

The circulation of Brazilian literature in the 21st century: translation and publishing market / *A circulação da literatura brasileira no século XXI: tradução e mercado editorial*

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the article is to discuss the results of research carried out jointly with students of the Degree of Letters and the Bachelor's Degree in Translation, on the translations of Brazilian literature in the contexts of Germany, Spain, England, United States and France. A transversal look on the circulation of Brazilian works in these different spaces showed the existence of some regularities with respect to the authors and the most translated works, as well as publishers and literary agencies, revealing how certain principles of economic, political and cultural nature act on the flow of translations in the international literary space. The focus of attention was on the role of publishers as intermediaries who act in a decisive way in the process of selection, presentation and introduction of the translated work in the reception context. From the theoretical point of view, the study is inscribed within the perspective of the Sociology of translation developed notably by Gisèle Sapiro, Johan Heilbron and Pascale Casanova, in the wake of the thought of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.

KEYWORDS: Circulation; Publishers; Brazilian literature; Translation.

RESUMO

O objetivo do artigo é discutir os resultados de pesquisa realizada em conjunto com alunos dos cursos de Licenciatura em Letras e do Bacharelado em Tradução, sobre as traduções da literatura brasileira nos contextos da Alemanha, Espanha, Inglaterra, Estados Unidos e França. Um olhar transversal sobre a circulação das obras brasileiras nesses diferentes espaços evidenciou a existência de algumas regularidades no que diz respeito aos autores e obras mais traduzidas, assim como editoras e agências literárias, revelando como atuam certos princípios de natureza econômica, política e cultural sobre o fluxo das traduções no espaço literário internacional. O foco de atenção recaiu sobre o papel das editoras como intermediárias que atuam de forma determinante no processo de seleção, apresentação e introdução da obra traduzida no espaço de recepção. Do ponto de vista teórico, o estudo se inscreve dentro da perspectiva da Sociologia da tradução desenvolvida notadamente por Gisèle Sapiro, Johan Heilbron e Pascale Casanova, na esteira do pensamento do sociólogo Pierre Bourdieu.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Circulação; Editoras; Literatura brasileira; Tradução.

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1 Introduction

In a 1968 text entitled “Esquema Machado de Assis”, Brazilian literary critic Antonio Candido attributed the lack of international recognition of two of the greatest exponents of Brazilian and Portuguese literature to the language in which their works were written and to the inexpressiveness, in international geopolitics, of the countries where they are spoken. The article referred in the following terms – and not without certain exaggeration, as will be seen – to the lack of international prestige of the Portuguese language:

Of the languages of the West, ours is the least known, and if the countries in which it is spoken represent little today, in 1900 they represented much less in the political game. That is why two novelists who wrote in it and who are the same as the greatest writers at that time became marginal: Eça de Queirós, well adjusted to the spirit of Naturalism; Machado de Assis, enigmatic and bifronte, looking to the past and to the future, hiding a strange and original world under the apparent neutrality of his stories that everyone could read. (CANDIDO, 1968, p. 17)¹.

Although it is excessive to say that the Portuguese language would be “the least known” in the West, it must be agreed that its little world projection remains an unaltered fact from the 1960s onwards. Indeed, Portuguese occupies a peripheral place in the world cartography of languages². And regarding Brazil's insertion into the international geopolitical arena, if the country lived, between 2002 and 2014, “the dream of being the ‘world colossus’” in the words of the philosopher, linguist and activist Noam Chomsky (2018, quoted by Maretti y Souza, 2018) – when, “in the years of Lula and Dilma, it became the most respected country in the world and organized the South American bloc as never before” –, this period today is an exception in the history of that nation³.

Candido refers to the linguistic and geopolitical dimensions of a nation to explain the greater or lesser recognition of its literature on the international stage. This argument has similarities with the thinking of French literary critic Pascale Casanova and her concept of

¹ Our translation of: “Das línguas do Ocidente, a nossa é a menos conhecida, e se os países onde é falada pouco representam hoje, em 1900 representavam muito menos no jogo político. Por isso ficaram marginais dois romancistas que nela escreveram e que são iguais aos maiores que então escreviam: Eça de Queirós, bem ajustado ao espírito do Naturalismo; Machado de Assis, enigmático e bifronte, olhando para o passado e para o futuro, escondendo um mundo estranho e original sob a neutralidade aparente das suas histórias que todos podiam ler.”

² As described by the Dutch sociologist Abram de Swaan and taken up by Johan Heilbron (1999) in the context of what he calls “the international economy of translation”.

³ Following the parliamentary-legal-media coup d'état in 2016, the international leadership to which Chomsky refers was severely dismantled.

linguistic-literary capital, inspired on Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. For Casanova, linguistic-literary capital should be understood as "[...] the prestige, the strictly literary beliefs attached to a language, the literary value attributed to it and which are due to its age, the prestige of its poetry, the refinement of the literary forms developed in this language, traditions, the literary 'effects' linked in particular to translations and their number etc." (2002, p. 8)⁴. The symbolic capital associated to languages and literatures is, therefore, quite unequal and explains, in part, the asymmetries that structure the space of world circulation of the translated works. In addition to the linguistic-literary capital and specifically literary logics, economic, political and cultural factors also interfere in the production, circulation and reception of the translated work in the target space. Several intermediaries participate in this process, such as the author, the translator, the editor, the literary agent and the critic.

Within the scope of this article, the purpose is to discuss the role of publishing houses as intermediaries of fundamental importance in the processes of choice, translation and circulation of Brazilian literature abroad during the period from 2000 to 2015. More precisely, we seek to identify the logic or reason that guides the performance of these agents in the international space where the translated works circulate. The discussion will focus more specifically on the target contexts of Germany, Spain, France, England and the United States, spaces studied, with the exception of France⁵, in the context of a scientific initiation research developed in conjunction with students of the Bachelor of Letters and the Bachelor of Translation at the Universidade Federal da Paraíba⁶. For each of these contexts, a database of translations of Brazilian literature was prepared, containing the following entries: author's name, title of the original, title of the translation, name of the translator, publisher in Brazil, publisher in the country of destination of

⁴ Our translation of: "Il s'agit du prestige, de la croyance proprement littéraire attachée à une langue, de la valeur qui lui est accordée littérairement et qui tiennent à son ancienneté, au prestige de sa poésie, au raffinement des formes littéraires élaborées dans cette langue, aux traditions, aux 'effets' littéraires liés notamment aux traductions et à leur nombre, etc."

⁵ The French context was the object of research of my post-doctoral fellowship entitled "As traduções do Brasil no exterior: a circulação das obras brasileiras na França" [*Brazilian translations abroad: the circulation of Brazilian works in France*], held from December 2014 to December 2015 at the Centre de Sociologie européenne da École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS/Paris), with scholarship from the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico – CNPq [National Council for Scientific and Technological Development] - CNPq.

⁶ Scientific Initiation Project entitled "Tradução, história e desigualdades literárias: o cânone da literatura brasileira traduzida no exterior" [*Translation, history and literary inequalities: the canon of Brazilian literature translated abroad*], developed from 2016 to 2018 with the support of the Federal University of Paraíba and CNPq through the granting of research grants to students who developed the work plans. Participating students: Ângela Cecília Lacerda Coelho de Oliveira (Bachelor's Degree in Translation), Dayse Helena Viana de Albuquerque Gouveia (Degree in Letters - Spanish), Guilherme Delgado Filho (Degree in Translation), Maria Helena Pereira Gomes (Degree in Letters - Spanish), Thais Yumi Horikawa Chaves (Degree in Translation) and Thiago Fernandes Dantas (Degree in Translation).

the translation, year of publication of the original, year of translation and literary genre. Each database was fed from a set of sources that varied according to the country, the main ones being: *Index Translationum* (Unesco database), online catalogs of national libraries, official pages of publishers available on the Internet, academic research, official reports, as well as websites selling books such as *Amazon.com*. Thus, the following numbers of translations published in each of the countries during the period studied were obtained (Table 1).

Table 1 – Number of Brazilian literary works translated by country (2000-2015)

Country	Number of publications (reprints and retranslations included)
Germany	189
Spain	625
United States	122
France	320
England	64

The choice of the research project for a crosscutting analysis, taking the five countries together, made it possible to highlight aspects common to the different national contexts as well as certain specificities, bringing to light the reasons or conditions of circulation of Brazilian literature abroad. It is important, however, to point out the limits of such a perspective insofar as it elects the category "country" as the axis of observation, and not the "language". If, on the one hand, the choice made makes it possible to observe the path of translations and to identify, for example, the undeniable force of attraction exerted by Spain as an editorial center for translations into the Castilian language, on the other hand it compartmentalizes or separates some editorial realities that work inseparably, such as the British and US spaces. The cutout by country seemed more appropriate for the context of the research, since it allowed to highlight the political and economic dimension underlying the international circulation of works, a dimension related to factors such as the existence (or not) of state policies to support translations, the reorganization of editorial spaces increasingly divided between the large conglomerates and independent publishers, etc.

2 The logics governing the transnational circulation of translated works

The transnational circulation of cultural goods should be analysed in accordance with J. Heilbron and G. Sapiro (2009), in function of the degree of autonomy of the fields of

cultural/literary production of the countries concerned in relation to the political and economic fields. Thus, the circulation of works in translation will depend, in addition to cultural factors, on the structure of the national literary field – depending on whether or not it is dependent on the political and economic spheres – and on the modes of export and import in vogue. The pressure of economic and political logics varies, acting together in different proportions, depending on the context, that is, the degree of protection of the national market at a given moment, the place of culture, the political regime - whether a democracy or a dictatorship... (HEILBRON; SAPIRO, 2009). The principle of economic profitability can therefore be imposed on properly aesthetic criteria and, in the same way, the political-ideological orientation can be superimposed as a criterion.

In this respect, research has shown that:

- With the exception of Paulo Coelho, a veritable worldwide sales phenomenon, Brazilian literature translated abroad corresponds largely to national production celebrated by peers and specialized critics, characteristic of the restricted field of production or aesthetic pole (Bourdieu). This, however, does not imply that there are no economic pressures in the process...
- The Brazilian detective fiction enjoys a good acceptance abroad. Authors such as Patrícia Melo (the most translated Brazilian contemporary woman writer) and Luiz Alfredo García-Roza have most of their titles translated in the countries studied here. In this case, the market bias that accompanies the circulation and reception of the detective genre stands out, perceived as entertainment and fast consumption literature, a genre that has little legitimacy in the literate space.
- The translation operation into central languages, endowed with a greater linguistic-literary capital, is a consecration operation, as described by Casanova (1999). The works then circulate in a literary space of greater weight or prestige and, at the same time, compete with literature translated from other peripheral countries/languages. In this sense, the symbolic capital of the publishing house plays an important role, as will be discussed below.
- The greater participation of the Brazilian State in the Program to Support the Translation of Works Abroad is a political and institutional factor with an impact on the flow of translations of Brazilian literature, which has increased considerably since 2011, when it was restructured (DANTAS, 2018).

- Brazilian literature translated abroad is mostly produced by contemporary authors. It has been found that the classics are poorly translated.

3 The participation of publishing houses as intermediaries in the circulation of Brazilian works in translation

The action of publishing houses in the spaces of production and reception says much of the intricate process that selects or censors certain work, that is, the patronage, according to Lefevere (1992). Publishers largely define what will be translated and published, contributing greatly for the work to enter the circuit of circulation, reception and attribution of meanings in the field of reception.

In order to understand the performance of these agents as the main mediators of the international circulation of Brazilian authors and works during the period under study (2000-2015), the three publishers with the largest participation on the number of works translated abroad were identified in the Brazilian publishing market. This survey was carried out by consulting the databases set up under the above-mentioned research. For the five studied contexts - Germany, Spain, United States, France and England - the result was the same, pointing to the following publishers: Companhia das Letras, Record and Rocco - publishers with great projection in the national literary scene⁷. It is worth mentioning here the research conducted in the early 2000s by Regina Dalcastagnè on the contemporary Brazilian novel. She points out these three publishing houses as "the most important [in Brazil], not necessarily the largest, nor among the smallest, [and] they guarantee the interest of booksellers, readers and critics for their launches" (2005, p. 12)⁸.

They are, therefore, central publishers in the Brazilian literary field, having an undeniable power to legitimate authors and works, alongside critics and specialized media, in addition to academia. These publishing houses occupy a central position in the space of the instances of consecration, legitimization and reproduction of the literary field (BOURDIEU, 1992).

We then sought to identify the set of authors published by these three publishers who were translated into each of the countries considered here (Table 2).

⁷ It is important to point out that we have limited the corpus to works published by Companhia das Letras and Record as publishers, and not as groups, respectively Companhia das Letras Group and Record Editorial Group; in other words, we have not considered the publications of the other labels and/or publishers that make up these groups.

⁸ Our translation of: "mais importantes, que não são necessariamente as maiores, mas dificilmente estarão entre as menores, [e] garantem a atenção de livreiros, leitores e críticos para seus lançamentos".

Table 2 – Authors most edited in Brazil by Companhia das Letras, Record and Rocco, and translated abroad⁹

Germany	Spain	France	England	United States
Adriana Lisboa (1)		Adriana Lisboa (3)	Adriana Lisboa (1)	Adriana Lisboa (3)
	Alberto Mussa (2)	Alberto Mussa (2)	Alberto Mussa (1)	Alberto Mussa (1)
Ana Paula Maia (1)		Ana Paula Maia (2)		
Bernardo Carvalho (4)	Bernardo Carvalho (1)	Bernardo Carvalho (6)	Bernardo Carvalho (1)	
Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1)	Carlos Drummond de Andrade (2)	Carlos Drummond de Andrade (3)		Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1)
Chico Buarque (2)	Chico Buarque (3)	Chico Buarque (3)	Chico Buarque (2)	
Clarice Lispector (3)	Clarice Lispector (17)	Clarice Lispector (6)		Clarice Lispector (6)
Daniel Galera (2)	Daniel Galera (1)	Daniel Galera (2)	Daniel Galera (1)	
Graciliano Ramos (2)	Graciliano Ramos (1)	Graciliano Ramos (2)		
Jô Soares (1)	Jô Soares (1)	Jô Soares (4)		Jô Soares (1)
Jorge Amado (5)	Jorge Amado (13)	Jorge Amado (4)		Jorge Amado (5)
Luiz Alfredo Garcia-Roza (4)	Luiz Alfredo Garcia-Roza (2)	Luiz Alfredo Garcia-Roza (6)		Luiz Alfredo Garcia-Roza (7)
Luiz Ruffato (5)		Luiz Ruffato (4)		Luiz Ruffato (1)
Milton Hatoum (4)	Milton Hatoum (3)	Milton Hatoum (3)	Milton Hatoum (4)	
Moacyr Scliar (2)	Moacyr Scliar (1)	Moacyr Scliar (2)		Moacyr Scliar (2)
	Nélida Piñon (9)	Nélida Piñon (1)	Nélida Piñon (1)	
Patrícia Melo (6)	Patrícia Melo (2)	Patrícia Melo (6)	Patrícia Melo (3)	
	Rubem Fonseca (4)			Rubem Fonseca (2)
	Tatiana Salem-Levy (1)	Tatiana Salem-Levy (2)	Tatiana Salem-Levy (1)	

Source: research data¹⁰. The number in parentheses indicates the quantity of translated titles (not including titles by the same author published in Brazil by other publishers besides the 3 selected for analysis).

⁹ The table is not exhaustive. A selection was made of the authors with the highest number of titles translated during the research period (2000-2015), which includes, in some cases, re-editions of translations made before 2000. The table does not include Paulo Coelho, since he is published by several publishers in Brazil, having worked for Rocco, Objetiva, Planeta, Agir, Sextante, and since 2016 has been at the Paralela publishing house, which belongs to the Companhia das Letras Group.

¹⁰ Database set up within the scope of the survey (see notes 5 and 6).

The analysis of the table allows the following considerations to be made:

- a) The predominance of contemporary authors is observed: Adriana Lisboa, Alberto Mussa, Ana Paula Maia, Bernardo Carvalho, Chico Buarque, Daniel Galera, Jô Soares, Luiz Alfredo Garcia-Roza, Luiz Ruffato, Milton Hatoum, Moacyr Scliar (deceased in 2011, during the research period), Nélide Piñon, Patrícia Melo, Rubem Fonseca, Tatiana Salem-Levy (15 in total). Authors already deceased but whose work did not fall into the public domain are: Drummond, Clarice Lispector, Graciliano Ramos and Jorge Amado.
- b) The massive presence of male authors at the expense of works of female authorship confirms a worldwide trend in the national literary fields, dominated by men.
- c) The relatively balanced presence of the number of authors in Germany, Spain and France, contrasting with the British publishing market, which is more difficult for Brazilian literature (and translated literature in general). However, the observation of translations in the United States points to a relationship of complementarity between the two English-language publishing spaces, which operate as if in partnership, so that the proportion is slightly rebalanced. It is worth remembering that some publishers have structure or representation in both countries – most of the time in London and New York –, such as Bloomsbury, and that sometimes the same book is published simultaneously in both countries (like Chico Buarque and Milton Hatoum). In other words, the United States has more openness and closer relations with Brazil. Or, to put it another way, the United States has more openness and closer relations with Brazil, and that is where the largest number of Brazilianists in the world are to be found¹¹.
- d) The number of translations and retranslations of Clarice Lispector throughout the period draws attention. This is what Delgado Filho and Dantas (2018), referring to the US editorial space, call the Clarice Lispector effect, triggered, as they understand it, by the publication in 2009 by Oxford University Press of a biography of the author, *Why This World: A Biography of Clarice Lispector*, written by Benjamin Moser, which made a good impression on specialist critics. Two years later, *A Hora da Estrela/The Hour of the Star* (New Directions, New York) is published by Moser, and in 2012 the same New York publisher releases four other translations, always done by Moser, of novels by Lispector: *Perto do Coração Selvagem/Near to the Wild Heart*, *Um Sopro de Vida/A Breath of Life*, *A Paixão Segundo G.H./The Passion According to G.H.* and *Água Viva/Água Viva* (DELGADO

¹¹ According to the database of the Itaú Cultural Connections project. Available at: <<http://conexoesitaucultural.org.br>>.

FILHO; DANTAS, 2018, p. 541-542). This interest in Lispector's work in the United States spreads to other countries. In Germany, translations are published between 2013 and 2016; in Spain, between 2000 and 2015; in France, Des Femmes-Antoinette Fouque relaunches translations in 2004 and 2005, and between 2012 and 2015.

- e) There is a renewed interest in Jorge Amado in Spain, with 13 titles published, unlike other countries, where the publication of titles by the Bahian author suffered a decline during the period studied.

Translations of these works are published by publishers who occupy quite different positions in the incoming publishing market, ranging from a centrality to a more peripheral position and, therefore, with very different prestige and power of legitimation. It is observed in the space of the receiving culture an effect of dispersion of the works produced, published and validated by the center of the Brazilian literary field, represented here by the three main publishers.

The size of the publisher in the reception space also varies greatly, whether small, medium or large, whether independent or belonging to an editorial group. Examples include Spain, with publishers such as Delbolsillo and Alfaguara, belonging to Penguin Random House (the largest publishing group in the world, one of the branches of the German media giant Bertelsmann); Maresia Libros, a small independent publishing house founded in 2015 in Barcelona; the also independent Rayo Verde Editorial (Barcelona); the prestigious Editorial Alliance, currently owned by Hachette; and publishers belonging to the publishing (books and magazines) and audiovisual group RBA. Or, in France, the large and prestigious publishers Gallimard (who, among the authors in Table 2, published Chico Buarque, Daniel Galera and Jô Soares, all edited in Brazil by Companhia das Letras) and Actes Sud; the media-sized Métailié and Des Femmes-Antoinette Fouque, and the smaller Chandeigne and Anacaona (exclusively dedicated to Brazilian literature). It is important to emphasize the role of university publishers in the U.S. space, where they are very present.

It should also be noted that only in the US space we found the existence of academic publishers among those who publish Brazilian literature. This confirms one of the characteristics of this editorial space identified by Gisèle Sapiro (2010) in her study on globalization and cultural diversity in the book market. Regarding the corpus investigated here, part of the translations of titles produced by the main Brazilian publishers are published by the University of Texas Press

and by Dalkey Archive Press. Belonging to the University of Texas at Austin, the former is a leading academic publisher of books and newspapers founded in 1950¹². Dalkey Archive Press, located in Illinois, is one of the most respected publishers in the United States and has been linked to the University of Illinois since 2006¹³. Most translations, however, are published by large commercial publishers (some of them belonging to large conglomerates), such as Bloomsbury, Henry Holt and Company and New Directions.

An analysis of the path of the works that had their first translations during the period from 2000 to 2015 shows that:

- Anglophone space is not usually chosen for the author's debut abroad;
- France and Spain appear at the forefront as reception fields for the first translations of Brazilian authors, followed by Germany;
- translations in Germany were closely linked to the 2013 edition of the Frankfurt Fair, when Brazil was the country honoured. One can see the exponential increase in translations in 2012 and, above all, in 2013, when there was an annual jump from an average of 8 to nearly 70 (considering editions and re-editions);
- in the case of translations into Spanish, sometimes the work is published in Latin American space (with distribution in Spain), as in the case of the novel by Luiz Ruffato *Eles eram muitos cavalos* (Boitempo, 2001, and later Record), translated first in France (Métailié, 2005), then in Argentina (Eterna Cadencia, 2010), in Germany (Assoziation A, 2012) and finally in the United States (Amazon Crossing, 2014). Similar path follows his other novel *Mamma, so tanto felice* (Record, 2005), initially published in France (2007), then in Mexico (2011) and Germany (2013).

Conclusions

The data presented here aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the conditions under which Brazilian literature is currently circulating abroad. The translations of works from the center of the Brazilian literary field (produced by publishers endowed with important symbolic capital), once released in the reception countries, enter another circuit of circulation and recognition of which are part editorial houses and critics, among other instances of legitimation and consecration. Thus, the insertion of the works published by the three selected publishers

¹² Available at: <<https://utpress.utexas.edu/about>>. Accessed on: 02 Aug. 2017.

¹³ Available at: <<http://www.dalkeyarchive.com/us-office/>>. Accessed on: 20 Sep. 2018.

(Companhia das Letras, Record and Rocco) in the German, Spanish, French, British and American literary spaces obeys the logic of the structure of the respective reception fields, but the starting field also interferes in the process. This is seen, for example, in the case of Companhia das Letras, the largest Brazilian publisher, identified as the one that exports most authors, thus achieving greater penetration abroad. This international insertion is undoubtedly linked to the participation of Penguin Random House, the largest publishing group in the world, in the Companhia das Letras Editorial Group.

In the United States and England, spaces known to be refractory to the publication of translations, as previously mentioned, the Companhia das Letras publishing house has its authors mostly published by three major commercial publishers (Bloomsbury, Grove Press and Henry Holt and Company), a small portion being translated by an academic publishing house (Texas University Press). In France, the translations of the authors of Companhia das Letras are published in the aesthetic pole of the literary field, and are divided in a very balanced way between large prestigious publishing structures (Gallimard and Actes Sud), a medium-sized publishing house (Métailié) and small independent publishers (Chandeigne and Anacaona). In Spain, the titles of Companhia das Letras have been translated by four publishers, two of which are independent (Rayo Verde Editorial and Maresia Libros) and two belonging to the Penguin Random House group (Alfaguara and Delbolsillo). As regards the German context, there is a greater diversity of publishing houses (six in all) with very diverse profiles, ranging from small, such as Assoziation A, to publishing houses belonging to large publishing groups such as Suhrkamp and S. Fisher.

Perceiving how other intermediaries involved in this process of transposing Brazilian literature beyond national borders act will enable a broader understanding of their social inscription in the spaces of reception or, in other words, an understanding of how the social process of producing meaning and valuing the translated works takes place. As Jean-Marc Gouanvic states (1999):

As a cultural production, translation finds its social efficacy only in the logic of a market, i.e. when the decision to translate and the resulting product are legitimated by the response of the public and by the various instances of consecration, critical echo, possibly prizes and distinctions. In the translation initiative, the same agents are involved as in other cultural productions, with

the addition of agents who make genres and discourses circulate beyond linguistic and national borders. (p. 17)¹⁴.

Understanding the role of these agents, among whom publishing houses play a major role, also helps to understand the paradoxical place of Brazilian literature in the space of international circulation in the 21st century. Space in which, as Torres evoking Casanova states, this literature is considered both an "independent, autonomous" and a "minor" or "small" literature. (TORRES, 2004, p. 12).

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¹⁴ Our translation of: "Production culturelle, la traduction ne trouve son efficace sociale que dans la logique d'un marché, c'est-à-dire lorsque la décision de traduire et le produit qui en résulte se trouvent légitimés par la réponse du public et par les différentes instances de consécration, écho critique, éventuellement prix et distinctions. Dans l'entreprise de traduction interviennent donc les mêmes agents que dans les autres productions culturelles, avec de surcroît des agents qui font circuler les genres et les discours par delà les frontières linguistiques et nationales."

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