 1936. The coalition ignored public radio's potential power as an intimate medium, instead focusing on the crowd as the receptacle of its message.<sup>685</sup>

A comparative view encompassing different national contexts can be especially fruitful for the analysis of the different elements that have emerged from this research suggesting that, as disseminating mechanisms, Eurico Lisboa filho's radio programmes need to be seen as part of a complex international and on-going process of canon formation and sedimentation, which, in simplified terms, is based on the selection, presentation, translation and reproduction of foreign authors and works.

All these different avenues for future research will add to the contribution that this study makes towards a more thorough and sophisticated understanding of the Estado Novo period, its 'voice,' the Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão Portuguesa, and the history of translation in Portugal.

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<sup>685</sup> Neulander, *Programming*, p.17.

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<sup>686</sup> All the scripts in the R.T.P. written archive have been used. This list concerns only the ones referred to throughout the thesis.



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## Appendix

### Eurico Lisboa (filho)'s radio programmes in Emissora Nacional

The following tables describe the plays broadcast in five radio programmes by Eurico Lisboa (filho) (ELF) in Emissora Nacional between 1953 and 1974. Each entry indicates the source - the audio archive ("A.") and/or the documental archive ("D."); the author's surname ("Author") and nationality ("Nat."); the play's title as broadcast ("Title (radio)"); the name of the play's translator ("Translator") and adaptor ("Adaptor"); and the date that it was broadcast in Emissora Nacional ("Date").

**Table I: "A História do Teatro"**

A.	D.	Author	Nat.	Title (radio)	Translator	Adaptor	Date
	*	Lacatelli	IT	III época: A renascença em Itália, 17º Capitulo: A Commedia dell'Arte. 1a parte: Origens e características deste género de teatro e seus autores.Exemplificação da representação improvisada, sobre um argumento de Basilio Lacatelli: "A Comédia na Comédia"	n/ack	n/ack	1959
	*	Verucci	IT	III época: A Renascença em Itália, 17º Capitulo: A Commedia dell'Arte. 2a parte: "A Mulher Suberba" [sic] de Vergilio Verucci	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	1959
	*	n/ack	IT	III época: a renascença em Itália: 18º cap	n/ack	n/ack	1959
	(i)	Poliziano	IT	Orfeo	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack
	*	Shakespeare	ENG	195º - VII Parte: A Renascença em Inglaterra, 2º Capítulo: Shakespeare, 1º Ponto: "Características da obra: As comédias" (?)	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack
	*	Tasso	IT	A Aminta	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack
	(ii)	Herondas	GRE	Mimos (O mestre escola, O sapateiro, A alcoviteira)	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
	(ii)	Menander	GRE	Arbitragem	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
	(ii)	Theocritus	GRE	Mimos (O guardador de cabras e o guardador de ovelhas, As mulheres de Siracusa, As feiticeiras)	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		n/ack	GRE	Comedia Dorica; Dionisias Campestris; Atenas; Sicília	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Aeschylus	GRE	Agamemnon (1a parte da trilogia "Orestia") - Dedicado ao teatro grego	Pe. J. de Sousa	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Aeschylus	GRE	As Coéforas; As Euménides (da trilogia "Orestia") - Teatro da Grécia Antiga	Pe. J. de Sousa	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Aristophanes	GRE	As Aves - Aristofanes e a Comédia Antiga (4a parte). A poesia e a comédia fantástica.	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Aristophanes	GRE	As Rãs - Aristofanes e a Comédia (3a parte). A crítica dramática em Aristófanis	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Aristophanes	GRE	Lisistrata - Aristofanes, a Comedia "Lisistrata" e a sátira à guerra e às mulheres	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Aristophanes	GRE	Pluto - Aristófanis, Pluto e a Época Madia [sic] da Comédia Grega	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Cratino	GRE	A Garrafa - A comedia antes de Aristofanes (Roteiro por Atenas) [A Garrafa - extract]	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Euripides	GRE	Alceste - Teatro da Antiguidade Grega - Eurípedes e o realismo dramático (1a parte) [extractos de "Alceste"]	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Euripides	GRE	As Troianas - Teatro da Antiguidade Grega - Eurípedes e o realismo dramático (2a parte)	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		Euripides	GRE	Cíclope - Teatro Grego - Da tragédia ao drama satírico	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01

X		Eurípides	GRE	Efígenia em Aulis - Teatro da Antiguidade Grega - Eurípides e o realismo dramático (3a parte)	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Sophocles	GRE	Antígona (extract) - Sófocles e o Século de Péricles (1a parte)	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Sophocles	GRE	O rei Édipo - Teatro Grego	R. Machado	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		Sophocles; Plato	GRE	Édipo em Colono; Diálogos - Sófocles e o Século de Péricles (2a parte)	n/ack	L. Araújo	56/01/01
X		n/ack	PT	Dedicado ao actor Alves da Cunha (recentemente falecido) - extractos de peças em que Alves da Cunha actuou para o progr. História do Teatro	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
X		n/ack	multiple	O Teatro e culto dos mortos em várias culturas da Antiguidade	n/ack	n/ack	56/01/01
	(ii)	Lucian	GRE	Diálogos dos Deuses (dialogues <<Panupe e Galeno>> and <<Julgamento dos Deuses>>)	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Lucian	GRE	Diálogos dos Mortos (dialogue Caronte, Mercúrio e Diferentes Mortos)	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Menander	GRE	A Rapariga Tosquiada	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Plautus	LAT	A Panela das Moedas	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Plautus	LAT	Anfitrião	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Plautus	LAT	O Militar fanfarrão	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Plautus	LAT	O Preço dos Burros	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Seneca	LAT	Fedra	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Seneca	LAT	Hércules Furioso	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Seneca	LAT	Medeia	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Seneca	LAT	Octávia (tragédia romana de autor desconhecido)	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Seneca	LAT	Tieste	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Terence	LAT	Formião	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Terence	LAT	O Carrasco de si mesmo	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	(ii)	Terence	LAT	O Guarda do Harém	n/ack	n/ack	57/01/01
	*	Guarini	IT	III Parte: A Renascença em Itália - 16º Capítulo: "O Pastor Fiel" - "drama pastoril de Giambattista Guarini"	n/ack	n/ack	59/01/19
	*	Camerata Bardi	IT	III Período: A Renascença em Itália. 19º Cap: A Criação do drama-lírico e a actividade da Camerata Bardi, em Florença	n/ack	n/ack	59/02/16
	*	n/ack	IT	Da Renascença em Itália à Renascença na França. Os teóricos deste teatro	n/ack	n/ack	59/02/23
	*	Jodelle	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 2º Cap: "A tragédia de Estienne [sic] Jodelle: Cleópatra Cativeira"	n/ack	n/ack	59/03/02
	*	Grévin	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 3º Capítulo: Jacques Grévin: 1a parte: O [sic] Comédia: Os Pasmados	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/03/09
	*	Grévin	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 3º Capítulo: Jacques Grévin: 2a parte: A Pastoral e a Tragédia [tragédia "César"]	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/03/16
	*	Grévin	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 3º Capítulo: Jacques Grévin: 3a parte	n/ack	n/ack	59/03/23
	*	Garnier	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 4º Capítulo: O teatro de Robert Garnier: 1a parte: A Tragicomédia Bradamante	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/03/30
	*	n/ack	FR	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/04/06

	*	Garnier	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 4º Capítulo: O teatro de Robert Garnier: 3a parte: A Tragédia "As Judias"	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/04/13
	*	n/ack	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 5º Capítulo: A Tragédia Bíblica	n/ack	n/ack	59/04/20
	*	n/ack	FR	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/04/27
	*	Racan	FR	IV Período: A Renascença na França. 7º Capítulo: O Drama pastoril de Racan	n/ack	n/ack	59/05/04
	*	n/ack	FR	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/05/11
	*	n/ack	FR	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/05/18
	*	Sá de Miranda	PT	A renascença em Portugal – Sá de Miranda	n/ack	n/ack	59/05/25
	*	Sá de Miranda	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 2º Capítulo: Sá de Miranda introdutor da bucólica renascentista e Bernardim Ribeiro, seu continuador	n/ack	n/ack	59/06/02
	*	n/ack	PT	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/06/09
	*	n/ack	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 3º Capítulo: O Teatro de Camões- 2a Parte: "O Auto de Filodemo"	n/ack	n/ack	59/06/16
	*	n/ack	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 4º Capítulo: O Bucolismo e a vida da época, em Camões e (?) Bernardes	n/ack	n/ack	59/06/23
-	*	Ferreira	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 5º Capítulo: António Ferreira - 1a parte: A Comédia Bristo	n/ack	L. Araújo	59/06/29
	*	Ferreira	PT	A tragédia Castro	n/ack	n/ack	59/07/07
	*	n/ack	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 6º Capítulo: Elementos dramáticos à margem do teatro - 1a Parte: Os diálogos Didácticos - de Francisco da Holanda, Frei Amador Arrais e Rodrigues Lobo.	n/ack	n/ack	59/07/14
	*	n/ack	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 6º Capítulo: Elementos dramáticos à margem do teatro - 2a Parte: O Drama do "Romanceiro"	n/ack	n/ack	59/07/21
	*	n/ack	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 6º Capítulo: Elementos dramáticos à margem do teatro - 3a Parte: Ainda as Bucólicas - Frei Agostinho da Cruz e Rodrigues Lobo	n/ack	n/ack	59/07/28
	*	Vasconcelos	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 7º Capítulo: Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos - 1a Parte: A Comédia Ulissipo	n/ack	L. Araújo	59/08/04
	*	Vasconcelos	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 7º Capítulo: Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos - 2a Parte: "Eufrosina"	n/ack	n/ack	59/08/11
	*	Melo	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 8º Capítulo: D. Francisco Manuel de Melo - 1a Parte: "O Fidalgo Aprendiz"	n/ack	n/ack	59/08/18
	*	Melo	PT	V Período: A Renascença em Portugal - 8º Capítulo: D. Francisco Manuel De Melo - 2a Parte: A feira de Anexins e os Apólogos Dialogais	n/ack	n/ack	59/08/23
	*	n/ack	PT	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/09/01
	*	n/ack	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 1º Capítulo: Os Corraís de Madrid - Vida e organização dos espectáculos - Os actores e as representações	n/ack	n/ack	59/09/08
	*	Cervantes Saavedra	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 2º Capítulo: O Teatro de Cervantes - 1a Parte: "O Cerco de Numância" e "Cova de Salamanca"	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/09/15

	*	Cervantes Saavedra	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 2º Capítulo: O Teatro de Cervantes - 2a Parte: "Os Entremeses"; "O Juiz dos Divórcios"; "O Retábulo das Maravilhas"	n/ack	n/ack	59/09/22
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega. 1º Ponto: O Génio, o Reformador e o seu Teatro Religioso	n/ack	n/ack	59/09/29
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 2º [sic] Capítulo: Lope de Vega - 3a Parte: "A Fonte das Ovelhas"	n/ack	n/ack	59/10/06
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega - 4a Parte: "A Dama Boba"	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	59/10/13
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega - 6o Ponto: "A Boa Guarda"	n/ack	n/ack	59/11/03
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega - 7o Ponto: "O Melhor Alcaide, o Rei"	n/ack	n/ack	59/11/10
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega. 8º Ponto: A Coroa Imperial de Otão	n/ack	n/ack	59/11/17
	*	Lope de Vega	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 3º Capítulo: Lope de Vega - 9o Ponto: "O Príncipe D. Carlos"	n/ack	n/ack	59/11/24
	*	Tirso de Molina	SPAN	VI Período: A Renascença na Espanha - 4º Capítulo: Tirso de Molina - 1o Ponto: "A Madrinha do Céu"	n/ack	n/ack	59/12/08
	*	n/ack	SPAN	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/12/15
	*	n/ack	SPAN	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	59/12/22
	*	Tirso de Molina	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 4º Capítulo: Tirso de Molina. 3o Ponto: O Burlador de Sevilha e o Convidado de Pedra (D. Juan Tenório)	n/ack	n/ack	59/12/29
	*	n/ack	SPAN	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack	60/01/26
	X	Alarcón	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 5º Capítulo: J. R. de Alarcón - 2o Ponto: "As paredes ouvem"	n/ack	n/ack	60/02/02
	X	Alarcón	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 5º Capítulo: J. R. de Alarcón - 3o Ponto: "O Anticristo"	n/ack	n/ack	60/02/09
	*	Velez de Guevara	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 6º Capítulo: Luis Velez de Guevara - 2o Ponto: "A Lua da Serra"	n/ack	n/ack	60/02/23
	*	Quiñones de Benavente; Ávila	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 7º Capítulo: "Os intremezes e os seus autores" - Quiñones de Benavente e Francisco de Ávila	n/ack	n/ack	60/03/01
	*	Quiñones de Benavente; Ávila	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 7º Capítulo: Os entremezes e os seus autores - Francisco d'Ávila e Quiñones de Benavente ("Entremez Famoso dos Incensíveis Feitos de D. Quixote de la Mancha" e "Os Alcaldes Encontrados")	n/ack	n/ack	60/03/01
	*	Guillen de Castro	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 8º Capítulo: Guillen de Castro: "A Mocidade do Cid"	n/ack	n/ack	60/03/08
	*	Tirso de Molina	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 9º Capítulo: "O teatro Espanhol de assunto português - As Quinas de Portugal de Tirso de Molina"	L. Araújo (verse trans.)	L. Araújo	60/03/15
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón de la Barca. 1º Ponto: "O Príncipe Constante"	L. Araújo	L. Araújo	60/03/22
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón. 2º Ponto: "Os Géneros do seu	n/ack	n/ack	60/03/29



				teatro" - "A Secreto agravo, secreta vingança"			
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón. 3º Ponto: "O Autor e a Obra - Géneros, Estilos"	n/ack	n/ack	60/04/05
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón. 4º Ponto: OS Autos Sacramentais	n/ack	n/ack	60/04/12
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón de la Barca. 5º Ponto: "A vida é sonho"	L. Araújo (verse trans.)	L. Araújo	60/04/19
	*	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 10º Capítulo: Calderón de la Barca. 6º Ponto: "Calderón precursor do drama romântico" - "A devoção da Cruz"	n/ack	n/ack	60/04/26
	*	Rojas Zorrilla	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 11º Capítulo: Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla - "Entre Bobos anda o Jogo"	n/ack	n/ack	60/05/03
	*	Moreto	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 12º Capítulo: Moreto - 1º Ponto: "O Lindo Dom Diego"	n/ack	n/ack	60/05/10
	*	Montalban	SPAN	A Renascença na Espanha - 13º Cap.: Montalban e um Milagre de Santo António	n/ack	n/ack	60/05/24
	*	Cruz	SPAN	VI Parte: A Renascença na Espanha - 14º Capítulo: Soror Joana Inês da Cruz e as representações do Teatro na Espanha Renascentista. O resumo e a tradução dos passos da comédia "Os Cuidados duma Casa", bem como da Loa que a introduz são do Dr L. Araújo	L. Araújo	n/ack	60/05/30
	*	Lyly, Greene, Marlow	ENG	VII Parte: A Renascença em Inglaterra 1º Capítulo: "Os Precursores de Shakespeare" : Campaspa (John Lyly), Jaime IV (Robert Greene), Dr Fausto (Marlow)	n/ack	n/ack	60/06/13
	*	Shakespeare	ENG	VII Parte: A Renascença em Inglaterra - 2º Capítulo: Shakespeare, 2º Ponto: "Características da obra - As Tragédias": Júlio César, Macbeth, Hamlet, Lear	n/ack	n/ack	60/07/11
	*	Corneille	FR	VIII Parte: O Classicismo Francês . 1º Capítulo: Corneille e a sua reforma dramática ("alguns passos da comédia "A Ilusão Cómica" e das tragédias "Horácio" e "Poliuto", em tradução de ELF e de "O Cid", na tradução do Dr. L. Araújo")	ELF; L. Araújo	n/ack	60/07/25
	*	Molière	FR	VIII Parte: O Classicismo Francês . 2º Capítulo: Molière (2 cenas de "As Mulheres Sábias"; "O Improviso de Versailles")	L. Araújo, ELF	n/ack	60/08/08
	*	Racine	FR	VIII Parte: O Classicismo Francês . 3º Capítulo: Racine	n/ack	n/ack	60/08/22
	*	Regnard, Lesage, Goldoni	FR,IT	IX Parte: "O Teatro do Século XVIII" - 1º Capítulo: "A Comedia dell'arte e a nova comédia de costumes" - Regnard: O Baile; Le Sage: Turcaret; Goldoni: O mentiroso	n/ack	n/ack	60/09/05
	*	Voltaire, Addison	FR,ENG	IX Parte: "O Teatro do Século XVIII" - 4º Capítulo: "A Tragédia" [Voltaire: Zaïre, Addison: Catão]	Manuel de Figueiredo	n/ack	60/10/17

**Table II: “Teatro de todos os tempos”**

A.	D.	Author	Nat.	Title (radio)	Translator	Adaptor	Date
	X	Marlowe	ENG	A trágica história do Dr. Fausto	ELF	n/ack	71/01/07
	X	Aristophanes	GRE	As rãs	ELF	ELF	71/01/21
	X	Lyly	ENG	Campaspe	ELF	ELF	71/02/04

	X	Holberg, Calderón de la Barca	NOR+SPAN	Jeppe do Outeiro e A vida é sonho	M. J. Lisboa	M. J. Lisboa	71/02/18
	X	Shakespeare	ENG	Hamlet - a mais profunda personagem de toda a dramaturgia	ELF	ELF	71/03/04
	X	Aeschylus	GRE	As suplicantes; Os Persas; Prometeu Agrilhoado - As invenções teatrais e a criação dramática de Ésquilo analisadas nas tragédias	ELF	n/ack	71/03/18
	X	(foreign)	n/ack	O drama da Paixão Bizantino (Paixão de Cristo)	ELF	ELF	71/04/02
	X	Plautus	LAT	A Panela das Moedas (ou A Aululária ou A Marmita) - A eterna juventude de Plauto, ou a mais moderna versão da 'Marmita', e a sua influência em 'O Santo e a Porca' de Ariano Suassuna.	ELF	ELF	71/04/16
	X	anon.	FR	O canto dos jograis, o aparecimento do teatro na Idade Média e as fontes do "Médico à Força" de Molière.	ELF	ELF	71/04/29
	X	V. de Guevara	SPAN	Inês de Castro	n/ack	n/ack	71/05/13
	X	Multiple authors	PT	O drama de Amor da Poesia trovadoresca Galaico-Portuguesa : O Drama de Amor dos Nossos Cancioneiros	n/ack	n/ack	71/05/27
X	X	Camões	PT	Auto de El-Rei Seleuco	n/ack	ELF	71/06/10
	X	Sophocles	GRE	Rei Édipo	ELF	ELF	71/06/24
	X	Euripides	GRE	As troianas	ELF	ELF	71/07/08
	X	Lope de Vega	SPAN	A boa guarda	n/ack	ELF	71/07/22
	X	Figueiredo	PT	Inês	n/ack	ELF	71/08/05
	X	Calderón de la Barca	SPAN	A devoção da Cruz	ELF	ELF	71/08/19
	X	Cervantes Saavedra	SPAN	O juiz de divórcios; Retábulo das Maravilhas	ELF	ELF	71/09/02
	X	Tasso	IT	Torrismundo; Aminta - Torcato Tasso e o renascimento do drama trágico na Itália quinhentista	n/ack	n/ack	71/09/16
	X	Baif, Larivey, O. de Turnèbe	FR	O Bravo, Os espíritos, Os contentes - As fontes da comédia renascentista francesa	ELF	ELF	71/09/30
	X	Seneca	LAT	Medeia	n/ack	ELF	71/10/14
	X	anon.	FR	O teatro cómico francês da Idade Média: A Farsa, A Sotie e a Moralidade	n/ack	n/ack	71/10/28
	X	Menander	GRE	A rapariga tosquiada, A "Comédia nova" dos gregos	ELF	ELF	71/11/11
	X	Euripides	GRE	Alceste	ELF	ELF	71/11/25
	X	Molière	FR	O Misanthropo	ELF	ELF	71/12/09
	X	Castro	SPAN	O melhor esposo	ELF	ELF	71/12/23
	X	Strindberg	SWE	A Ilha dos Mortos e A Mais Forte	ELF	ELF	73/01/04
	X	Plautus	LAT	O anfitrião - comédia mitológica de Plauto	ELF	ELF	73/02/01
	X	Shakespeare	ENG	O sonho duma noite de Verão	ELF	ELF	73/02/14
	X	Ostrovski	RUS?	A floresta	M. J. Lisboa	M. J. Lisboa	73/02/15
	X	de Medici	IT	A comédia de Aridósio	ELF	ELF	73/03/01

	X	Seneca	LAT	Tiestes e Hércules Furioso	ELF	ELF	73/03/15
	X	anon.	FR	A farsa do caldeireiro, A representação de Adão	ELF	ELF	73/03/29
	X	n/ack	FR?	"As Virgens Prudentes e as Virgens Loucas" ou "O Esposo"(em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	n/ack	GER	O Mistério das Dez Virgens (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	n/ack	CZE	O Unguentário (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	n/ack	IT	Ofício da Ressurreição (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	n/ack	POL	Pranto de Nossa Senhora (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	Michel	FR	Mistério da Paixão - uma cena (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	Rutebeuf	FR	A Arenga do Herbanário (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	St. Aethelwold	ENG	Regularis Concordia (em Da liturgia das cerimónias pascais aos grandes mistérios cíclicos da paixão)	ELF	ELF	73/04/12
	X	Rutebeuf	FR	A sacra representação de Chester sobre o dilúvio, O Milagre de Teófilo	ELF	ELF	73/04/26
	X	Aeschylus	GRE	Agamémnon - primeira tragédia da trilogia Orestia	ELF	ELF	73/05/10
	X	Aeschylus	GRE	As Coéforas - As Euménides - trilogia Orestia	ELF	ELF	73/05/24
	X	Molière	FR	A escola dos maridos	ELF	ELF	73/06/07
	X	Molière	FR	A escola das mulheres	ELF	ELF	73/06/21
	X	Molière	FR	A crítica da escola das mulheres	ELF	ELF	73/07/05
	X	Molière	FR	O improviso de Versailles	ELF	ELF	73/07/19
	X	Marivaux	FR	A colónia	ELF	ELF	73/08/02
	X	anon.	FR	A Parábola dramatizada e Os Milagres do Teatro Francês Medieval de que fazem parte. O Courtois de Arras, O Milagre de S. Nicolau e Griselidis	ELF	ELF	73/08/16
	X	anon.	ENG	O Alegre diabo de Edmonton - comédia anónima do Teatro Isabelino	M. J. Lisboa	M. J. Lisboa	73/08/30
	X	Macedo	BR	O Novo Oteló	n/ack	ELF	74/01/03
	X	Alencar	BR	O Rio de Janeiro, verso e reverso (O Rio De Janeiro)	n/ack	n/ack	74/01/17
	X	Rueda	SPAN	Pagar e não Pagar; Os Criados; As Azeitonas; (Os Passos)	ELF	ELF	74/01/31
	X	Quiñones de Benavente; Moreto y Cabana	SPAN	Os Alcaides encontrados; Entremês Famoso das bruxas	ELF	ELF	74/02/14
	X	Timoneda	SPAN	Auto da Ovelha Perdida; (passo de) O Cego e o Moço	n/ack	ELF	74/02/28
	X	Torres Naharro	SPAN	Himeneia	ELF	ELF	74/03/18
	X	Encina	SPAN	O triunfo do amor; Paixão e Ressurreição	ELF	ELF	74/04/01

**Table III: “Teatro do Século XIX”**

A.	D.	Author	Nat.	Title (radio)	Translator	Adaptor	Date
	*	Hugo	FR	Victor Hugo e o Início do Teatro Romântico - o prefácio de "Cromwell" e a "Inês de Castro"	ELF	ELF	67/04/05
	*	Hugo	FR	Hernani	n/ack	ELF	67/04/21
	*	Hugo	FR	Rui Blas	n/ack	n/ack	67/05/05
	*	Saavedra	SPAN	D. Álvaro, ou a Força do Destino - drama espanhol de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas	ELF	ELF	67/05/19
	*	G. Gutierrez	SPAN	"O Trovador" - Drama de António Garcia Gutierrez	ELF	ELF	67/06/02
	*	Péllico	IT	Francesca da Rimini	ELF	ELF	67/06/16
	(iii)	Hebbel	GER	Os Nibelungos - I parte	ELF	ELF	67/06/30
	*	Hebbel	GER	Os Nibelungos - II parte	ELF	ELF	67/07/14
	*	Mérimée	FR	O Coche do Santíssimo Sacramento - sainete do teatro de Clara Gazul	ELF	ELF	67/07/28
	*	Mérimée	FR	Os Espanhóis na Dinamarca - comédia do teatro de Clara Gazul	ELF	ELF	67/08/11
	*	Zorrilla y Moral	SPAN	Traidor, Inconfesso e Mártir	ELF	ELF	67/09/08
	*	Manzoni	IT	O Conde de Carmanhola	ELF	ELF	67/09/22
	*	Vigny	FR	Chatterton	ELF	ELF	67/09/25
	*	Ablesinov	RUS	O Moleiro Feiticeiro, Intrujão e Casamenteiro - ópera-cômica	ELF	ELF	67/10/06
	*	Garrett	PT	Mérope	n/ack	ELF	67/10/20
	*	Garrett	PT	Um Auto de Gil Vicente	n/ack	ELF	67/11/03
	*	Garrett; Feijó	PT	O Camões do Rossio	n/ack	ELF	67/11/17
	*	Garrett	PT	"Afonso de Albuquerque" e "D. Filipa de Vilhena"	n/ack	ELF	67/12/01
	*	Voragine	FR?	Legenda Aurea - poema dramático	(?) Cabral	ELF	67/12/15
	*	Baiardo	PT	A Luneta	n/ack	n/ack	67/12/29
	*	Castilho	PT	Camões	n/ack	n/ack	68/01/12
	*	Russell; Araújo		De Santa Apolónia ao Carregado - vaudeville	n/ack	ELF	68/01/26
	*	Zorrilla y Moral	SPAN	O Punhal do Godo	n/ack	ELF	68/02/09
	*	Castilho	PT	A Volta Inesperada	n/ack	ELF	68/02/23
	*	Hartzenbusch	SPAN	Os Amantes de Teruel	ELF	ELF	68/03/08
	*	Sand	FR	O Demónio do Lar	ELF	ELF	68/03/20
	*	Martins	PT	Gabriel e Luzbel ou O Taumaturgo Sto António	n/ack	ELF	68/04/03
	*	Baiardo	PT	O Morto Embargado ou O Cólera Morbus - brincadeira dramática	L. J. Baiardo ("tradução livre")	ELF	68/04/19
	*	Mello	PT	O Estudante de Coimbra	n/ack	ELF	68/05/03
	*	Amorim	PT	O Cedro Vermelho	n/ack	ELF	68/05/17
	*	Alves	PT	Uma Fatalidade de Amigo	n/ack	ELF	68/05/31

	X	Serra	SPAN	A Rua Monteiro	ELF	ELF	68/06/14
	*	Scribe	FR	A Lição Imperial	n/ack	ELF	68/06/28
	*	Dupeuty; Régnier	FR	Napoleão em Schoenbrunn	ELF	ELF	68/07/12
	*	Dupeuty	FR	Napoleão em Santa Helena	ELF	ELF	68/07/26
	*	Ribié; Mortainville	FR	Da Comedia dell'arte e da Tragicomédia à Mágica Popular do Século XIX - O Pé-de Cabra	ELF	ELF	68/08/09
	*	Picard; Mazéra	FR	O Landaw ou A Hospitalidade - comédia-vaudeville	ELF	ELF	68/08/23
	*	Wafflard; Fulgence	FR	Um Momento de Imprudência	ELF	ELF	68/09/06
	*	Delavigne	FR	Os Comediantes	ELF	ELF	68/09/20
	*	Sand	FR	O Casamento de Vitorina	ELF	ELF	68/10/04
	*	Mellesville	FR	Ela Está Louca	ELF	ELF	68/10/18
	*	Herreros	SPAN	Marcela ou Qual das Três?	ELF	ELF	68/11/01
	*	Dreyfus	FR	O Klefte	ELF	ELF	68/11/15
	*	Feuillet	FR	Epitáfio e Epitalâmio	ELF	ELF	68/11/29
	*	Dumas	FR	"Kean" - drama de Alexandre Dumas	ELF	ELF	68/12/13
	*	Ostrovsky		Um dia de Azar	ELF & Manuel Lisboa	ELF & Manuel Lisboa	68/12/27
	*	Ibsen	NOR	"Festa em Solhaug" - drama de H. Ibsen	ELF & Elisa Lisboa	ELF & Elisa Lisboa	69/01/22
	*	Pushkin	RUS	"O convidado de Pedra" - drama de Pouchkin	ELF & António Gouveia	ELF & A. Gouveia	69/02/07
	*	Scribe	FR	"César ou o Cão do Castelo" - comédia/vaudeville de Scribe	ELF e Manuel Lisboa	ELF & M. Lisboa	69/02/19
	*	Ibsen	NOR	"O túmulo do Guerreiro" - peça em 1 acto de H. Ibsen	ELF & Elisa Lisboa	ELF & Elisa Lisboa	69/03/07
	*	Gogol	RUS	A Peliça de Gogol	ELF & Maria José Lisboa	ELF & Maria José Lisboa	69/03/19
	*	Rostand	FR	"A Samaritana" de Edmond Rostand	n/ack	n/ack	69/04/04
	*	Turgenev	RUS	"Uma Partilha Amigável" - comédia de Ivan Turgénev	Elisa Lisboa	Elisa Lisboa	69/04/18
	*	Erckmann; Chatrian	FR	"O Amigo Fritz" - Comédia de Erckmann e Chatrian	ELF	ELF	69/05/02
	*	Labiche	FR	"Os Dois Tímidos" - comédia de E. Labiche	Isidoro Ferreira	ELF	69/05/16
	*	Labiche	FR	A Cigarra em Casa das Formigas" - comédia de Labiche	ELF	ELF	69/05/30
	*	Labiche	FR	"Dê Cá um Abraço, Folleville!" - comédia de Labiche	ELF	ELF	69/06/13
	*	Zorrilla y Moral	SPAN	"D. João Tenório" - drama de José Zorrilla e Moral	ELF	ELF	69/06/27
	*	Scribe	FR	"O Mais Belo Dia da Vida" - comédia de Verner revista por Scribe	ELF	ELF	69/07/11
	*	Diderot	FR	"O Pai de Família" - drama burguês de Diderot	ELF	ELF	69/07/25
	*	Desvergers; Dubourg; Laurencin	FR	"Industriais e Industriosos" Revista da Exposição de Paris de 1839 de Desvergers, Dubourg e Laurencin	ELF	ELF	69/08/08

	*	Banville	FR	"Gringoire"- de Théodore de Banville	ELF	ELF	69/08/22
	*	Musset	FR	"Com o Que Sonham as Raparigas" - comédia de Alfred de Musset	ELF	ELF	69/09/05
	*	Musset	FR	Dois dramas de Alfred de Musset - "O Conde de Essex" e "O Recibo do Diabo" de Alfred de Musset	ELF	ELF	69/09/19
	*	Musset	FR	"A Roca de Barbarina"	ELF	ELF	69/10/03
	*	Castelo Branco	PT	A Morgadinha de Val-d'Amores	n/ack	ELF	69/10/17
	*	Théaulon; Biéville	FR	O Escultor	ELF	ELF	69/10/31
	*	Théaulon	FR	A Mãe no Baile e a Filha em Casa - comédia/vaudeville de Guilherme de Théaulon	ELF	ELF	69/11/14
	*	Normand	FR	"A Varinha de Condão" comédia de Jacques Normand	ELF	ELF	69/11/28
	*	Mérimée; Legouvé	FR	A Flor de Tlemcen	ELF	ELF	69/12/12
	*	Delavigne	FR	A Princesa Aurélia	ELF	ELF	69/12/26
	X	Gazul	FR	O Coche do Santíssimo Sacramento	n/ack	n/ack	n/ack

**Table IV: “Teatro do Século XVIII”**

A.	D.	Author	Nat.	Title (radio)	Translator	Adaptor	Date
	*	Crébillon	FR	O teatro Clássico Francês: as tragédias de Crebillon - "Pirro" (Radamisto e Zenóbia; Pirro)	L. Araújo	n/ack	64/04/05
	*	LeSage	FR	Turcaret - A Comédia Francesa no começo do século XVIII	n/ack	n/ack	64/04/19
	*	Corneille	FR	Aspectos gerais e vida do Teatro na França na primeira metade do S. XVIII - Tinocrate	n/ack	n/ack	64/05/03
	*	Regnard	FR	"O Jogador"	n/ack	n/ack	64/05/17
	*	anon.	RUS	O Czar Maximiliano - drama popular russo	n/ack	n/ack	64/05/31
	*	Catherine II of Russia	RUS	"O aniversário da Senhora Vortchalkina" comédia da Imperatriz Catarina II da Rússia	n/ack	n/ack	64/06/14
	*	Piron	FR	O Bucolismo elegante do século XVIII e a sua repercussão na comédia - exemplificado com obras de Alexis Piron	n/ack	n/ack	64/06/28
	*	Maffei	IT	A tragédia "Mérope" de Scipione Maffei	n/ack	n/ack	64/07/12
	*	Bances y Candamo	SPAN	O Escravo em grilhões de ouro - comédia	n/ack	n/ack	64/07/26
	*	Voltaire	FR	A tragédia de Voltaire - Zaire	n/ack	n/ack	64/08/09
	*	Goldoni	IT	O Leque	n/ack	n/ack	64/08/23
	*	Garcia de la Huerta	SPAN	"A Raquel" - tragédia	n/ack	n/ack	64/09/06
	*	Goldsmith	ENG	Ela rebaixou-se para triunfar - comédia	n/ack	n/ack	64/09/21
	*	Lessing	GER	Lessing e a sua comédia "Mina de Barnhelm" e o seu drama filosófico "Nathan o Sábio"	n/ack	n/ack	64/10/04
	*	Alfieri	IT	"Alfieri, o maior trágico italiano, e uma possível influência de "O Auto de El-Rei Seleuco" de Camões, sobre o seu "Filipe IV"	n/ack	n/ack	64/10/18
	*	Sheridan	ENG	"A Escola de Mal-dizer"	n/ack	n/ack	64/11/01
	*	Cruz	SPAN	"A Espanha do S. XVIII nos sainetes de Don Ramon de la Cruz"	n/ack	n/ack	64/11/15

	*	Fonvitzine	RUS	O Menor - comédia	n/ack	n/ack	64/11/29
	*	Alfieri	IT	"Abel" - tramelogédia de Vittorio Alfieri	n/ack	n/ack	64/12/13
	*	Jovellanos	SPAN	"O Delinquente honrado" _ drama de Jovellanos	n/ack	n/ack	64/12/27
	*	Diderot	FR	"Será bom? Será mau?" Comédia de Diderot	n/ack	n/ack	65/01/10
X	*	Addison	ENG	A tragédia "Catão" de Addison	n/ack	n/ack	65/01/24
	*	Seédaine	FR	Ricardo Coração de Leão de Sedaine e o aparecimento do "vaudeville" e da "ópera-cômica"	n/ack	n/ack	65/02/07
	*	Beaumarchais	FR	O Barbeiro de Sevilha - vaudeville de Beaumarchais	n/ack	n/ack	65/02/21
	*	Quintana	SPAN	Pelaio - tragédia de Manuel José Quintana	n/ack	n/ack	65/03/21
	*	Varano	IT	Joao de Giscala	n/ack	n/ack	65/04/04
	*	Gozzi	IT	Turandote - fábula trágicômica de Carlo Gozzi; Fábula Chinesa teatral	n/ack	n/ack	65/04/18
	*	Correia Garção	PT	Corrêa Garção e as suas teorias sobre teatro, nos seus discursos e na comédia "Teatro Novo"	n/ack	n/ack	65/05/02
	*	Correia Garção	PT	Assembleia ou Partida - comédia de Correia Garção	n/ack	n/ack	65/05/16
	*	Marivaux	FR	As Falsas Confidências	n/ack	n/ack	65/05/30
	*	Goldoni	IT	Os Enamorados	n/ack	n/ack	65/06/13
	*	Goethe	GER	Goetz de Berlichingen	L. Araújo	n/ack	65/06/27
	*	Fernández de Moratín	SPAN	A vida no teatro espanhol do séc. XVIII e a "Comédia Nova" de Leandro Fernandez de Moratin	n/ack	n/ack	65/07/11
	*	Figueiredo	PT	A vida no teatro português do séc .XVIII satirizada por Manuel de Figueiredo em duas das suas comédias	n/ack	n/ack	65/07/25
	*	Schiller	GER	Guilherme Tell	n/ack	n/ack	65/08/08
	*	Gozzi	IT	"O Corvo" fábula teatral tragicômica de Carlo Gozzi	n/ack	n/ack	65/08/22
	*	Kleist	GER	A Bilha Quebrada	n/ack	n/ack	65/09/05
	*	Cruz	SPAN	"Dois Sainetes" de Don Ramón de la Cruz: "A Petra e a Joana ou o Bom Senhorio" e "A Presumida Burlada"	n/ack	n/ack	65/09/19
	*	Goldoni	IT	O Cavaleiro e a Dama	n/ack	n/ack	65/10/31
	*	Beaumarchais	FR	"As Bodas de Fígaro" - comédia de Beaumarchais	L. Araújo	n/ack	65/11/14
	*	Metastasio	IT	Os melodramas de Metastásio - "Ateneida" e "O triunfo do amor"	n/ack	n/ack	65/11/28
	*	Marivaux	FR	A Commedia dell'arte na obra de Marivaux - "A Dupla inconstância" e "O Preconceito vencido" (e "O preconceito Vencido")	L. Araújo	n/ack	65/12/12
	*	Metastasio	IT	Dois dramas sacros de Metastásio: "A Morte de Abel" e "Isaque Figura do Redentor"	n/ack	n/ack	65/12/26
	*	Schiller	GER	Maria Stuart	n/ack	n/ack	66/01/09
	*	Goethe	GER	Egmont	n/ack	n/ack	66/01/23
	*	Figueiredo	PT	A Apologia das Damas	Jorge de S. Costa	n/ack	66/02/06
	*	Goldoni	IT	A Serva Amorosa	Jorge de S. Costa	n/ack	66/02/20
	*	Bocage	PT	Bocage e o Teatro e o Teatro de Bocage	n/ack	n/ack	66/03/06
	*	Bocage	PT	Os pensamentos e os ideais de Bocage traduzidos nas suas tentativas dramáticas	n/ack	n/ack	66/03/20

	*	Metastasio	IT	Dois dramas sacros de Metastásio destinados à semana Santa: A Paixão de Jesus Cristo e Santa Helena no Calvário	n/ack	n/ack	66/04/03
	*	Goldoni	IT	A Viúva Astuciosa	n/ack	n/ack	66/04/17
	*	Cruz	SPAN	"O Manolo" e "As Castanheiras Picadas" - sainetes de D.Ramón de la Cruz	n/ack	n/ack	66/05/01
	*	Macedo	PT	O Sebastianista - comédia	n/ack	n/ack	66/05/15
	*	Beaumarchais	FR	A Mãe Culpada - drama	n/ack	n/ack	66/05/29
	*	Metastasio	IT	"A Esquiva Desarmada" e "Dido Abandonada" - bucólica e tragédia melodramática de Metastásio	n/ack	n/ack	66/05/29
	*	Goethe	GER	"Prometeu" e "O Cidadão General"	n/ack	n/ack	66/06/12
	*	Gozzi	IT	O Amor das Três Laranjas	n/ack	n/ack	66/06/26
	*	Goethe	GER	O Fausto - 1ª Parte	A. F. de Castilho	n/ack	66/07/10
	*	Goethe	GER	O Fausto - 2ª Parte	A. F. de Castilho	n/ack	66/07/24
	*	Regnard	FR	O Herdeiro Universal	n/ack	n/ack	66/08/07
	*	Schiller	GER	A Donzela de Orleans - drama romântico	n/ack	n/ack	66/08/21
	*	Voltaire	FR	Semirania	n/ack	n/ack	66/09/04
	*	Goldoni	IT	A Locandeira	n/ack	n/ack	66/09/18
	*	n/ack	JAP	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - I - Os Nós Japoneses - 1 - O Espelho da Ilusão, O Fato de Plumas, O Encontro com Ohara	n/ack	n/ack	66/10/02
	*	Motokiyo; ?	JAP	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - II - Os Nós Japoneses - 2 - O cavaleiro Miséria e O tambor	n/ack	n/ack	66/10/16
	*	Kchemisvara	IND	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - III O Drama Indiano - A Ira de Causica	n/ack	n/ack	66/10/30
	*	Kalidasa	IND	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - IV O Drama Indiano de Kalidassa: "Xakuntálá"	n/ack	n/ack	66/11/13
	*	n/ack	CHI	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - V O Drama Chinês de Li Hsing-Tao <<O Círculo de Gis>>	n/ack	n/ack	66/11/27
	*	Monzaemon	CHI	A Revelação do Teatro Oriental - VI - O Drama Chinês de Chikamatsu Monzaemon: "Formosas Damas num Jogo de Poemas"	n/ack	n/ack	66/12/11
	*	Costa	PT	Um Parêntese Para Revelar Um Continuador de Gil Vicente, há Pouco Descoberto: D. Francisco da Costa - Os seus Autos: Ao Nascimento e A Conversão de Sto Agostinho	n/ack	n/ack	66/12/25
	*	Costa	PT	Um Parêntese. Para Revelar um Continuador de Gil Vicente, Há Pouco Descoberto: D. Francisco da Costa - 2º Os Seus Autos: "A Conceição de Nossa Senhora" e "Passo do Glorioso o Seráfico São Francisco"	n/ack	n/ack	67/01/08
	*	Reis Quita	PT	A Tragédia Castro de Domingos dos Reis Quita	n/ack	n/ack	67/01/22
	*	Quinault	FR	A Velha Garrida	Manuel de Figueiredo	n/ack	67/02/05
	*	Figueiredo	PT	A História Pátria em Duas Tragédias de Manuel de Figueiredo: Inês e As Irmãs	n/ack	n/ack	67/02/19
	*	Costa	PT	Auto da Ressurreição	n/ack	n/ack	67/03/19



**Table V: “Teatro dos Nossos Dias”**

A.	D.	Author	Nat.	Title (radio)	Translator	Adaptor	Date
	X	Pirandello	IT	Henrique IV - Pirandello e o seu Henrique IV	n/ack	ELF	61/01/23
	X	Wilder	USA	A casamenteira - (A comédia nova no teatro americano dos nossos dias - "A casamenteira" de Thornton Wilder)	n/ack	ELF	61/02/06
	X	Filippo	IT	As vozes íntimas (O que "As Vozes Íntimas" nos disem da Comédia Napolitana de Eduardo de Filippo)	n/ack	ELF	61/02/20
	X	Strindberg	SWE	Viagem de Pedro Feliz - A poesia e a imaginação nórdica no teatro de Augusto Strindberg (Viagem de Pedro Feliz)	n/ack	ELF	61/03/06
	X	Montherlant	FR	A rainha morta de Montherlant - Inês de Castro na inspiração do Moderno Teatro Francês (A rainha morta)	n/ack	ELF	61/03/20
	X	Ibsen	NOR	Solness o Construtor - O simbolismo de Ibsen no drama "Solness..."	n/ack	ELF	61/04/03
	X	Eliot	ENG	O Assassínio na Catedral (As Formas da tragédia clássica no drama moderno de Eliot - O Assassínio na Catedral)	n/ack	ELF	61/04/17
	X	el-Hakim	EGY	Eu escolhi - O teatro árabe moderno. A originalidade das peças de Tewfik el Hakim	n/ack	ELF	61/05/01
	X	Maeterlinck	BEL	A intrusa e Pelleas e Melisanda - Maurice Maeterlinck primeiro poeta do subconsciente no seu teatro simbólico e vibrante de emoção contida; exemplificado <<A Intrusa>> e <<Pelleas e Melisanda>>	n/ack	ELF	61/05/15
	X	Péñan	SPAN	O Testamento da Mariposa	n/ack	n/ack	61/05/29
	X	Betti	IT	Vento Nocturno; Corrupção no Palácio de Justiça - O teatro de Ugo Betti	n/ack	n/ack	61/06/12
	X	Fabbri	IT	O Sinal do Fogo	n/ack	ELF	61/06/26
	X	Supervielle	FR	Robinson; A Bela do Bosque - O teatro poético de Jules Supervielle	n/ack	ELF	61/07/10
	X	García Lorca	SPAN	A sapateira fantasiosa e Bodas de Sangue - Aspectos do Teatro de García Lorca	n/ack	ELF	61/07/24
	X	Miller	USA	Lembro-me de Duas Segundas-Feiras (O realismo dramático no teatro de Artur Miller)	n/ack	ELF	61/08/07
	X	Camus	FR	Calígula	n/ack	ELF	61/08/21
	X	Adamov	FR	Ping-Pong - O teatro de Artur Adamov	n/ack	ELF	61/09/04
	X	Shaw	ENG	César e Cleópatra - A ironia de Shaw no seu teatro e a sua peça César e Cleópatra	n/ack	ELF	61/09/19
	X	Fry	ENG	O Primogénito - Os Continuadores do Teatro Clássico nos nossos dias - Christopher Fry e o seu drama bíblico "O Primogénito"	n/ack	ELF	61/10/03
	X	Mauriac	FR	Os Mal Amados e Asmodée : O estudo psicológico nos dramas de Mauriac 'Os mal...'	n/ack	ELF	61/10/17
	X	Valle Inclán	SPAN	Farsa Infantil da Cabeça do Dragão e Romance de Lobos (p.8)- O teatro de Don Ramon Del Valle Inclán (Cabeça do Dragão)	n/ack	ELF	61/10/31
	X	Arnoux	FR	O Amor das Três Laranjas (O Teatro de Alexandre Arnoux e 'O amor das três laranjas')	n/ack	ELF	61/11/07
	X	Aymé	FR	Os Pássaros da Lua	n/ack	ELF	61/11/28
	X	Jerome	ENG	O Hóspede das Águas-Furtadas	n/ack	ELF	61/12/12
	X	Ghéon	FR	O Pobre no Vão da Escada	n/ack	n/ack	61/12/26

	X	Sastre	SPAN	Morte no Bairro - O 'recordar' orientando o processo dramático e o próprio drama, no teatro de Alfonso Sastre	n/ack	ELF	62/02/20
	X	Andrés Álvarez	SPAN	As farsas filosóficas de Valentin Andrés Alvarez ("Tarari" e "Pim, Pam Pum")	n/ack	ELF	62/03/06
	X	Roncoroni	FR	Ao tempo das cerejas	n/ack	ELF	62/05/01
	X	Williams	USA	Gata em Telhado de Zinco, Jardim Zoológico de Vidro - O Teatro de Tennessee Williams	J. de Sousa Costa	J. de Sousa Costa (?)	62/05/15
	X	Vasile	IT	Os Primos Rivaís - A tragédia clássica no teatro italiano dos Nossos Dias	n/ack	ELF	62/05/28
	X	Husson	FR	O Imperador Cláudio	n/ack	n/ack	62/06/12
	X	Boulle	FR	William Conrad - O drama 'William Conrad' de Pierre Boule	n/ack	ELF	62/06/26
	X	Giannini	IT	O Escravo que Enlouqueceu	n/ack	ELF	62/07/10
	X	Bernard-Luc	FR	Hibernatus	n/ack	ELF	62/07/24
	X	Scarpetta	IT	Miséria e Nobreza	n/ack	n/ack	62/08/07
	X	Buzatti	IT	Um Caso Clínico	n/ack	ELF	62/08/21
	X	Chayefsky	USA	O 10º Homem	n/ack	ELF	62/09/04
	X	Casona	SPAN	A Justiça do Corregedor; A Moleira de Arcos - Temas Tradicionais Espanhóis no Moderno teatro de A. Casona (Temas Tradicionais Espanhóis)	n/ack	ELF	62/09/18
	X	Ustinov	ENG	Romanoff e Julieta	n/ack	ELF	62/10/02
	X	Hayes	USA	A bicicleta em frente da porta - extraída de Horas de Desespero	n/ack	M.-G. Sauvajon	62/10/30
	X	Achard	FR	O Corsário (e as personagens sonhadoras e amorosas de Marcel Achard)	n/ack	n/ack	62/11/13
	X	Ardrey	USA	A torre de Marfim	n/ack	ELF	62/11/27
X		Gripari	FR	Tenente, tenente	n/ack	n/ack	63/01/02
	X	Breal	FR	Os Hussardos: A comédia de Breal	n/ack	ELF	63/01/22
	X	Greene	ENG	O Poder e a Glória de Graham Greene numa adaptação teatral de Dennis Cannan e Pierre Bost	n/ack	ELF	63/02/05
	X	Chiusano; Silore	IT	Noite no Palácio Real; Estadia nas Barracas - (Teatro Radiofónico Italiano)	n/ack	ELF	63/02/19
X	X	Claudel	FR	O Livro de Cristóvão Colombo	n/ack	ELF	63/03/05
	X	Caragiale	ROM	<<A carta perdida>> do grande comediógrafo romeno Ion Luca Caragiale (A carta perdida)	n/ack	ELF	63/03/19
X	X	Father Roguet	FR	O Mistério da Paixão (O Drama da Paixão no moderno teatro radiofónico francês)	n/ack	n/ack	63/04/02
	X	Birabeau	FR	O Caminho dos Estudantes	n/ack	ELF	63/04/16
	X	Velle	FR	A la Monnaie du pape	n/ack	ELF	63/04/30
	X	Sarazani	IT	Eu sou a filha do rei	n/ack	ELF	63/05/14
	X	Maulnier	FR	A casa da noite	n/ack	ELF	63/05/28
	X	Salacrou	FR	Os Noivos do Havre - O Teatro de Armand Salacrou	n/ack	ELF	63/06/11
	X	Pezzati; Della Ceta; Fayad	IT	O Acusado Ricardo; Marciano; Um Homem que Venceu na Vida (Possibilidades e Campo de Acção do Teatro Radiofónico Exemplificados com Obras Italianas)	n/ack	ELF	63/06/25
	X	Mihura	SPAN	Sublime Decisão	n/ack	ELF	63/07/09

	X	Amiel; Amiel Pétry	FR	A família	n/ack	ELF	63/07/23
X	X	Prosperi	IT	Conjura - A nova tragédia romana "A Conjura", de Giorgio Prosperi, e como se ensaia uma peça no Piccolo Teatro de Milano	n/ack	ELF	63/08/06
X	X	Daninos	FR	Um Certo Senhor Blot	n/ack	ELF	63/08/20
	X	O'Neill	USA	Além do horizonte	n/ack	ELF	63/09/03
X	X	Giono	FR	O Fim da Estrada	n/ack	ELF	63/09/17
	X	Bolt	ENG	Thomas More- Um Homem que não Muda	n/ack	ELF	63/10/01
X		Anouilh	FR	Processo e atitudes de Anouilh ao tratar as figuras históricas no seu teatro - "A Feira da Ladra" e "Becket ou a honra de Deus" - (A Feira da Ladra e Becket ou a honra de Deus)	n/ack	n/ack	63/10/09
	X	Cocteau	FR	A Máquina Infernal, Os Cavaleiros da Távola Redonda (Jean Cocteau - Um dos Maiores Criadores de Teatro do Nosso Século)	n/ack	ELF	63/10/29
X	X	Benavente	SPAN	A comida das feras	n/ack	ELF	63/11/12
X		France	FR	A comédia do homem que casou com uma mulher muda	n/ack	n/ack	63/11/20
	X	France	FR	Comédia do homem que casou com uma mulher muda - A efabulação do romancista e a criação do drama teatral, exemplificado com a obra de Anatole France: Comédia (...)	n/ack	ELF	63/11/26
	X	Pratolini; Giani	IT	Teatro radiofónico - 'O domingo da gente simples' - rádiodrama de Vasco Patolini e Gian Domenico Giani (O Domingo da Gente Simples)	n/ack	n/ack	63/12/10
	X	Joatton; Obey	FR	Neste Tempo: Mistério Contemporâneo; As Três Pancadas da Meia Noite (O ciclo da natalidade no teatro dos nossos dias: 'Neste tempo' do Padre Pol Joatton e 'As três pancadas da Meia noite', André Obey)	n/ack	n/ack	63/12/24
X	X	Coward	ENG	Valores Relativos (83º Valores Relativos)	n/ack	ELF	64/01/21
	X	A. Álvarez	SPAN	Pim, pam pum - Fantasia humorística	n/ack	n/ack	64/02/04
X	X	Kipphardt	GER	Shakespeare Urgente de Encontrar - comédia satírica de Heinar Kipphardt	n/ack	ELF	64/02/18
	X	Montherlant	FR	Port- Royal	n/ack	ELF	64/03/03
	X	Lavery	USA	A primeira legião	n/ack	ELF	64/03/17
	X	Calvo-Sotelo	SPAN	Os Nossos Anjos	n/ack	ELF	64/03/31
	(iv)	Claudell	FR	O sapato de cetim	n/ack	n/ack	< 1963

#### Caption for Tables I to V

(\*) in RTP online archive, <http://museu.rtp.pt/app/uploads/dbEmissoraNacional>

(i) mentioned in “A História do Teatro”, episode 122: *Pastor Fiel*, Guarini

(ii) mentioned in Sousa e Silva, Maria de Fátima, *Representações de Teatro Clássico no Portugal Contemporâneo*, vol. II, pp. 165-341.

(iii) mentioned in the online archive: Lote 50/00021934.pdf

(iv) mentioned in “Teatro dos Nossos Dias”, episode 60: *O Livro de Cristóvão Colombo*, P. Claudel