

# Translation and political climate: an analysis of the translation of Brazilian writer Jorge Amado's works in China

JIANBO ZHANG  
University of Macau

## **Abstract:**

Based on China translation history (since 1949), concerning the works of Jorge Amado, a Brazilian writer, this article is intended not only to analyze the background in which the writer and his works were introduced into China, but also to discuss the ties and relationship between translation and power. The translation of Jorge Amado's works can be mainly divided into three important periods: the 1950s, the 1980s and the 2010s, mainly showing the manipulation of power over translation. This manipulation presents itself in different forms at different historical periods, therefore producing different translation situations. At the same time, translation also has an impact on power, and in general, under the manipulation of power, translation serves power.

**Key words:** Translation, Power, Jorge Amado, China

## **Resumo:**

Com base na história da tradução da China (desde 1949), referente às obras do escritor brasileiro Jorge Amado, este artigo pretende não apenas analisar o contexto em que o escritor e suas obras foram introduzidos na China, como também discutir os laços entre a tradução e o poder. A tradução das obras de Jorge Amado na China pode ser dividida principalmente em três períodos importantes: as décadas de 1950, 1980 e 2010, evidenciando principalmente a manipulação do poder sobre a tradução. Essa manipulação apresenta diferentes formas em diferentes períodos históricos, produzindo, portanto, diferentes situações de tradução. Ao mesmo tempo, a tradução também tem impacto sobre o poder e, em geral, sob a manipulação do poder, a tradução serve ao poder.

**Palavras-chave:** Tradução, Poder, Jorge Amado, China

## **1. Introduction**

Jorge Amado (1912-2001) is one of the most famous novelists in Brazil. The number of his work is so rich that counts as one of the most outstanding writers not only in Brazil, but in the whole Latin America as well. He also plays an important role in the literature world, as his works have been translated into 49 languages and published in 55 countries and regions. As the first Portuguese-language writer who

was introduced to the country after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, he is still taking the first place among Portuguese-language writers in terms of the number of works translated into Chinese so far. Notably, the translation of his works in China was not quite continuous, but rather focused on three phases: the 1950s, the 1980s, and the first decade of the new century.

At the beginning of the founding of the PRC, a cautious attitude was taken towards Western culture, especially modern Western culture, therefore, many writers from foreign countries were turned down by China. Under this circumstance, how did Jorge Amado come to the view of Chinese people? The introduction of his works in the 1950s reflected the close relationship between translation and power, especially the manipulation of translation conducted by political power. However, after the 1980s, when political ideology was no longer the most important criteria for the translation of literary works, Jorge Amado's works were again translated in large numbers. What manipulated the translation of his works in China? The translation of Jorge Amado's works in China in the last century basically stopped in the 1990s, yet in the 21st century, the translations of Jorge Amado's works have been showing up in China once again. Is there still a shadow of power behind all of these?

The variable and ever-changing operations of power behind the activities of translation in these three periods, as well as the significance of the operations of power which came up in the process of cultural production, are considered worthy of attention and study. This article organizes the translations of Jorge Amado's works in China in chronological order, analyzing them in combination of different social situations in China at each phase and the characteristics of his works, in an attempt to discover the reasons for the introduction of his works into China at different stages, and to explore the relationship between power and translation as reflected in them, especially regarding the manipulation of translation by power.

## **2. Power and translation**

Foucault's discourse theory considered that discourse, as the main human activity, is power, is the strength that controls conscious and attitude, as well as cultural tradition of people's activities. People live forever in the relation network of power that spreads everywhere, and it is impossible to separate the relationship between discourse and power. Discourse is the form of expression of power, and all power is realized through discourse. Based on its various forms of expression, power can be divided into visible power and invisible power, among which visible power includes authorities and legal regulations, while invisible power includes ideology, cultural traditions, customs, religion, etc. Foucault's study and perspectives on power has developed an important impact on translation studies.

Bassnett and Lefevere (2001: 48) proposed three factors that can manipulate translation activities: Patronage, Ideology and Poetics. They considered ideology as "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes which are deemed acceptable in a certain society, at a certain time and through which readers and translators approach texts". It is the most important among the three factors and directly guides the Patronage factor. Ideology can be compared as an "invisible hand" that imposes influence on translation activities constantly. According to Lefevere, "Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way" (1992a: vii). Therefore, the dominant ideology and poetics in the target language culture play a decisive role in translation activities and directly influence the selection of translated texts, as well as determination of translation strategies and methods.

The power of translation is mainly shown in its influence and function. Translation has been a key tool in the production of such knowledge and representations (Gentzler & Tymoczko 2002: xxxiii). Lin (2002:160-183) takes translation as a catalyst for social and cultural changes in China and has a profound impact on the target language culture. In the translation process, the role of power which played by the translator also cannot be ignored. As independent individuals, even though the translators are influenced by power, they still have a sense of independence and professional perspectives.

### **3. The first peak: the first 17 years since the founding of the PRC**

#### **3.1 Translation as an important measure to achieve the "Non-governmental Diplomacy" strategy**

On October 1, 1949, the Chinese Civil War was basically over and the PRC, led by the Communist Party of China (CPC), was founded. Facing the two camps that emerged after World War II, the CPC made the decision of "Leaning to One Side" to the socialist camp that was led by the Soviet Union, in terms of international politics and relations as soon as it took the political power. It was because of the party's consistent choices of ideals, guiding principle and ideology, and the most realistic consideration of national interests in the new world landscape (Song 2007: 118).

The coalition between the Communist regime of China and the Soviet Union was established based on the geographical and ideological identification, the historical relationship, and the continuous contacts between them. Common knowledge about security and strategic interests in the early 1950s led the Soviet Union and the CPC to establish a partnership, which would be able to play an extremely influential role in the world in the following decades. Since it had no experience in nation building,

the CPC decided to learn from its “big brother”, in every area, including art and literature. The “Soviet model” contributed significantly to the economic, social and cultural development of the young PRC.

The new regime needed international allies, but looking towards the world of Latin America in the early 1950s of the last century, the young PRC had not yet established diplomatic relations with any Latin American country<sup>1</sup>(Sun 2014). As the “backyard” of the United States, Latin America played a strategic and quite relevant role in geopolitical politics. On top of that, at that time, Latin American countries, as well as China, African countries, and the rest of the socialist countries belonged to the Third World, which made China unable to give up its approach to Latin American countries. Mao Zedong indicated the country’s diplomacy soon after the founding of the PRC about the country’s diplomacy: “Whenever Latin American countries want to establish diplomatic relations with China, we are always willing to. If we do not establish diplomatic relations,... normal and regular contacts will be recommended” (Huang 2004: 51).

Under the guidance of the idea of Mao Zedong, the Chinese government developed a non-governmental diplomacy in order to establish friendly contacts and promote cultural and economic relations to gradually settle the formal establishment of diplomatic relations in the future. The most appropriate form of non-governmental diplomacy developed by the Chinese government at that time was cultural exchange. From September 11 to October 16, 1950, the delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth with some members from Latin America visited China. The Latin American representatives in the delegation were “the first Latin American friends” to visit China (Hong 1998: 499), an important fact for the beginning of China’s non-governmental diplomacy. The World Peace Council, established in 1950 with the aim of promoting peaceful coexistence among nations and nuclear disarmament, played the most fundamental role in China’s diplomacy toward the United States. The Council attracted numerous political and intellectual celebrities, including Jorge Amado, W.E.B. Dubois, Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Pablo Picasso, Louis Aragon, Pablo Neruda, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Joliot-Curie, etc. Chinese Communist writers Guo Moruo<sup>2</sup> and Emi Siao<sup>3</sup> were members of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Before the founding of the PRC, there were 13 countries that maintained their diplomatic relations with China: Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Chile, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Argentina and Ecuador.

<sup>2</sup> Poet, playwright, historian, archaeologist, and calligrapher Guo Moruo joined the Communist Party in August 1927. However, he distanced himself from the Party in 1928, when he went to Japan to escape persecution by the Nationalist Government of China. He returned to China in July 1937 and participated in anti-Japanese cultural and political activities along the Communist Party of China. He then rejoined the Communist Party of China in 1958.

<sup>3</sup> As poet and translator, Emi Siao joined the Communist Party of China in 1922. After 1949, he devoted himself to China’s cross-cultural exchange, serving as head of the Foreign Affairs Bureau

Council, and it was precisely through this Council that China was able to get in touch with communist intellectuals and left-wing groups of the Latin American world.

In 1954, the writer and then Minister of Culture Mao Dun proposed that, in the great cause of further easing the international tension and achieving collective security and peaceful coexistence in Asia and the whole world, cultural exchange between nations was an important factor, while the work of literary translation was an important part of cultural exchange (Luo 2009: 567). This assertion also shows that the new Chinese government assigned the cultural exchange an extremely important political significance and established the foundation of the New China’s foreign cultural strategy.

There is no doubt that translation was an important tool in realizing the strategy of “non-government diplomacy” created by the Chinese government at the time. Even though it was nominally “non-government diplomacy”, was in fact, entirely government-led and implemented. According to the statistics from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1949 to 1960, 1,388 individuals from Latin America arrived in China and there were 11 Latin American countries in which friendship associations were created to develop China-related activities. Moreover, there were 19 Chinese delegations in Latin America (Sun 2014).

### **3.2. The first peak of translation of Amado’s works**

After the CPC gained its power, the country was deeply in need of economic and social development, the renovation of culture was also quite urgent. For historical and practical reasons, the CPC has always emphasized the importance of translation work. The first edition of the National Congress of Literary and Arts Workers of China, which attended by literary translators or writers who were doing literary translation at the same time, was held in Beijing in July 1949. The Congress called for the construction of literature and art that belonged to the people of the New China. The need and relevance of translation was emphasized at the Congress.

The PRC copied from the Soviet Union in all aspects, such as political ideology, culture and art. The focus of literary translation in this period was on Soviet literature, which was the result of political orientation. Literary translation needed to safeguard the political interests of the socialist country and serve the ideology of socialism. Therefore, the foreign cultural policy adopted a critical attitude toward the literature of European and American countries that were represented by the modernists. Although the translation work on them did not fully stop, most of the

---

of Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, secretary of the Communist Party of China in the Chinese Writers Association, and China’s representative of the World Peace Council. Emi Siao had good personal relations with Jorge Amado.

translation targets were classical literature before the 19th century, meanwhile, showing great interest in literature which reflected class oppression and nation conflicts. In stark contrast, except for the comprehensive translation of Russian and Soviet literature, the translation of the literature of the "People's Democratic States" in Eastern Europe was also quite frequent. Since these countries belonged to the same Socialist camp as the PRC, and their political ideology and national consciousness were highly consistent with those of China at that time, the translation of their literature could ensure political correctness. In addition, there were also a large number of translations of literature from Asian, African and Latin American countries that did not belong to the socialist camp but shared common aspirations with the PRC in seeking national development and independence. As the largest Latin American country, Brazilian literature could not be ignored naturally, and Jorge Amado was the first choice of the Red Chinese regime.

In September 1951, Jorge Amado was awarded the International Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Peoples, thus becoming the communist voice of Brazilian culture. In the same year, he appeared in the vision of Chinese readers. In December 1951, the literary magazine, *World Knowledge*, published an article entitled *Brazil's Peace Fighter, the Poet Amado*, describing Amado as "truly a good son of the Brazilian people, an indefatigable fighter of the Brazilian Communist Party, and an activist of the world peace movement" (Liu 1951: 13). It is obvious that Amado first appeared in the vision of Chinese readers as a member of the Communist Party and his label of "communist fighter" was magnified, while his identity as a writer was somehow reduced.

This article also presented three representative rural topic works by Amado: *Terras do Sem-Fim*, *São Jorge dos Ilhéus* and *Seara Vermelha*. These three works, "written and published almost simultaneously in four years - from 1942 to 1946", have a quite obvious "partisan literary" dimension and can be seen as "representatives of a certain period in the writer's creative process" (Sun 2014: 134). In his post-translation notes of *Jorge dos Ilhéus*, the translator Zheng Yonghui commented on the rural trilogy, pointing out that "these three continuous novels are about three stages in the history of the struggle of the Brazilian people: *Terras do Sem-Fim* is about how landlords in Brazil took away peasants' land and primeval forests through murder and setting fire in the early 20th century; *Jorge dos Ilhéus* writes about the conspiracy of cocoa exporters, agents of American and German imperialism, who seized the land of the landowners in the 1920s and 1930s; *Seara Vermelha* is a novel about the change of ownership of the land, from feudal landlords to capitalists, the tragic scenes of the homeless life of bankrupt small farmers and unemployed employers who turned to the cities after the land changed hands" (Zheng 1956: 423). In the context of China, Jorge Amado profoundly

exposes the problem of land in Brazil, especially the catastrophe that large estate ownership brought to the Brazilian people, in particular the small-scale peasant and proletarians. This political orientation laid the foundation for the following translation of his works and provided the direction of the choice of translations.

The initial introduction to Jorge Amado is perfectly in keeping with one of the characteristics of Chinese literature, including the literature of translation, during the 20th century: Integration of Chinese literature. "Left-wing Literature" became the only form of literature in Mainland China between the 1950s and 1970s (Hong 1998: 187). This period was characterized by a highly integrated approach in terms of literary translation. The two government organizations: the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the China Writers' Association, led by the CPC, were mainly responsible for formulating national policies on literature and art in the 1950s and 1960s with high authority. During this period, literary translation was carried out under the unified leadership and management of these two organizations. "At that time, in many cases, the review of a writer's work, who should write it, and what kind journal it was published in were all subjects to the control of the relevant cultural institutions" (Teng 2011: 29). It is worth mentioning that by the mid-1950s, most of China's publishing houses were nationalized through a cultural transformation and a transformation of the ownership of the means of production. Private publishing houses no longer existed. In the whole process of integration, literary translation was first a national political necessity, and both publishing houses and translators served this need. The magazine *World Knowledge* was founded by the CPC and had its first edition in 1934, when the northeast of the country was occupied by fascist Japan. In addition to disseminating information and general knowledge around the world, the magazine devoted a good part of its articles to the assessment of the international situation, and to the call for the union of all socioeconomically oppressed nations. The Soviet Union was an important source of information for *World Knowledge*, and the International Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Peoples awarded to Jorge Amado naturally became his passport to China.

It was in this social, historical, and cultural context that this Brazilian writer entered China. The translation of Amado's works in the PRC was directly related to his membership in the Communist Party and to the political tendencies reflected in his works in the first place.

If Jorge Amado first appeared as a political figure was in *World Knowledge*, he then reappeared to Chinese readers as a novelist in the journal *People's Literature*, which began its activities in 1949, and is considered one of the most important publications in contemporary Chinese literature. As the journal is directly subordinated to the China Writers' Association, it is also seen as the result of the

institutionalization of the literary ideology of the Chinese communist regime. In 1952, *People's Literature* published in issue No. 34 a translation from the Russian version of a selection of paragraphs 22 of chapter 1 of the author's long novel *Os Subterrâneos da Liberdade*, which was written in 1954. The novel describes the sacred battle of the Brazilian people for national liberation, for peace, and against American imperialism. The selected translation for publication tells the story of the police of the old forces going to the secret contact spot of the Brazilian Communist Party and arresting its members, who show their braveness and fearless spirit.

Since then, four of Amado's works have been translated and published: *Terras do Sem-Fim* in 1953 and 1958, *Seara Vermelha* in 1954, 1956 and 1957, *São Jorge dos Ilhéus* in 1956, and *O Cavaleiro da Esperança: Vida de Luís Carlos Prestes* in 1953, which is a personal biography of Luís Carlos Prestes, the first general secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party.

During the initial stage of the establishment of the PRC, this type of attitude and translation approach, which took the political stand of the writers and the political ideological orientation of the works as the main selection criteria for translation, weakened the national consciousness of the country<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, in the mid-1950s, there was a conflict between the national consciousness and the political ideology of the early founding of the country, and an anxiety that the nation-state discourse would become blurred and gradually lost came up. In this condition, the importance of ethnicity and nation-state discourse has been highlighted. The translation of foreign literature in the mid- to late 1950s came up with a corresponding adjustment afterwards. Political ideology was no longer being the only criterion for translation, works began to be selected on a worldwide scale. This was in line with the policy of "a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend" proposed by Mao Zedong. The works of contemporary European and American literature became an important content of translation.

In February 1956, the "Twentieth Congress" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held, the most important part of which was to criticize personal superstition, which produced serious ideological confusion in the socialist camp. The Communist Party of Brazil "was divided and debated within the party, the intellectuals stopped participating in party activities, a large number of people completely left the Communist Party" (Sun 2014:145). The ideological differences between the leaders of the PRC and the Soviet Union<sup>5</sup> also gradually became more

---

<sup>4</sup> The national consciousness of the country refers to the identity as well as the shared culture of the majority of the Chinese people at the time. A large number of translations of literature from one single country, such as the Soviet Union would affect the status of the national culture in the national consciousness and weaken the national self-identity.

<sup>5</sup> China was displeased with Khrushchev's denial on Stalin, and subsequently the two sides could not agree on the orthodoxy of Marxism and the fate of Communism in the world.



and more open and extended to country relations. Almost all the national communist parties were dragged into the Sino-Soviet debate and the parties were deeply divided within themselves, even leading to splits. The decade-long Sino-Soviet debate had a profound and long-lasting impact on left-wing movements all over the world. In the perspective of the Government of China, "a group of separatism and eliminative materialism led by central committee member Barata" was formed within the Brazilian Communist Party (Guo 2002: 45), whose leaders and most of its members were firmly pro-Soviet. "Just as the translation of Latin American literature in the 1950s was closely synchronized with national politics, the great international communist debates of the 1960s had a direct impact on this field" (Teng 2011: 24). The PRC excluded left-wing Latin American writers who took a pro-Soviet stand, but Jorge Amado<sup>6</sup>, was not resisted nor criticized in China. It is determined, first of all, by his political and ideological position reflected in his four works translated into Chinese, which perfectly fit the dominant political ideology of the time and reflected the unification of political ideological discourse with the discourse of the nation-state. Moreover, as the only Portuguese-speaking writer in Latin America who was already away from the Brazilian Communist Party and not part of the Soviet camp, these four works were favored by the CPC and therefore published by different publishing houses. We can consider this as the result of a natural choice of political power.

While Sino-Soviet relationship was going downhill, the Cold War situation between the two camps was becoming increasingly serious. In the second half of 1957, the Anti-Rightist Campaign in China led to the dominance of political ideology and reunified with the nation-state discourse, which directly affected the translation of foreign literature. Meanwhile, the acceptance of European and American literature once again turned into resistance, while the attitude toward Soviet literature was going through a more complicated period. Needing to strengthen the dominant position of political ideology in the socialist camp, the translation of Soviet literature restarted in the late 1950s, but this phenomenon ended with the breakup of Sino-Soviet political relations. The translation of Asian, African and Latin American literature was given some attention, but the main purpose was still to consolidate the anti-colonial state, maintaining the national consciousness and defending the ethnic culture. However, under the influence of ultra-left-wing politics, China became increasingly resistant to foreign literature from the late 1950s. Combining the effect of these factors mentioned above, the translation of Amado's works stopped in 1958. Until the eve of the Cultural Revolution, the translation of entire foreign literature tended to pause and during

---

<sup>6</sup> Amado decided in late December 1955 to give up all his work in the party and concentrate on writing. He did not request to leave the party and the Brazilian Communist Party did not expel him.

the Cultural Revolution, almost all foreign literary works were labeled, criticized and forbidden. It was an extreme political power that curbed the translation of foreign literary works in China, and Jorge Amado's works were no exception.

#### **4. The second peak: the new era (80s-90s)**

##### **4.1. A brand-new context for translation activities**

With the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, China entered a new era in its history. The situation of internal and external problems in the early years of the founding of the PRC has fundamentally changed, and the political status of the nation is relatively stable. The society, through its own development, began to return to rationality.

Along with the changes of the political environment, the environment of cultural life also began to change. Chinese intellectuals began to obtain a more comprehensive and world-oriented view. Facing the progress in social, economic and cultural aspects that western countries have achieved, a consciousness of backwardness has allowed Chinese intellectuals to nurture a desire to learn from the Western world and to eagerly initiate the process of internationalization of the country in order to bridge the gap between China and western countries. In the concrete case of the field of literature, this internationalization appears in terms of, on the one hand, seeking new forms, which link China's national literature to the literatures of the world, and on the other hand, incorporating Chinese literature into the international literary world. In her approach to ideology in China in the 1980s, He concluded that the 1980s constitute a historical process that promotes market economy-oriented reform within the country and openness directed towards the capital markets of the world, taking as a reference of the disastrous history of the Cultural Revolution and getting rid of the socialist ideology that had predominated in the past decades since 1949 (He 2010: 20). Therefore, Reform and Opening constituted the ideology that could integrate all social strata and all areas of the country in this period.

It is generally believed that the starting point of foreign literature translation in the new era was "the reprinting of foreign masterpieces" by the People's Literature Publishing House in 1977. The end of the Cultural Revolution brought a new political ambiance and it should be noted that literary translation and publishing activities at this time did not resume immediately on a large scale, but, like the People's Literature Publishing House, after a series of careful selection, tentatively reprinted several long-banned, but rather safe classical works of the world, such as the Arabian folk tale collection *One Thousand and One Nights* (I, II and III), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *The Gate of Athens*, etc. After the success of the try out, the Publishing House accelerated its pace in publishing foreign literature from 1978,

which objectively produced a linkage effect among other publishing houses.

In this period, contemporary literature of the Soviet Union, which had been regarded as revisionist literature during the Cultural Revolution, was widely translated again. Together with the classical works that already published before that time, the Soviet Union’s rather complete literary panorama presented itself to Chinese readers. As for literature of the United States, modernist works were highlighted in this period, but before that, only works of critical realism were received in China, due to the manipulation of power over translation activities under particular historical and social conditions.

As for the literatures of the peripheral countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and even Europe, translation of the works continued to increase, especially the literature of Latin American countries even became a picturesque literary landscape during this prosperous period of translation. In general, the beginning of translation of the literature of Latin American countries in the new phase after the Cultural Revolution maintained the characteristics of the 17 years after 1949 (Song 2007: 130). Quite naturally, Pablo Neruda and Jorge Amado, whose works had been translated extensively in the 1950s and 1960s, were the first Latin American writers who entered the view of Chinese intellectuals in this period. On the one hand, it is safer to choose writers who had been translated and introduced before, in the early 1980s, when literary translation activities were just beginning to recover. At the same time, the selection of works had different criteria than before, and the political stance in the works was no longer the only, or most important, criterion.

The Latin American Boom entered China in the 1980s with a totally different physiognomy from the literatures that Chinese intellectuals knew before, and soon occupied a very highlighted position. The great interest that Chinese intellectuals had about the Latin American Boom coincided with the desire to bridge the gap between China and the rest of the world, especially the West, that China was learning from in a process of internationalization and westernization. The literary community in China used to take all the literatures of Latin American countries as one part and called them “Latin American literature”. Like Chinese literature, the Latin American literature is part of the literatures of periphery countries of the world, and neither of them has the world status of European and American literature. When the Latin American Boom has been well received in Europe and the United States, it was natural that Chinese intellectuals were very interested. This interest was maximized by the Nobel Prize in Literature being awarded to García Márquez in 1982. The Nobel Prize in Literature reinforced the presence of the so-called magical realism, which for many Chinese people has come to occupy the central position of all Latin American literature. The great prestige given to a writer from a Third World country and a periphery country provided some hope for the contemporary

Chinese writers who have been longing to be known and accepted by the world. Therefore, a wave of translation of literature of Latin American countries began in China.

Systematization and standardization are the distinguishing characteristics that translation activities presented in this period. In general, the aim was to translate all the representative or influential works of important writers of the world, for example, *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (11 volumes), *Complete Works of Honoré de Balzac* (30 volumes), *Collection of the works of Ivan Turgenev* (13 volumes), *Collection of the works of Aleksandr Pushkin* (7 volumes) and *Collection of the works of Anton Chekhov* (6 volumes), etc. Jorge Amado remains the first and only Brazilian writer to enter the domain of Chinese intellectuals, and this is where the strong momentum of translation of his works began. By the early 1990s, almost all of Amado's major works has been translated, and this is fully consistent with the trend of the new phase: to translate as completely as possible a writer's works that were well received in China.

#### **4.2. The second peak of translation of Amado's works**

In 1981, *World Literature* No. 4 published the novella *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* translated by Sun Cheng'ao, who was a lecturer in Portuguese Language at Beijing Foreign Language Institute (current Beijing Foreign Studies University). The novel was later published separately by Guangming Daily Publishing House in 1985. The choice of the first work of the new period was still very important, but at this time, political ideology was no longer the most important criterion, so the novels published in the 1950s were not targeted for reprinting. Moreover, the choice was made for a novella of appropriate length, more suitable for publication in a literary magazine. Since most of Amado's novels are large and bold in language, often containing a lot of violence and eroticism, the choice of translation was made with great caution, as the language of this novella is an exception. In addition, "this novella was rated by the famous Brazilian literary critic, Vinicius de Moraes, as the best novella in contemporary Brazilian literature" (Lin 2011: 19). It is evident that the selection criteria of translations at that time were more inclined to the literary character of the work and the freedom of translators, as well as publishers that represented by literary editors, was greatly increased. "This novella was the first translation of Amado's literary works that directly from the source language, Portuguese, in China, and it was widely praised by the literary community" (Lin 2011: 19).

The success of *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* led directly to the translation of other works by Jorge Amado, and in the 1980s, a number of his works were translated and published one after the other. Although the situation of

transcriptions still existed, direct translations from Portuguese was becoming increasingly common. "*Gabriela*", written by Amado in 1958 and described as his most successful work, was translated and published in Spanish (1984) and Portuguese (1985). The novel *Cacau*, written in 1933 and translated by Sun Cheng'ao again, was later published in the journal *Foreign Literature* in 1985.

Throughout the 1980s, Jorge Amado had nine works published in China (see Table included in the Appendix), and the emergence of this phenomenon of intense translations was mainly due to the conditions that the historical era provided. With the implementation of the Opening of China, the manipulation of politics in art and literature was weakened and the literary context of China gained an exuberant vitality, which was also sensed in the translation activities. During which, the translated literary works did not have to serve the prevailing socialist ideology in the country and the criterion for the selection of literary works to be translated was no longer "revolutionary" or "progressive". As for the selection of works to be translated, it should be noted that Jorge Amado's literary career is divided into two parts and the part before 1958 has a strong political charge, while the second part began when the writer left the Communist Party and the political burden was not so heavy. Therefore, unlike the 1950s and 1960s, when the four works that were completed before 1958 were translated, in the 1980s, works written after 1958 were the main targets of translation, among which *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* is the most representative work.

In the preface of the translation (1985) of *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela*, the translator Sun Cheng'ao explained to Chinese readers the "high literary quality" of Jorge Amado's novel. The first reason is the "progressive" and "healthy" topic, as the desire for reform and progress fueled by lower-class Brazilians is clearly illustrated by the writer, through "an attractive plot" and "a series of concrete events and complex conflicts", which are the second factor that helps to increase interest in reading. Jorge Amado is always "a great master in portraying characters" in his narrations with "unique and chic" structures, which provide the readers with a pleasant reading experience. In addition, the work is still full of exotic elements for foreign readers, which leads them to get to know a typical Bahian natural and social landscape. When the Magic Realism of Latin American countries attracts the attention of the whole world, Jorge Amado constitutes an interesting literary phenomenon due to his distinct style from other Latin American writers.

Literary translation has attracted many Chinese intellectuals, such as professors in higher education institutions, officials in government agencies, and even diplomats. In October 1979, the Chinese Association for the Study of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Literature was established in Nanjing, with the active participation of scholars and researchers from the Spanish and Portuguese

Departments of higher education institutions in China. A gigantic contribution that the Association has made to the rapid development of translation and research of literature of Latin American countries is the coordination between translators and publishers of the translation and publication of literary works from Spain, Portugal and Latin American countries. From then, all translators, as well as literary editors that involved in the publication of Amado's works, basically belonged to this association, or had a cooperative relationship with it. We can see a certain cooperation between publishers, literary researchers and translators in the translation of Amado's works during this time. Before preparing to publish a foreign literary work, publishers would generally seek translators with translation experience or listen to the opinions of literary researchers before deciding on the topic and translator, as the case with the translation of *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* in 1981. It was the secretary-general of the Chinese Association for the Study of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin-American Literature who advised the translator Sun Cheng'ao to the editor Lin Yi'an, and it was Sun who suggested the novella *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* to Lin later on. These two made the decision to forward it to the chief editor of the journal *World Literature*, who eventually agreed to publish the translated novella. This multilateral cooperation was maximized with the launching of the *Collection of Latin American Literature* started in 1987 by the Yunnan People's Publishing House. The selection of this collection was made jointly by experts from the Chinese Society for the Study of Hispano-Latin American Literature, while the translators included almost all senior translators of Hispanic literature at the time (Teng 2011: 97).

In this new historical phase, especially from the end of the Cultural Revolution until the early 1990s, the Chinese government had always been the major patron of translation activities, and the manipulation of patronage was mainly manifested through the country's publishing industry, in which publishing houses were the intermediary patrons who maintained direct contact with translators, and who would exert influence on them, such as deciding which author's work to translate. The country's publishing industry at the time had undergone major changes and the number of publishing houses saw a substantial increase. From the 1950s to 1970s, the main publishing houses that could publish literary works were the People's Literature Publishing House (and its subordinate Writer's Publishing House) as well as the Shanghai Art and Literature Publishing House (renamed as Yiwen) after the Cultural Revolution. From the late 1970s, all publishing houses were able to do so. With so many intermediary patrons at a juncture when there was a strong desire to introduce more and more foreign literary works, the boom in the translation of Jorge Amado's works, which have been well spelled and recommended by translators and literary researchers, appeared in the 1980s.

The weakening of political manipulation of translation activities in the 1980s and the more tolerant selection of foreign literature under the mainstream ideology of Reform and Opening, focusing on the literary quality of works while translating a large number of Amado's works, did not mean that the manipulation of translation by political power ceased to exist. On the contrary, all literary translation activities were carried out under the premise of conforming to the requirements of political power and mainstream ideology. The caution with which *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* was chosen for translation is entirely in keeping with the beginning of the resurgence of literary translation activity. In the preface to the Chinese translation of *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela*, the first point which the translator emphasizes is that the work is "progressive" and "healthy", showing that the criteria for translation in the early 1980s retained some of the criteria used in the 1950s and 1960s to select works. However, Jorge Amado's pre-1958 works, which were rich in communist ideology and reflected the class struggle, were no longer the target of the publishers. Facing the liberal linguistic style of Amado's works, especially the depiction of sexual relations, the Chinese culture is traditionally more conservative when it comes to sexuality, which is rarely addressed in public and in a very direct way. In literary works, an attenuated and more obscure approach to sexuality is demanded. The power-manipulated collusion between publisher and translator is reflected in the preface of the translation, where the translator points out the "defects" of the work by means of active criticism, and indicates that changes have been made in the translation, for example: the "Introduction to the Writer" in the translation of *Jubiabá* indicates that "it is a pity that the writer was greatly influenced by Naturalism, to the point that class struggles and oppressions abundantly manifested in his previous works disappeared and only descriptions of ordinary love or sexual relationships remained" (Zheng, 1981: 3). Similar expressions appear in the prefaces to the translations of *Mar Morto* and *Dora Flor e seus Dois Maridos*, respectively. This kind of act was to precisely ensure that the translation works would be published.

In fact, by the 1990s, the translators were given more freedom, for example, in the preface to *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos*, the two translators took a more tolerant attitude when it comes to the description of the protagonists' "love life", which is "necessary" for literary creation. Jorge Amado, as "a great literary master", always manages to employ "moderate" rather than "vulgar" descriptions in writing.

### 5. A slowdown in translation

In the 1990s, the momentum of translating Amado's works has slowed down significantly. The *Collection of Latin American Literature* project of the Yunnan People's Publishing House published Jorge Amado's *Grande Tocaia* in 1991 and

the sub-series *Latin American Writers on Creative Writing* was also published in the 1990s. The article of this sub-series *I am a novelist who writes about the people - Jorge Amado on creative writing* was published in 1997, edited and translated by Sun Cheng'ao according to four interviews with Jorge Amado.

The slowdown in translation was closely related to the marketization of the Chinese publishing industry in the first place. Shortly after the end of the Cultural Revolution, China began to reform its economic system, along with the institutional reform of cultural institutions, while at the same time, promoting the process of marketization and the transformation of publishing houses into enterprises, with particular emphasis on the separation of government and enterprises in publishing units. Since 1991, the number of publishing houses that could publish foreign literature has been reduced from 38 to 18 and the number of foreign literature journals from more than 20 to 7 or 8 (Lu 2011: 30).

In the initial stage of reform, the publishing market in the early 1990s experienced a certain degree of confusion due to the difficulty of controlling the market logic and getting rid of the old system. Some publishers were unable to accurately judge and analyze the complex changes in the market, continued to adopt traditional thinking that experienced unsalable publications. This had to do with the publishers' lack of marketing measures for their books, as the Hispano-Latin American literature, especially the Portuguese-Brazilian literature, was not well known or lacked attractiveness compared to the classics from Europe and America, or even neighboring Asian countries. Combining with the lack of promotion of Jorge Amado and its major works, the authors and their works ended up being limited to a slight influence within the literary community and did not completely conquer the domestic book market, which in turn meant, their audience was limited as well.

The Yunnan People's Publishing House was one of the typical cases, according to the reports of the editor Liu Cunpei, the success of *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* made the publisher think that the works of Latin American writers would have good sales in the Chinese market. This wrong prediction led to large print runs of all translated Latin American writers in the *Collection of Latin American Literature*, which ended up accumulating in stock or being sold at large discounts to reduce losses. The large accumulation of stock taught the Publishing House a lesson, and it decided to decrease print runs of subsequent editions. This act of adaptation of the Publishing House to the rules of the market highlighted the great strength of market power from the 1990s in China. The power relations in this phase began to take on a new face, in which the former predominant ideology and political power no longer occupied the central position among the factors influencing translation activities, and the power of the market, in turn, with the implementation



of the opening of China policy, began to stand out among the factors manipulating translation in China. As a result, the most popular and best-selling foreign literary works have become favorites of most of the publishing houses, since they were able to attract more readers and thus, ensured good sales.

In the market, the intellectuals, including researchers, translators and editors, of the Chinese literary community, who played a relevant role in selecting, translating and evaluating foreign literary works during the 1980s in the context, were unable to influence the vast community of common readers in a profound way, since intellectuals and common readers had different reading preferences and interests. As mentioned above, the works in the *Collection of Latin American Literature* were selected by the researchers and experts of the Chinese Association for the Study of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Literature, whose priority laid in the literary value of the chosen work, the importance of the chosen writer to Chinese literature, as well as the position of the writer and his works in the world. However, a large proportion of ordinary readers that lacked the corresponding literary skills failed to know and appreciate the published works.

## **6. The third peak: translation in the new century**

The situation in the 1990s continued until the beginning of the new century, when there were no translations of Jorge Amado's works for quite some time, until 2008, Yilin Press reprinted the two works *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* and *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos*.

The publication of the two translated novels was related to the bilateral relations between China and Brazil that have been growing closer since the beginning of the new century. The intensification of the bilateral relations<sup>7</sup> has enabled a series of cooperation in the cultural and educational areas, which showed the presence of a political power coming from the governments of both countries and have clearly defined diplomatic goals and all the necessary resources for the implementation of the measures taken. This political power is so strong that it is sensed in all areas in which the two countries intended to develop cooperative relations, including culture and education, and these two areas were concerned in literary translation activities in the new century. With the push of this power of the two governments, translation activities gained, like the non-governmental diplomacy that took place in the 1950s, a diplomatic significance. Unlike what occurred in the last century, the diplomacy between China and Brazil of the new century is fully governmental. The mutual

---

<sup>7</sup> In 2004, the Sino-Brazilian High-Level Commission (COSBAN) was created and then inaugurated in 2006, as a step in the process of strengthening the bilateral strategic alliance. In 2010, the "Joint Action Plan 2010-2014" was signed, which set objectives, concrete goals, and directions for bilateral cooperation.

translation of literature of the two countries has been encouraged by the political power of the two countries, evidencing quite clearly the power relations that persisted in translation activities, which would involve Brazilian and Chinese writers in the future with the development of bilateral relations between China and Brazil. It should be noted that this power could still promote the training of more and more qualified translators in both China and Brazil, as educational cooperation is no less important in bilateral cooperation.

In 2016, the Olympic Games held in Brazil pulled the South American country strongly into the view of the Chinese public, and Yilin Press launched the Jorge Amado works series (five works in total) on the eve of the Games. In addition to *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela*, *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* and *Terras do Sem-Fim*, which were reprinted, *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água* was retranslated, while *Tenda dos Milagres* was published for the first time in China.

It is easy to observe that the launch of the series by Yilin Press was not by chance but can be seen as a commercial operation that closely combined literature and market. The release of Jorge Amado's novels was accompanied by a series of advertisements to expand the target audience for the advertisements. Brazil, as the host of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics, has become the focus of the world. At that time, Jorge Amado, a popular writer, has downplayed political ideological tendencies in his later works and focused on interpreting the society and cultural identity of Brazil, sending out a unique literary charm that allowed readers to deeply experience the social landscape and cultural customs of Brazil. The release of Jorge Amado's five novels in China, in 2016, was promoted by market power on the occasion of the 2016 Olympic Games, against the backdrop of the increasing intensification of bilateral relations and cultural exchanges between the two countries, from which political power was born and was able to exert influence over publishing and translation activities in both countries. In addition, the individual interest of new translators in China constitutes a factor that cannot be ignored during translation activities, which continue to be manipulated by power in the new century.

## 7. Conclusion

The translation of Jorge Amado's works in China had its inevitability in terms of politics, history and culture, and was the result of the relationship between translation and power. At the beginning of the founding of PRC, the state regime had strong control over ideology, insisting on taking the socialist road, anti-imperialism and class struggle became the dominant ideology during such a period, and jointly controlled literary translation activities with nation power during that time. Only works that reflecting anti-imperialism, anti-authoritarianism, or praising

socialism were allowed to be translated. Literary translation in this period was totally the country's action, who was the only sponsor of translation activities. The translation of Jorge Amado's works became a planned political action. The translation focused more on his political identity as a member of the Communist Party, as well as his rural trilogy. At the same time, translation could also influence power, and the translation of Jorge Amado's works during the first seventeen years of the founding of the country served the political ideology of the country, strengthened and consolidated the power.

In the 1980s, China's nation power was further consolidated. In the process of reforming the political and economic systems, the relationship between power and translation continued to influence the translation of Jorge Amado's works in China. Political ideology had gradually weakened since the beginning of the new era, and was no longer the most important criterion for literary translation. The requirements of the Chinese literary system itself became an important factor. The power of literary translation began to shift in this period towards literary researchers, publishing houses and translators, and they were still under the political power of to regulate all translation activities. Compared to the past, they have more freedom under the dominant ideology of reform and openness.

In the 1990s and after entering the new century, the market and readers gradually became the main considerations in the choice of foreign literature translation. The initial confusion in the marketization of cultural institutions led to the cool down of translations of Hispano-Latin American literature, including Jorge Amado's works. It can also be considered that the translation of his works in the 1980s did not serve the market well after the 1990s, even though a large number of works were translated and published, the scale of audience was not that optimistic.

Since the beginning of the new century, the increasingly close relations between China and Brazil have led to a direct prosperity in cultural exchanges between the two countries. With the strong backing of both governments, the mutual translation of literary works between the two countries was naturally supported by stronger power. During the time, power continued to exert influence over translation activities. Meanwhile, Chinese publishing houses and cultural researchers gained a better understanding of the market and as a new bunch of excellent translators emerged to give a boost to the translation of Jorge Amado's works, the relationship between power and translation has been continuing to play an important role ever since.

## References

Bassnett, Susan & André Lefevere (1990), *Translation, history & culture*. London: Printer P.

- Bassnett, Susan & André Lefevere 2001, *Constructing culture: Essays on literary translation*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education P.
- Bassnett, Susan (1980), *Translation studies*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Foucault, Michel (1972), *The archeology of knowledge*. Trad. A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Tavistock.
- Gentzler, Edwin (2002), "Translation, poststructuralism and power", in Maria Tymoczko & Edwin Gentzler (eds.), *Translation and power*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 195–218.
- Lefevere, André (1992), *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*. New York: Routledge.
- Lin, Kenan (2002), "Translation as a catalyst for social change in China", in Maria Tymoczko & Edwin Gentzler (eds.), *Translation and power [C]*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 160–183.
- 方长安:《论外国文学译介在十七年语境中的嬗变》,载《文学评论》,2002年第6期,第78–84页。[Fang, Chang'an. "The evolution of introduction of foreign literatures during the '17 years' in China". *Literary criticism* 6 (2002): 78-84.]
- 郭元增:《亚马多——巴西著名的“平民作家”》,载《拉丁美洲研究》,2002年第1期,第45–47页。[Guo, Yuanzeng. "Jorge Amado, the famous Brazilian writer for people". *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1 (2002): 45–47.]
- 贺桂梅:《‘新启蒙’知识档案——80年代中国文化研究》,北京:北京大学出版社,2010。[He, Guimei. 'New enlightenment' knowledge archives—a study of Chinese culture in the 1980s. Beijing: Peking University P, 2010.]
- 黄志良:《新大陆的发现:周恩来与拉丁美洲》,北京:世界知识出版社,2004。[Huang, Zhiliang. *Discovery of the new world: Zhou Enlai and Latin America*. Beijing: World Knowledge P, 2004, 51]
- 洪育沂:《拉美国际关系史纲》,北京:外语教学与研究出版社,1998。[Hong, Yuyi.(1998). *History of international relations in Latin America*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research P, 1998.]
- 洪子诚:《问题与方法——中国当代文学史研究讲稿》,北京:北京大学出版社,2010。[Hong, Zicheng. *Problems and methods: lectures of Chinese contemporary literature*. Beijing: Peking UP, 2010.]
- 林一安:《幸运的亚马多》,载《中华读书报》,2011年第300期,第19版。[Lin, Yi'an. "Lucky Amado". *China reading weekly* 300 (2011):19.]
- 卢志宏:《新时期以来翻译文学期刊译介研究》:[D].上海:上海外国语大学,2011。[Lu, Zhihong. *On journals of translated literature since the new period from the perspective of medio-translatology*. Shanghai: Shanghai International University, 2011.]
- 茅盾:《为发展文学翻译事业和提高翻译质量而奋斗》,载罗新璋编《翻译论集》,北京:商务印书馆,2009年,第564–582页。[Mao, Dun. "Strive for the development of literary translation and the improvement of translation quality". *Essays on translation*. Ed. Luo Xinzhang. Beijing: Commercial, 2009. 564–582]

- 人民日报:《文艺为人民服务、为社会主义服务》,1980年7月26日,第1版。[“*The literary serve people and socialism*”. *People's Daily*, (July 26, 1980): 1.]
- 若热·亚马多:《黄金果的土地》,郑永慧译。北京:作家出版社,1956。[Amado, Jorge. *São Jorge dos ilhéus*. Trans. Zheng Yonghui. Beijing: China Writers, 1956.]
- 若热·亚马多:《争自由的地下工作》,陈迪勇译。北京:人民文学出版社,1952。[Amado, Jorge. *Underground work for freedom*. Trans. Chen Diyong. Beijing: People's Literature, 1952.]
- 若热·亚马多:《加布里埃拉》,孙成敖译。上海:译文出版社,1985。[Amado, Jorge. *Gabriela, cravo e canela*. Trans. Sun Cheng'ao. Shanghai: Translation, 1985.]
- 若热·亚马多:《弗洛尔和她的两位丈夫》,孙成敖、范维信译。昆明:云南人民出版社,1994。[Amado, Jorge. *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos*. Trans. Sun Cheng'ao & Fan Weixin. Kunming: Yunnan People, 1994.]
- 若热·亚马多:《拳王的觉醒》,郑永慧译。长沙:湖南人民出版社,1983。[Amado, Jorge. *Jubiabá*. Trans. Zheng Yonghui. Changsha: Hunan People, 1983.]
- 宋炳辉:《弱势民族文学在中国》,南京:南京大学出版社,2007。[Song, Binghui. *The literatures of weak nations in China*. Nanjing: Nanjing UP, 2007.]
- 孙成敖:《我是写人民的小说家——若热·亚马多谈创作》,云南:云南人民出版社,1997。[Sun, Cheng'ao. *I'm novelist of people: Jorge Amado talks about writing*. Yunnan: Yunnan People, 1997.]
- 孙洪波:《中国对拉美民间外交:缘起、事件及影响》,《拉丁美洲研究》,2014年第36卷第3期,第14-19页。[SUN, H. B. (2014). (China's non-governmental diplomacy in Latin America: origins, events and implications), in *Latin American Studies*. Vol. 36, No. 3, 14-19.]
- 腾威:《“边境”之南——拉丁美洲文学汉译与中国当代文学(1949-1999)》,北京:北京大学出版社,2011。[Teng, Wei. *South of the border; the translation of Latin American literature into Chinese and Chinese modern literature*. Beijing: Peking UP, 2011.]

**Appendix : Jorge Amado's works translated in China**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Publishing House</b>	<b>Source Language</b>
1953	Terras do Sem-Fim	Wu Lao	Cultural Work Press	English
1953	O Cavalheiro da Esperanca, a Vida de Luís Carlos Prestes	Wang Yizhu	People's Publishing House	Russian
1954	Seara Vermelha	Zheng Yonghui	Pingming Publishing House	French
1956	Seara Vermelha	Zheng Yonghui	New Literature and Art Press	French
1956	São Jorge dos Ilhéus	Zheng Yonghui Jin Mancheng	Writers Publishing House	French
1957	Seara Vermelha	Zheng Yonghui	Writers Publishing House	French
1958	Terras do Sem-Fim	Wu Lao	Writers Publishing House	English
1981	A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água	Sun Cheng'ao	Word Literary Press	Portuguese
1983	Jubiabá	Zheng Yonghui	Hunan People's Publishing House	French
1984	Gabriela, Cravo e Canela	Xu Zenghui	Changjiang Literature and Art Publishing House	Spanish
1985	Gabriela, Cravo e Canela	Sun Cheng'ao	Shanghai Translation Publishing House	Portuguese
1985	Cacau	Sun Cheng'ao	Foreign Literature Press	Portuguese
1986	Tieta do Agreste	Chen Jingyong	Changjiang	Russian

			Literature and Art Publishing House	
1987	Mar Morto	Fan Weixin	Heilongjiang People's Publishing House	Portuguese
1987	Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos	Sun Cheng'ao Fan Weixin	Yunnan People's Publishing House	Portuguese
1988	Teresa Batista, Cansada de Guerra	Wen Hua	Northern Literature and Arts Publishing House	Russian
1989	Farda, Fardão e Camisola de Dormir	Chen Fengwu	China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House	Portuguese
1989	Os Velhos Marinheiros	Fan Weixin	Huashan Literature & Art Publishing House	Portuguese
1991	Tocaia Grande	Sun Cheng'ao Fan Weixin	Yunnan People's Publishing House	Portuguese
1992	Terras do Sem-Fim	Wu Lao	Shanghai Translation Publishing House	English
1994	Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos	Sun Cheng'ao Fan Weixin	Yunnan People's Publishing House	Portuguese
1997	Sou Romancista Que Escreve o Povo	Sun Cheng'ao	Yunnan People's Publishing House	Portuguese
2008	Gabriela, Cravo e Canela	Sun Cheng'ao	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2008	Gabriela, Cravo e Canela	Sun Cheng'ao	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2008	Dona Flor e Seus Dois	Sun Cheng'ao	Yilin Press	Portuguese

*Jianbo Zhang – "Translation and Political Climate ..."*

	Maridos	Fan Weixin		
2014	Capitães da Areia	Wang Yuan	Huangshan Publishing House	Portuguese
2016	Terras do Sem-Fim	Wu Lao	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2016	Gabriela, Cravo e Canela	Sun Cheng'ao	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2016	Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos	Sun Cheng'ao Fan Weixin	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2016	A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro D'água	Fan Xing	Yilin Press	Portuguese
2016	Tenda dos Milagres	Fan Xing	Yilin Press	Portuguese