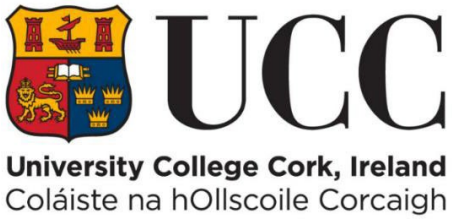
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The Framework of the Oppressed in Translation?

Analysis of the translational processes involved in the transmission and mobility of the work of Augusto Boal

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2023

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Note

The works quoted in the thesis follow the spelling of the time of the text publication, in many cases before the Portuguese Language Orthographic Agreement of 1990.

Abbreviations used

Pedagogy of the Oppressed: PO

Source Text: ST

Target Text: TT

Theatre of the Oppressed: TO

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.



Abstract

This thesis originally set out to re-trace the work of two key Brazilian thinkers, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal, to ascertain how their concepts of the oppressed have been shaped and transformed by translation and were received and assimilated by different cultures. Their legacy can be measured by the number of groups that apply their methods and the fact that their books continue to be cited in many Higher Education courses around the globe. Notwithstanding the global impact of their work, little attention has been paid to the ways in which Freire and Boal have travelled through translation. Yet, in many ways, Freire and Boal's cultural activism, which developed in parallel, demands a study of the translational and cultural processes inscribed in their works. Due to their authors' international mobility, both the Pedagogy and the Theatre of the Oppressed, often nowadays considered in relation as an overarching Framework of the Oppressed, underwent various translation processes, including self-translation and collaborative translation.

Focusing on the Theatre of the Oppressed, this thesis first explores the translation processes involved in the development of Boal's praxis, from his directing and playwriting experience in the Teatro Arena, based on a political theatre inspired by Brecht, to his generation's increasing commitment to a community theatre that aimed to empower the oppressed and was influenced by and intermingled with the growing impact of Freire's educational practice. It then goes on to trace the translational history of Theatre of the Oppressed, and the ways in which Boal's experiences of mobility shape this: from examination of the plurilingual genealogy of the texts that make up *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, as finalised during exile in Argentina in 1974, to the interlingual translation of this unstable and multiple source text into the major European languages in the 1970s, and its subsequent dissemination through workshops and performance groups. By mapping and analysing these processes, this project responds to the call in these thinkers' work and, at the same time, seeks to measure what light they can shed on the theory and practice of intercultural translation to explore translations as sites of encounter between diverse voices that call for us to listen and be more attentive to social and cultural difference.

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Introduction

This thesis focusses on the Theatre of the Oppressed and how translation shaped (and shapes) its texts and practices. For that, the thesis first explores the translation processes involved in the development of Boal's praxis, from his directing and playwriting experience in the Teatro Arena, based on a political theatre inspired by Brecht, to his generation's increasing commitment to a community theatre that aimed to empower the oppressed and was influenced by and intermingled with the growing impact of Freire's educational practice. It then goes on to trace the translational history of Theatre of the Oppressed, and the ways in which Boal's experiences of mobility shape this: from examination of the plurilingual genealogy of the texts that make up *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, as finalised during exile in Argentina in 1974, to the interlingual translation of this unstable and multiple source text into the major European languages in the 1970s, and its subsequent dissemination through workshops and performance groups. By mapping and analysing these processes, this project responds to the call in Boal's work and, at the same time, seeks to measure what light they can shed on the theory and practice of intercultural translation to explore translations as sites of encounter between diverse voices that call for us to listen and be more attentive to social and cultural difference.

This thesis originally set out to explore how texts by the Brazilian educational thinker and activist Paulo Freire (1921-1997), originator of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (PO), and theatre practitioner Augusto Boal (1931-2009), founder of the Theatre of the Oppressed (TO), have been shaped and transformed by different processes of translation, seeking to ascertain how their theory and praxis evolved and has been rewritten in diverse languages and was received and assimilated by different cultures. The questions that inspired and guided the research reflected a certain degree of uneasiness with the contradictions and tensions surrounding the rewriting of the Theatre of the Oppressed. How far is our perception of the links and parallels between Boal and Freire based on subsequent processes of translation and *rewriting*? How far is our understanding of these translational processes limited by a vision of translation and of influence studies that is linear and unidirectional, from source text to target text, and tied to a prioritization of original authorship? Is it possible to pursue a more expansive, plural and horizontal vision of these processes, like that espoused in the Theatre of the Oppressed method — where there is nevertheless a tension between the

'authorising' figure of Boal and the more playful, performative, border-crossing figures of the spect-actor and the Joker?

In the Introduction firstly, I comment on Translation Studies postcolonial and decolonial theoretical framework that underpin the present research. Secondly, I describe the impact of the Framework of the Oppressed. Thirdly, I demonstrate Theatre of the Oppressed contribution through translation, whereby Boal's work was almost simultaneously published in many languages. Finally, I give an overview of the thesis: from cultural movements and context to locate the Framework of the Oppressed, to genealogy of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*; from the word in translation, to performative translation.

In the present thesis, I am defining the Framework of the Oppressed as the place of intersection of the Pedagogy and the Theatre of the Oppressed as perceived by international practitioners. With this reading in mind, the praxis informed by the principles originally described by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogia do Oprimido* with the aim to facilitate citizens to attain *conscientização*, an awareness of the oppression of the social system through critical education which respects the educate previous knowledge and culture, is expanded in the set of Theatre of the Oppressed practices, described first in Boal's *Teatro del/do Oprimido.*

The reading of the two praxes, Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, as a continuum will be discussed and analysed as part of the re-location and translation processes described in chapter 1-3 of this thesis especially.

After undertaking an extensive literature review, during which I began to map the mobility of the Framework of the Oppressed, it became clear that an in-depth examination of the afterlives and legacy of both figures in translation would be beyond the scope of a PhD thesis. Influenced by the widespread assumption of direct influence between Freire and Boal, captured in the notion of a 'Framework of the Oppressed', I therefore decided to focus primarily on Boal, including Freire as a key influence or source text for Boal's theories and practice. This decision was also underpinned by the fact that Freire's work has already merited the kind of genealogical analysis I undertake here in the case of Boal and has generated more extensive reflection on the ways in which his ideas have been translated and evolved in response to translations into other languages. Boal's archive has not as yet been made as widely accessible as that of Freire, and, in many ways, this was exacerbated due to the impact of the COVID

pandemic. Thus, there was a more pressing research needed to offer a picture of the multilingual network of texts, mediators and practices that shaped the development of the Theatre of the Oppressed, in order to enrich existing scholarship on the international dissemination of Boal's methods. In the process of researching this network, as will be seen in the course of the thesis, it became clear to me that there is, in fact, scant material proof of direct contact or influence between Freire and Boal (beyond a much-mythologised lunch in exile in France), and certainly no evidence that Boal translated Freire's ideas in a systematic way, beyond some of the terminology in the 'Poética del/do Oprimido' chapter of *Teatro del/do oprimido*.[1] The traces of Freire in Boal may thus be seen to owe to socio-historical contingencies: shared influences, the fact that both developed their ideas and practices in a milieu characterised by community activism, and by the exile mobility that, in Boal's case, led him to work on the ALFIN project in Peru. This is ultimately why I have placed a question mark in the title of my PhD. How far is our perception of the links and parallels between Boal and Freire based on subsequent processes of translation and rewriting? How far is our understanding of these translational processes limited by a vision of translation and of influence studies that is linear and unidirectional, from source text to target text, and tied to a prioritization of original authorship? Is it possible to pursue a more expansive, plural and horizontal vision of these processes, like that espoused in the Theatre of the Oppressed method — where there is nevertheless a tension between the 'authorising' figure of Boal and the more playful, performative, border-crossing figures of the spect/actor and the Joker?

Research Context

Boal's legacy can be measured by the number of groups that still apply Theatre of the Oppressed methods today and the fact that scholars and theatre practitioners continue to discuss his work. Since the 1990s, the practice has been expanding and attracting more and more attention around the globe: educators, social workers, activists and researchers are eager to adopt the Boal 'method' in different contexts. A growing number of books, essays, and theses focus on telling the history of the practice and on making the theoretical background accessible (Babage, 2018; Campbell, 2019),

[1] I have taken the decision to refer to *Teatro del/do oprimido* in order to indicate the simultaneity and interpermeability of the Brazilian-Portuguese and Spanish versions of this text, which are variously used as source texts for subsequent translations. I will discuss this issue in more depth in Chapter 3.

narrating Boal's exile (Andrade, 2014), recontextualising the Theatre of the Oppressed through the experience of practitioners (Ganguly, 2017) or advancing Boal's praxis. Furthermore, his work is now increasingly linked in education and the social sciences, especially with Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, whether as a translation of the latter or as a praxis that developed in parallel to form what we will call here the Framework of the Oppressed (as discussed in Chapter 1).

Boal had to flee Brazil after a conservative dictatorship took power in 1964. Through this displacement, Boal encountered other communities in which to develop his ideas and practices. In exile, he published *Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas* **(**Buenos Aires, 1974) and *Teatro do oprimido e outras poéticas políticas* **(**Rio de Janeiro, 1975). As a consequence of exile and this harsh political context, the 'original' that will form the basis of my study is characterised by instability, with a fluidity between Portuguese and Spanish. Emerging international recognition of Theatre of the Oppressed practice led to translations into many languages during the same period. Due to their author's international mobility, the texts underwent various translation processes, including rewriting, indirect and collaborative translation. By mapping and analysing these processes, this project seeks to measure what light they can shed on the theory and practice of intercultural translation, to explore translations as sites of encounter between diverse voices that call for us to listen and be more attentive to social and cultural differences.

Notwithstanding Boal's movement between different languages and cultural contexts, little attention has been paid to how Boal's work has travelled – and therefore been reread, recontextualised, rewritten and transformed – through translation. While the essay 'Transnational Networks of the Theatre of the Oppressed – The Institutionalisation of a circulation method' (Andrade, 2020) addresses the mobility of the Theatre of the Oppressed, it focuses primarily on attempts to establish training courses as a way to standardise practices. However, there are many reasons why Boal's work deserves to be considered from the perspective of translation. First, his seminal text, *Teatro del/do Oprimido,* was the product of self-translation due to Boal's political exile in Argentina and its patchwork process of composition from texts originally written between Brazilian-Portuguese and Spanish. Second, the simultaneity of his subsequent exile in Europe and the translation of *Teatro del Oprimido* into French, Italian, German and English would shape the dissemination and evolution of his praxis,

doubly marking it as a translation zone made up of encounters between different languages. Third, and perhaps most importantly, as I trace throughout this thesis, is the centrality of translational processes to Boal's cultural activism, as evidenced in one of the key chapters of *Teatro del/do Oprimido,* where Boal describes his activist theatre experiences in Peru. This is why I will return continuously to the same chapter/narrative across the different stages of my thesis — culminating in the final chapter, where I consider in more depth how the figure of the translator-interpreter is represented within Boal's work. Ultimately, the present study will analyse the Theatre of the Oppressed texts as a contact zone, traversed by translation and continuous mediation between asymmetrical experiences.

Re-siting translation: Towards a theoretical framework

The question of how texts, theories, and practices travel and are translated in different contexts has been approached from numerous perspectives within Comparative Literature and Translation Studies. In his work on Translation History, Lefevere describes how authorisation is fundamental for national literature to be recognised internationally (Lefevere, 1992); translation, in conjunction with historiography, anthologising, and criticism, prepares literary texts to be included in the canon of world literature. Likewise, from a more sociological perspective, according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986), some texts are recognised as part of a society's cultural capital; others transcend borders to be considered part of a shared world culture. The books that reach this level of transnational acknowledgement inform the accumulated cultural knowledge of humanity. Nevertheless, it is, above all, postcolonial approaches to translation (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999; Niranjana, 1994; Ortega, 2006) that have brought into focus the asymmetries involved in global communication, translation, and dissemination. Theatre of the Oppressed texts and practices were shaped by contact, mobility and mediation between the Americas and Europe, sometimes leading (as will be seen in chapter 3) to Boal simultaneously being celebrated as a symbol of a revolutionary voice of the South and adapted and depoliticised for use in European and North American settings. The postcolonial approach provides a way to critically account for the differences in readings and perceptions of the wider Framework of the Oppressed.

On the one hand, translation has been exposed as a process that goes hand in hand with colonisation, both as a way of delimiting and assimilating indigenous

cultures through practices of enforced translation into dominant languages and by disseminating and imposing the dominant worldview through translation into local languages. On the other, it has been explored as a mode of resistance to power via transgressive and activist rewriting practices. Debates within contemporary comparative literature continue to be polarised as to whether translation contributes to greater awareness and appreciation of cultural and linguistic plurality or leads to the reduction and erasure of diversity within a globalised neo-liberal capitalist world literary marketplace (Apter, 2013). This is why, drawing on Lefevere's work on ideology and patronage before them, de-colonial approaches within Translation Studies have begun to shine a light on processes of inclusion/exclusion within the literary marketplace, exploring the agency of publishers, editors, and translators, as mediators that convey the text from the original into the receiving language but also as gatekeepers that control access to other, different forms of knowledge.

The study of agency in the process of translation of Boal's work across the five decades since the publication of *Teatro del oprimido* will thus be particularly important for this thesis and will involve scrutiny of different contextual and paratextual factors (as described in Lefevere, 1992), including, but not exclusively, the characteristics of the publishing market, the relative cultural prestige of the languages of translation and reception, the place of theatre within the cultural marketplace, as well as the political and ethical positioning of particular mediators. In doing so, it will not only provide a rich and nuanced history of how Boal's texts travel across international borders, producing different meanings in different contexts, but also a comparative picture of the relationship between literature, theatre, politics and translation in different national contexts, but also a comparative picture of the relationship between theatre, politics and translation in different national contexts (in and since the 1970s) at the moment of rewriting. Furthermore, it will enable consideration of how far the mediation process is consistent with the Framework of the Oppressed, understood throughout this thesis as a frame that unleashes the translation/interpretation as a way of resisting and overcoming domination.

Ethnocentrism dictates the validation of certain languages as prominent, central or 'major', to the detriment of others considered minor or peripheral. After Eurocentrism began to be questioned and critiqued during the 20th Century, de-colonization processes began to reshape the Humanities, leading to more inclusive

anthropological perspectives that refuse to rank certain cultures as more 'advanced' or 'civilised' than others based on relative technological and economic development. Likewise, studies of intercultural production now necessarily must go beyond the kind of celebration of exotic diversity and plurality characteristic of previous approaches to intercultural theatre (Pavis, 1996), to fully recognise how they are shaped by and what they say about global linguistic and political asymmetries. An awareness of the relationship between language, translation and power underpins the translational focus of this thesis. Written in English, one of the main languages in which Boal and the Framework of the Oppressed are now disseminated, my work nevertheless seeks to uncover and talk about the relations between the different languages, cultures, communities and practices that have shaped the Theatre of the Oppressed. This means that at times, I will refer to the TO in Portuguese, Spanish and English, that I will include quotations in French, German, Italian, and other languages but above all I will resist the tendency to erase the diversity of languages and/via the need for translation in some performative approaches to Boal's work.

Travelling Texts: The Framework of the Oppressed in Translation

As indicated by the extent of their dissemination over the past 50 years, Freire and Boal texts have enjoyed considerable mobility. As a result, they have undergone a considerable amount of linguistic and cultural instability that tells a history that can be uncovered by considering them from a translational perspective. Their authors and the ideas they contained were exposed to considerable pressure from external factors, including censorship, imprisonment and exile. The condition of production of the texts reflects the impact of historical context. It demonstrates the urgency to offer a systematic theory and praxis based on experience in diverse communities in Latin America. Furthermore, the difficulties in publishing the books and their covert censorship in Brazil affected the ways in which they were translated.

The fact that the Framework of the Oppressed was shaped and formalised when Freire and Boal were in exile enabled the ideas advanced to go beyond the more restricted international readership for Brazilian Portuguese and reach a wider audience, via Spanish, with a more international system of publishing and circulation at the time of publication of the books. The history of the texts reflects the context of production: parts of Theatre of the Oppressed were in Portuguese, and other parts were in Spanish, originals were published after the translation, and originals were reedited considering

translations. Emerging during exile and suffering censorship, the 'originals' are characterised by instability, with a fluidity between Portuguese and Spanish.

Books are products and must obey market rules and pressures to become transnational works. The translation process of the Oppressed has been a dynamic process with revised editions, including a revision of translations and the addition of new materials. The consolidation of source texts can be traced from the end of the 1960s to the present, surpassing the author's lifetime and involving family members as coordinators of new editions and readings. My thesis will delve into the contingencies influencing this process, looking at the circumstances of the Theatre of the Oppressed's transmission and the traces of these circumstances in its textual history.

The following table summarises and captures key moments of Boal and Freire dislocation, the political exile, publication of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* and *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in Spanish first, in their motherland, Brazil, and in translation.

Year		Language
1964	**Freire** was imprisoned for 70 days. He left Brazil and started his **exile** in Bolivia and then Chile.	
1968	*Pedagogia do Oprimido Manuscript finished. Typed copy.*	Portuguese
1970	*Pedagogía del Oprimido*	Spanish
	Pedagogy of the Oppressed	English
	La Pedagogia degli Oppressi	Italian
1971	*Pädagogik der Unterdrückten. Ildung als Praxis der Freiheit*	German
1971	Augusto **Boal** was arrested and then went into **exile** in Argentina.	
1972	*Pedagogia do Oprimido,* Portugal	Portuguese
	De undertryktes pædagogik, Denmark	Danish
	Pedagogie van de onderdrukten, Book cover: dit is waarlijk revolutionaire	Dutch

1974	*Pedagogia do Oprimido,* Brazil	Portuguese
	Pedagogie des Opprimés. Suivi de conscientisation et révolution, France, Maspero	French
	Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas, Argentina	Spanish
	De undertryktes teater, Norway	Norwegian
1975	*O Teatro do Oprimido e Outras Políticas Poéticas,* Brazil	Portuguese
	Teatro do oprimido, Portugal	Portuguese
1977	*Theatre de l'opprimé,* Paris, Maspero	French
	Il teatro degli oppressi	Italian
1978	*Theatre of the Oppressed*	English
1979	Theater der Unterdrückten	German
	De förtrycktas teater	Swedish

Impact and Legacy of the Framework of the Oppressed

Paulo Freire's legacy can be measured by the fact that Pedagogy of the Oppressed (PO) and his texts continue to generate discussion, instigate many theses, and inspire educators across borders; Augusto Boal's contribution to community theatre is equally well-known around the globe and reflected in international journals, conferences, and festivals of Theatre of the Oppressed (TO), notably focussed on Forum Theatre and Legislative Theatre, examined in Chapter 6 on performative translation. Although the oeuvre of both thinkers expanded over time and was the object of self-critical review, *Pedagogia do Oprimido* and *Teatro del/do Oprimido* are central to understanding their ideas and constitute the starting point for the dissemination of their theory and practice. Translation was a key part of this process.

Publishing houses constantly mention the number of languages *Pedagogia do Oprimido* and *Teatro del/do Oprimido* were translated into, and the number of copies sold across the globe. These authoritative facts are printed over and over again on book covers and in paratexts; a strategy used since the very first versions of the books. This translation history is highlighted even in the Brazilian editions, to indicate the prestige for a native author to be published outside their homeland.

Augusto Boal in/on Translation

In his book *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, Boal acknowledges the work of the translator in his dedication: "to Adrian Jackson for his creative translation" (Boal, 2021).

It is a way to recognise the role of the translator as a collaborator and the consistency of applying creativity to translate a book in which material is created through practices of theatre games. Furthermore, the comment indicates that Boal revised the translation and watched over the translation process closely. The 20th Century editions of the book combine the revised Portuguese edition by Boal (1998), the new material added to the English edition (2000), Spanish (2001) and French (2004), and consolidated in the German edition (2013), organised by Boal's son Julián Boal. The revised editions represent the final guidebook of the Theatre of the Oppressed practices, with a comprehensive collection of material and Boal's reflection on his experiences during the 1990s. Under the pressures of globalisation and the 'end of ideology' of the 1990s, Boal developed the Rainbow of Desire in his research to adapt his workshops and Theatre of the Oppressed techniques, aiming less at political, economic and social than psychosocial oppression. It works with mental models and how to build awareness of them, challenge them, and finally deconstruct them. It is another facet of Boal's work that resonates with the drama therapy of Moreno and psychology: *Boal's L´arc-en-ciel du désir* (Boal, 1990) echoes Hegel's idea of the internalisation of the master-slave relationship that inspired Freire's concept of internalised oppression, translated to the cop-in-the-head.

Boal and collaborators, social workers, educators, and theatre practitioners from Europe and the Americas, Asia, and Africa, and from all corners of the world brought the Theatre of the Oppressed to different countries as part of de-colonization processes from highly technologically developed countries to support marginalised groups, countries that face greater social challenges. The dissemination of these practices happens through adaptation, answering local challenges.

Methodology

The thesis research was composed of a variety of methods and strategies that complemented each other: contextual research, macro analysis of the text, paratexts and agents involved, source text genealogy, microanalysis of parallel multilingual texts and performative translation.

I started the research with the detailed study of Brazilian social and cultural movements in the 1950s and 1960s to recontextualise the work of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal, as a corrective to approaches that have disconnected them from the community that mustered and supported their work. In part, this disconnection happened – in contradiction with the ethos of their work – precisely because of their international recogniton, which made them stand-alone figures. In part, it is a by-product of the prioritisation of original authorship in intellectual and cultural histories. After this recontextualisation, I retraced and mapped the international network of the Framework of the Oppressed supporters before the Brazilian right-wing military cup in 1964 and during Freire's exile (1964 - 1980) and Boal's exile (1972 - 1986).

I then moved to study the construction of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. In order to retrace the construction of authorship, I focused on Freire's texts that contextualised the origins of the *Pedagogia do Oprimido*. I did a comprehensive research on Freire's international reception and how translational processes shaped his dialogue with the community of educators, activists and scholars. Here, I could trace scholars' comments on translation and language which many times obliterated the source text and treated the target text as the original text.

After that, I did a literature review on Theatre of the Oppressed, and on Boal's books of the same period that inform the 'Theatre of the Oppressed Tree'. I did archival research in the Instituto Boal and in the Biblioteca Nacional, in Rio de Janeiro, in the library Biblioteca Jenny Klabin Segall, in São Paulo, and in second-hand bookshops. I was able to locate the essays collected in the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* and previously published in journals, and I gathered versions of the book in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, English, German and Swedish. When moving to analyse translations and re-writings involving other agents, the research aimed to establish the text used as Source Text for translation. I mapped the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* translation; my starting point was the Instituto Boal's bibliographical data, I then contacted national libraries to verify the information. Some of the supposed translations turned out to be guides to the Theatre of the Oppressed, or had other essays or addition of material from workshops. I collected and organised the data on the verified published version: date of publication, name of translators (whether it appears or not), language, publisher, book cover, introduction, notes, bibliography, and how publishers presented the work. I did extensive research into publishing house history and the agency of editors,

translators and practitioners. I compared the structure of the translations of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, and I made the selection of the translations to create a corpus. I analysed the selected translations' paratexts and mapped their re-location. I utilised the Sketch Engine tool to make a parallel aligned multilingual corpus for microanalysis and to search for patterns in the translations, followed by close textual analysis of the re-writing strategies used at word level. To contrast the translators' choice and linguistic shifts, I turned my attention to keywords that reflected ideological aspects observed in the genetic research of Boal's source texts and in the localization of the text.

Due to the disruption of travel, I could not observe in person Theatre of the Oppressed groups'rehearsal or interaction with audiences as planned. Consequently, I researched narratives of practitioners to retrace ongoing rewriting of Boal's legacy. In the last phase of the research I focussed on the translational processes involved in the performative transmission, legacy and re-creation of Theatre of the Oppressed taking into consideration the embodiment of Boal's texts, and attending to more creative performative approaches to translation.

The Framework of the Oppressed in Translation?

Chapter 1 contextualises Freire and Boal's work in relation to the Framework of the Oppressed, the cultural movements in which they participated, the experience of exile and displacement and the meetings (or not) between the two practitioners, as well as developing the reading of Theatre of the Oppressed as part of the Framework of the Oppressed. I trace the relationship between Boal and Paulo Freire's praxis — constructing the Framework of the Oppressed.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of *Pedagogia do Oprimido,* focussing on how Freire negotiated translation and cultural differences. Freire's comments, interviews, letters, and autobiography were part of the mediation of translational processes and will inform the linguistic and cultural analysis. I highlight elements parallel to Boal's work excavating in order to try to excavate the Framework of the Oppressed starting point.

Chapter 3 is a genealogy of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* essays and it is an attempt to establish the original text to reveal the interlingual fabric of the texts in terms of translational processes. The dynamic nature of the source text is traced in the parallel reading of the book's first edition in the Spanish language, the Argentinian edition

(1974), and the Brazilian edition in Portuguese (1975). Due to exile and censorship, the 'originals' are characterised by instability, fluidity between Portuguese and Spanish, and the author's constant self-translation and rewriting. Interlingual and intercultural translation processes were critical to developing Boal's best-known writings, half-written or self-translated in exile, between Portuguese and Spanish and vice-versa.

Chapter 4 maps the first period of the publication of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in translationinto other European languages – I am focussing on the French, Italian and English versions –as the initial translation period during the 1970s, accounting for publishers, editors, and translators' collaborations, the (re)structuring of the book and the framing of the text with the addition of paratexts (introductions, translator's notes, interviews).

Chapter 5 presents a parallel textual microanalysis of a section of 'Poética del Oprimido' much-cited '*Experiencia en Perú*' as translated into French, Italian, and English. To map the framework and retrace the path of the exchange and adaptation undergone in translation, evidence will be collected in the materiality of the texts. Many translators were associates of Boal, leading to the need to negotiate how the author's presence was re-authorized. In the case of theoretical and methodological texts, the author of the new text aims to maintain the consistency of the theoretical system. To do that, translators must manipulate the distance in time, place, and way of perceiving the world ethically. Their performative experience, often as theatre practitioners themselves or even direct collaborators with Boal himself, underpins this.

Finally, Chapter 6 will focus on performative translation to explore what we can learn about the inversion of asymmetrical (South-North) translation processes from Boal's praxis and how practitioners have translated the Theatre of the Oppressed since the late 1980s. The chapter provides an overview of Boal's activity during exile and his return to Brazil, founding and supporting the Theatre of the Oppressed centres and networks, and the leading groups that continue his legacy. The author's presence adds another layer to the translation processes; Boal's path through the world is interpreted as part of his text and is critical to understanding it (Taylor, 1993; Goulet, 1974).

Chapter 1
The Framework of the Oppressed

Introduction

This chapter sets out to provide the context for the emergence of Boal's work, looking on the one hand at the conditions in which he developed his practice, but also delving into its relationship with the work of Paulo Freire. In doing this, I will begin to address the question of direct influence between the two practitioners, showing that this is difficult (and probably unnecessary) to prove and that it is more useful to see how they developed in parallel. I will end by considering the impact of their work – understood as a Framework of the Oppressed.

Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal were part of a generation that saw socialist revolution as the only way to break the inheritance of a colonial society rooted in slavery and an imposed European culture. The historical perspective proposed by Hegel and Marx influenced the Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Theatre of the Oppressed. Yet, they re-interpreted the foreign discourse in the light of Brazilian cultural identity processes and dynamics. Both had in common the desire to reverse colonialist discourse and to change the structure of Brazilian social stratification. They believed education would be the weapon for the gradual extinction of ethnic, racial and social inequality. The concept of popular culture as the space of activism is core to Freire's and Boal's work. Paulo Freire concentrated on the extinction of illiteracy through educational practices. Augusto Boal developed practices of acting for professional actors and non-actors.

The first part of the chapter will present an overview of the context in which Paulo Freire (1921-1997) formulated the Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Augusto Boal (1931- 2009) envisaged the Theatre of the Oppressed. Both thinkers were part of the emergence of cultural movements anchored in a vision of a fairer society in Brazil. Looking at the big picture and how the groups interacted, it stands out that Freire and Boal – contrary to the status their figure acquired – were part of a wider community of activist-thinkers. Beyond their homeland, the practices were part of a collective effort to transform reality as a transnational aspiration to overcome oppression.

Here I will consider Boal's and Freire's texts and practices in dialogue with other witnesses from the period, as well as wide-ranging secondary scholarship. The

intention is to show how social community-based movements intertwined with artistic groups. To investigate the connection (or not) of the Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed, I will concentrate my account here on the groups Freire and Boal were directly in connection with to in the period that preceded the military coup in 1964 and, in Boals's case, the resistance period (1964-1971).

The second part of the chapter retraces their common experience of exile. Their experience of political exile took the two thinkers to live in other places, speak other languages and be translated while writing their life texts. Both thinkers defended that their writing and thoughts were rewritings of canonical texts intertwined with life experience. The belief is embodied in Freire's *Biobibliografia* (Gadotti, 1996) and Boal's *Memórias imaginadas* (Boal, 2000). Exile is a focal point captured in Freire's and Boal's narratives.

Finally, the chapter discusses readings and rewritings of the Pedagogy and the Theatre of the Oppressed as a framework. To retrace the international perception of a close collaboration between Freire and Boal, the chapter presents an account of how their path ran almost parallel, with brief encounters and chance meetings in transnational networks of practitioners and scholars, editors and translators. Although Boal could not have predicted that so many readers would replicate the Chinese whisper that TO and PO intentionally constituted a framework, the intersection of their work has created a very useful framework with applications in many fields like education, theatre and social work.

A Shared Context

> A leitura de mundo precede a leitura da palavra.
> (Freire, *A importância do ato de ler*, 1989)

During the twentieth century, with the rise of a social revolutionary movement, calling for decolonisation and civil rights and culminating with the 1960s counterculture, Brazil saw the development of critical cultural theories and the proliferation of social and artistic movements that captivated international interest. Fernando Peixoto, a member of Teatro Arena and Oficina, translating Bertolt Brecht's, and theatre critic, warns of the risks of simplifying the ambivalences of the context and the continuous repositioning of artists and intellectuals during the turbulent years of the military dictatorship. The cultural movements of the period 'must be understood

within the specific historical context, pregnant with contradictions' (Peixoto, 1989, page 9).

One of the key community-based movements was the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) in Recife, the capital of the state of Pernambuco in the Northeast of Brazil, which was becoming an urban centre as industrialisation transformed Brazil in the 1950s. Another was the Centro de Cultura Popular (CPC) da União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE), with centres spread across the Brazilian territory. In the South of the country, in the more industrialised urban centres of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, some of the most productive creative movements of the period were simultaneously finding their voices and aesthetics: Teatro Experimental do Negro Concretism and Anthropophagic Translation Aesthetics, Neo-Concretism, Cinema Novo, Tropicália, Teatro Arena, Teatro Oficina and Opinião.

Freire's participation in the MCP was crucial for the articulation of his ideas on literacy and critical pedagogy and for testing them on a bigger scale; during the project, intellectuals and participants engaged in extensive debate. MCP was recognised internationally during the short period it was active. Boal made his name as a theatre director, playwright and dramaturgy when he was artistic director with Zé Renato and later, on his own, of Teatro Arena. During that time, the theatre company toured nationally and internationally.

Sociocultural and artistic movements in Brazil, 1944-1972

Abdias do Nascimento founded the Teatro Experimental do Negro (TEN) (1944-1968) in Rio de Janeiro with the 'historic and *revolutionary* task' to 'rescue the values of African culture through a *pedagogy structured on the work of art and culture*, to try to educate the white dominant class, recovering them from the ethnocentric perversion of considering themselves superior' Abdias called the disenfranchised, 'favelados' and people from the 'terreiros' [Afro-religious worship places] to become members of the group. The members had access to in-house training, support to playwrights to develop black characters beyond stereotypes, seminars on racism and Afro culture (Conferência Nacional do Negro,1949; Primeiro Congresso do Negro Brasileiro, 1950) and the publication of plays, and the journal *Quilombo* (Nascimento, 1978, page 129-134, my emphasis). The group cultural and artistic production was as a form of activism to challenge society. The strategies for dissemination were very close to the ones applied later by the Teatro Arena and MCP.

In the Northeast of Brazil, in Pernambuco, Paulo Freire (1921-1997) started his journey towards becoming the reference point he is today for critical education. After graduating in Law, because of his passion for teaching, he became a Portuguese language teacher in the Colégio Oswaldo Cruz and head of the Education and Culture Section of the Serviço Social da Indústria (SESI) (1947-1954). As Freire recounts:

> A Pedagogia do oprimido não poderia ter sido gestada em mim só por causa de minha passagem pelo SESI, mas a minha passagem pelo SESI foi fundamental. Diria até que indispensável à sua elaboração. Antes mesmo da Pedagogia do oprimido, a passagem pelo SESI tramou algo de que a Pedagogia foi uma espécie de alongamento necessário. Refiro-me à tese universitária que defendi na então Universidade do Recife, depois Federal de Pernambuco: Educação e atualidade brasileira que, no fundo, desdobrando-se em Educação como prática da liberdade, anuncia a Pedagogia do oprimido. (Freire, 1992, page 50)

SESI, officially inaugurated in 1946, is a non-governmental institution that developed projects to support the development of Brazil through the offer of courses and accessible culture, with free theatre tickets, for example. Freire found it an appropriate environment to develop literacy programmes and cultural activities for adults.

In the same period in the South East, the young Augusto Boal (1931-2009) attended a theatre course at Serviço Nacional de Teatro (SNT), where he took classes in Stanislavsky's method with Luiza Barreto Leite and Sadi Cabral in 1950 in Rio de Janeiro. The course allowed him to encounter artists and intellectuals. Boal graduated in Chemistry because his father expected his son to follow a stable and recognised career. Boal met Abdias do Nascimento, and the TEN staged Boal's early play *O Logro* in 1953, just before Boal left for a specialisation in Chemistry at Columbia University, New York. Once there, Boal managed to get a place on John Gassner's Creative Playwriting and Theatre courses alongside his Chemistry courses. Abdias do Nascimento gave Boal a letter for the black poet Langston Hughes (1902- 1967). The poet talked warmly about Abdias, inviting Boal to a seminar and theatre Apollo concerts. According to his own account, Boal participated in the Writer's Group, in Brooklin (Boal, 2000, page 143).

While Boal was in New York, the TEN staged another of his plays and started rehearsals for *Martim Pescador* which was never premiered (Boal, 2000, page 97). Instead, *Martim Pescador* was staged in New York (1955), directed by Boal, with the Writers' Group From 1955 to 1958, TEN staged two more of Boal's plays. When he returned home, Boal commented that his dream was to set up a theatre company in Rio de Janeiro.

In São Paulo, the first graduates of the Escola de Arte Dramática (founded in 1948) were realising this dream whilst Boal was in New York. José (Zé) Renato (1926-2011) and three friends, Geraldo Matheus, Sérgio Sampaio and Emílio Fontana, founded the Companhia de Teatro Arena (1953-1972) (Magaldi and Vargas, Cem Anos de Teatro em São Paulo 288-291) inspired by Margot Jones's *Theatre-in- the- Round* (Jones), aiming to adapt the model of low-cost theatre production from the United States to Brazil. Jones's endeavour to broaden theatre audiences had a very well-thought-out financial and artistic strategy through the subdivision of the core theatre company, touring extensively and the rotation of plays, to strengthen the sector. The aspiration was to establish a permanent professional theatre company with a financially viable structure, with a professional cast and offering quality repertoire. The adaptation of classics, like Shakespeare and Molière, to the simplicity of the round stage with its proximity to the public, alternating with the staging of contemporary authors and house playwrights and musicals, completed the core elements of the theatre-in-the-round (Jones, 1951). Thus, from the beginning, Teatro Arena de São Paulo was part of a project to enable professional theatre to become financially sustainable, popularise theatre through geographical decentralisation, and open up venues for new local playwrights. José Renato became Arena's artistic director and manager. After a period of presentations in different spaces, Companhia de Teatro Arena members constructed a 170-capacity theatre in the centre of São Paulo that provided shows at accessible prices to a middle-class audience. Following closely Margot Jones's suggestions (Jones, 1951, page 64-85), the funds for production and the salary of the professional cast were raised through a monthly fee paid by subscribers, allowing them to use the theatre on Mondays to present concerts (Vargas, 1978, page 8).

In 1955, the Teatro Paulista de Estudantes (TPE), a group with strong political views linked to the União Paulista dos Estudantes Secundaristas and the Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB, 1922), was founded by Gianfrancesco Guarnieri (Milan,

Italy, 1934-Brazil, 2006), Oduvaldo Vianna Filho (1936-1974), and Vera Gertel (1937-2023) among others. The group mainly focused on attracting students to the PCB, presenting well-known plays.

Not long after that, Zé Renato began working on the television and felt that Teatro Arena needed another director to establish a repertoire with the alternation of shows. In 1956, the playwright Nelson Rodrigues and the critic Sábato Magaldi introduced Boal to Zé Renato, who invited Boal to be the company's co-artistic director. Additionally, Teatro Arena invited the young amateur actors from the TPE to join them in the 1956 season to increase the number of actors available to the directors. Once again, we can see the overlap between social, political and artistic activities.

After a cold reception from the cast, Boal changed Teatro Arena repertoire and practised the style he learned in the United States with the Actor Studio's Stanislavsky method and playwright techniques. According to the theatre critic Yan Michalsky, Boal's combination of technical expertise in the area and a progressive vision of theatre's social function marked him as one of the most well-known faces of a generation of talented artists (Michalsky, 1989).

Guarnieri's play *Eles não usam black-tie*, directed by Zé Renato in 1958, had outstanding success with critics and the public. The play was a turning point for Arena, as it started to attract a politically engaged young audience. Consequently, the TPE signed a contract agreeing to the 'fusion' of the two groups. TPE actors became professionals; however, the contract reserved the right for them to refuse to participate in shows that did not reflect their group ethos. The original TPE members acting and playwrighting abilities, together with Boal's enthusiasm, were the base of a new phase in Teatro Arena's development with the beginning of the regular playwright seminar and the staging of plays by national authors (Magaldi, 1984, page 26-33). Only Arena's cast members or invited professionals were allowed to participate; guests included the theatre critic Sábato Magaldi (1927-2016) and Maria Thereza Vargas (1929), the psychiatrist Roberto Freire (1927-2008), the playwright Benedito Ruy Barbosa (1931). The participants wrote plays that were read and harshly criticised by their peers during the seminar (Almada, 2004; Magaldi, 1984). None of the plays discussed during the seminar were approved to be staged in the Teatro Arena Magaldi considered that the playwrighting seminar was crucial to the launch of a new generation of authors (1984). There is little consensus on the real impact of the seminar, with participants denouncing

the ideological radicalism of the critics during the seminar, the immaturity of the participants, that many of the playwrights were already writing before the seminar and that the process did not influence their work (Guimarães, 1985, page 65).

José Renato went to France for an internship with the Théâtre National Populaire (TNP), directed by one of the most admired figures of the theatre of the time, Jean Vilar, in 1959. The contact with the French artistic and intellectual community would prove very important for exiles (see Chapter 3 on TO). When Zé Renato returned to Brazil at the end of the year, he renewed his aspiration to broaden theatre audiences in Brazil, and he brought Vilar's concept of popularising theatre with accessible ticket prices and the belief in the role of public arts funding. This coincided with the shift from the staging of new plays by young Brazilian playwrights to classic plays, explained by Magaldi as follows:

> Em reunião da diretoria do arena, decidiu-se em definitivo modificar a linha de repertorio adotada nos últimos anos. Acreditam os dirigentes do conjunto que já está consolidada a posição do autor brasileiro [...].
>
> A nova linha de repertório não está ainda inteiramente definida, mas compreende a montagem de clássicos e modernos que sejam capazes de interessar a um *público popular*. (Magaldi, 1984, page 50, my emphasis)

Because of this, the Arena period became known as the *nationalisation of the classics* and was also strongly marked by the influence of Bertolt Brecht. One example from the period is Nikolai Gogol's *O Inspetor Geral* (1966) [The Inspector General] translated by Augusto Boal and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri [Russian <? (probably French) < Portuguese]. The translation of plays by practitioners was quite a common practice in Brazil. This shows evidence of the openness to translation among practitioners as well as the mix of languages and ideologies that informed Arena's practice. Boal's first interest was playwright, and combined with his work as a director, it was an organic evolution to merge both activities through translation and adaptation, assuming the role of dramaturg. In the Teatro Arena theatre play programmes, the source language of the translation is not always declared, and Boal's translations weren't officially published. Indirect translation and the comparison of versions to assist theatre practitioners during rewriting was a strategy of Teatro Arena and Oficina

members. Fernando Peixoto described in our interview the process of translation of Maxim Gorky's *Os Pequenos Burgueses*, staged by Teatro Oficina (1963), as follows: 'A nossa tradução, minha e do José Celso, não foi do russo, mas traduções em francês, espanhol e inglês. E o Eugênio Kusnet fez a revisão final da tradução para ver se correspondia com os originais. 'Estava tudo certo' (Balbi, 2009, page 58-59). Another influence in this period that shows how Boal's practice developed is that of the Russian actor Eugenio Kusnet (1898-1975) who moved to Brazil in 1927. He studied and practised Stanislavsky's acting method in Russia and taught the method in the Teatro Arena and Teatro Oficina; he is regarded as responsible for disseminating Stanislavsky in Brazil. Kusnet builds a bridge between Stanislavsky's psychological character construction and Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* [distancing effect], with the alternation of the techniques to achieve the most effective way to engage the audience without compromising a critical perspective on the issues discussed in the play (Rizzo, 2018). We can assume that a similar procedure to that described by Peixoto may have happened in the adaptation process of *O Inspetor Geral.*

On some occasions, Boal's rewriting of plays involved the relocation of the plot of the play in time or space to Brazil or the ideological adjustment of situations (See Appendix xiii: table of Boal's translations and adaptations). In Lope de Vega's *El mejor alcalde, el Rey,* the king punishes an aristocrat to provide justice on behalf of an injured peasant. Arena's adaptation, *O Melhor Juiz* (1963) by Augusto Boal, Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Paulo José, is a perfect example of ideological adaptation. In this version, the peasant doubts the fairness of the monarch and takes control of the situation; the rewriting added lines and changed the end of the play, shifting the agency of the peasant to represent the power of the people (Lima, 1999).

In 1962, José Renato left Arena to be the director of the Teatro Nacional de Comédia (TNC 1956 -1967**,** Rio de Janeiro), 'the last and most enduring of the official companies sponsored by the Serviço Nacional de Teatro (SNT) in the 1940s and 1950s' where he would face bureaucratic resistance to apply his experience with Teatro Arena (Michalsky and Trotta, page 136, 1992) and the knowledge acquired during his internship in Vilar's TNP.

Miles away, in a vibrant environment with great hope for improving living and educational conditions and with the support of local progressive government for the so-called 'reformas de base', the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) (1959-

31/03/1964) was founded in Recife aiming to improve literacy levels of the disenfranchised population and, beyond that, to disseminate a critical perspective on society and civil rights.

> Intelectuais de tendências ideológicas diversas e estudantes pensavam que o ponto de partida seria a *conscientização* pelo povo de seus próprios problemas. Somente assim seria possível chegar o povo a participar da realidade política e de algum modo deixar de ser objeto de decisões de governantes para ser sujeito, agente, co-responsável por tais decisões. Pensavam que assim o povo poderia participar do equacionamento e decisão quanto às soluções para seus problemas. Muito mais do que alfabetização, pensava-se em competência social do homem de baixa renda, na preparação do homem para sair de sua miséria, para lutar pela melhoria de seu nível de vida. (Rosas, 1986, page 22, my emphasis)

The MCP founders were the educator and catholic thinkers Paulo Freire (1921-1997) and Germano Coelho (1927-2020) and the playwright Ariano Suassuna (1927-2014) (Mostaço, 1982). The group had the support of the Municipality's Department of Education and developed various cultural activities based on a critical pedagogical programme. Still, there was a strong focus on using theatre as a pedagogical tool to engage the local population and promote social change (Rosas, 1986). The programme was disseminated through the multiplication model, whereby a facilitator received the necessary training to go back to the city's outskirts or the countryside to develop a new cultural centre. The socio-cultural movement found the ideal conditions to engage the local population thanks to the strong development of the organised rural movement demanding agrarian reform (Coelho, 2002).

The success of the MCP attracted national and international attention; for example, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir visited the project and heard from coordinators about the strategies to attract the disenfranchised population to participate in the day-to-day activities (Coelho). Germano Coelho (MCP's president 1960-1963) participated in the União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE) congress in Rio de Janeiro and talked about the MCP in 1961; immediately after that, the students approved the formation of Centros Populares de Cultura (CPCs) (1961-1964) in all the Brazilian

states (Coelho). The CPC was founded at a moment of expansion and strengthening of popular movements, particularly that of the labour movement both in urban and rural areas, culminating during President João Goulart's progressive government in 1963. Many middle-class students, journalists, liberal professionals, artists, and intellectuals were affiliated with left-wing political parties like the Partido Comunista Brasileiro or civil entities like the União Nacional dos Estudantes (UNE) and welcomed the CPC. The neo-Concrete poet and translator Ferreira Gullar became CPC president in 1962. The CPC shared the MCP's emphasis on collective work and political engagement and aimed at the *conscientização* of the people. The CPC (anti-)manifesto declares that the group will develop projects of '*Arte popular revolutionária*', a conception of art as an instrument for taking power' (Hollanda, 1980, page 18-19).

According to Carlos Estêvam, author of CPC's anti-manifesto, during a Teatro Arena tour in Rio de Janeiro, the former members of TPE decided to return to the student movement and to engage in a more political line of work aimed towards the underprivileged in Brazilian society, from peasants to factory workers. The dissident members denounced Teatro Arena's inconsistency in tackling social inequality whilst the company productions continued to target a middle-class audience. To 'contribute to the popular *conscientização*', CPC became more aligned with Piscator's agitprop, rally and unrest and turned their back at 'from Brecht's reflective and critical theatre' (Peixoto, 1989). CPC's plays were highly political and didactic and answered the day's issues, from agrarian reform to work conditions to strikes to police violence. Even though different political views had generated tensions within Arena and led some TPE members to step aside to engage in a new project, Boal collaborated with the CPC, writing, for example, *Não tem Imperialismo no Brasil* (Peixoto, 1989).[2]

In *Teatro del/do oprimido,* Boal's narrative of the history of Teatro Arena is the main (and unique) path for the creation of TO leaving aside other efforts of political theatre in which Boal was involved before his exile. The archaeology of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido,* the origins of the essays and the effects of their collage will be analysed in Chapter 3. The hardening of the political persecution, the growing fear for the safety of theatre practitioners and censorship must be considered to address gaps in Boal's narrative after 1964, during exile. Boal's experience of torture and awareness

[2] Some of the other titles included: *O Petróleo ficou nosso* (Armando Costa), *Petróleo e Guerra na Argélia* (Carlos Estêvam Martins), *Brasil – Versão brasileira* (Vianninha).

of the continued struggle of the resistance back in Brazil may explain, to some extent, the erasure of the collective struggle and the rise of a self-narrative. The culmination of this process is Boal's autobiography, with the subtitle '*memórias imaginadas*' (Boal, 2000). Unfortunately, an overt consequence is that Boal's collaboration with CPC is relegated, and the narrative has contributed to the lack of acknowledgement of the fluidity between groups and of the role an entire community of cultural activists. In Brazil, there was a backlash against the '*patrulha ideológica*', intellectuals and artists that wanted to impose their views on the obligation of cultural production to be politically engaged, that was reflected in the lack of appraisal of CPC, TEN and community-based theatre groups (Hollanda and Messeder, 1980). In the narrative amplified outside Brazil, there remains the impression that Teatro Arena was the driving force behind the type of political theatre more linked to CPC, involving agitprop and intervention that presented a social situation framed by a Marxist perspective and with the cast going to factories, unions and universities.

The vast range of socio-cultural, pedagogical, and artistic movements aiming to address the social inequality that spread throughout Brazilian territory during the 1950s and 1960s ended abruptly with the right-wing military coup of 1964. Unfortunately, MCP, UNE, CPC, and TEN**,** along with other groups, were declared illegal entities and prohibited from continuing to work by the military government soon after the coup, which alleged that participants were rebelling against the status quo, agitating the population and disseminating socialist propaganda influenced by the Cuban revolution. The then Governor of Pernambuco Miguel Arraes and some MCP leaders, including Paulo Freire, were arrested, persecuted, and exiled.

No significant armed struggle happened in the entirety of the extensive territory of Brazil in response to the coup Boal transferred his theatrical leadership to resistance efforts against the military dictatorship and its attacks on civil rights, together with many other artists, activists, and intellectuals; the practitioner fulfilled this role with bravery and determination (Michalsky, 1989). On the cultural movements front, the quickest reaction was the assembly of Grupo Opinião (1964- 1982), Rio de Janeiro, which emerged as an alternative to the extinct CPC. At this point, Opinião was a left-wing emergency resistance front, an open collective gathering intellectuals and artists. *Opinião*, a musical written by Vianninha, Paulo Pontes and Armando Costa, directed by Boal, and premiered on the 11th of December, only eight months after de coup;

because of the rushed production, the play was officially produced in association with Teatro Arena. The show cast was composed of 'um negro nordestino camponês e um negro carioca favelado representam a parcela popular, somados a uma cantora identificada com a ala estudantil, a classe média conscientizada' (Mostaço, 1982, page 96).

The original cast, three well-known singers, João do Vale, Zé Kéti and Nara Leão, represented Brazilian social classes and races in an alliance to articulate cultural resistance. The popular and national culture, the samba, embodied the resistance against the imperialism that supported the dictatorshipThe starting point of the script was cast interviews. The play's preface states that the 'intention is to put aside the theatre of the author' and that 'several theatre companies were working in that direction' (Vianna Filho et al., 1965, page 9). The collaborative creation process with the participative role of actors and playwrights, with scripts to answer immediate issues with urgency, replaces the high hierarchy of the *internationally* acclaimed canon of theatre literature. In this sense, the *democratisation* of the author-actor relationship predates TO and represents the displacement of the dramatic text to the text in movement (Mostaço, 1983).

Opinião became a registered theatre company in 1965. Vianninha, Guarnieri, the poet Ferreira Gullar and the playwright João das Neves were among the group founders. The *Opinião* (1965) exhibition in the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM) in Rio de Janeiro congregated thirteen European and sixteen Brazilian artists.

The increase in censorship culminated with the subsequent devastating attack on civil rights put in place by Institutional Act Number Five (*Ato Institucional número 5, AI- 5*) at the end of 1968. Opinião staged *Primeira Feira Paulista de Opinião* (1968) in São Paulo, Teatro Arena production, a musical and collage of various authors' texts. In the programme forthe concert, Boal's manifesto '*Que Pensa Você da Arte de Esquerda*?' strongly condemns Teatro Oficina and Tropicalism – Arena and Opinião collaborators – and other forms of expression as 'politically alienated' and asks for the unity of the front to strengthen the resistance (Boal, 1968).

Because of the increase in censorship, Teatro Arena toured outside Brazil during 1969 and 1970 to escape the oppressive political climate and censorship, bringing *Arena conta Zumbi* and its repertoire to the United States, México, Peru, and

Argentina. In this context, Boal wrote and directed *Arena Conta Bolívar* banned in Brazil.

Heleny Guariba came back to Brazil after a residency in Roger Planchon's Theatre de la Cité and in the Berliner Ensemble in Berlin, and a PhD in France (1965-1967). She became a militant in the Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária (VPR), a group dedicated to a guerrilla war against the dictatorship. To diversify the Teatro Arena cast, Cecília Thumim Boal and Guariba developed a course on Newspaper Theatre. First, actors improvised scenes inspired by the news; secondly, different perspectives on these scenes were discussed. Boal then structured a play, *Teatro Jornal, 1ª Edição* (1970), using the technique, opening the discussion to the audience to engage and mobilise the public for political action. The technique was a clear step into the participative theatre and became Forum theatre. *Teatro Jornal* was also a strategy to avoid censorship of texts as the play had an open structure based on improvisation, again moving away from the central role of a published text.

Boal was kidnapped and imprisoned by the military police while returning home after an evening rehearsal in São Paulo on the 2nd February 1971. Although he was questioned incessantly and tortured, he was not charged, as the police did not register his real name on the forms regarding his incarceration. A traumatic week went by without Boal's family knowing his fate. Finally, after a long month, his brother, a member of the defence forces, managed to see Boal for three minutes. At this point, Boal's imprisonment became official and was extensively reported in newspapers worldwide. The acknowledgement of Arena's contribution to theatre, proven by the group's previous international tours, provoked an emphatic response against Boal's imprisonment. The support of key personalities like Arthur Miller, who wrote an open letter signed by artists from many countries, Jean Paul-Sartre, who wrote a telegram later read aloud during the trial, and Jack Lang, who organised a protest, helped to bring the case to a wider audience and to pressurise the Brazilian authorities to reconsider Boal's detention. Another month went by, and Boal's case was brought to court. During his trial, Boal asked permission to go to France to the World Theater Festival in Nancy to join his colleagues from the Grupo Arena; permission was granted to improve the Brazilian dictatorship's image internationally. When the opportunity arose, thanks to the permission to go to Nancy, Boal fled Brazil.

During his traumatic experience in prison, which ended in February of 1971, and when he was already in exile in Buenos Aires, Boal wrote *Torquemada*. An old, typed copy can be consulted in the museum Lasar Segal, São Paulo, a donation from Boal's archive. Using the allegory of the Inquisition, he related his experiences in prison and denounced torture.

In 1972, the Teatro Arena was closed. The group of young actors that were working on Newspaper Theatre, Núcleo Independente, left the town centre of São Paulo city for the Zone East periphery, opting to work in deprived communities in suburban areas and the industrial satellite cities around greater São Paulo, the ABC.

Freire and Boal in Exile

Having looked at the group and practitioners Boal came into contact with, and the untangled social and artistic movement, I will now turn my attention to the parallels between Freire and Boal in exile. Starting with Freire, he was imprisoned for seventy days and had to leave Brazil shortly after the military coup in 1964. He went to Bolivia briefly. Freire moved to Chile, where he worked for five years for the Christian Democratic Agrarian Reform Movement and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation. Freire left Latin America as the revolutionary wave was turning. After a year in Cambridge, USA, teaching at Harvard University in 1969 as a visiting lecturer, Freire moved to Switzerland as a special education advisor to the World Council of Churches to promote education reform in former Portuguese colonies in Africa and other projects.

With the declaration of an amnesty in 1979, Freire returned to Brazil in 1980. He supervised the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) adult literacy project in São Paulo from 1980 to 1986. Freire was appointed Secretary of Education for São Paulo in 1988 when PT won the local election. He stayed in the role until 1991. He implemented a community literacy project, the Movimento de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos (MOVA); he revised the municipality curricula and improved teachers' salaries.

As for Boal, his exile can be divided into three periods:

First Period of Exile: Latin America (1971-1976)

After his imprisonment, Boal left Brazil in 1971, first to Latin America and then to Europe, following a similar journey to many exiles who saw the revolutionary dream die. He first went to Argentina, Peru, and Ecuador, where he worked with people in

small and usually poor communities that dealt with social conflicts, civil wars and lack of government attention.

In 1971 Boal went into exile in Argentina, the birthplace of his wife and an appropriate base to continue to develop theatre experiments in Latin American countries and to stay close enough to Brazil, hoping that the political situation would change (Andrade, 2014). *Torquemada* had its premiere in Buenos Aires in 1971 and *Tio Patinhas e a Pílula* was staged in New York in 1974.

The instability of the political situation in Argentina, with the return of Perón and the insurgency of Peronism, became increasingly an obstacle for Boal's experimental activities; in exile, he turned his attention to publishing his writing, he conceived and rewrote an astonishing total of nine books in different literary genres:

Theatre Theory and Practices	
Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas	(1974)
Técnicas Latino-Americanas de Teatro Popular: uma Revolução Copernicana ao Contrário	(1975)
200 Jogos para Atores e Não Atores com Vontade de Dizer através do Teatro	(1975)
Stop! c'est magique	(1980).

The organic development of TO can be traced across the publication of these four books through the revised, edited, expanded, translated, re-translated and abridged versions. Boal often back-translated essays when written or published earlier in different languages to compile books. *Teatro del/do Oprimido* history of publication will be detailed in Chapter 3.

Novels

Milagre no Brasil (1976)

The dictatorship programme of economic development was called *Milagre brasileiro* [*Brazilian miracle*]. Boal's 'first-person testimony in a tone of denunciation gives a detailed, and painful, account of his prison trajectory' (Zambelli, 2021). The French translation was published for the first time in 2021 (Boal, 2021).

A deliciosa e sangrenta aventura latina de Jane Spitfire, espiã e mulher sensual (1977)

In this book, Boal tries out a popular literary genre, the parody of the spy genre, to convey a political message.

Short story

Crônicas de Nuestra América (1977)

A short story collection based on stories collected or created during his travels in Latin America.

In the quotation below, Boal introduces words in the Spanish to highlight a libertarian and anti-imperialism project in opposition to the 'k', the America that speaks English. Here, the translingualism between Portuguese and Spanish embodies an ideological position. I will return in more detail to this in Chapter 3.

> Estas são todas histórias dos povos de Nuestra America. Nuestra America – aquela que se opõe à AmeriKa com K!
> Nuestros Americanos – aqueles que sofrem, pelejam e que um dia se libertarão! (Boal, 1977)

Plays

Torquemada, a play that shows the hardships he endured in prison in an allegorical language.

O grande acordo de Tio Patinhas, a well-known comic style to 'demonstrate how imperialism manipulates the Brazilian political system' and supports the military in power. (Instituto Augusto Boal)

The shift in Boal's work from the professional Teatro Arena towards a 'Latin-American popular form of theatre' was reinforced during his first exile period; nonetheless, the two lines of work, the established theatre productions and the community theatre, prevailed in parallel. over his career. The theatre critic Michalski states that in exile, Boal 'recycled his [previous] action towards an intermediary space between theatre and pedagogy, by launching theses and methods that encountered a positive reception throughout the world and made him the most recognised and respected Brazilian theatre practitioner outside the country' (Michalski, 1998). Boal rewrites his years in Arena, CPC and Opinião into Teatro del/do Oprimido, Theatre of the Opressed, leading workshops for actors and non-actors on his travels and founding CEDITADE.

Second Period of Exile: Europe (1977-1985)

In 1976, Boal left for his second period of exile in Europe, first in Portugal, where he produced *Barraca Conta Tiradentes* with the group Barraca. Boal wrote an adaptation of Aristophanes' comedy Lysistrata with Chico Buarque the same year. The play's original title was *Lisa* and then *Lisa, Mulher Libertadora,* a 'play about the women's liberation movement' (Boal, 1977) that later became *Mulheres de Atenas*, the title of a song composed for the play.

In 1978, just two years after he arrived in Portugal following the promise of the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and disappointed with the Portuguese government's support, Boal left for France to teach at the Sorbonne. In Paris, he founded the first TO centre, the Centre d'Étude et Diffusion des Techniques Actives d'Expression or CÉDITADE. Simultaneously, in São Paulo, Paulo José directed for Othon Bastos' company Boal's play *Murro em Ponta de Faca* about the life of exiles.

Return to Brazil (1986)

Boal visited Brazil after the law of political amnesty (Lei No 6.683, de 28 de agosto de 1979) to give a course in Rio de Janeiro, returning with his TO French group in 1980. TO had spread through Europe, and the practitioner created France's first International Festival for the Theatre of Oppressed in 1981. Boal was reluctant to back from France and move permanently back to Brazil, and the challenge was to reconcile his increasing commitments worldwide. Many other political exiles returned to Brazil and were warmly received during this period.

Boal returned definitively to Brazil only after the first presidential democratic election in 1986. The anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro invited him to work in the Centros Integrados de Educação Pública (CIEPs) during Governor Brizola's (leader of Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT)) first mandate, 1983-1987) in the state of Rio de Janeiro. However, Boal was not affiliated to the PDT. The CIEPSproject's aim was to offer an integrated education offering meals and a complete range of activities within school buildings on a full-day programme. However, Boal continued to maintain a busy schedule of TO workshops around the globe.

After that, Boal affiliated to the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) and was elected a local representative in 1992. During his tenure, Boal developed the Legislative Theatre (Boal, 1996). Boal continued to develop forms of theatre to promote social and mental inclusion in various parts of the world until his death in 2009.

Framework of the Oppressed

Although Freire and Boal started their journey in their homeland and were contemporaries, the two thinkers followed their path in parallel. Despite this, episodes of intersection in their activities have supported the understanding of Freire and Boal's works as a framework. Two Brazilian thinkers, exiles working in community-based projects whose titles of their seminal books refer to the oppressed, must have worked together. Yet, in reality, there were only a few points of intersection where Boal's path crossed with Freire's journey (Comparato, 2019).

The leadership of the MCP invited Teatro Arena to bring *Revolução na América do Sul* to Recife. The play was almost banned in Pernambuco, but the governor intervened, and the show went ahead. After the play, the MCP asked for the support of Arena to begin a theatre group, the Teatro de Cultura popular do MCP. The actor and playwright Nelson Xavier stayed in Recife to organise the group. Among other playwrights, Xavier and Boal's play *Julgamento em Novo Sol* (1962) was premiered by the new group, touring Rio de Janeiro and Brasília (Coelho, 2002). Also, Arena toured the Northeast of Brazil and had contact with the MCP and cultural movements of the region:

> Além de várias excursões do Arena ao Nordeste, reunindo no repertório desde remontagens de [*Eles Não Usam*] *Black-Tie* até clássicos como *O Melhor Juiz, o Rei* e *A Mandrágora*, Boal dirigiu *Julgamento em Novo Sol,* que ele, Nelson Xavier e outros escreveram abordando

> problemas concernentes à reforma agrária. Uma peça de Guarnieri, intitulada *Missa Agrária*, foi apresentada em muitas cidades nordestinas. (Mostaço, 1982, page 78)

Mostaço's narrative does not mention direct contact or collaboration between the two thinkers. If there are similarities between Boal's and Freire's activities in the desire to promote societal reform and change the status quo, there are stark contrasts too: the belief system of Freire is profoundly based on Christianity and the Liberation Theology. There were points of intersection of the collectives' projects before 1964, however, the ideological differences between them mean that the projects did not merge.

In Boal's *Teatro del/do Oprimido* (1974) – publicised eight years after *Julgamento em Novo Sol's* (1962) premiere in Recife – the section 'Poética del/do Oprimido' is an account of Boal's experience with the literacy Project Alfin (1973) of the Peruvian revolutionary government 'influenced by Freire's *Pedagogía del Oprimido* (1970). The essay about Theatre of the Oppressed's performances or interventions, a method still in formation, is the only part of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* that was written after the publication of Freire's seminal book. The essay becomes a space for the possibility (or not) of intermingling the two practices. Additionally, the essay '*Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'* – studied thoroughly in Chapter 3 – narrates the first efforts to attend to linguistic translation and cultural relocation in the adaptation of Boal's concepts, all these aspects converting and refracting in performative practices. Due to the political repression in Brazil, the most renowned books of Freire and Boal were first published in translation before their publication in Brazil. On another note, the path of the publication of Freire and Boal's books in translation almost overlapped in certain languages or was close enough to reinforce the reading of the books as part of a single project. In the table in Appendix xviii, for example, it is possible to observe the proximity of the publication of the French version, only three years apart, and the Spanish, four years apart. This may indicate that editors and publishers read the books as a joint project.

In the hardship of exile life, the participants of the cultural movement tried to relieve their longing for the homeland. They met each other to ease the distance and talk in their common language. After the publication of the volumes, Freire, his wife,

Elsa and Darcy Ribeiro went for lunch in Boal and Cecilia's house in exile, Portugal, in 1976 (Boal, 2000, page 364). Yet, this encounter only became well known because it coincided with Boal's mother bringing a recording of a 'letter' from the composer and friend Chico Buarque:

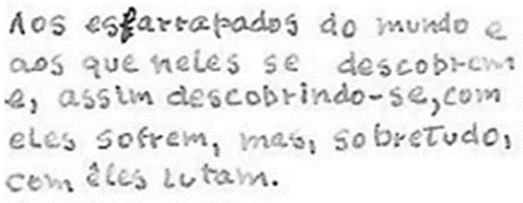
> Meu caro amigo, me perdoe, por favor
> Se eu não lhe faço uma visita
> Mas como agora apareceu um portador
> Mando notícias nessa fita[3]
> Chico Buarque (1976)

Neither Boal nor Freire ever commented on any project or idea shared on this occasion. Exiles may have a pact of silence.

[3] *fita cassete*: cassette tape [En]

Chapter 2

The Pedagogy of the Oppressed in Translation



Pedagogia do oprimido, 1968

> A los desharrapados del mundo, y a quienes,
> descubriéndose en ellos, con ellos sufren,
> y con ellos luchan
> Pedagogía del Oprimido, 1970

> To the oppressed,
> and to those who suffer with them and fight
> on their side
> Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970

> Agli straccioni nel mondo
> e a coloro che in essi si riconoscono
> e così riconoscendosi con loro soffrono ma
> soprattutto con loro lottano.
> Pedagogia degli Oppressi, 1971

> A tous les opprimés du monde et a ceux qui, par solidarité, souffrent avec eux et surloul luttent avec eux.
> *Pédagogie Des Opprimés*
> *Suivi de Conscientisation Et Révolution*, 1974

Introduction

The perception that there is an intrinsic connection between Freire's work and Theatre of the Oppressed, as investigated in the first chapter, led to *Pedagogia do Oprimido* position as the main source of the Teatro del/do Oprimido for many contemporary scholars and practitioners. For this reason, *Pedagogia do Oprimido's* first publication period in translation is examined here as a space of multilingualism, networking and the foundation of communities of practice. However, I will also provide details on the history of publication and the critical narratives of Freire as an intellectual without borders to add to perspectives on the construction of the Framework of the Oppressed.

I consider Freire's conclusion of the manuscript (1968) and the following publication of *Pedagogía del Oprimido*, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *La Pedagogia degli Oppressi* (1970) as the starting point of the construct of the Framework of the Oppressed. To re-trace the transnational path of the framework, I will present an overview of the formational years of Freire's critical education proposals, Freire's exile, the publication of the translation of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* in eight languages before the official publication of the book in Brazil and the book's critical reception. However, to be consistent with the scope of my research and to define a tangible corpus, I will focus on critical readings related to translation processes that comment mainly on the first period of publication of the seminal works and how they impacted rewritings.

After that, I will discuss the perception of Freire and Boal's work as a framework, how translation may have played a role in that reading.

Pedagogia do Oprimido: Displacement, Dialogue and Cultural Identity

Freire developed a theoretical model that supports an educational practice that aims to end illiteracy and is rooted in the local community's needs, respecting the cultural identity of the educatee and the educator. Furthermore, the Pedagogy of the Oppressed sets out to form critical thinkers who will challenge social inequalities. Freire dedicated his life to disseminating this theoretical approach and practice, namely the oppressed praxis.

In Freire's terminology, educatees are denominated *educandos*, the gerund of the verb *educar* (to educate) from the Latin *educare*, *educere,* to emphasise the continuity of the process and the educatee's active role in the learning process. Freire reaffirms in many books that the equal participation of educators and educatees democratically exchanging knowledge is core to breaking the dehumanisation of the

oppressed (Goulet, 1974). Freire's work with groups of illiterate adults in Northeast Brazil during the fifties culminated with the experience of Angicos (1963), organised within the education and development plan of the governor of the state of Pernambuco, Miguel Arraes (who governed from 1962 to 1964), and with the support of the left-wing reformist president João Goulart (governed from 1961 to 1964). In Angicos, 300 students learned to read and develop a critical perspective on societal issues in an astonishingly short period of just 40 days. The effectiveness of the method attracted international attention.

The social inequality and oppressive class system in Brazil, established during Portuguese colonialism, with the legacy of slavery and oppression of the indigenous peoples, were the core issues Freire focussed on from the beginning of his career. He emphasised that the educator and the educatee should be conscious of oppression: whether by means of class, economic, gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, or age.

Although he wrote many books, carried out many projects, and developed educational policies for different countries, his work always gravitated around the central concept of education as liberation (Gadotti, 2003).

Freire was imprisoned twice, spending a total of seventy-two days in prison, and had to flee Brazil in 1964 after a conservative dictatorship took over the country. The exile lasted sixteen years, from 1964 to 1980. Freire moved from Brazil to Bolivia for a short period (September 1964), before moving on to Santiago, Chile (November 1964-1968), where he worked at the Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria (ICIRA). Unfortunately for him, in each case, he was pursued by the wave of military coups that had taken over Latin America. Through his displacement, Freire encountered other communities in which to develop his ideas and practices. He went to the United States to lecture at Harvard for a year and finally moved to Geneva to work at the World Council of Churches.

Freire finished writing *Pedagogia do Oprimido* in Chile during the emblematic year of 1968. The book constructs a theoretical framework based on his experience of revolutionary educational practice in his homeland and Chile. In 1970, on an astonishing speed for a Brazilian writer, three translations were published: a Spanish language edition in Uruguay, an English version in the United States, and an Italian

version. The next years saw German, Swedish, Dutch and French translations (see table in Appendix I).

Freire accompanied closely the translation into English during his spell in Cambridge, Massachusetts, while teaching at Harvard. He commented on the dynamic of the work of the translator, Myra Bergman Ramos, and how he himself assumes responsibility for the rhetorical *language* of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

> É interessante também observar que algumas críticas, em inglês, à linguagem "difícil e esnobe" da Pedagogia atribuíam um pouco de reponsabilidade a Myra Ramas [sic], minha amiga e tradutora, competente e séria, do livro. Myra trabalhou com um máximo de correção profissional, com absoluta seriedade. Costumava, durante o processo de tradução do texto, consultar um grupo de amigos a quem telefonava e dizia: "Faz sentido pra você esta frase?". E citava o trecho que acabara de traduzir em torno do qual tinha dúvidas. Por outro lado, terminada parte de um capítulo, ela encaminhava cópia da tradução e dos originais a outros amigos, norte-americanos que dominavam bem o português, como o teólogo Richard Shaull, que prefaciou a edição norte-americana, solicitando-lhes opinião e sugestões.
>
> Eu mesmo, na época morando em Cambridge, enquanto era professor visitante de Harvard, fui várias vezes consultado por ela. Me lembro da pesquisa paciente das diferentes hipóteses que ela admitiu para traduzir "inédito viável", uma de minhas metáforas, optando, finalmente por "*untested feasibility*".
>
> Nos limites de minha falta de autoridade com relação à língua inglesa, devo dizer que me sinto muito bem na tradução de Myra. Daí que, em face dos leitores e leitoras de língua inglesa, em seminários, em debates, tenha sempre assumido a responsabilidade pela razão de ser das críticas feitas à *linguagem do livro*.' (Freire, 1992, page 39, my emphasis)

The addition of paratexts and the revision of the English translation would eventually culminate in the 30th-anniversary edition:

> As times change, so do attitudes and beliefs. The translation has been modified—and the volume has been newly typeset—to reflect the connection between liberation and inclusive language. An important introduction by Donaldo Macedo has been added. (Publisher's Foreword, 2000)

The publication of *Pedagogia do Oprimido's* original text in Brazilian Portuguese was more complicated. After the issu of the decree *Ato Institucional nº 5* (AI-5), which determined the closure of congress, the hardening of censorship and the imprisonment of members of the opposition (December 1968) (Fausto, 1999, page 287-291), Freire was aware of how difficult it would be to publish the book in Brazil. However, he also saw the need to support resistance against the arbitrary government and keep some grassroots groups alive. Freire made copies of the book to safeguard it when the political atmosphere in Chile was deteriorating and a military coup was imminent. The author handed over one of the typed copies to Jacques Chonchol, director of Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria (ICIRA). After a lucky escape from the hands of the Chilean military, the copy was sent to France by the mother of the former Minister of Education (Gadotti, 1996). Freire sent another typed copy to Fernando Gasparian, editor at Paz e Terra Editora, in the hands of a Swiss diplomat. Although the publishing house registered the book copyright in 1970, unfortunately, the publisher remained wary of the possibility of the military dictatorship banning the book in Brazil. Gasparian decided to wait for the right moment to publish *Pedagogia do Oprimido,* and the book was finally officially released in 1975 in Brazil while Freire was still in exile.

> Dias depois [de receber o livro], Gasparian, discretamente, acusava o recebimento do material pedindo que esperasse por tempos mais favoráveis para a sua publicação. Remeti o texto nos fins de 1970, quando o livro já tinha sua primeira edição em inglês, ou nos começos de 1971. Sua publicação aqui, sua primeira impressão só foi possível em 1975. Enquanto isso um sem-número de brasileiras e brasileiros o liam em edições estrangeiras que chegavam aqui por golpes de astúcia e de coragem. Conheci, nessa época, uma jovem freira norte-americana que trabalhava no Nordeste e que me disse ter entrado algumas vezes no Brasil, no regresso de suas viagens aos Estados Unidos, com alguns exemplares

> da Pedagogia, sobre cuja capa original ela punha capas de livros religiosos. Desta forma, amigos seus, que trabalhavam em periferias de cidades nordestinas, puderam ler o livro e discuti-la antes mesmo de sua publicação em português. (Freire, 1992, page 63, my emphasis)

The establishment of new publishing houses offered a defiant space for a wide spectrum of left-wing persecuted thinkers. In this climate, Ênio Silveira, who had already founded Civilização Brasileira (1932 to date), and Moacyr Félix initiated the publishing house Paz e Terra (1966 to date)[4] 'to spread progressive *ecumenical* ideas'. Fernando Gasparian bought Editora Paz e Terra (Paixão, 1996, page 166-167, my emphasis) and published *Pedagogia do Oprimido* in 1975.

Another Portuguese language version of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* was officially published in Portugal before the Brazilian edition in 1972 by the publisher house Afrontamento (1963 to date), although the country had been under the oppressive dictatorship of Salazar. Afrontamento originated from a Cultural Cooperative with activities 'such as meetings, debates, conferences and even literacy activities, carried out by 'the Literacy Group of Porto (1969)' (Cortesão, 2018). Afrontamento's first collaborators were 'young progressive Catholics, who had a more active perspective of religion in the social field, and left-wing people not connected with the Communist Party (Silva, 2013). The first collection of the publishing house quotes the French philosopher, theologian and educator Emmanuel Mounier: 'Quando a desordem se torna ordem, uma atitude se impõe: Afrontamento'. (Silva, 2013).

The slogan embodies the publishing house's ethos and the international network of intellectuals, artists, publishers and grassroots activists that resisted non-democratic governments, colonial powers and imperialism. In this context, Freire's international mobility and the recognition of his ideas led to the publication of translations almost simultaneously with the book's first publication. In many cases, the translators were close collaborators of Freire's; in others, social activists who disseminated non-authorized publications. Because of the complex path of the Brazilian-Portuguese original, many of those translations were likely indirect.

[4] Both publishing houses are now part of Grupo Editorial Record.

The Spanish translation was collaborative and realised within the Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria (ICIRA, Chile)[5], where Freire worked. Marcela Gajardo, in a recent interview, explains the translation process:

> La versión publicada por Tierra Nueva en 1970 fue traducida y editada por José Luis Fiori y por mí y, posteriormente revisada y editada por Jorge Mellado, que era el traductor oficial de Freire en ICIRA. Fue el propio Paulo quien nos recomendó a la editora para elaborar la traducción que fuimos haciendo sobre los borradores del manuscrito en portugués. Como pueden imaginar, la "traducción", en consulta con Paulo, dejó bastante que desear. De ahí que recurrieran a Jorge Mellado para revisar el borrador. Es por eso que, en la primera edición de Tierra Nueva (1970), dice: "Edición a cargo de Marcela Gajardo y José Luis Fiori". Debajo: "Traducción de Jorge Mellado, ICIRA (1968)". La Editorial Tierra Nueva nos pagó por estos trabajos que todos hicimos a título personal. Es probable que, entre los tres, le hiciéramos sugerencias y cortes al texto, pero siempre con la anuencia de Paulo. (Kohan, et al., 2021, my emphasis)

Beyond the collaboration and craft involved in the process, Gajardo touches on translingualism in the intersection of Chilean native Spanish speakers and editors/translators negotiating with the author and a Brazilian translator, José Luis Fiori. Gajardo comments on the characteristic translingualism in Freire's text and translation in the period: 'Carlos Ruiz Tagle, editor en jefe de ICIRA, iba leyendo los borradores y editando el *portuñol*' (Kohan, et al., 2021).

The version may be characterised as a close translation, but the text remained for 30 years without having undergone retranslation or a comprehensive revision. The introduction of inclusive language, *hombre y mujer,* replacing *hombre* did not happen until the 2000 edition. However*,* the collaborative work and the supportive production conditions within the institutional environment of the Spanish translation were consistent with Freire's conception of education and intellectual production.

[5] Established with the technical and financial support of the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) of the U.N. provided technical support for Chilean agrarian reform until the 1973 coup d'état.

The French translation of 1974 refers to the source text in the title page, '*traduit du brésilien*', marking the Brazilian language with characteristics beyond Portuguese and providing another example of the pragmatic nature of the translation of Freire's texts. The edition has an interview with Freire, bringing the author to the forefront; the interview is an early example of the narrative device in Freire's texts. There is no credit to the translator. The publisher of the translation, François Maspero, supported collectives formed mainly of migrant workers and exiles in the effort to develop literacy programmes (Le Collectif d'alphabétisation, 1974). Le Collectif d'alphabétisation signs the introduction and is the interlocutor for Freire's interview at the end of the edition.

After a long period without a new edition of the book, *La Pédagogie des Opprimés* or *La Pédagogie des Opprimés.es* emerged in 2021. The book is a re-translation and aims to reintroduce Freire's work to overcome e Francophone misunderstanding of his work and the gap in knowledge about the development of critical education in the axis the United States and Brazil from the 80s to the 90s. The source text of the later French version *La Pédagogie des Opprimés*, 2021, was the 59th revised Brazilian edition, [2015: *traduit du portugais (Brésil*)]. The retranslation replaced masculinised terms *l'homme* and *l'opprimé* and adopted inclusive language respecting Freire's request. The Canadian edition went beyond this : 'Notons que l'édition québécoise, pilotée par Claude Rioux avec les mêmes traducteurs (éditions de la rue Dorion, Montréal, 2021) a opté pour un autre type d'écriture inclusive («opprimé.es»)' (Dupeyron, 2022, page 3).

The new French translation, according to Dupeyron, has differences from the 1974 version, but there are no fundamental differences in Freirean concepts. The notes were updated, and there is more contextualisation. Besides, the scholar points to the influence exerted by the militant environment as well as the Anglo-American translation 'erasing certain subtleties of the text' in the 1974 translation (Dupeyron). Concerning the 2021 version, the translator Élodie Dupau affirmed that there were three main challenges during the translation:

> a) respecter le style et la scansion de Freire, mais apporter un peu de lisibilité à un texte dense, fréquemment redondant et bénéficiant de la souplesse syntaxique de la langue portugaise, particulièrement celle «du Brésil »; b) vérifier et compléter les notes, qui manquaient parfois de

> précision dans le texte original; c) préserver la démarche du raisonnement de Freire, entre démonstration rationnelle, prêche et texte de propagande politique. (Dupeyron, 2022, page 3)

Thus, the translator suggests that there was a focus on the readability of the text for new generations.

The German edition does not mention the source text. I found evidence that the English language version is the source text for the translation of *Erziehung als Praxis der Freiheit. Beispiele zur Pädagogik der Unterdrückten* [*Educação como prática da liberdade* and *Education, the Practice of Freedom*]. Gadotti uses the presence of a graphic as evidence of indirect translation:

> Certamente as demais edições da obra, nos diversos idiomas e países do mundo, basearam-se na versão *datilografada*, ou, em alguma *tradução da tradução*.
>
> A edição nacional não traz os dois diagramas, um ao lado do outro, que têm por título, respectivamente, "Teoria da Ação Revolucionária" e "Teoria da Ação Opressora" [...]. Ela deve ter servido de matriz para as edições em que eles também não aparecem. A *edição alemã da obra deve ter se baseado na norte-americana, pois ambas trazem os diagramas mencionados*. (Gadotti, 2018, page 10, my emphasis)

The copyright page of the Dutch translation reads:

> Deze vertaling van J. E. A. Andriessen-Van der Zande en drs. J. P. de Vries is gebaseerd op de bij Herder and Herder, New York, in 1971 verschenen uitgave 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' (vertaald uit het oorspronkelijke Portugese manuscript) en de bij Kreuz-Verlag, Stuttgart, eveneens in 1971 verschenen, door Paulo Freire geautoriseerde vertaling 'Padagogik der Unterdrückten'. (Freire, Pedagogie van de onderdrukten, 1972)

Today, a facsimile copy of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* can be found in the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil archives in Rio de Janeiro, and is accessible online in Freire's archive, consistent with Freire's work ethos. Freire wanted to revisit the manuscript and the typed copies that survived to organise a critical edition of his masterpiece and drive international attention to his work. Unfortunately, this project was never to be completed.

The history of the editions of the translation of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* and the studies about it show how the book has been (re)contextualised throughout the world. In *The Paulo Freire Reader* (Freire, 1998), there is an attempt to offer a history of the editions of the book, including the presence of paratexts, focusing on the editions in Portuguese, Spanish, and English (Gadotti, 2018).

In the 30th Anniversary Edition in English, an introduction by Donaldo Macedo, Freire's translator, collaborator, and critic, was added. The introduction aims to provide readers with a more comprehensive understanding of Freire's educational philosophy by presenting them with the Brazilian historical and social context of the book's period of writing and publication.

Freire's displacement and re-location to organise projects on education or to lecture in universities and conferences made possible the mediation of the book as an exercise of authorial enactment. The presence of the author adds another layer to the process of translation. In the projection of authorship, the educationalist becomes a persona. The origins and paths of the author through the world are interpreted as part of his oeuvre and key to understanding it (Taylor, 1993; Goulet, 1974).

Pedagogia do Oprimido establishes the epistemology of the Framework of the Oppressed internationally, and consolidates the practices proposed by Freire. It is re-visited by Freire himself and by other readers to unfold concepts such as *conscientização, oprimido*, and *cultura popular*. In this realm, educators and educatees are cultural activists.

In this concise book, Freire articulates his thoughts on the political aspects of education, acknowledges the legitimacy of popular culture, and recognises the practice of freedom as a pre-condition for democracy. Furthermore, he affirms that education is not just the transmission of knowledge but a productive action. The book's first part discusses the process of education and contextual and societal aspects of adult education. The other parts of the book draw from the author's experiences on projects in Brazil and Chile.

Pedagogia do Oprimido sets out the necessity of a critical education that challenges the inequalities of society, justifies it through a philosophical approach, and builds a praxis that aims to transform reality. The language is drawn from philosophical and popular texts inspiring the concepts that are the basis of the Framework of the Oppressed.

Different authors inspired the construction of concepts in the Framework of the Oppressed. Freire read philosophical texts translated into Portuguese or in their original language, forming part of the Western tradition. Even in translated texts, concepts are often maintained in the source language to highlight the philosopher's special use of language to construct arguments. Freire developed ideas using the possibilities of the Brazilian Portuguese language, adapting the philosophical language for his target audience. Freire insisted on using the original Portuguese word *conscientização* to refer to the process of gaining critical awareness, for example. The ownership of the language is an essential aspect of Freire's work. In the Dutch version, *conscientização* appears in Portuguese, and there is an explanation in the notes to the introduction:

> De uitdrukking *conscientização* verwijst naar het leerproces dat nodig is om sociale, politieke en economische tegenstellingen te begrijpen en om maatregelen tegen de onderdrukkende verhoudingen van de werkelijkheid te treffen (Vgl. hoofdstuk III*)*. (Freire, Pedagogie van de onderdrukten, 1972, page 162, my emphasis)

The theoretical foundation and the eclectic range of sources, the rewriting of reference texts, the alleged 'borrowings' and 'repossessing of others' ideas and concepts' (Taylor, 1993, page 34) have been one of the main focusess of the critical literature of Freire's work. The text's summative character has been investigated to re-authorize on critique the Freirean theoretical framework. The archaeology of Freire's readings and the narrative of his intellectual background mediates the reading(s) of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* by deconstructing Freire's thinking and exposing the text's genesis. Nonetheless, Freire's consciousness of the cultural hybridism of Latin American experience and his profound belief that thinking is a point of encounter with the other, a dialogue between individual and cultural perspectives – as illustrated in the passage below – made him capable of maintaining an open dialogue with his critics:

> *Pedagogia do oprimido* não resulta de leituras de obras pedagógicas, propriamente. Sua composição é tributária da antropologia, geografia, literatura, *teatro*, filosofia, semiótica, psicologia, psicanálise, sociologia, história, para citar algumas. Aos conhecimentos sistematizados, Paulo Freire incorporou inúmeros saberes de experiências de diferentes matizes culturais. Tais conexões existenciais, éticas e epistemológicas explicam, em certa medida, a complexidade e a universalidade do pensamento e da vida do educador pernambucano. (Mafra, 2008, my emphasis)

According to this line of reading, ‘the educational theory of Paulo Freire has many roots’, and it is by naming sources and explaining their influence that *Pedagogia do Oprimido* can be unravelled and translated for a growing readership. The ‘eclectic’ range of theories on which Freire draws (McLaren., 1994) in his thinking (Taylor, 1993, page 34) ‘reflect an innovative synthesis of most of the main advanced streams of philosophical thought, including Existentialism, Phenomenology, Hegelian dialectics, and historical materialism’ (Torres, 1993, page 120) Freire constructed a theoretical framework to challenge social inequality from his position as a Northeast Brazilian and after, as an exile, re-located in other parts of Latin-America. The thinker has the gaze of the ‘syncretic border intellectual who can combine elements of two cultures to articulate new syncretic forms and experiences’ (JanMohamed, 1993, page 235). Only with the popularisation of de-colonialist theoretical reassessment of his writings was there acknowledgement of sources beyond European texts: Freire’s work draws heavily upon European discourses and the thought and language of theorists in Latin America, Africa, and North America (Giroux, 1992).

The polyphony of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* makes no prejudgement; it includes the embedded voices of French philosophy (Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Febvre, Foucault, Althusser, Sartre) whose close connection with Brazil influenced a generation of thinkers (Taylor, 1993, page 35-41). Furthermore, other threads highlight that Freinet’s 'Éducation nouvelle’ was a contemporary of the Freirean text (Taylor, 1993, page 37-39), and Germano Coelho, founder of the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) together with Freire, relates the influence of the French educational movement from his visit to Freinet’s school in France (Coelho, 2002). Hence, there is an element of borrowing and adaptation; Pedagogia *do Oprimido* ‘translates’ other texts. In this sense, it is pertinent to consider Freire’s text as a rewriting, a text intertwined with other voices that constructs a framework leading to practice. Furthermore, the text embodies the proposal of critical consciousness: the translator-author crafts an ideological network of alliances that dialogues with others to reaffirm authorship and political resistance.

The epistemology of *Pedagogia do Oprimido,* and the praxis of literacy education is based on a ‘rich conception of *language* which represents a nexus between Marxist, existentialist, and hermeneutical thought; a conception of language that is quite foreign to the Anglo-American philosophical tradition’ (Peters, 1994, page 178).

The practice of any educator who claims to apply Freire's pedagogy must be dialogical, humanistic, and ethical; the educator's commitment involves 'speaking true words' (Peters, 1994). The significance of Freire's 'essential contribution lies in his recognition of the way *language forms our perceptions of the world and our intentions toward* it, […] *he highlights the connections between language, politics and consciousness*' (Mackie, 1980, page 2).

Other voices interwoven in the fabric of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* come from theology through the influence of Christian Personalism (i.e., Tristan de Ataide in Brazil and Emmanuel Mounier in France), Liberation theology, the Christian for Socialism Movement, and the widespread new ecumenism supported by the World Council of Churches where Freire worked from 1970 to 1979 (Torres, 1993, page 120-123)[6] . Consequently, the mediation and agency of religious institutions and groups is one of the facets of reception and dissemination of the book: if 'Freire's work has taken some considerable time to become widely known in the English-speaking world, […] by far the largest and most enthusiastic are those who write from a religious perspective, […] indeed conscientisation has become a commonly employed term in the rhetoric of many church-based aid agencies' (Mackie, 1980, page 8).

On the other hand, some scholars have been questioning the accuracy of Freire's theoretical proposition and, consequently, the legitimacy of its praxis (Taylor, 1993, page 147). In addition, resistance against what some intellectuals call the 'politicisation of education' resurfaces sporadically. The attempts to neutralise critical pedagogy and depoliticise education resurfaced in the 1990s but encountered resistance and constant rebuttals from intellectuals (Grabowski and Giroux) and activists aligned with Freire's proposals. More recently, supporters of Jair Bolsonaro's government (2019-2022) openly despised critical education and targeted Freire's oeuvre and legacy in Brazil.

The 'binarism' of *Pedagogia do Oprimido,* establishing a rigid dichotomy between oppressors and oppressed (Giroux, 1993, page 180), was criticised by scholars that pointed out that such a schematic model cannot fully apprehend the social struggle legacy of colonialism or the result of historic structures. More recently, there has been

[6] For a concise explanation of the conciliation of Christian Philosophy and Marxism in Latin America and the foundation of the Theory of Liberation see Torres, 1993.

a reconsideration of this critical position, reinstating the importance of understanding that the

> racialisation processes experienced by the marginalised are intimately tied to the material domination and exploitation of our communities by the wealthy and powerful elite and enacted, for the most part, by those who are not themselves affluent but answer the siren call of capital daily. (Darder, 2015, page 45)

As a response to the imbalance of power and societal dynamics, the study of the Hegelian master-slave dialectic and the ways in which the struggle for emancipation informed the *Pedagogia do Oprimido* (Wohlfart, 2013) is regaining attention. The dialectical materialist concept of class struggle (according to which society divides into two extreme classes, owners and labourers, and their irreconcilable positions, leading to conflict and revolution) underpins Freirean liberation education and its core concept of *conscientização*.

The failure to acknowledge other forms of oppression beyond class exploitation in *Pedagogia do Oprimido* was brought to attention by feminists and black activists seeking racial equality (hooks, 1993). A polemic relating the 'sexism of the language' of Freire's texts and how he 'constructs a phallocentric paradigm of liberation-wherein freedom and the experience of patriarchal manhood are always linked as though they are the same' (hooks, 1993) pre-occupied feminists but was addressed by Freire and turned into a productive dialogue.

In the effort to define Freire's philosophical lineage, some critics have noted that the *Pedagogia do Oprimido*'s epistemology is the same as that of the young Marx – the Marx of the *Paris Manuscripts* (1884) and the *Theses on Feuerbach* (1924) and that it shares all the strengths and some weakness of these early reflections (Mathews, 1980).

Other commentators set Freire's affiliation to the Marxist historic social analysis as part of Brazil and Latin America's historical struggle against imperialism (McLaren, 2000) stressed his ideological affiliation to the hope of a new social order brought by socialism(s) and political events that defined the historical landscape that led to the creation of the Framework of the Oppressed. More recent reclaiming of PO as a Brazilian or Latin America Postcolonial or Decolonial theoretical framework is a key attempt to re-locate Freirean philosophy (Torres, Shor, Gadotti, Mc Laren)

challenging Eurocentric readings that reduce PO to a method (Aronowitz, 1993). According to Giroux

> the borders that define his [Freire's] work have shifted over time in ways that parallel his exile and movement from Brazil to Chile, Mexico, the United States, Geneva and back to Brazil. […] Freire's ongoing political project raises enormous difficulties for educators who situate Freire's work in the reified language of methodologies and in empty calls that enshrine the practical at the expense of the theoretical and political. (Giroux, 1993, page 178)

More careful regional and historical contextualisation has further moved towards the intersection of Freire's biographical narratives with his writings, a symbiotic reading of Freirean Philosophy of Education through the lens of his life-work path, whereby subjective contextualisation is scaffolding the construction of Freire's persona.

Nevertheless, the American activist bell hooks denounced the critical approaches to Freire's oeuvre that centred on biographical analysis as a mechanism of avoidance to discuss his ideas and the disenfranchised:

> [S]tudents and professors read Freire, they approach his work from a voyeuristic standpoint, whereas they read they see two locations in work, the subject position of Freire the educator (whom they are often more interested in than the ideas or subjects he speaks about) and the oppressed/marginalised groups he speaks about. (hooks, 1994, page 49)

However, as noted before, in her 'playful dialogue' with her alter ego, the author interlocks comments about feminist criticism of Freire's language, narrating her warm encounter with Freire and how he influenced her thoughts (hooks, 1993). Also, hooks quote Freire at the beginning of her *Pedagogy of Hope* and *Education as the Practice of Freedom*; the proximity of the titles with Freire's tiles suggests that she proposes a rewriting of Freire to an extent, too.

The reading of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* as a 'bio-text' mirrors the Freirean concept that to 'read the world is to read the word'. Close collaborators used the bio-text reading strategy to emphasise the importance of understanding Freire's background to read his texts as part of his life trajectory; for example, the extensive project of the Instituto Paulo Freire (Brazil), *Paulo Freire: Uma Biobibliografia*

(Gadotti et al., 1996) embodies this strategy to contextualise Freirean philosophy revealing his trajectory, moulding the mask of the persona and the regional-transnational dissemination of PO. This holistic approach mirrors Freire's insistence on to consider up the objectivity of socio-historical context to understand subjectivity and identities.

According to Giroux, Freire's experience as a 'border intellectual' (JanMohamed, 1993) informs his methodology; consequently, his texts and dialogues embody and expand his path from projects in Northeast Brazil to exile. The notion of re-location and mobility is intrinsic to Freirean 'bio-texts,' which are considered not only as the 'eclectic border intellectual' but as the 'specular border intellectual' (JanMohamed, 1993, page 219).

> As a border intellectual, Freire ruptures the relationship between individual identity and collective subjectivity. […] As a border intellectual, Freire occupies a terrain of "homelessness" in the postmodern sense that suggests there is little possibility of ideological and hegemonic closure, no relief from the ongoing tensions and contradictions that inform one's identity, ideological struggles, and project of possibility. This sense of "homelessness," this constant crossing over into terrains of otherness, characterises Freire's life and work. As an exile, a border being, an intellectual posed between different cultural, epistemological, and spatial borders, Freire has undertaken to situate his politics of location as a border crosser. (Giroux, 1992, page 18)

The dissemination of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* readings inspired by Postcolonialism and Decolonialism proposes a new branch for theoretical research and appraisal of Critical Pedagogy's relevance and future possibilities (Giroux, 1992). Freire has been repositioned as a crucial intersection of decolonisation in academic texts as it articulates a consistent praxis as part of constructing subjectivity. Moreover, the understanding of PO as part of a broader educational-political movement that goes under the umbrella term of Critical Pedagogy – perhaps a term less charged than 'oppressed' – in the twenty-first century (Giroux) amplifies the legacy of PO and Freirean praxis.

> The reflection entailed in the decodification process leads to the creation of an empowering distance. […] This distance provides a space in which a new subjectivity can begin to articulate itself, and the process of reflection creates a degree of autonomy for the subject to the extent that the existing dominant social structure does not positively determine the decision to begin the reflective process. (JanMohamed, 1994, page 245)

From this perspective, the *Pedagogia do Oprimido* is extended; the actualisation of Freirean praxis points towards a transnational citizenship education, a 'Border Pedagogy.'

> First, the border category recognises those epistemological, political, cultural, and social margins that structure the language of history, power, and difference. The border category also prefigures cultural criticism and pedagogical processes as a form of border crossing. […] Second, it also speaks to the need to create pedagogical conditions in which students become border crossers to understand otherness in its terms and to create further borderlands in which diverse cultural resources allow for the fashioning of new identities within existing power configurations. (Giroux, 1992, page 28, my emphasis)

Despite Freire's mobility and the impact of his work on the inclusion of other identities, the complexity of the translation processes is almost always erased; for example, during the long history of the book, scholars comment on the language of Freire, assuming that the translation is the same book in the contiguity of meanings and linguistic structures (Taylor, 1993). Often, the source text language almost disappears, notably in the English-speaking world.

For example, the discussion about Freire's use of the term 'man' seems to have occupied many critical texts from the 1970s. Freire dialogues with the feminist position, recognising his *machista* vision typical of Brazilian society and his generation.

> Me lembro como se fosse agora que estivesse lendo as duas ou três primeiras cartas que recebi, de como, condicionado pela ideologia autoritária, machista, reagi. E é importante salientar que, estando nos fins de 1970 e começos de 1971, eu já havia vivido intensamente a experiência da luta política, já tinha cinco a seis anos de exílio, já havia lido um mundo de obras sérias, mas, ao ler as primeiras críticas que me chegavam, ainda me disse ou me repeti o ensinado na minha meninice: "Ora, quando falo homem, a mulher necessariamente está incluída". Em certo momento de minhas tentativas, puramente ideológicas, de justificar a mim mesmo, a linguagem machista que usava, percebi a mentira ou a ocultação da verdade que havia na afirmação: "Quando falo homem, a mulher está incluída". E por que os homens não se acham incluídos quando dizemos: "As mulheres estão decididas a mudar o mundo."? Nenhum homem se acharia incluído no discurso de nenhum orador ou no texto de nenhum autor que escrevesse: "As mulheres estão decididas a mudar o mundo". Da mesma forma como se espantam (os homens) quando a um auditório quase totalmente feminino, com dois ou três homens apenas, digo: "Todas vocês deveriam" etc. Para os homens presentes ou eu não conheço a sintaxe da língua portuguesa ou estou procurando "brincar" com eles. O impossível é que se pensem incluídos no meu discurso. Como explicar, a não ser ideologicamente, a regra segundo a qual se há duzentas mulheres numa sala e só um homem devo dizer: "Eles todos são trabalhadores e dedicados?". Isto não é, na verdade, um problema gramatical mas *ideológico.* [...]
>
> Daquela data até hoje me refiro sempre a mulher e homem ou seres humanos. Prefiro, às vezes, enfeiar a frase explicitando, contudo, minha recusa à *linguagem machista*.'. (Freire, 1992, page 62, my emphasis)

The consistency expected in the use of language in a framework that challenges social inequality is the result of human rights and de-colonial movements of the second

half of the 20th Century. The Framework of the Oppressed is part of that crucial moment and should not be evaluated without considering the context of its creation:

> A discriminação da mulher, expressada e feita pelo discurso machista e encarnada em práticas concretas é uma *forma colonial* de tratá-la, incompatível, portanto, com qualquer posição progressista, de mulher ou de homem, pouco importa. A recusa à ideologia machista, que implica necessariamente a *recriação da linguagem*, faz parte do sonho possível em favor da mudança do mundo. (Freire, 1992, page 62, my emphasis)

Freire was dedicated to reviewing editions and attending to translators' questions. By the 50th anniversary of the manuscript (1968), the readings of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* move beyond the investigation of sources, the defiance of - otherness, the reconstruction of context and biographical(s) projections; the reinvigorated critical literature shifts to cultural, ecological, ethical and humanistic theoretical ramifications in new readings of the classic *Pedagogia do Oprimido*.

> O pensamento de Paulo Freire é um *pensamento internacional e internacionalista.* Mas Paulo Freire é, antes de mais nada, um educador. E é a partir do ponto de vista do educador que funda sua visão *humanista- internacionalista* (socialista). Por isso é, ao mesmo tempo, homem do diálogo e do conflito. (Gadotti et al., 1996, page 74, my emphasis)

The account of projects influenced by the *Pedagogia do Oprimido* around the globe occupies an important part of the study of Freirean praxis and legacy Freirean theoretical-praxis concepts are adapted and translated to other contexts. The narrative of these experiences documents the performative aspect of the theoretical framework. The critical testimony of educators and activists engaged with the process demonstrates an awareness of the re-location(s) and adaptation as in Gaudiano's approach: 'Rather than attempting a comprehensive review of the *intellectual cross-cultural currents* of Freire's work, we will address just its influence concerning the most dispossessed groups within the Mexican population' (Gaudiano, 1994, page 125, my emphasis).

The re-location of *Pedagogia do Oprimido* back to where it belongs, the (multiple) South, reveals how crucial agency and community engagement are in the conception of programmes: 'Most importantly, extending this North American programme [P4C critical peace programme] to *Freire's own Third World* [Guatemala] context offers a rare opportunity to assess what turn out to be crucial differences between the 'new wave of US critical education and Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed' (Rivage-Seul, 1994, page 43, my emphasis). In this case, the partnership with Freire's circle of theoretician-practitioners in São Paulo mediated and was instrumental in questioning the lack of consideration of local knowledge and how Latin American democracy differs from the North American concept and experience.

Post-colonialist approaches in the Humanities and Social Sciences an emergent new awareness of scholars' and practitioners' position and agency are reflected in considerations of the productivity of re-locating Freirean theory-praxis:

> As our wake-up call from the Third World, Freire's work continues to hold the possibility of *new readings depending on the special and temporal positioning of the reader*. […] In the 1990s, our reading of Freire provides an ethical bass line to our postmodern improvisations revolving around escaping modernity. (Kincheloe, 1994, page 216, my emphasis)

Once again, the book is a manual for educators and activists in institutions and beyond disciplinary boundaries. In both locations, the interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary character of Freirean educational principles has been attracting the interest of in areas like ethnomathematics (Frankenstein, 1994), cultural studies (Giroux, 1992), peace education (Rivage-Seul, 1994) and eco-pedagogy (Gadotti, 2001).[7]

[7] Gadotti and Freire worked on this interesting concept after the United Nations' 1992 Conference on Environment and Development (Rio-92), Earth Summit, which drafted and approved Agenda 21.

Chapter 3
Roots of Teatro del/do Oprimido

> ‘Escreva sua biografia!’, sugeriu Talia Rodgers.
>
> Talia havia publicado três livros meus – lembrou que, neles, feito e fazedor se misturam. Para que melhor e entendesse o meu teatro, seria útil que eu desvelasse minha vida do meu jeito, não tintim por mais tim, pingos nos is, mas histórias, fatos e feitos.
>
> Afinal, quem sou? Sirvo pra quê? Instruções de uso – bula. O Teatro do Oprimido, de onde veio, pronde vai? Está nos quatro ângulos do mundo, mas onde cresceu criança?
>
> Boal, *Hamlet e o filho do padeiro: Memórias imaginadas*, 2000, page 13

Introduction

The text we know today as *Teatro del oprimido* was originally structured in four chapters or sections, each comprising numerous subsections, and was first published in Spanish in 1974, even though subsequent accounts often imply there was a prior Brazilian-Portuguese source text and that it thus constituted a translation into Spanish. The book *Teatro del oprimido* presents Boal’s first attempt to organise the theatre praxis he proposed and advanced over previous decades in Brazil to design a ‘system’ that was subsequently further developed and expanded in subsequent books and workshops. Boal compiled the book during the five years he was based in Argentina; he accounts for its mosaic-like composition, as a collage of essays written from 1962 in São Paulo to 1973 in Buenos Aires, in a footnote added in the foreword to the revised Brazilian edition by Augusto and Julián Boal (Boal, *Teatro do Oprimido*, 2019). There he states that the essays provide an account of experiences in Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, and other Latin American countries.

To begin to map the translational processes involved in the composition of *Teatro del oprimido*, this chapter traces the practices and theoretical framework documented in the volume back to previously published essays in Portuguese and Spanish. This is important as it shows that *Teatro del oprimido* was not composed as a single coherent source text, devised in one language, but involved the collation of previously published

essays, as well as multidirectional processes of translation in and between Brazilian-Portuguese and Spanish. Thus, the chapter is based on a careful investigation of the sources of the essays that comprise the volume through extensive archival research, considering how the different contexts in which they were first published influence the form and content of *Teatro del oprimido* linguistically and ideologically, and contributing to the sense of it being a multiple and unstable source text, written between and across two languages: Spanish and Portuguese. This is followed by an account of the publication history of the book, highlighting the agency of the Argentine and Brazilian-Portuguese publishers and tracing the changes to these two primary linguistic branches of the text in Spanish and Portuguese from the 1970s until the present day. Consideration of these changes is important, not only because it helps in the identification of the source text used by translators into other languages (as will be further discussed in chapters 4 and 5) but also because successive changes to the structure of the book, including the addition or exclusion of parts of the text and paratexts, such as prologues or interviews, reveals how the source text itself continues to be shaped by processes of translation. The chapter includes a diachronic parallel analysis of selected portions of the Spanish and Portuguese source text to exemplify the complexity of these processes. Additionally, the narratives about the origin of the essays are not in unison and the author's version of how they came to be published together fluctuated throughout his career.

For example, Boal's experience in Peru with the literacy programme ALFIN (1973- 1977) implemented by the Gobierno Revolucionario (1968-1980), left a long-lasting impression (De Buhler, 1977), to the extent that he later affirms, in an autobiography published long after his first period in exile, that: 'No Peru, nasceu o Teatro-Fórum e sistematizei o Teatro-Imagem. O Teatro do Oprimido virou livro' (Boal, 2000, page 345). While we have shown in Chapter 1 that the ALFIN experience constitutes one of the clearest points of contact between Boal's theatrical practice and Freire, it must not be forgotten that it only constitutes a subsection of one chapter of *Teatro del oprimido*, entitled 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' (Boal, 1974, page 145-192).

Structure of the book *Teatro del Oprimido*

Teatro del Oprimido is divided into four chapters: the first three chapters are theoretical, a diachronic exposition of theatre's theoretical and practical concepts, from Aristotle to Machiavelli, then from Hegel to Brecht; the last chapter, 'Poética del/do Oprimido', is the account of Boal's innovative practices in Latin America with a brief account of the history of Teatro Arena according to Boal. Nevertheless, the loose connection between the original essays that form the chapters of the book, the order chosen for the chapters are justified by the diachronic perspective chosen in the theoretical chapters (according to the history of theatre), followed by the development of the 'Poética del/do Oprimido'. In the last chapter, the chronological date is inverted, with the most recent experiments occupying the first section (1973) and the theatre direction ventures in Arena in the last section (1967). The *Teatro del Oprimido* Ediciones de la Flor (1974) edition presents the following structure:

Teatro del Oprimido y otras poéticas políticas, Ediciones de la Flor, Buenos Aires, 1974

Para mi hijo Fabian Silbert y para Andrea, Karina y Pablo Galak

Explicación		page 9
1.	El sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles	page 11-67
I.	Introducción	
II.	El arte imita a la naturaleza	
III.	Pequeño diccionario de palabras simples	
IV.	Cómo funciona el sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles	
V.	Distintos tipos de conflicto: “Harmatia X Ethos social”	
VI.	Conclusión	
VII.	Notas	
2.	Maquiavelo y la Poética de la Virtú	page 69-107
I.	La abstracción de feudal	
II.	La concreción burguesa	
III.	Maquiavelo y “La Mandrágora”	
IV.	Modernas reducciones de la “Virtú”	
3.	Hegel y Brecht: ¿Personaje sujeto o personaje objeto?	page 109-139
4.	Poética del oprimido	page 141-238
A-	Una Experiencia de Teatro Popular en el Perú	
	Conclusión: “Espectador” ¡qué mala palabra!	
B-	El Sistema Comodín	page 193-238
I.	Etapas del Teatro Arena de Sao Pablo	
II.	La necesidad del Comodín	
III.	Las metas del Comodín	
IV.	Las estructuras del Comodín	
	Nota 1. Técnicas del sistema Comodín	
	Nota 2. Máscara Social	
	Desenmascarar Etapas del Proceso	

Teatro del Oprimido presents Boal's first attempt to organise the theatre praxis proposed and advanced through his formative years as a theatre practitioner in Brazil and through his exile in Peru, Venezuela, and other Latin-American countries to design a 'system' that was subsequently further developed and expanded in later workshops and books. The theoretical exposition of the history of theatre is followed by Boal's interpretation of the theoretical concepts that underpinned his approach when teaching playwrighting, in the case of the chapters 'El sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles' and 'Hegel y Brecht: ¿Personaje sujeto o personaje objeto?'

> A escola me obrigou a metodizar mais, a sistematizar, a ter clara as coisas porque não eram só para mim. Era escrever claro para que outros pudessem compreender e usar, utilizar eventualmente. Então, eu acho que os meus livros indiretamente - você estava falando de irradiação de efeitos, e irradiou efeitos para mim também. Eu acho que se eu não tivesse ido para a Escola de Arte Dramática, se ela não tivesse acontecido, existido, eu não sei se eu teria escrito os livros como eu escrevi, entende? (Boal, Entrevista, 1986)

Lauro César Muniz, a playwright, studied at EAD and described Boal's playwrighting method based on Hegel's philosophy:

> [A] visão de Boal criava todo um universo, uma forma rica de encarar a dramaturgia, com apoio da dialética hegeliana. O sistema parte da tríade hegeliana, tese, antítese e síntese, e mostra que, se dramaturgia é refazer a vida no palco, você pode compor vidas e relações a partir da dialética, fazendo a inter-relação de dinâmicas que se contradizem. Ao mesmo tempo, Hegel tem toda uma poética que facilita essa ponte entre a dialética dele e a possibilidade de análise da estrutura dramática. (Muniz, 2010, page 53-54)

Other parts of the book are more pragmatic, for example, his interpretation of Machiavelli as a theatre practitioner in the chapter 'Maquiavelo y la Poética de la "virtù'. The critical perspective of the author connects the chapters and loosely binds the book together.

There is considerable fluctuation in the author's retrospective accounts of different aspects of the essays' origins and generally very patchy details of the previous

publishing history of the sections of the book in its different editions. For instance, the experience in Peru with the literacy programme ALFIN implemented by the Gobierno Revolucionario left a long-lasting impression on Boal, to the extent that Boal affirms in his autobiography written many years after the events that he wrote *Teatro del/do Oprimido* during his stay in this country (Boal, 2000, page 345).

As will be seen in subsequent genetic and textual analysis, it is possible that the practitioner was not actually referring to the whole book but instead the writing of chapter four, 'Poética del/do Oprimido'. Even so, it becomes clear that his subsequent accounts of the origins of the text often respond to particular re-framings that highlight one aspect over others. For instance, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, the roots of the text in his more radical community theatre practice in Peru are highlighted above in the later revised edition. The author's overstatement might be justified by the later realisation that 'Una Experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' represented the articulation of the principles and *practices* that inform Forum Theatre, Image Theatre and Newspaper theatre and the practice of a liberatory theatre. The section is an account of the move from a 'professional' theatre to community participatory theatre. Nevertheless, diverse accounts of the experiments were previously published in theatre and artistic activism journals. As we will see, other sections of his book appeared previously to this, thus undermining the claim for 'Peruvian' origins.

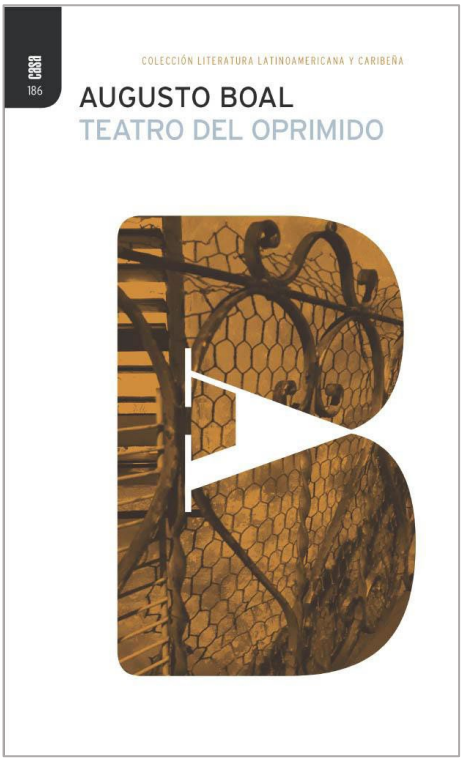
The order chosen for the chapters is justified by a linear, chronological exposition of the development of theatre theory and practice, from Aristotle to Machiavelli, then from Brecht to Boal's experiments. Nevertheless, the disjunctive character of the structure of the book remains, as the essays were written in different circumstances and stages of Boal's career. The only other link, besides the diachronic order, is the critical perspective of the author upon the various roles he assumed as a theatre practitioner that connects the chapters and binds the book together. For example, Boal's interpretation of the theoretical concepts underpins his approach when teaching playwriting, in the case of the chapters 'El sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles' and 'Hegel y Brecht: ¿Personaje sujeto o personaje objeto?', and his interpretation of Machiavelli as a theatre practitioner in the chapter 'Maquiavelo y la poética de la "virtù"'.

The investigation mentioned previously of the history of the previous publication of the essays – expanded in detail in this chapter – leaves no question that

the book's structure does not correspond to the chronological order of composition of the texts. The diachronic structure as a device to connect the essays is disrupted in the chapter 'Poética del/do Oprimido', a personal account of Boal's theatre praxis presented in inverted order, from the then more recent experiments of 'popular theatre' to the understanding of the history of the Teatro Arena. Boal expands his perspective on key theatre theories in the first three chapters of the *Teatro del Oprimido*. The parts were written with different aims and were collected following a diachronic view of the theories.

The theoretical sections of the book – 'El sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles', 'Maquiavelo y la Poética de la "virtù" and 'Hegel and Brecht: The Character as Subject or Character as Object?' – in the Argentinian (1974) and Brazilian (1975) versions are followed by the section 'Poética del Oprimido', which comprises 'Una Experiencia de Teatro en el Perú', and 'El sistema Comodín'.

The French version (1977) presents the account of Boal's experiences in Latin America first, followed by the theoretical chapters, maintaining the 'Experience in Peru' together with 'the Joker System'. The English version (1979) follows the order of the Brazilian version, but the chapter 'Development of the Arena Theater of São Paulo' is presented as an independent section. The Mexican publication Teatro del Oprimido 1 (1980) by the Publishing house Nueva Imagen presents 'Poética del Oprimido' as the first section.



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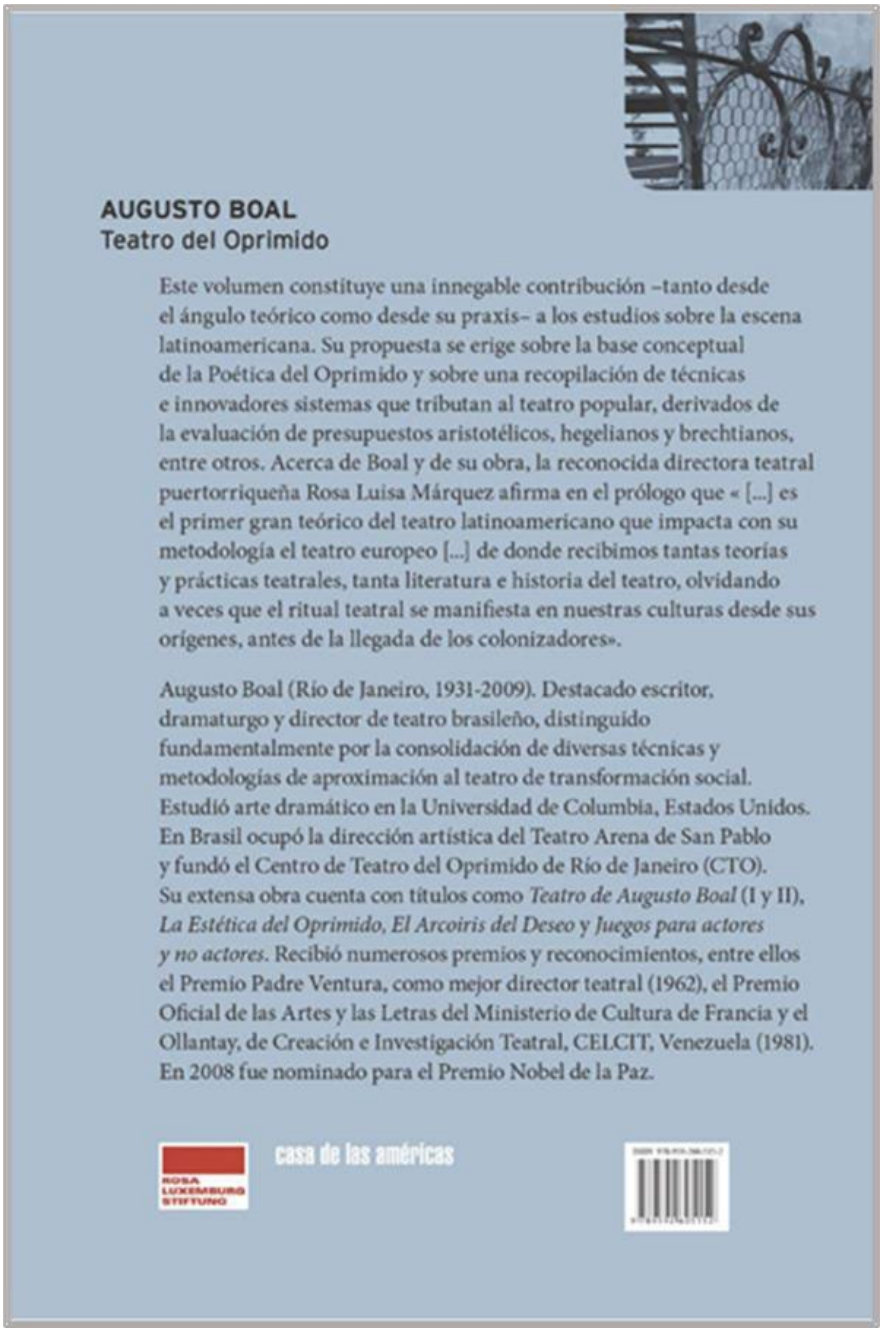
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Boal, *Teatro del Oprimido*, Casa de las Americas, 2018

Genealogy of the Essays of *Teatro del Oprimido*

The timeline of the production of the more didactic essays about the main theatre models reveals quite a long time separating the text production: 'El Sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles' was originally written in 1966, based on Boal's playwrighting lectures in the Escola de Arte Dramática; 'Maquiavelo y la poética de la 'virtù' is a reflective exercise on Boal's work with the Teatro Arena from 1963 (Boal, Théâtre de l'opprimé 181-182); 'Hegel y Brecht: ¿Personaje sujeto o personaje objeto?' was written in Buenos Aires in 1973 (Boal, Teatro do Oprimido 125). Boal's texts for the Arena theatre shows programmes reflect Gassner's influence (Babbage 7-9). The theoretical chapters are not very closely related to the parts of the book that recount the practitioner's post-exile experiments. Nevertheless, when put side by side, the simulacrum of unity is fabricated, and the chapters about theatrical models take on the role of providing the theoretical background for the development of a critical participatory theatre. Diachronic investigation shows that this relationship between the different texts underpinning the framework collated as *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in the early 1970s undergoes various modifications in the course of its publication.

Mapping of the Primary Source Texts of Teatro del Oprimido: timeframe, location, and publishing history of essays

The history of the essays that compose the book and the analysis of each of these pieces is an important instrument to retrace the construction of the praxis and theoretical roots of Theatre of the Oppressed. The history of the source text prepares for later analysis of the readings of the Brazilian theatre practitioner's work when it was transplanted to other contexts and the evolving adaptation in space and time.

The following map retraces the source texts of *Teatro del Oprimido*, as published by Ediciones de la Flor in 1974.

Chapter	Source	Book, Magazine, Publication	Date	Language	Publisher	Place
Explicación	ø	*Teatro del Oprimido y otras poéticas polítiicas*	June 1974[8]	Sp?	Ediciones de la Flor	Buenos Aires, Argentina
1. El sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles I. Introducción II. El arte imita a la naturaleza III. Pequeno diccionário de palabras simples IV. Cómo funciona el sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles V. Distintos tipos de conflicto: "Harmatia X Ethos social" VI. Conclusión I. Notas	Texts of classes taught in Teatro Arena and Escola de Arte Dramática[9]	*Teatro del Oprimido y otras poéticas polítiicas*	June 1973[10]	Sp?	EF	Buenos Aires, Argentina
2. Maquiavelo y la Poética de la Virtú I. La abstracción de feudal II. La concreción burguesa III. Maquiavelo y "La Mandrágora" IV. Modernas reducciones de la "Virtú"	III) Maquiavel e a Mandrágora	A Mandrágora, theater play program	1962-63 1966	Pt	Teatro Arena	
			1966[11]			Brazil, São Paulo
3. Hegel y Brecht: ¿Personaje [12]sujeto o personaje objeto?			July 1973[13]	Sp?		Argentina, Buenos Aires

[8] date and place at the end of the section of *Teatro del Oprimido*, Ediciones de la Flor.

[9] According to Babbage (Babbage), Chapters 1 and 3 were inspired by John Gassner's Modern Playwriting at the Crossroads' and To the Young Writer. Boal interest in Gassner's works made him sign up for theatre courses as part of his studies at Columbia. The influence of the critic and teacher upon Boal probably extended to other books of the period previous to Theatre of the Oppressed publication, for example, *The Theatre in Our Times, a survey of the men, materials, and movements in the Modern Theatre,* Crown Publishers, New York, 1954.

[10] date and place at the end of the chapter of *Teatro del Oprimido*, Ediciones de la Flor

[11] date and place in the note at the beginning of the chapter of *Teatro del Oprimido*, Ediciones de la Flor.

[12] Inspired by Gassner, John. *The theatre in our times, a survey of the men, materials, and movements in the modern theatre.* Crown Publishers, New York, 1954

[13] date and place at the end of the chapter

Chapter	Source	Book, Magazine, Publication	Date	Language	Publisher	Place
4.Poética del oprimido A. Una Experiencia de Teatro Popular en Peru	'ALFIN alfabetização integral'			Pt	Centro de Estudos, Educação e Cultura, Associação de Intervenção Cultural	Porto, Portugal
B.El Sistema Comodín I. Etapas del Teatro Arena de Sao Pablo II. La necesidad del Comodín III. Las metas del Comodín IV. Las estructuras del Comodín V. Notas	Elogio fúnebre do teatro brasileiro visto da perspectiva do Arena		January 1967	Pt	Serviço Nacional de Teatro	São Paulo Brazil
		Revista Civilização Brasileira' - Caderno Especial Nº 2 Teatro e Realidade Brasileira Moacyr Felix (Dir.)	July 1968		Civilização Brasileira	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
	I.Elogio fúnebre do teatro brasileiro visto da perspectiva do Arena II.A necessidade do Coringa III.As metas do Coringa IV.As estruturas do Coringa V.Tiradentes: questões preliminares - Quixotes e heróis[14]	Book: Arena conta Tiradentes, Augusto Boal e Gianfrancesco Guarnieri	1967	Pt	Livraria e Editora Sagarana	São Paulo Brazil
	'Las metas del sistema Comodín translator Pilar Vázquez Cuesta[15]'	Brasil, Teatro de la Represión	Julio-agosto 1972	Sp	Primer Acto, nº 146-147, pg 56-68	Spain

[14] *Tiradentes: questões preliminares*[14] and *Quixotes e heróis* same text in CB.

[15] Pilar Vázquez Cuesta a prestigious Galician and Portuguese philologist and an Associate Professor of Romance Philology at the Universidad Complutense from 1962. During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) and afterwards, during the democratic transition, she exercised an important role in promoting the Galician and Portuguese languages and their cultural dimensions within the Iberian Peninsula. One of her first ideological and intellectual struggles was to include Galician and Catalan languages within the peninsular Romance Studies programmes. Furthermore, through her work, she established bridges between the Galician and Portuguese identities. As part of this project, she translated literary works by both Portuguese and Brazilian writers into Spanish. (Conselho da Cultura Gallega)

Boal's knowledge of the Spanish language was a result of the constant touring with Grupo Arena to various parts of Latin America, intensified after the military coup of 1964. During one of these trips to Buenos Aires, he met Cecilia Thumim Boal an Argentinian actress.[16] As part of her activities in Teatro Arena, as many actors exercise other functions in the group, she translated and directed *A Granada [La Granada*] a masterpiece by Roberto Walsh. The translation activity was resumed as the couple translated *Que é que vamos fazer nessa noite?* [*¿A qué jugamos*?] (1969) by the Argentinian playwright Carlos Gorotiza, directed by Luiz Carlos Maciel (1969) (Porto, 2008). From the translation of plays to be staged by Teatro Arena to the dislocation to Latin America, Boal's textual production in Spanish increased in the period after the coup d'état, with oral presentations in festivals and publications reflecting this path. In some instances, it is not possible to establish if these texts were self-translated, becausethe publishers omitted the translator credit, or whether others collaborated in the Spanish versions.

Between the 1950s and 1970s, numerous journals emerged in Portuguese and Spanish to disseminate artistic approaches towards societal intervention and activism and established a vibrant international network. Among the ones in which Boal would publish work, we find the Brazilian *Revista Civilização Brasileira* (1965-1968), which was a forum for intellectuals to discuss sociocultural challenges and to advance the study of Brazilian culture, the Spanish *Primer Act*o (1957-present), which focused on Iberian and Latin American theatre, the Cuban *Revista Conjunto* (1964-present), under the auspices of the Casa de las Américas, and the Argentine *Crisis*, edited by Eduardo Galeano in the 1970s (First Phase, 1973-1976) (see Appendix xiv). This was also a period in which the emergence of international theatre festivals and the opportunity for theatre groups to tour enabled discussion of theory and practice among peers across different sociocultural contexts.

The international impact of Boal's work using non-actors and the acclaim he received for his work with Grupo Arena (1956-1971) until he departed from Brazil (1971) and in the first period of exile (Latin America 1972-1976) were further

[16] Cecilia Thumim Boal moved to São Paulo (1966) to work in Teatro Arena after meeting Boal. She became Boal's long-life partner and an active collaborator. She was part of the Teatro Arena cast in the following plays: *Primeira Feira de Opinião* (1968), *Mac Bird* (1968) (translated and directed by Boal), *Arena conta Bolívar* (1970). She is the president of the Instituto Augusto Boal in Rio de Janeiro (Instituto Augusto Boal).

underpinned and disseminated by articles published in the journals mentioned above in the same period and laid the groundwork for the publication of a collection of these essays in a single book.

To conduct a diachronic analysis of the sources of 'Poética del Oprimido' (Boal, 1974, pages 141-233), I will first focus on '*El Sistema Comodín'*, (Boal, 1974, pages. 193-233)*,* part of the Teatro Arena years (1955-1971), and then the first part 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' (Boal, 1974, page 145- 192), an account of Boal's experiences during the very beginning of his exile (1972- 1973).

The second part of the section 'Poética del Oprimido', 'El Sistema Comodín', is a translation from the original in Brazilian Portuguese language of an article commissioned previously by the Serviço Nacional de Teatro (SNT). The essay was previously published in the volume that presented the play *Arena Conta Tiradentes* in Brazil (Boal and Guarnieri, 1967), consisting of a collection of essays that reflect a conceptualisation of the creative process less as a finished object than a 'half-finished book':

> Também assim me pareceu mais coerente não escrever nenhuma introdução "bem acabada" para um livro que vai em meio. Os vários artigos foram escritos em momentos diferentes e com propósitos diversos. Reunidos, pretendem mostrar o que se está fazendo e não o que foi feito. (Boal, 1967, page 9)

The emphasis on the transient character of the texts rather than the final product highlights the performative nature of Boal's writing: the texts are witnesses to the creative process of rehearsals.

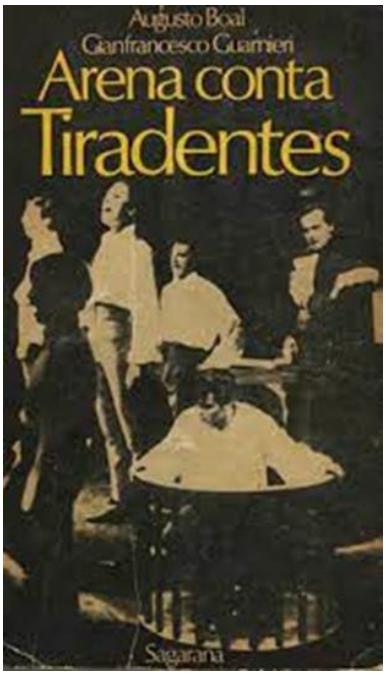
The original title of the essay was 'Elogio Fúnebre do Teatro Brasileiro Visto da Perspectiva do Arena' (Boal, 1967) and it was reproduced in the emblematic journal *Revista Civilização Brasileira* (Boal, 1968); in *Teatro del Oprimido*, the title became less ideologically marked: 'Etapas del Teatro Arena'. Nevertheless, the text was reproduced in its entirety in Ediciones de la Flor (EF) and Editora Civilização Brasileira (CB), including an introduction explaining the objectives and conditions of production of the text:

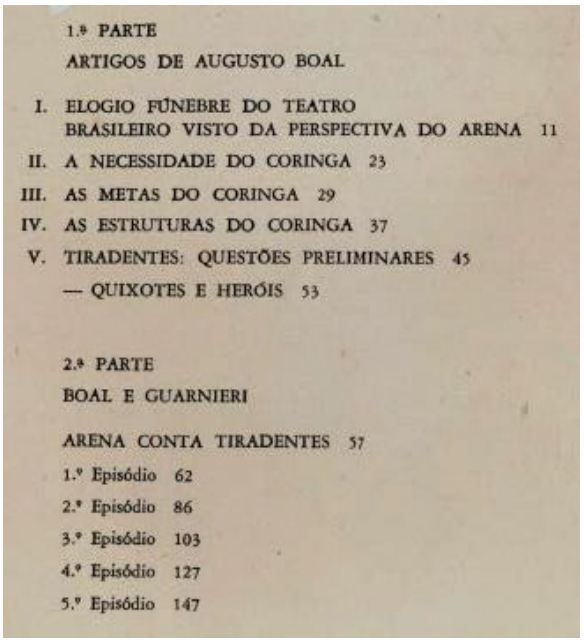
> O S.N.T. [Serviço Nacional de Teatro] desejou publicar uma espécie de inventário do teatro brasileiro nesses últimos quinze anos. Geralmente, os inventários são publicados depois da morte definitiva do falecente [sic].

Neste caso, publica-se com pequena antecedência: o teatro, no Brasil, vive seus momentos agônicos. (Boal, Elogio Fúnebre do Teatro Brasileiro Visto da Perspectiva do Arena, Revista Civilização Brasileira, 1967, page 11, my emphasis)



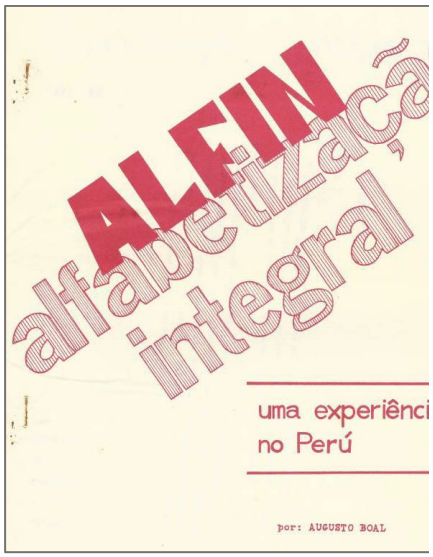
The text paints with dramatic colours the challenging context faced by theatre practitioners such as Boal after the 1964 coup and the withdrawal of government financial support.

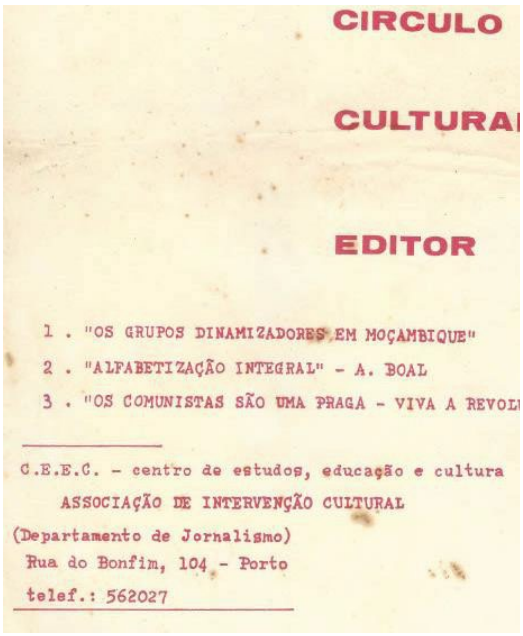


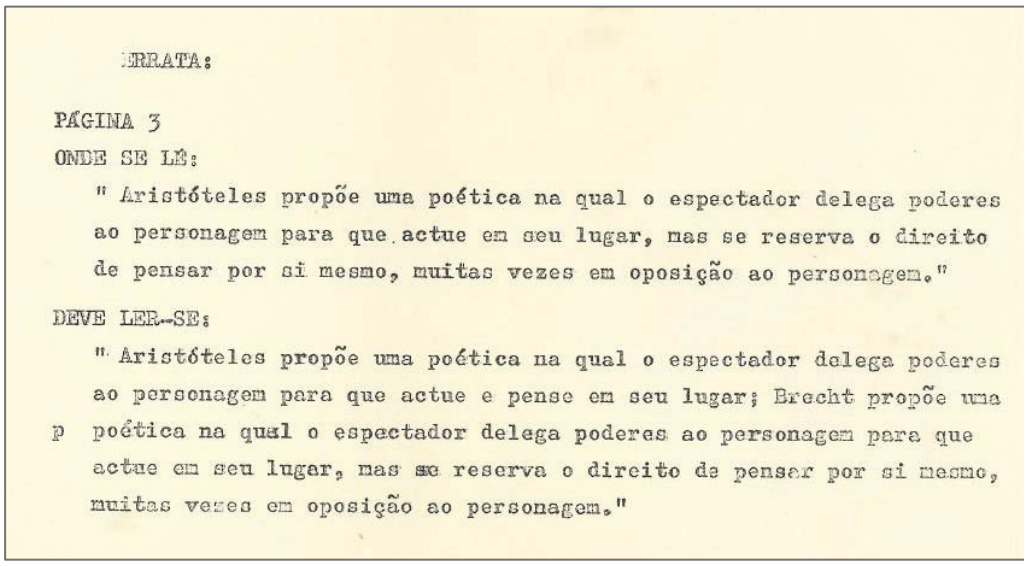

1.ª PARTE
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Boal & Guarnieri, Arena Conta Tiradentes, 1967

The description of Boal's experiences in Peru appeared in the journal article 'ALFIN, Alfabetização Integral, Uma Experiência no Perú' published in Porto, Portugal by Círculo Cultural Editor, Centro de Estudos, Educação e Cultura, Centro de Intervenção Cultural. Today, the article is part of Instituto Augusto Boal's archive. Although the copyright page of the journal has no reference to the publication date, Boal locates the text creation in Peru in 1973 at the very end. Analysis of the essay confirms that the text pre-dates the publication of the book and was its main source text.







ERRATA:

PÁGINA 3

ONDE SE LÊ:

" Aristóteles propõe uma poética na qual o espectador delega poderes ao personagem para que actue em seu lugar, mas se reserva o direito de pensar por si mesmo, muitas vezes em oposição ao personagem."

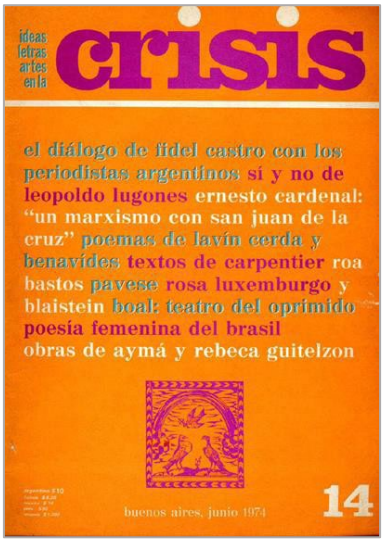
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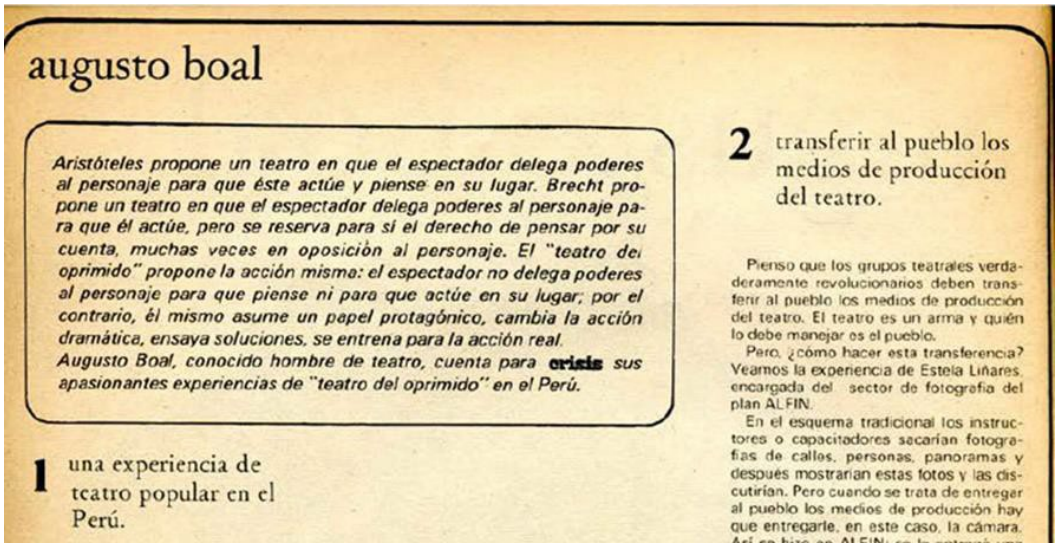
" Aristóteles propõe uma poética na qual o espectador delega poderes ao personagem para que actue e pense em seu lugar; Brecht propõe uma p poética na qual o espectador delega poderes ao personagem para que actue em seu lugar, mas se reserva o direito de pensar por si mesmo, muitas vezes em oposição ao personagem."

Boal, 'ALFIN Alfabetização Integral. Uma Experiência no Perú', 1973

Portugal was experiencing the final days of the Salazar Estado Novo dictatorship (1933–1974) when the text was published. The article is, according to the author's dating, one of the late pieces that make up the book. However, the complete chapter that appears in the book further develops Boal's accounts of theatre experiments, listing exercises and forms of theatre and deepening the construction of concepts.

The author's experience of censorship of plays in the Teatro Arena and the trauma of imprisonment, torture (São Paulo, 1971) and exile (Argentina, 1971-1976; Portugal, 1976 and France, 1977-1985) are part of the background of this chapter, along with the radicalisation of Boal's political position and the way he envisaged the role of theatre. The first essay reflects Boal's excitement about his participation in the literacy programme ALFIN (1973-1977) promoted by the Gobierno Revolucionario installed in 1968 in Peru, a left-wing military government that promoted agrarian reform (but that restricted free speech). The chapter has the tone of a manifesto, almost conveying Marxist propaganda, reflecting Latin American movements inspired by the Cuban Revolution. The answer to the practitioner's journey into exile and his struggle to continue working in Latin America is to resist through an ongoing creative process and with a highly energetic discourse inviting the readership to share his experiences and to practice a liberating political theatre.





augusto boal

Aristóteles propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que éste actúe y piense en su lugar. Brecht propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que él actúe, pero se reserva para sí el derecho de pensar por su cuenta, muchas veces en oposición al personaje. El "teatro del oprimido" propone la acción misma: el espectador no delega poderes al personaje para que piense ni para que actúe en su lugar; por el contrario, él mismo asume un papel protagónico, cambia la acción dramática, ensaya soluciones, se entrena para la acción real.
Augusto Boal, conocido hombre de teatro, cuenta para **crisis** *sus apasionantes experiencias de "teatro del oprimido" en el Perú.*

1 una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú.

2 transferir al pueblo los medios de producción del teatro.

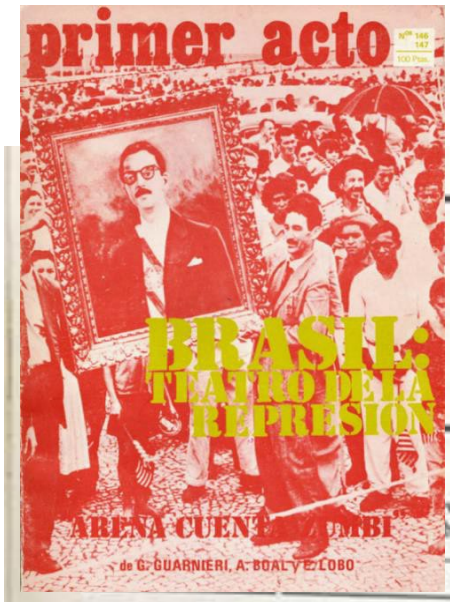
Pienso que los grupos teatrales verdaderamente revolucionarios deben transferir al pueblo los medios de producción del teatro. El teatro es un arma y quién lo debe manejar es el pueblo.

Pero, ¿cómo hacer esta transferencia? Veamos la experiencia de Estela Liñares, encargada del sector de fotografía del plan ALFIN.

En el esquema tradicional los instructores o capacitadores secarían fotografías de calles, personas, panoramas y después mostrarían estas fotos y las discutirían. Pero cuando se trata de entregar al pueblo los medios de producción hay que entregarle, en este caso, la cámara.

Boal, 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú. Teatro del Oprimido', 1974 b, page 26

The third essay, ‘As metas do Coringa’ is part of the same book (Boal, Arena Conta Tiradentes, 1967) and was also published by *Primer Acto* as part of a whole number focussed on Brazilian resistance theatre (Brasil: Teatro de la Represión. Arena Cuenta Zumbí, 1972). *Primer Acto* published the play *Arena Cuenta* Zumbí and two more Boal’s articles: one that discusses the types of popular theatre (El arte y las masas (en torno al teatro popular)) and a short text about Zumbi (Sobre "Zumbí" y la situación brasileña). The article ‘El arte y las masas (en torno al teatro popular)’ was expanded in a book on popular theatre (Boal, Categorias de Teatro Popular, 1971); the Spanish translation was published in the same year as a *Primer Acto* special number (Boal, 1972).



primer acto

n.º 146-147 Julio-Agosto 1972

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The article ‘Las metas del sistema "comodín"’, in *Primer Acto* (Boal) was translated by Pilar Vázquez Cuesta.[17] The support offered by *Primer Acto* to exiled Brazilian theatre practitioners provides an insight into the networks of cultural activists and connections between Latin America and Spain; the publication in Portugal of Boal’s account of his exile also indicates the construction of new connections to deal with the complex colonial legacy.

> The section ‘Las estructuras del Comodín’ is a detailed account of the system in contrast with the more schematic explanation in Boal’s essay published in the Comissão Estadual de Teatro 1967 yearbook (Boal, Rascunho Esquemático de um Novo Sistema de Espetáculo e Dramaturgia Denominado Sistema Coringa, 1968) and reproduced in the journal *Dionysos*, in a number dedicated to Teatro Arena.

Mapping the Publishing Chronology of the book *Teatro del Oprimido*

Boal was based in Argentina (1972-1976) after his exile from Brazil, developing projects of ‘Latin American popular theatre’ (Boal, Hamlet e o Filho do Padeiro) not only in Buenos Aires but in neighbouring countries. The repercussion of Boal’s work made it a natural progression to publish the collection of essays that was circulating in diverse international journal outlets in a single book. Notwithstanding Boal’s desire to publish it in Brazil, the challenging political context was an obstacle to the publication of Boal’s book. Therefore, the author also contacted an Argentinian publishing house, and the first edition of *Teatro del Oprimido* was published in Spanish in 1974 by Ediciones de la Flor, followed by the Brazilian publication of *Teatro do Oprimido* in Portuguese in 1975. The book marks the end of Boal’s ‘Latin American popular

[17]Pilar Vázquez Cuesta a prestigious Galician and Portuguese philologist and an Associate Professor of Romance Philology at the Universidad Complutense from 1962. During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) and afterwards, during the democratic transition, she exercised an important role in promoting the Galician and Portuguese languages and their cultural dimensions within the Iberian Peninsula. One of her first ideological and intellectual struggles was to include Galician and Catalan languages within the peninsular Romance Studies programmes. Furthermore, through her work, she established bridges between the Galician and Portuguese identities. As part of this project, she translated literary works by both Portuguese and Brazilian writers into Spanish. (Conselho da Cultura Gallega)

theatre' experiences and the Teatro Arena period. The Teatro del/do Oprimido book(s) arethe foundation of the paradigm that Boal would follow throughout his career.



(Boal, Teatro del Oprimido y otras poéticas políticas, Ediciones de la Flor, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1974

The dynamic publishing scene in Argentina at the end of the 1960s, known as the 'Argentine book boom', involved a movement towards the publication of Latin American authors, culminating with the launch of a golden generation of fictional authors and the decrease of 'exported' literature from Spain and other cultural centres. The landscape of emergent publishing houses like Centro Editor de la América Latina, Jorge Alvaréz, Galerna and Tiempo Contemporáneo followed in the footsteps of already consolidated imprints such as Sudamericana, Losada and Emecé, which had been active since the 1930s. The readership was composed of a middle class interested in 'cultural modernisation' and seduced by Latin American literature and essays that echoed a growing political radicalisation and the belief that they were witnessing the imminence of significant social changes (Diego, 2014, page 135-136).

It is in this context that Ediciones de la Flor was founded in 1966 in Buenos Aires. After just one year of activity, in 1967, the publishing house achieved astonishing success with the publication of José Lezama Lima's Paradiso (1968), followed by the publication of Mafalda (1970) by Quino, an author who stayed faithful to the publishing house. The partnership of the distinguished publishers Daniel Divinsky, well known for taking risks when choosing books to publish, and Ana María (Kuki) Miler, was responsible for the revelation of important names in Latin American literature (Diego, 2014). By 1974, Editorial de la Flor had a prominent role in the publishing market and an eclectic catalogue composed of fiction, essays, biographies, history, and theatre, among other genres, with a specialisation in comics and graphic humour.

Teatro del oprimido was re-published in Spanish in the following years by several publishing houses in different countries: Nueva Imagen in México, 1980; the Editorial Pueblo y Educación in Cuba, 1984; Alba Editorial in Spain, 2009; Interzona, in Argentina, 2015, in an edition revised Boal himself; and finally, by the Fondo Editorial Casa de las Américas in Cuba, 2018. The interview 'Al Pueblo los medios de Producción Teatral', conducted and written by Emile Copfermann (December 1976 - January 1977) and translated by Graciela Schmilchuk, appeared in the edition published by Nueva Imagen in 1980 and was then maintained in all subsequent Spanish-language editions. Schmilchuk, originally from Argentina, moved to México after working with UNESCO in the International Commission of Communication Studies in France (1977 - 1979) and as a translator for the periodical *Culturas*. Schmilchuk recalls that the source text of the interview was in Portuguese and that a colleague from the publishing house, Nueva Imagen, helped her with the translation. According to her account, she had no contact with Augusto Boal in restructuring the text.



Boal, Teatro del oprimido 1. Teoría y práctica, 1980



Boal, Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas, 1984

Editora Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1975

Civilização Brasileira emerged in 1932 before being incorporated into the Companhia Editora Nacional, founded by Monteiro Lobato and Octalles Marcondes Ferreira in 1933. Under Ênio Silveira's direction from 1948, the Editora Civilização Brasileira took on a strong publishing line of Brazilian literary and historical texts with a well-defined left-wing ideological position. The publishing house was extremely successful, becoming one of the Brazilian biggest publishing houses until the military coup of 1964.



Boal, Teatro do oprimido e otras poéticas políticas, 1975

Silveira's opposition to the dictatorship resulted in his repeated imprisonment. Moreover, Civilização Brasileira[18] was accused of publishing subversive texts; as a result, many editions were seized and destroyed, and in 1970, a suspicious fire destroyed the publishing house offices and bookshop, a well-known discussion space for intellectuals in Rio de Janeiro.

Teatro do Oprimido was in perfect alignment with the ideological line of post-coup editorial work developed by Civilização Brasileira against the right-wing military government; the first Brazilian edition of the text in 1975, just a year after the Ediciones de la Flor, was a brave decision by Silveira (Boal, 2000). Yet by then, Boal's texts were already acclaimed within the artistic community and had achieved a wider readership internationally.

In Brazil, the book remained with Civilização Brasileira for a long time, and they were to publish the first revised edition, with the inclusion of '*A árvore do Teatro do Oprimido'* (page 13-18) in which Boal reflected on the development of the Teatro del/do Oprimido in 2005. After his death (2009), the publishing house Cosac & Naify published the book from 2013 to 2018, whereas more recently, Editora 34 brought out an edition in 2019.

Two Books: Teatro del Oprimido and Ejercicios para Actores y No Actors

Teatro del Oprimido was published as the first part of a set together with *Ejercicios para actores y no actores* by the Editorial Nueva Imagen, México; the revised edition was published with the title *Juegos para actores y no actores* in Buenos Aires, by Inter Zona, in 2015. The author comments on the history of the book in the introduction:

[18] It is from these discussions that the monthly journal *Civilização Brasileira* (1965-1968) was born. The journal left a decisive mark during its short life, establishing a deep intellectual debate about Brazilian socio-political challenges (Correia, 2021).

Tuvo [el libro] la trayectoria más larga y tortuosa (¡y afortunada, dicho sea de paso!) de todos mis libros: fue escrito en castellano y publicado en Argentina en 1973, donde yo me encontraba exiliado. Fue traducido al portugués de Portugal – ¡no es igual, os lo aseguro! – en 1977; tuvo más de quince ediciones a partir de 1979, cuando, al ser traducido al francés, cambió de nombre: de Doscientos ejercicios y juegos para actores y no actores con ganas de decir algo a través del teatro a, simplemente, Juegos para actores y no actores (¡sin mencionar, en el nuevo título, el número de juegos y ejercicios, que son ahora más de cuatrocientos!). Se revisó totalmente para la primera edición inglesa, de 1995, y ahora – ¡vaya paradoja! – se ha vuelto a traducir para esta edición revisada y aumentada, que es una traducción de una traducción aportuguesada traducida al inglés y al francés y traducida de nuevo al portugués de Brasil y ahora al español.

(Boal, Juegos para actores y no actores, 2015)

[O livro] Teve a mais longa e tortuosa (e exitosa, diga-se de passagem!) trajetória de todos os meus livros: foi **escrito em espanhol e publicado na Argentina** em 1973, estando eu exilado naquele país. Foi **traduzido para o português de Portugal** – não é o mesmo, juro, não é! – 1977; teve mais quinze edições a partir de 1979, quando foi traduzido em **francês**, e mudou de *200 exercícios e jogos para atores e não atores com ganas de dizer algo através do teatro* para simplesmente *Jogos para atores e não atores* (sem mencionar, no novo título, o número de jogos e exercícios, que são agora mais de quatrocentos!). O livro foi totalmente revisto para a primeira edição inglesa em 1995 e agora, paradoxo!, **retraduzido** para esta **edição revista e aumentada**, que é uma **tradução** de uma **tradução**, de uma **tradução aportuguesada**, **traduzida** para o **inglês** e o **francês**, **e retraduzida em brasileiro**.

(Boal, Jogos para atores e não-atores, 2015)

(my emphasis)

Note that Boal uses the exclamation mark (*agora, paradoxo!)* in the middle of the utterance in Portuguese; that use of punctuation belongs to the Spanish language system, but the Brazilian literary system has a high degree of tolerance concerning the non-application of rules. The back cover of the Edições Cosac Naify/Sesc edition (see below) points to the German revised edition as being one of the sources of the Brazilian consolidated version.



Boal, Jogos para atores e não-atores, 2015

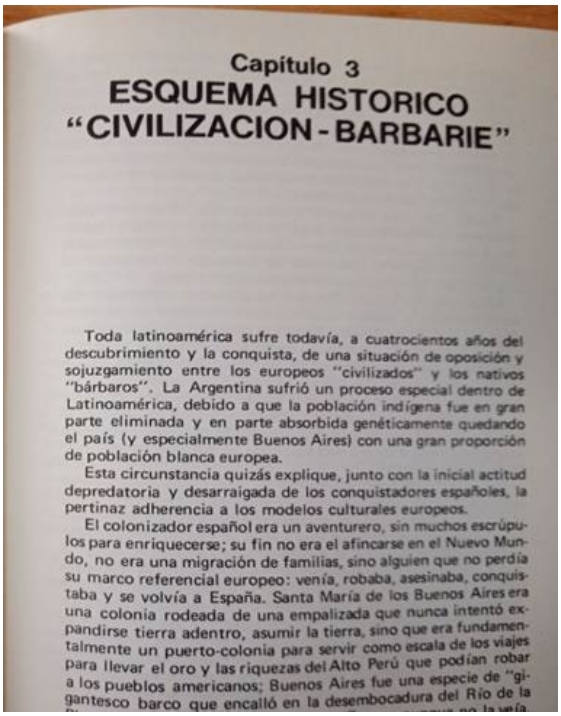
The Title Poéticas Políticas

According to Boal, the original title of *Teatro del oprimido* was to have been *Poéticas Políticas*, but, according to the author, the title wasn't clear enough for bookshops to decide if the book belonged to the poetry or the politics shelf; the theatre practitioner considered changing the title to 'Poéticas do Oprimido', a tribute to Paulo Freire but the problem persisted, and, finally, the author came up with the title *Teatro do Oprimido e Outras Poéticas Políticas* (Boal, 2014). However, Cecilia Thumim Boal has a different explanation of the origin of the book's name in an interview:

> It was in Buenos Aires that the famous book *Teatro do Oprimido* [Theatre of the Oppressed] was written. The name Teatro del/do Oprimido was coined there. Boal got in touch with Daniel Divinsky, a Left-wing man who worked at home with his wife and who had founded a publishing house, Ediciones de la Flor, and became famous because he published Mafalda. […] At that time, Divinsky published Paulo Freire, who became famous with the book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. When Boal took him his book, Davinsky [sic] was also publishing the book of

> an Argentinian psychotherapist named Alfredo Moffat […], which was titled *Psychotherapy of the Oppressed*, and he [Divinsky], as editor, decided to put "Oppressed" in all the books. He wanted to make a collection of the "Oppressed" – but the collection stopped with these three books… (Soeiro, 2019, page 249)




Capítulo 3
ESQUEMA HISTORICO "CIVILIZACION - BARBARIE"

Toda latinoamérica sufre todavía, a cuatrocientos años del descubrimiento y la conquista, de una situación de oposición y sojuzgamiento entre los europeos "civilizados" y los nativos "bárbaros". La Argentina sufrió un proceso especial dentro de Latinoamérica, debido a que la población indígena fue en gran parte eliminada y en parte absorbida genéticamente quedando el país (y especialmente Buenos Aires) con una gran proporción de población blanca europea.

Esta circunstancia quizás explique, junto con la inicial actitud depredatoria y desarraigada de los conquistadores españoles, la pertinaz adherencia a los modelos culturales europeos.

El colonizador español era un aventurero, sin muchos escrúpulos para enriquecerse; su fin no era el afincarse en el Nuevo Mundo, no era una migración de familias, sino alguien que no perdía su marco referencial europeo: venía, robaba, asesinaba, conquistaba y se volvía a España. Santa María de los Buenos Aires era una colonia rodeada de una empalizada que nunca intentó expandirse tierra adentro, asumir la tierra, sino que era fundamentalmente un puerto-colonia para servir como escala de los viajes para llevar el oro y las riquezas del Alto Perú que podían robar a los pueblos americanos; Buenos Aires fue una especie de "gigantesco barco que encalló en la desembocadura del Río de la

Moffatt, 1974, *Psicoterapia del Oprimido*, Librería Ecro

Freire's *Pedagogía del Oprimido* (see Chapter 2) was also first published outside Brazil, first in 1970, both in English and in Spanish but in Uruguay by Tierra Nueva instead of Ediciones de la Flor. Alfredo Moffat's *Psicoterapia del Oprimido* was published by Librería Ecro, Buenos Aires, in 1974.

Language of the Essays: Portuguese and Spanish

The networking of cultural agents (theatre practitioners, critics, and editors) generated the growing and fast publication for the parameters of the period (pre-internet) of the Latin American author without borders political exiles like Boal and Freire. It is in this environment of resistance and urgency that the translation of Boal's articles from Portuguese into Spanish and vice versa occurred. The texts had their journey in journals before they were captured in the *Teatro del/do Oprimido*:

> Este livro reúne ensaios que foram escritos com diferentes propósitos, desde 1962, em São Paulo, até fins de 1973, em Buenos Aires, relatando experiências realizadas no Brasil, na Argentina, no Peru, na Venezuela e em vários países latino-americanos. Alguns foram originalmente escritos em português, outros em espanhol. Creio que isso explica a diferença de estilos, bem como possíveis reiterações de certas ideias e temas. (Boal, 1975, Teatro do Oprimido, page 13, my emphasis)

Boal's knowledge of the Spanish language was a result of the constant touring with Grupo Arena to various parts of Latin America, intensified after the military coup of 1964. During one of these trips to Buenos Aires, he met Cecilia Thumim, an Argentinian actress. Boal and Thumim married in 1966. From the translation of plays for Arena to the mobility of touring and the dislocation of his initial exile in Latin America, Boal's textual production in Spanish increased in the period after the coup, with oral presentations in festivals and publications reflecting on the development of his practice. Generally, it is not possible to establish whether these texts were self-translated or involved other hands, as the publishers often uncredited translators and other collaborators.

Text Analysis of 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'

The linguistic analysis is based on a parallel text analysis, excavating the versions in Portuguese and Spanish of the sections of the chapter 'Poética del Oprimido', a text which presents core concepts and narratives of the initial praxis of the TO. The pragmatic character of the chapter contrasts with the theoretical aspect of the other three chapters of *Teatro del Oprimido*. Furthermore, the first part of the section of the chapter was the most recent part to be written when the book was published and encapsulates the first part of Boal's exile in Latin America. The second section focuses on the development of the Joker concept while he was still in Teatro Arena. Consequently, the chapter provides an ideal site both to investigate the layers of the design of key concepts in Boal's theatrical system and the translational processes involved in the construction of the source text(s) construction.

My extensive archival research aimed to delineate the origins of the essays that compose the book, and it revealed how the dissemination of the pieces occurred in many international journals before the publication of the book. Nevertheless, the

objective of the project goes beyond the quantitative study or the enumeration of the versions of the essays. The choice to focus the analysis on a manageable number of versions, firstly through the selection of articles that predate the book, secondly by the comparison with the Argentinian and Brazilian first editions and finally by contrast with more recent revised editions, is consistent with the intention to locate linguistic marks of the mobility of the text(s) and how these construct meaning. The selection criteria considered the significance of the media where the version of the essay was published for the history of TO and the language of the publication, focusing on Spanish and Portuguese, as the hypothesis is that the source language of the first section of the chapter was Spanish, as it was written in Argentina. The language of the second section of the chapter was Portuguese, as it was written in Brazil. The section investigated is *Teatro del Oprimido*, Chapter 4, Poética del Oprimido, I. 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en Perú' and 'Conclusión: "Espectador", ¡qué mala palabra!'

The following analysis is based on the parallel reading of the first three versions of the section – the article published in Portugal, '*ALFIN alfabetização integral uma experiência no Perú*', the first edition of the book in Argentina by Ediciones de la Flor, EF, and the first edition in Brazil by Civilização Brasileira, CB – to re-trace the linguistic and translational processes embedded in the text. The strategy to re-trace the archaeology and diachronic analysis of the section of the chapter considers the publication context of the book and the linguistic borders of Portuguese and Spanish, with a large zone of contact and a productive interlingual interface as the author migrates between the two languages. The linguistic similarities between Portuguese and Spanish bring a fluidity to the perception of the linguistic borders that Boal takes on as part of his 'style' (Boal., Teatro do Oprimido, 2019). In addition, it is important to remember that Boal was a son of Portuguese migrants (Boal, 2000), and his family's linguistic variant may have maintained traces of European Portuguese. The variation in usage between European and Brazilian Portuguese variants and the mediation between both are marks of the author's heritage, with frequent recourse to local dialects to convey characters' speech both as a playwright and in his short stories. He also uses narratives to illustrate his theoretical texts, resorting to diverse registers. The section describing the experience in Peru is an important example of this, presenting many

colourful narratives to testify to the process of conception of Forum Theatre and Invisible Theatre.

The parallel analysis moves from the first versions of the text and its genealogy to the contrast with a consolidated Brazilian edition published in 2019 by Editora 34 to draw a diachronic analysis of the text and to test the previous excavation of the source text(s). In one instance, the edition by Nueva Imagen (1980,1989) from México was used to show how dialectal language was transferred or adapted.

The article from Círculo Cultural Editor will be referred to as CCE, the Ediciones de la Flor first edition as EF, Civilização Brasileira first edition as CB, the edition of Nueva Imagen (1980) from México, Spanish as NI and the edition of Editora 34 (2019) as E34 for the corpus-based analysis.

Lexicon, narratology, interlingualism, multilingualism

1. **Change of register**

Portugal, Pt CCE, 1973 Em 1973, o governo peruano revolucionário iniciou um plano nacional de alfabetização denominado OPERACIÓN ALFABETIZACION INTEGRAL (ALFIN) para acabar com o analfabetismo num prazo aproximado de 4 anos.
Argentina, Sp EF (1974) En 1973, el gobierno revolucionario peruano inició un plan nacional de alfabetización denominado Operación Alfabetización Integral, con el objetivo de erradicar el analfabetismo en un plazo aproximado de 4años.
Brazil, Pt CB (1975) Em 1973, o Governo Peruano Revolucionário iniciou um plano nacional de alfabetização Integral, com o objetivo de erradicar o analfabetismo em um prazo aproximado de 4 anos.

The register of the language in the first sample is informal when compared with the two other samples, as the change of the verb *acabar* to *erradicar* indicates alongside the development of the structure of the utterance to the synthetic *para acabar com o analfabetismo* to the more formal and more articulated *con el objetivo de erradicar el analfabetismo*. The Brazilian version chose to eliminate the repetition of the name of the programme as it appeared before.

2. Títeres, cine, periodismo

Portugal, Pt CCE (1973) 25 words	
alfabetizar em todas as linguagens possíveis, especialmente artísticas, como o teatro, bem como todas as experiências, a fotografia, os *marionetes*, o *cinema*, o *jornalismo*, etc.	
Argentina, Sp EF (1974) 20 words	
alfabetizar en todos los lenguajes posibles, especialmente artísticos, como el teatro, [omitted] la fotografía, los *títeres*, el *cine,* el *periodismo*, etcétera.	
Brasil, Pt CB (1975) 20 words	
alfabetizar em todas as linguagens possíveis, especialmente artísticas, como o teatro, [omitted] a fotografia, os *títeres*, o *cine,* o *periodismo*, etc	
Brazil, Pt E34 (2019) 20 words	
alfabetizar em todas as linguagens possíveis, especialmente artísticas, como o teatro, [omitted] a fotografia, os *títeres,* o *cinema*, o *jornalismo*, etc.	

(my emphasis)

The parallel analysis of the sample indicates a zone of interconnection between Portuguese and Spanish, representing the contact, mediation and interlingualism during the period of the author's Argentinian exile. The list of non-articulated languages resonates with the writing process in Portuguese and the self-translation into Spanish of essays that documented Boal's experiences after going into exile in Latin America and systematised practices to corroborate a method of transformative theatre. In all of the versions analysed here, theatre is the first item in the list, emphasising the activity as an 'artistic language' but expanding the list to other media – photography, puppets, movies, journalism. The elimination of 'experiences' in EF, CB and E34 brings fluency to the statement. Still, it eliminates the pragmatism and holistic the approach of the author, who considered all experiences as material for Theatre of the Oppressed practices and the exercise of citizenship, questioning and transgressing the boundaries between professional and popular art, between reality and artistic expression. However, the inclusion of journalism as an 'artistic language' is maintained; the use of the term is consistent with the Boalian concept of art and historical reality. According to this concept, the journalistic text frames the narrative

of factual experiences; in this sense, it is a creative rewriting of history. Consequently, it can potentially be used to liberate participants in Theatre of the Oppressed.

The target readership would expect that the list of nouns should be clear and not offer any challenge for readers of any ability. Instead, it creates a sense of foreignising or otherness in CB; nevertheless, the use of less frequent words does not compromise the understanding of the text in its entirety. In the CB edition, for example, the third element of the compendium is the noun *títere* which exists in Brazilian Portuguese but has a medium frequency of use; in contrast, the noun *marionete* has a high frequency in the Brazilian Portuguese corpus (*marioneta* in European Portuguese). According to the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa*, the noun *cine* has a high frequency in the Brazilian corpus. Still, usually, the noun is used as a proper name, for example, Cine Odeon and Cine Brasil. The difference of use is clear in the example: 'Era um cinema de arte puro, era o Cine Cultura'; cinema is the art form, and in this case, the word Cine is used within the title of a television slot where movies are shown. The fourth element, the noun *periodismo*, is a synonym of *jornalismo*, but it is rarely used in texts originally written in Brazilian Portuguese. The contrast with E34, the most recent Brazilian Portuguese edition, shows the substitution of *periodismo* for *jornalismo*, the most common option for Portuguese language native speakers. The comparison of CCE and E34 shows a more a similar list of *linguagens*. Paradoxically, E34 brings the text closer to CCE but deletes the history of the text when it solves the intersections and crosses over the frontiers of the author's use of language.

Ideology, Revolutionary Discourse and Contextualisation:

1. **Latifundista, terrateniente < latifundista, latifundiário**

The concise CCE version doesn't present the question of land ownership, focusing on the addition of narratives to exemplify the use of pedagogical techniques in the project ALFIN and other occasions. The cause of the landless and Agrarian Reform continued to be crucial for Boal. After his return to Brazil and his affiliation with the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT), Boal worked closely with the Landless Rural Workers' Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, MST).

The Spanish word 'latifundista', landowner of a large extension of land, appeared in EF's edition, and it was transferred to CB's edition in some instances. The word 'latifundista' existed historically in Portuguese, but it doesn't appear in the contemporary official Portuguese language corpus; the form 'latifundiário' replaced

'latifundista', and it is the current form used in Portuguese. In the E34 edition, the Portuguese 'latifundiário' is chosen, replacing 'latifundista'.

Portugal, Pt	CCE (1973)	0 words [Omitted]	
Argentina, Sp	EF (1974)	17 words	

Ese mito esconde por cierto una verdad: el *latifundista* se adueñó de lo que no le pertenecía.

Brazil, Pt	CB (1975)	16 words	

Este mito esconde por certo uma verdade: o *latifundista* se apropriou daquilo que não lhe pertencia.

Brazil, PT	E34 (2019)	16 words	

Este mito esconde por certo uma verdade: o *latifundiário* se apropriou daquilo que não lhe pertencia.

(my emphasis)

Intriguingly, the noun latifundista appears in the narrative in CB, replacing 'terrateniente' in EF. The etymology of the Portuguese word terra-tenante indicates its origin in the Spanish 'terrateniente', but the lexeme doesn't appear in the Portuguese language official corpus. The E34 edition once again replaces 'latifundista' with 'latifundiário'. In this other instance, the word 'latifundiário' was chosen in CB, replacing 'latifundista' in EF. CB translates 'se adueñó' into 'se apropriou'; the forms are equivalents but 'apropriar-se' conveys the historical context of the discussion of expropriation in Brazil; the Portuguese desapropriação is the antonym of 'apropriação'.

Argentina, Sp	EF (1974)	11 words	

Hoy existe una laguna, que [omitted] fue *propiedad* de un *terrateniente* lugareño.

Brazil, Pt	CB (1975)	16 words	

Hoje existe uma lagoa que, antes da *Reforma Agrária*, foi *propriedade* de um *latifundista* do lugar.

Brazil, Pty	E34 (2019)	16 words	

Hoje existe uma lagoa que, antes da *reforma agrária*, foi propriedade de um *latifundiário* do lugar.

(my emphasis)

There is a variety of words used in the section of the book to represent the figure of the landowner from the borders of Spanish and Portuguese; the style of the text plays with the possibilities of the linguistic system, whereby not always the most usual form prevailed. The hybrid language recreates the experience of exile. In the CB and E34 versions, the legend is situated before the Agrarian Reform in Peru; here, there is a double character of the narrative myth and history are intertwined, part of the popular culture. Strikingly, in EF, the adverbial phrase of the time, 'antes da Reforma Agrária', is absent, and there is no mention of historical events in this instance.

The reference to the historical period in Peru brings a highly ideological tone to the CB and E34 versions, as it reinforces the fact that this section of the chapter documents the experiments of the Peruvian Revolutionary government. In contrast, after 1964, with the establishment of censorship and the AI-5 (Institutional Act 5), the crucial issue of land ownership was prohibited in the public arena in Brazil. The addition of the adverbial phrase is significant; unfortunately, with the unavailability of the manuscripts of the chapter both in Spanish and in Portuguese, it is impossible to confirm if the CB edition was an opportunity for the author's addition of an intertwined political discourse as the sample suggests or if the opposite is the case, the EF omitted the adverbial phrase that re-appeared in CB. Unfortunately, the context surrounding the CB and EF's publication suggests that both hypotheses are tenable. Nevertheless, artists developed many ways to convey messages in the text to sabotage censorship during the period in Brazil. If we consider that this is the case, Boal (or the editor) added propaganda about/for the possible revolution, re-energising the message of hope in the Brazilian edition.

The dictatorship prevented the continuation of the implementation of Agrarian Reform in Brazil, previously indicated by President João Goulart, in the Reformas de Base in 1963 and with the creation of the Superintendência de Reforma Agrária (Supra). Even though the first Brazilian edition of *Teatro do Oprimido* dates from 1975 when the dictatorship was under public pressure to relax censorship, the fact that it mentions Peruvian Agrarian Reform and the revolutionary government was, in this context, highly controversial, relocating the issue at the centre of the text, and clearly articulating the potential of the use of theatre as a tool for activism.

Argentina, Sp EF (1974)

En Brasil los latifundistas no permitían que los campesinos los miraran en la cara mientras hablaban con ellos**:** eso *significaba* falta de respeto.

Brazil, PT CB (1975)

No Brasil os *latifundiários* não permitiam que os camponeses olhassem para eles cara a cara, olho no olho, *porque* isso seria *considerado* falta de respeito.

(my emphasis)

In the sample above, in EF, the utterance has an assertive tone, narrating the imbalance of power between landowners and peasants in a direct statement supported by the sharp use of punctuation that endorses textual cohesion and appeals to the readership's rationality. In contrast, in CB, the use of a synecdoche in the phrase 'cara a cara, olho no olho' [face to face, eye to eye] amplifies the inequality of the landlord's treatment of peasants, embodying the social tension and the inevitable confront. Additionally, it conveys an oral tone to the text, close to storytelling and popular tales, that resonates in the repetition of sounds and duplication of words, which conflicts with the absence of dialogue, never mentioned in this statement. The cohesion of the utterance is rendered by the conjunction 'porque', which underpins the narrative of the suspended physical action.

Both in EF and CB, the use of the verb 'permitir' stresses the arbitrary nature of the land oligarchy's authority and the imbalance of power with the uncontested higher hierarchy of the proprietors. The use of the Imperfect tense of the verb 'permitir' locates the narrative in the past, suggesting that the situation has been challenged. The ideology of the concealed message here indicates that the author is drawing from recent events in Brazil's pre-dictatorship to advocate the cause of the landless.

Oral language and localism

The EF text presents a local flavour constructed by a Spanish-Argentinian lexicon and the use of language. The use of regional language in the formative narrative of Theatre of the Oppressed is part of the style of the text, a mosaic of experiences that compose the singularity of the local and the common aspects of Latin American popular culture. The primary target readership of EF is Argentinian, without losing the wide reach of the book, prepared by the previous international publication and circulation of the

essays that compose the book. The title of the section refers to the Peruvian experience. Still, the reach of the text was broadened during Boal's residence in Argentina, with the new parts of the text developed after the publication of the ALFIN article, including the language the author was immersed in and sharing with his colleagues in Peru and elsewhere. Even though Teatro del Oprimido answers the call of a transnational project, the universalism of the author's proposals is presented by narratives with touches of local language.

Argentina, Sp EF (1974) 39 words

Cuando salieron (sólo entonces se permitía hablar), el tipo, lleno de alegría, casi gritó:

—Yo soy el colibrí macho, y *vos sos* la colibrí hembra, ¿verdad? El gordo, *muy* desalentado, lo miró y dijo:

—No, *boludo*, yo soy el toro ...

Brazil, Pt CB (1975) 40 words

Quando saíram (e só então se permitia falar), cheio de alegria, o homem gritou:

—"Eu sou o colibri macho e você é a colibri fêmea, não é verdade???" O gordo desalentado olhou pra ele e disse assim:

—"Não, imbecil ...

México, Sp NI (1980)

Cuando salieron (sólo entonces se permitía hablar), el tipo, lleno de alegría, casi gritó:
Yo soy el colibrí macho, y *vos sos* la colibrí hembra, ver ¿verdad? El gordo, *muy* desalentado, lo miró y dijo:
No, *menso,* yo soy el toro ...

(my emphasis)

In EF and NI, the humour is marked by the outraged answer of the 'bull', characterised by the use of the emphasis of 'muy desalentado' separated by commas; in Spanish, the tone is direct and assertive. In CB, the use of punctuation, the discursive marker 'assim' (like this) and the addition of the emphatic utterance 'Você não viu que eu sou o touro?...' together compose the playfulness of the situation, bringing the humour of the case to its climax, and compensating for the loss of the emphatic adverb of intensity 'muy'. Does the performative utterance use the negative 'Você não viu'

emphasised by the question ‘que eu sou o touro?’ to mark the absurdity of the other man’s failure to recognise the role his colleague had assumed? In this passage, the expressive use of direct discourse resonates with the skilful construction of dialogues in playwriting and in ‘crônicas’ (short stories portraying ordinary life), both literary genres practised by Boal. The characters are immediately relatable to the readership, further engaging the reader. Likewise, the critical perspective developed by the participants during the account of the pedagogical practices by Boal is mirrored by the representation of their voices, in a dialogical exercise, the voice of the oppressed is heard. The interaction and mediation of otherness are ingrained in Theatre of the Oppressed’s seminal text. The role of the mediator, the workshop instructor or the literacy educator, and the agency that they exercise is set out by the description of these first experiences in communities.

Conclusion

The Borderless Theatre Practitioner: Exile and Multilingualism

The parallel reading of the first three versions of the section of ‘Poética del Oprimido’, ‘Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú’ – the article published in Portugal, ‘ALFIN alfabetização integral uma experiência no Perú’, the first edition of the book in Argentina, EF, and the first edition in Brazil, CB – suggests that the text was originally written in Portuguese, expanded, self- translated into Spanish and re-translated into Brazilian Portuguese.

The comparison of the version of the article CCE, with the chapter from EF and subsequently with CB shows a transfer of words in both directions; Spanish words appear in the Portuguese text and the other way around. There is a dynamic between Portuguese and Spanish languages observed in the lexicon of the three texts.

The texts of the Argentinian and Brazilian first edition embody the location and situation of the author, the interstitial space Boal was inhabiting, in exile, leaving the monolingualism of his native Brazilian Portuguese language and immersing in Latin American Spanish, and more specifically, Argentinian Spanish, and overlapping both languages.

The text style replicates the author’s journey: the multilingual text reflects the mobility and the creative and conceptual processes that the author is going through during the formation years of the Teatro del/do Oprimido theoretical framework. The re-writing, editing and consolidation of the text includes a transnational experience. It is in this scenario that the authorisation of the source text(s) replicates the re-writing

of translations, mediated by the author and publishers as agents of the dissemination and definition of the target audience (Lefevere, 1992). The context of the creation of the text defines the words chosen by Boal; the author challenges the concept of a monolingual text without compromising the readability of the text, at least not for his target audience in Latin America.

In this chapter I showed the multiple origin and instability of the source text(s) and the multilingual nature of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*; this is why I am considering both Spanish and Portuguese as potential sources texts for subsequent translations in chapter 5. In the following chapters I will be focussing on the first period of the translation of the book into other languages, attending to contextual and paratextual data about the versions produced in the 1970s in chapter 4 before undertaking a close linguistic analysis of these texts in chapter 5.

In this chapter I have also delved into the process of composition of Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, retracing the factors that led to its publication with Ediciones la Flor in Argentina, and the involvement of different agents in framing it for an audience of Latin American Spanish speakers. Furthermore, I have shown the diverse provenance of the different chapters in the book; the ways in which it brings together essays, thoughts and experiences from different moments in Boal's trajectory, written in Portuguese and Spanish and published sometimes in European publications, sometimes in Latin American ones, but often also containing translations from other languages. The traces of these processes are contained within the texts of *Teatro del oprimido/Teatro do Oprimido* as published in Argentina and Brazil in the 1970s, and they mark it out as a plural and multilingual source text, inscribed with processes of self-translation. This is something that has great bearing on investigation into the subsequent translation of Boal's work into other languages in the 1970s and afterwards, as one of the things I will have to bear in mind is the question of which source text was used. As will be seen in chapter 4, just as in many ways, the "source" texts are translations themselves, they also sometimes show evidence of influence from other target texts, particularly the French translation, which was being translated around the same dates as the publication of the first Brazilian edition.

Chapter 4
Mapping the construction of the Framework of the Oppressed through translation: words and ideals

Introduction

The dissemination of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* through translation started soon after the publication of the first editions in Spanish (1974) and Portuguese (1975) and has maintained a steady pace to the present day, a remarkable path for a theatre book from Brazil that is half theoretical, half an account of practice. The date of the last translation included in the present Translation Map is 2014. The book's transnational dissemination is indicative of the fact that, in the 20th century, intellectuals, practitioners, and activists turned their gaze toward less traditional centres of theatre theory and production, a change of perspective fuelled by the internationalisation of Marxist ideas and civil rights movements that inspired post-colonial philosophy and a new attitude towards cultural diversity. By the end of the 20th century and through to the beginning of the 21st century, the performative translational process continued through international encounters involving established Theatre of the Oppressed groups, workshops, and festivals, thus reigniting an interest in Boal's writings, and leading to new rewritings of both volumes. In the case of Boal's work, performative and linguistic translation processes are always intertwined.

In this chapter, I aim to map the different textual translations of Boal's Theatre of the Frameworkof the Oppressed, attending in particular to the paratextual and macro-textual features of successive editions. The role of editors, sometimes assuming a double role as translators and interviewers, in reframing the volume and changing the selection of texts – both eliminating essays from the original book and adding others – is analysed here from a translation studies perspective as a disruptive strategy that contributed to the construction of the framework. The study of this continuum of processes of translation, adaptation and reshaping brings to the fore several major shifts and changes in perceptions of Boal's work. Firstly, it allows us to see something we have already begun to discuss in the previous chapter: how the authorisation of the printed text as the source of Boal's praxis takes place through translation, beginning with the consolidation of the authority of the 1974 Argentine edition as a source text,

only later to be supplanted by the increasing presentation of the Brazilian edition as the true source. Just as these shifts in the positioning of the languages associated with Boal's path reflect changes in his location, so the spatial relocation of the Theatre of the Oppressed by theatre groups and the travelling of the framework across disciplinary boundaries, either through the application in educational and social projects, or through the inclusion of the framework in colleges curricula and as an object of scholar researches, impact on how his key text is published and translated at different moments in time.

Here my aim is to provide a full understanding of the socio-political and cultural contexts in which Boal's texts were translated through attention to publishers' networks that supported the dissemination of his book, the role of editors, translators, and practitioners, who mediated the reception of the book and were instrumental in consolidating (or at times challenging) the perception of the seminal book as a single volume.

The chapter begins by mapping the different translations diachronically, considering the location of translation, both in space and time, the complexities and ambiguity surrounding the identification of the source text (and hence the target text's relationship to the source text(s)), and the description of the types of rewriting involved (ranging from translation proper to selective restructuring, abridgement, censorship, and rewriting). In approaching translation as rewriting

> The same basic process of rewriting is at work in translation, historiography, anthologisation, criticism, and editing. […] Since translation is the most obviously recognisable type of rewriting, and since it is potentially the most influential because it can project the image of an author and a (series of) work(s) in another culture, lifting that author and those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin […] (Lefevere, 1992, page 9)

The translation tactics studied by Lefevere describe how translators negotiate challenges to bring together linguistic and stylistic aspects and the strategies to negotiate the host society's cultural and literary system expectations. The categories were developed mainly for literary texts and are organised according to a 'hierarchy of levels', according to the way translators give different weight to problems faced during

their work. Consequently, in general, the translation strategies can be enlisted 'in descending order of importance: (1) ideology, (2) poetics, (3) universe of discourse, (4) language' (Lefevere, 1992 b, page 87). The application of the categories is tested here to enable access to translational strategies used in the first period of the dissemination of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*. Nevertheless, they do not consist of a rigid framework, but they are instrumental in guiding the investigation of the background of the map of translations presented in the chapter.

The typology of the text regards its genre, a non-fictional text, mainly theoretical with the narrative of examples drawn from the practitioner's experience, the semiotic nature of theatre and the pragmatic character of the text, with its emblematic activist character, may have impacted the translational process in different ways than fictional texts. The comparison with the translation of Latin American fiction in the same period may identify similarities of extratextual force and the impact on translation. Nevertheless, the focus on a text of ideas may bring an opportunity to verify the balance of power and agency in a more transparent structure. Hence, the chapter investigates the influence exerted by contextual and intertextual factors – Boal's essays in other books – on *Teatro do/del Oprimido'*s published translations of the first period.

After the overview, the chapter goes on to discuss the first period of the book's dissemination, focusing on the French (1977), Italian (1977), English (1979), and German (1979) translation processes. Attention is paid to the history of the different publishing houses, publishers and editors (functions that the same individual sometimes performed) to reveal the agents involved in preparing and mediating the translations, thus tracing how key to the construction of the Theatre of Oppressed framework during the exile, was the transnational networking of publishers, editors, translators, theatre practitioners and critics who together negotiated the complexity of the transposition of Boal's concepts.

Finally, the chapter outlines the important role of paratexts, above all the inclusion of interviews with Boal, to facilitate re-location in the host or target culture, working as a bridge between the book and the receiving readership. Interviews with the 'author' of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* became central pieces of scaffolding for each successive editor's reading of Boal's ideas in a translation process that replicates the dialogism of the Framework of the Oppressed. In this context, the French, Italian,

and German interviews are thoroughly examined in the last part of the chapter and contrasted with the mode of contextualisation used in the English language edition.

Mapping the dissemination of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* (1977 – to 2014)

The translation 'proper' of the book *Teatro del/do Oprimido* officially started in 1977 with the simultaneous publication of the French translation, *Theatre del'opprimé*, and the Italian version, *II teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro latinoamericano.* The English translation, *Theater of the Oppressed,* first appeared in New York, was published by Urizen Books, and was also printed by Urizen/Pluto Press in London in 1979, the very same year that the Conservative Party's Margaret Thatcher became the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. In the same year, the journey of the text through other languages continued to move towards the North of Europe with the German version, *Theater der Unterdrückten,* published in Frankfurt, West Germany, and the Swedish one, *De fortrycktas teater*. In 1981, the Greek translation was published. Progressively, the text made its way east, with the Japanese translation appearing in 1984 and the South Korean version in 1985 (Appendix xviii).

Albeit the publication of books that advanced Theatre of the Oppressed in new directions, the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* has encountered new readerships after a period of relative slowdown of translation during the 1990s. Research into the book's publication history indicates two main productive periods: from 1977 to the mid-80s and from the end of the 1990s to the 2010s.

The book was published in Turkey in 1996, following the opening of new borders for the Theatre of the Oppressed. Significantly, the book arrived in Iran, with a translation into Persian, in 2003. The new millennium continued to bring the book to new readerships, with the addition of an important reading market through the translation into Chinese in 2000. The emergence of eager practitioners of Theatre of the Oppressed in South Asia, for example, Sanjoy Ganguly, and the publication of the Pakistani translation in 2003 consolidated the dissemination of the practice in the region. Even more recently, the book reached new audiences in Europe in 2014 with the publication of the Lithuanian translation, ten years after it became a member of the EU following the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, 1988–1991), reflecting the acknowledgement of the diversity of languages within the European project.

Intertextuality and Intratextuality: A Trilogy

The journey of the Theatre of the Oppressed framework is an elliptical motion orbiting between performative activity and linguistic reflection in parallel. Although the essays that informed the trilogy were written over a long period in response to different stages of Boal's investigation of theatre practice and the development of his thinking, the publication of the books collected together diverse material to construct a perception of a closely structured theatre practice model for the reader/practitioner. The three books were:

Teatro del Oprimido. Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1974

200 Ejercicios y Juegos para el Actor y para el no Actor con Ganas de Decir Algo a Través del Teatro. Buenos Aires: Edición del Autor, 1973 Buenos Aires: Ediciones de Crisis, 1975

Técnicas latinoamericanas del teatro popular. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1975

Additionally, the simultaneity of the publication of the three books indicates the synergy between Boal's written essays, thus revealing themselves as part of the same ongoing quest for a relevant theatre poetic that was under construction and was circulating in different spaces through the presence of the author in festivals and workshops. Peixoto in *A Procura da Identidade*, introduction to *Técnicas Latino-Americanas de Teatro Popular,* affirms that the 'organic trilogy' (Peixoto, 1977, page 10) explains Boal's thinking more thoroughly, giving readers access to how he came to conceive the practices he defends. I will use intratextuality and intertextuality to analyse how the texts influenced translational processes. Both books present an intratextuality concerning *Teatro del/do Oprimido*. In contrast, the term intertextuality refers to the connection of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* with texts by other authors. Boal's rewriting of other scholarly sources is more accentuated in the early didactic essays of the book.

When Three Became Four: *Stop: c'est magique!*

The account of Theatre of the Oppressed's experiences in Europe during exile was collected in a volume published in 1980, *Stop: c'est magique!* amplifying the trilogy to a tetralogy. For the present research, the book offers an important opportunity to investigate the ways displacement and translation were shaping Boal's writing, rewriting and position in host(s) cultures.

> [O livro] Nascido sobretudo a partir da experiência européia, aprofundada principalmente na França, onde Boal trabalha com um incansável grupo de atores e não-atores no "Centre d'étude et de diffusion des techniques actives d'expression (Méthodes Boal)" (do qual fazem parte, entre outros, intelectuais dos mais expressivos do teatro francês, como Émile Copfermann e Richard Monod), Pára! Isto é mágico! Chega até nós com seu título original mesmo, Stop: c'est magique! (Peixoto, 1980, Contra o Teatro Autoritário e Manipulador, page 17, my emphasis)

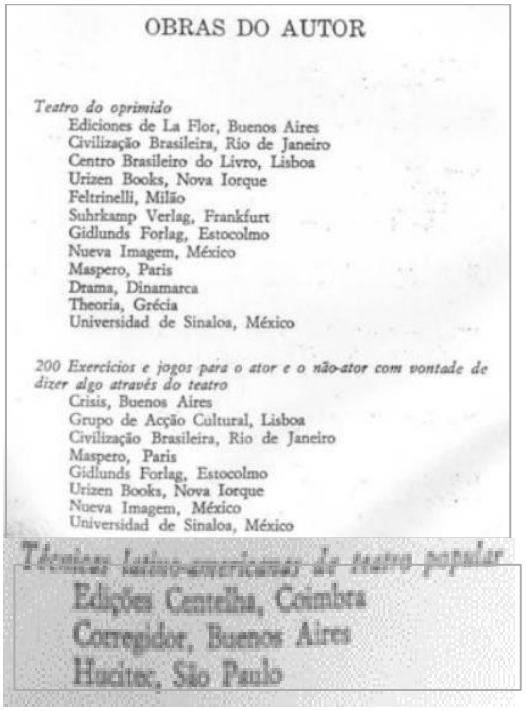
Peixoto, a theatre practitioner and translator, appoints to the use of a title in French, maybe because the text is an '*attentive* and *casual* [despreocupado] diary of a *contradictory journey* through seas of theatrical expression never before sailed' (Peixoto,1980, page 17, my emphasis). The passage illustrates the contradiction between Boal's persona occupying the forefront (Méthodes Boal) and the oppressed almost relegated to the backstage. Remarkably, the contraction is embodied in the title in French, a language with a higher authoritative position than Portuguese, naming a book detailing a praxis that aims at the rebalance of power and decolonisation. The translingualism of the text's title embodies contradiction and the space of transculturation, the borderless land where Boal lives in exile and rewrites Theatre of the Oppressed.

There is the additional use of the foreignism *stop* in French:

> Stop: 'Tu me diras stop!' 'Say when to stop!' (Société Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2016)

The Civilização Brasileira edition of Stop C'est Magique! has a long list of Boal's works and translations published around the world, and the author thanks the translators in the book's dedication. The authoritative role of translation is maximised as an editorial strategy to re-insert an author in exile back into the homeland. In this case, the Brazilian edition has a shorter title than the French.




OBRAS DO AUTOR

Teatro do oprimido
Ediciones de La Flor, Buenos Aires
Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro
Centro Brasileiro do Livro, Lisboa
Urizen Books, Nova Iorque
Feltrinelli, Milão
Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt
Gidlunds Forlag, Estocolmo
Nueva Imagem, México
Maspero, Paris
Drama, Dinamarca
Theoria, Grécia
Universidad de Sinaloa, México

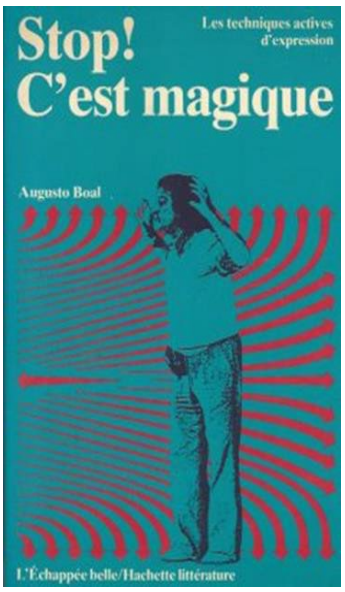
200 Exercícios e jogos para o ator e o não-ator com vontade de dizer algo através do teatro
Crisis, Buenos Aires
Grupo de Acção Cultural, Lisboa
Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro
Maspero, Paris
Gidlunds Forlag, Estocolmo
Urizen Books, Nova Iorque
Nueva Imagem, México
Universidad de Sinaloa, México

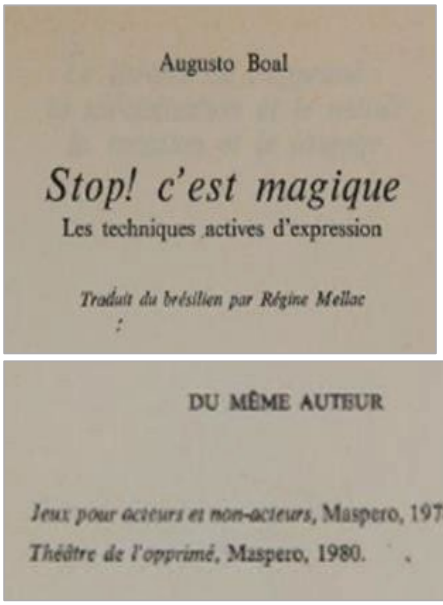
Técnicas latino-americanas de teatro popular
Edições Centelha, Coimbra
Corregidor, Buenos Aires
Hucitec, São Paulo

Cover: Rene Magritte, Man in a Bowler Hat, 1964

Boal, Stop: c'est magique, 1980

The Brazilian version and the French translation were published in the same year, suggesting the replacement of the prominence of the Spanish text o the French. The Hachette edition's source language is *Brésilien*, and the translation is by Régine Mellac. The French version lists Boal's books published in French. There is no introduction or paratexts by other authors.




Augusto Boal

Stop! c'est magique
Les techniques actives d'expression

Traduit du brésilien par Régine Mellac

DU MÊME AUTEUR

Jeux pour acteurs et non-acteurs, Maspero, 1978.
Théâtre de l'opprimé, Maspero, 1980.

Boal, Stop ! C'est magique. Les techniques actives d'expression, 1980

The positive European reception of Theatre of the Oppressed is a paradox for theatre practitioners in Brazil, clearly expressed in the review of *Stop! C'est magique*:

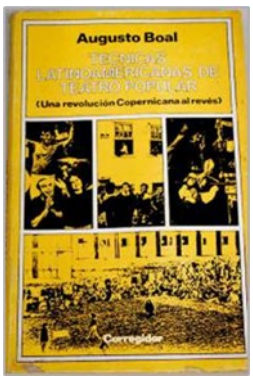
> […] o teatro do oprimido inscreve-se no rol de expectativas da sociedade de consumo, ajudando a alimentar nos indivíduos sua cobiça de um lugar no centro do palco [...]. Somente este seu apelo *espetaculista* pode explicar seu sucesso nos **países europeus**, mais integrados com os meios de comunicação de massa e desgastados culturalmente, ávidos de experimentar novas formas de lazer cultural; principalmente quando mescladas com uma *ideologia exótica que usa a América Latina como apelo*. (Mostaço, 1983, page 29, my emphasis)

The complexity of the transplantation of a political theatre from the South to the North and the paths and contradictions of Theatre of the Oppressed's translational processes were discussed in 1980, at least by some voices in Brazil.

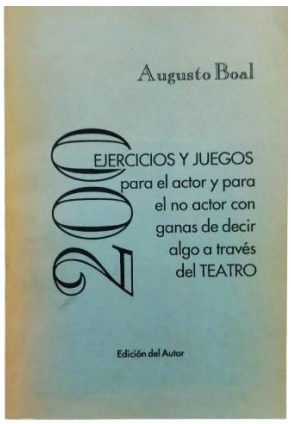
Even though the *Técnicas Latino-Americanas de teatro popular: uma revolução copernicana ao contrário* (1975) may have become overshadowed in the construction of the framework outside Latin America, it occupies a forefront position in the Italian version. The book parts were published before:

Categorias de Teatro Popular. São Paulo: Teatro de Arena de São Paulo, 1971; Buenos Aires: Ediciones Cepe, 197; Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1972

Técnicas latinoamericanas de teatro popular. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1975



Moreover, a third part was added in the Brazilian edition (Boal, Técnicas Latino-Americanas de Teatro Popular): Teatro do Oprimido na Europa (1977).





200 ejercicios y juegos para el actor y para el no actor con ganas de decir algo a través del teatro

Edición del Autor,
Argentina, 1973

Ediciones de Crisis,
Buenos Aires,1975

200 ejercicios y juegos para el actor y para el no actor con ganas de decir algo a través del teatro became first an expansion of the *Teatro do/del Oprimido* chapter 'Poética do Oprimido', with an edition namely the two books as part of a whole. Through the years, *Ejercicios y Juegos* occupied a prominent position.



Cidade do México: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1980.

The Italian reframing and rewriting of *Teatro do/del Oprimido* focussed on the discussion of Boal's politically engaged theatre practices as a form of Latin American Popular Theatre, a reading suggested by Boal himself in his constant statements during the 1970s that overcoming imperialism is a key component to the achievement of liberation in the South, and that Theatre of the Oppressed is a theatrical/ Poetic

framework to address this. The term Popular Theatre holds different meanings for different cultures and theatre practitioners according to ideological affiliation. José Renato, the founder of Teatro de Arena, had a residence in the *Théâtre National Populaire* (TNP) in 1959. The influence of French intellectuals and Villar's concept of *Popular Théâtre* that aims to attract the 'non-public', composed of 'different sectors of the population' that are alienated from the bourgeois theatre, to offer (high) 'culture' to the target public was reflected in the cultural movements in Brazil (see Chapter 1).

> Il y a d'un côté le public, notre public, et peu importe qu'il soit, selon les cas, actuel ou potentiel (c'est-à-dire susceptible d'être actualisé au prix de quelques efforts supplémentaires sur le prix des places ou sur le volume du budget publicitaire); et il y a, de l'autre, un « non-public »: une immensité humaine composée de tous ceux qui n'ont encore aucun accès ni aucune chance d'accéder prochainement au phénomène culturel sous les formes qu'il persiste à revêtir dans la presque totalité des cas. (La Déclaration de Villeurbanne. 40 ans après, 1968, page 4)

As noted in the previous section, the circulation of the volume *Teatro del/do Oprimido* seems to have entered a slight decline during the 1990s, which parallels/coincides with the so-called 'death of ideology' following the fall of the Berlin Wall and globalisation. It is, perhaps, as a result of this that the publication in new languages saw its pace slow down, replaced by the more pragmatic appeal of *200 Ejercicios y Juegos para el Actor y para el no Actor con Ganas de Decir Algo a través del Teatro,* a volume originally published in Argentina in 1973, just before *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, that was the focus of quite an intense process of rewriting over Boal's lifetime. The *200 Ejercicios y Juegos* gained a more concise title in French from the first edition (1978), losing the enumeration of the games: *Jeux pour acteurs et non-acteurs. Pratique du théâtre de l'opprimé*, translated from Portuguese (Brazil) by Régine Mellac, Paris, Éditions François Maspero, 1978.

According to the Royal Danish Library bibliography, the book was translated and published in Denmark as a volume that stands alone without the theoretical essays of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*: *For et frigørende teater* [For a liberating theatre], translation Inger Holm, Schottländer, Gerd. 1980, Denmark, translated from Portuguese.

The book was later expanded, gaining different versions in different countries. It was relaunched in France in 1991, where Boal was based, followed by the German and English versions (See Chapter 3).

Jogos Para Atores e não Atores was relaunched in Brazil only in 1998, combining material from previous editions, a clear mark of the shift in position from Spanish to Portuguese for the dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed framework. *Jogos Para Atores e não Atores* gained a wider readership catering to communities outside the environment of formal theatre professionals, thanks to its highly functional and pragmatic character. In the new format, it is the best-known guide to the Theatre of the Oppressed for newcomers, activists, social workers, teachers, and practitioners who want to deepen their knowledge of this type of theatre.

By the end of the 1980s, Boal moved his experiments towards psychodrama, which resulted in the publication of *O arco-íris do desejo: método Boal de teatro e terapia* in Brazil and *Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie. L´arc-en-ciel du désir* in France (1990), again published simultaneously in both languages. The Spanish translation took fourteen years to be published (Boal, 2004, El arco íris del deseo – Del teatro experimental a la terapia) and it was translated from French according to the translator's notes below:

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*En general, traduciremos *scéne* como escena, tanto física (el espacio de la representación teatral -estar en escena, subir a escena, salir a escena, etc.) como literaria (secuencia de una obra teatral). En el primer caso, elegiremos escenario si existe ambigüedad.
PAGE 15

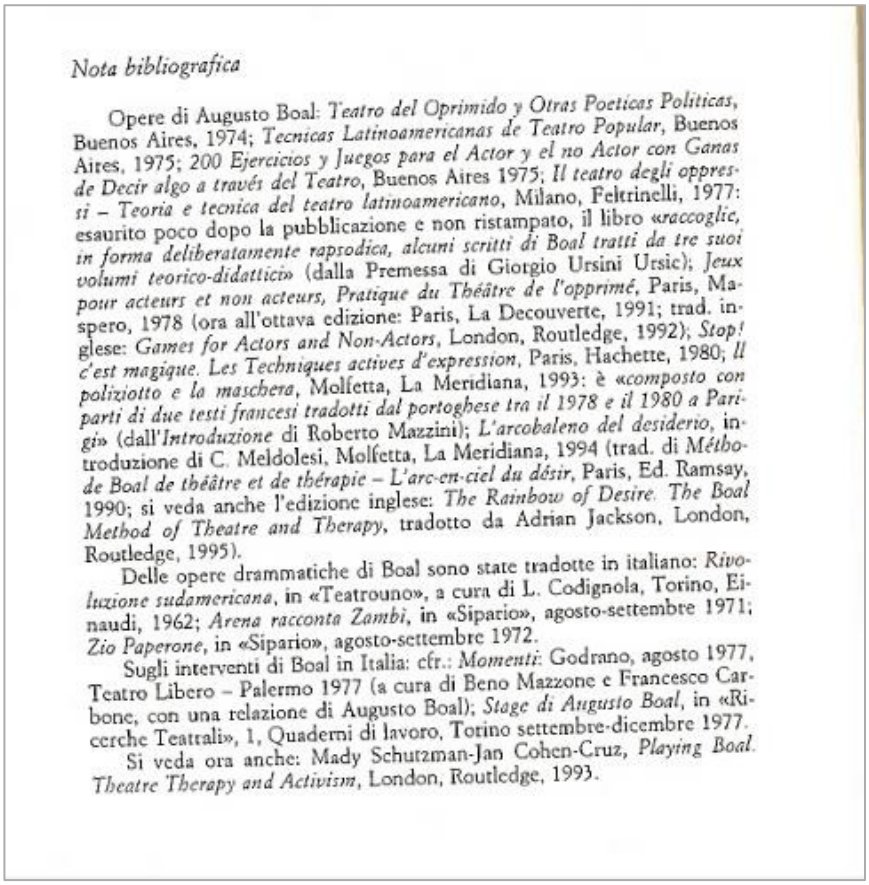
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* Siempre que resulte posible, preferiremos actuara interpretar, como análogo al francés *jouer*. Forzamos su uso como transitivo que en castellano significa realizar pero creemos que sirve a la acepción actoral (realizar un papel o escena). En cualquier caso se pierde el matiz francés de «juego», si bien se refleja la importancia que Boal confiere a la acción.
PAGE 18

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* Para el francés *agir* preferiremos obrar y otros sinónimos -hacer, comportarse, conducirse, etc. para evitar la ambigüedad de actuar, que, como ya se ha explicado en otra nota, emplearemos exclusivamente para sustituir al francés *jouer* (en sentido actoral) siempre que sea posible.
PAGE 25

The Italian translation was an indirect translation from French, and it was published in 1994; the Italian translator Claudia Mell published a Boal bibliography where it is possible to see that the Spanish versions were substituted by the French versions a Brazilian-Portuguese version is not mentioned



Nota bibliografica

Opere di Augusto Boal: *Teatro del Oprimido y Otras Poeticas Politicas*, Buenos Aires, 1974; *Tecnicas Latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular*, Buenos Aires, 1975; *200 Ejercicios y Juegos para el Actor y el no Actor con Ganas de Decir algo a través del Teatro*, Buenos Aires 1975; *Il teatro degli oppressi – Teoria e tecnica del teatro latinoamericano*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1977: esaurito poco dopo la pubblicazione e non ristampato, il libro «*raccoglie, in forma deliberatamente rapsodica, alcuni scritti di Boal tratti da tre suoi volumi teorico-didattici*» (dalla Premessa di Giorgio Ursini Ursic); *Jeux pour acteurs et non acteurs, Pratique du Théâtre de l'opprimé*, Paris, Maspero, 1978 (ora all'ottava edizione: Paris, La Decouverte, 1991; trad. inglese: *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, London, Routledge, 1992); *Stop! c'est magique. Les Techniques actives d'expression*, Paris, Hachette, 1980; *Il poliziotto e la maschera*, Molfetta, La Meridiana, 1993: è «*composto con parti di due testi francesi tradotti dal portoghese tra il 1978 e il 1980 a Parigi*» (dall'*Introduzione* di Roberto Mazzini); *L'arcobaleno del desiderio*, introduzione di C. Meldolesi, Molfetta, La Meridiana, 1994 (trad. di *Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie – L'arc-en-ciel du désir*, Paris, Ed. Ramsay, 1990; si veda anche l'edizione inglese: *The Rainbow of Desire. The Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy*, tradotto da Adrian Jackson, London, Routledge, 1995).

Delle opere drammatiche di Boal sono state tradotte in italiano: *Rivoluzione sudamericana*, in «Teatrouno», a cura di L. Codignola, Torino, Einaudi, 1962; *Arena racconta Zambi*, in «Sipario», agosto-settembre 1971; *Zio Paperone*, in «Sipario», agosto-settembre 1972.

Sugli interventi di Boal in Italia: cfr.: *Momenti*: Godrano, agosto 1977, Teatro Libero – Palermo 1977 (a cura di Beno Mazzone e Francesco Carbone, con una relazione di Augusto Boal); *Stage di Augusto Boal*, in «Ricerche Teatrali», 1, Quaderni di lavoro, Torino settembre-dicembre 1977.

Si veda ora anche: Mady Schutzman-Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Playing Boal. Theatre Therapy and Activism*, London, Routledge, 1993.

Melli, Augusto Boal. *O l'Arcobaleno del desiderio*, 1994

In the Italian introduction, Melli indicates the emergence of *Teatro Legislativo* practices at the time of the dissemination of the 'Boal's therapeutic method': 'L'arcobaleno del desiderioesce in Italia a qualche anno dalla prima pubblicazione — *quella francese del 1990* — quando il Teatro dell'Oppresso sta segnando in Brasile una nuova tappa: il Teatro legislativo'.(Melli, *Presentazione,* 1994, page 15)

The publication of *Teatro Legislativo* in 1996, a development of Boal's work in Rio de Janeiro, represented a valuable addition to the Theatre of the Oppressed family; the translation into English appeared in 1998. The Italian translation renames the book to *Dal desiderio alla legge* (Boal) [From desire to law] connecting it to Boal's previous book *Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie. L´arc-en-ciel du désir.*

Teatro Legislativo has been translated at a slower but steady pace, as the practices are tested in different parliaments and governmental and non-governmental settings by policymakers. Legislative Theatre has been tested in Portugal through José Soeiro's work.[19]

The expansion of the Theatre of the Oppressed perspectives and the continuity of Boal's workshop tours inaugurated a new momentum for the translation of Boal's books, stabilising the position of *Teatro do/del Oprimido* as the theoretical foundation of the framework (even though it may be less accessible to a wider readership due to its largely academic focus). Regardless of the high status of the book, as indicated by its publication history, there is no doubt that from the 1990s, it was the more 'practical' books in the 'tetralogy' that gained prominence among practitioners.

The Map of Translations of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, First Editions

The objective of this map is to give an overview of the dissemination of Theatre of the Oppressed via the book's translation to outline tendencies, practices, and agency through a diachronic approach. Even though the number of translations published has often been mentioned as a testimony to the status of the book[20] (and its siblings), unfortunately, Boal's bibliographical data lacks a complete database, in contrast with Freire's comprehensive database.. Consequently, the map presented here is composed of published translations with reliable bibliographic data from the UNESCO Index Translationum catalogue, Instituto Boal data, and the Universidade de São Paulo's Bibliografia Crítica do Teatro Brasileiro. To preserve the integrity of the research, a decision was made to not list editions mentioned in published essays but for which bibliographical data could not be established. The data from National Libraries was considered more reliable in determining the date of publication, the source language and other data; the commentary addresses some of the inconsistencies that were significant for the research. It was essential to compare databases to establish the type

[19] Soeiro and Comparato, Teatro Legislativo Em Processo Contínuo – Uma Entrevista Com O Ativista Político José Soeiro, 2019 and Soeiro, O Teatro não chega? Uma reflexão sobre arte, inclusão e transformação política, 2021.

[20] [...] [Augusto Boal] Nei suoi testi, tradotti in *trentacinque lingue*, espone i metodi presentati nei suoi stage di formazione e diffusi ormani in tutto il mondo. In his texts, translated into thirty- five languages, he exposes the methods presented in his training courses and spread all over the world.] (Boal, Il teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro, 2011, book cover, my emphasis).

of translation carefully. Additionally, several books whose titles may contain the term Theatre of the Oppressed are re-writings of Boal's books. They appeared as early as Boal's essays in international journals and from the first publication of *Teatro del Oprimido*.

Besides bibliographical data the map presents the structure of the edition in each target language, with the order of chapters, sections, and paratexts.[21]

	Source Title	Source Language SL	Target Language TL	Translator	Publisher	Year Length	Place	Parallel Texts
1. Theatre de l' opprimé	Teatro del Oprimido	Spanish Portuguese [22]	French	Lémann, Dominique	Maspero	1977[23] 209 pages	Paris	Explicación Notas pg 235
2. Il Teatro Degli Oppressi. Teoria e Tecnica del Teatro Latino-American o	Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas Técnicas latino americanas de Teatro Popular, Buenos Aires 1975 200 ejercicios y juegos para el actor y el no actor con ganas de decir algo a través del teatro, Buenos Aires 1975	Spanish	Italian	Picamus, Patrizia; Ursini Uršič Giorgio	Feltrinelli	1977 237 pages	Milan	Premessa di Giorgio Ursini Uršič page 7 Uma Entrevista a Boal page 13 Nota 1 Nota 2
3. Theatre of the Oppressed	Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas	Spanish	English	Charles, A.; McBride, Maria-Odilia Leal	Urizen books	1979, 197 pages	New York, USA	Preface to the 1974 edition xxiii[24] Appendices 169 Notes 173 Index 178
					Pluto Press	1979	London, UK	

[21] Sources: Instituto Augusto Boal., Index Translationum, UNESCO's database of book translations, National Libraries
[22] Both in Translationum
[23] In Translationum, 1980
[24] Addition: Preface to the 2008 edition ix; Preface to the 2000 edition – The Unruly Protagonist.

	Source Title	Source Language SL	Target Language TL	Translator	Publisher	Year Length	Place	Parallel Texts
4. Theater der Unterdrückten	Teatro do oprimido	translated from the Brazilian	German	Spinu, Marina and Henry Thorau	Suhrkamp Verlag	1979, 167 pages	German	Vorwort zur deutschen Ausgabe page 7 Henry Thorau Augusto Boal oder Die Probe auf dia Zukunft page 9-16
5. De förtryckta s teater	Teatro do oprimido	Portuguese	Swedish	Eyre, Marianne Valadares, Loreta	La Meridiana	1979, 192 pages	Gidlund Sodertalje Sweden	
6. το Θέατρο του Καταπιεσμένου [to Théatro tou Katapiesménou]			Νέα Ελληνικά /New Greek[25]	Μπραουδάκη, Ελπίδα/ Mpraoudaki Elpida	Εκδόσεις Θεωρία [Theory Publications]	1981, 231 pages	Athens Greece	
7. 『被抑圧者の演劇』アウグスト・ボアール著, 里見実訳, 佐伯隆幸訳, 三橋修訳 晶文社 (Yokuatsusya no engeki)	「本書はアウグスト・ボアールの Teatro del Opprimido, Buenos Aires 1975	Spanish	Japanese	Minoru Satomi, Takayuki Saeki, Osamu Mihashi	Shobunsha Publisher	1984	Tokyo, Japan	364-367「訳者あとがき [Yakusha atogaki] (Postscript by translator) と、その仏訳 Téâtre de l'opprimé 1977 に収められているエミール・コッフェルマンによるインタヴュー記録の全訳である。」 (interview made by Émile Copfermann in the French translation "Théâtre de l'opprimé" 1977) page 364

[25]https://www.protoporia.gr/mpoal-aoygkoysto-to-8eatro-toy-katapiesmenoy-metaxeirismeno-2220001154849.html,, https://catalogue.openabekt.gr/el/document/5a996736d30111b3b9226ae2

	Source Title	Source Language SL	Target Language TL	Translator	Publisher	Year Length	Place	Parallel Texts
8. Pozorište potlačenog	Théâtre de l'opprimé	Portuguese [French]	Serbo-Croatian	Dragićević-Šešić, Milena and Nedeljković, Radmila	Časopis Gradina [26]	1984 [2004]	Yugoslavia (to 1992) [Serbia and Montenegro (2003-2005)]	
9 Okappad nunjadul ui yonkuk	Theater der Unterdrückten	German [Portuguese]	Korean	Thorau, Henry; et al.	Changbi Publishers Yolhwadang	1985 1989	Paju Seoul, South Korea	
10. Ezilenlerin tiyatrosu Ezílenlerín Tíyatrosu [27]	Theater of the oppressed	English	Turkish	Hasgül, Necdet	Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları	1996	Istambul, Turkey	
11. Bèi yāpò zhě jùchǎng/ ào gǔ sī dōu. 被壓迫者劇場 / 奧古斯都.波瓦 (Augusto Boal)原著; 賴淑雅譯	Theatre of the Oppressed	English	Chinese	Lai, Shuya	Yangzhi wenhua shiye gongsi	2000	Taibei, Taiwa, People's Republic of China	

[26] http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?lg=2&a=Boal,%20Augusto&fr=40
[27] https://kasif.mkutupagegov.tr/SonucDetay.aspx?MakId=687048, Turkey National Library

	Source Title	Source Language SL	Target Language TL	Translator	Publisher	Year Length	Place	Parallel Texts
12 Mūnū / shūrāyī va guft va gū bā mardum : tajrubah-'i ti'ātr-i sitam'dīd agān dar Īrān شورایی و گفت و گو با مردم : تجربهٔ تئاتر **ستمدیدگان در ایران** / آربان رضایی.	Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas	Spanish	Persian	Āryān Riẓāyī.	Nowruz Art Institute of Arts Chāp-i avval. چاپ اول	2003	Tehran, Iran	
13.			Urdu (?)			2003	Islamabad, Pakistan	
14 Engiamuju teatras	Vert. iš: Theatre of the opressed Orig. antr.: Teatro do oprimido e outras poéticas políticas	English	Lithuanian	Vytautas Nauckus	Vilnius: Astèja; House of Arts and Educatio n, ([Vilnius] : Press)	2014	Lithuania	Bibliography. in the footnotes

Translation as rewriting: terminology

The map of the translation of the book *Teatro do/del Oprimido* underpins the understanding of the various ways in which a published translation maintains a relationship with the original. Hence, the starting point is the source text, which is multiplied by target texts that convey, to some extent, the meanings and forms selected by the author and produce others when transplanted to other contexts. The translator and editor's interpretation of Theatre of the Oppressed informs the reframing of the book and, consequently, the translation. Therefore, the definition of terminology that consistently describes the type of translation and how each reflects differences in treatment (mainly brought by the agency of editors) does not represent a judgment on the validity of translational processes or a hierarchical system. The differentiation between the types of translation – from a close translation to a more unrestrained

rewriting, for example, an abridged translation, a semiotic transposition to other media, a re-location of the narrative to the receiving space or time, the adaptation to the hosting literary system, its Poetics and culture – is rather indicative of localised translational processes and how editors-translators influenced the rewriting of *Teatro do Oprimido* and, consequently, the reception and construction of the framework. The consideration of translators as rewriters (Lefevere, 1992) questions the perception of the neutrality and linearity of translational processes. The risk of establishing a hierarchy whereby close translation occupies the centre stage with the consequent disregard of versions that disrupt the source text can jeopardise the potential value of the study of other forms of translation – reframing, critical rewriting, and performative translation – that underpinned the construction of the Framework of the Oppressed. To this end, the term 'reframed version' will be used to differentiate volumes that are abridged translations of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* and are interruptive attempts to propose a dissimilar structure to the source text. Here a word of caution is necessary, as both the Italian and German versions' scope goes beyond a concise edition of Boal's book: the editors' new selection of essays from *Teatro del/do Oprimido, 200 Ejercicios y Juegos para el Actor y para el no Actor con Ganas de Decir Algo a través del Teatro* and *Tecnicas latinoamericanas de teatro popular (Uma revolución Copernicana al revés)* and unpublished texts[28] represent a reframing of the Theatre of the Oppressed, disrupting the 'sourcebook (s)', presenting an alternative collection of essays, and establishing another reading of Boal essays through the lenses of the reading of both editors-translators, guided by their projects and their authorship. Consequently, the Italian and the German versions are examples of the multifaceted translational process, magnifying the intratextuality of the tetralogy of books that are composed of scattered essays that are behind the apparent linearity of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*.

Although the rewriting of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* by the author was restricted, with just the addition of new introductions within the borders of the book and a late

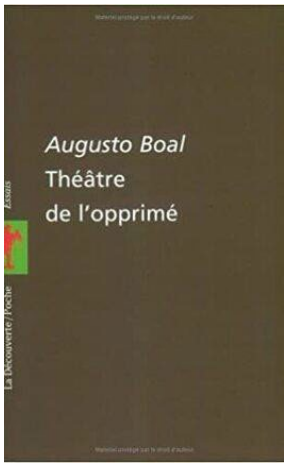
[28] The chapter 'Teatro do Oprimido na Europa' was Incorporated in *Jogos para Atores e Não Atores* (Boal). 'The revised Brazilian edition of 1998 was relaunched in 2015 with additional material written by the author for the editions in English (2000), Spanish (2001), French (2004) and consolidated in the German edition (2013) by Till Baumann. Barbara Wagner Mastrobuono translated the additions. Furthermore, Julián Boal introduced an appendix with interviews from the European Portuguese edition (1977), from the French edition (1979), and a chapter from Stop, *C'est Magique* (1980) and the preface of the English edition *of Games for Actors and Non-Actors* (1995). (Boal, Jogos para atores e não-atores 11)

revision of the text with a constrained number of changes, the processes of performative translation were intense during international workshops and conferences from the beginning of the writing process and throughout his life. Besides that, there was the expansion of the 'Oppressed Tree' by two key developments and new books*:* *Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie. L´arc-en-ciel du désir* (1990) and *Teatro legislativo* (1996). Nevertheless, the rewriting of Teatro do/del Oprimido by theatre scholars, practitioners and Boal's collaborators is another form of translation that occurs in parallel to the other types from the very first period of *Teatro do/del Oprimido* translation; the rewriting targeting practitioners will be referred as 'pragmatic rewriting' and critical appraisals as 'critical rewriting'.

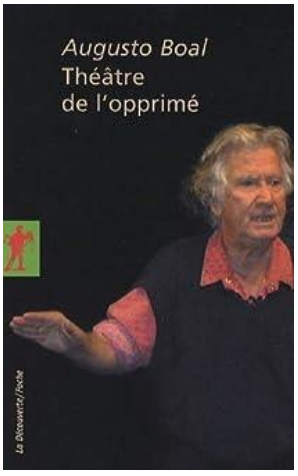
Publishing Strategies

The presence/ persona of Boal: Book Cover

The recurrent choice of publishers to reproduce Boal's photograph on the front book cover embodies the dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed through Boal's mediation. The French edition was almost entirely black with few details, but Boal's photograph was incorporated in the new Millennium edition.



1996



2007

Title and Subtitle

The French editor's decision to eliminate the subtitle '*y otras poéticas políticas*' to favour cohesion is an indication of the strategy to reach the target readership through a more functional and concise language. The French translation was the first edition to omit the subtitle. The shift created by the omission of the subtitle was an important step in the perception of Theatre of the Oppressed as a cohesive method of political

theatre linked with societal transformative movements aligned with Marxist-socialist ideology.

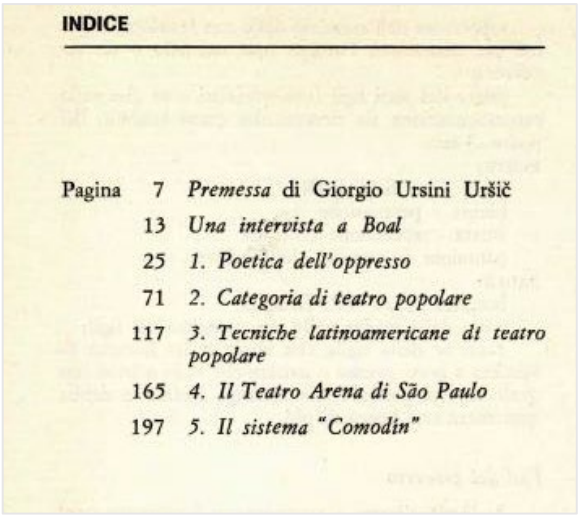
However, the substitution of the subtitle for a functional description indicated in other instances that the volume was a new collection of essays; the present study denominates these books as versions of *Teatro do/del Oprimido* as they affiliate themselves with the dissemination of the book. The Italian version reframes de book, and is a partial translation of *Teatro del Oprimido y otras poéticas políticas,* with the addition of chapters from *Técnicas latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular* and *200 ejercicios y juegos para el actor y el no actor con ganas de decir algo a través del teatro*; Giorgio Ursini Uršič, translator and editor, describes the book:

> Questo libro raccoglie, in forma deliberadamente rapsodica, alcuni scritti di Boal tratti da tre suoi volumi teórico-didattici. (Uršič, 1977, Introduction, Il Teatro degli Oppressi. Teoria e Tecnica del Teatro Latinoamericano)

The editor selected previously published essays that illustrated Boal's conceptualisation of a 'popular Latin American theatre' practice. As a result, the reshaped version received a title to reflect this, adding a description of the content of the book: *Il Teatro Degli Oppressi, Teoria e Tecnica del Teatro Latinoamericano.* The Italian subtitle sets the text as belonging to a reality governed by certain geopolitical frontiers, Latin America. Before going into exile, Boal discussed popular theatre forms in *Categorias de Teatro Popular*, partly reproduced in specialised periodicals like the Cuban *Conjunto* and the Spanish *Primer Acto*, in a number dedicated to Brazilian theatre. The practitioner continued to link the idea of a Latin American popular theatre with the emerging Theatre of the Oppressed during his exile; to this end, the initial 'arsenal' of practices was collected together again in *Técnicas Latino-Americanas de Teatro Popular: Uma Revolução Copernicana ao Contrário,* published simultaneously in Brazil and Argentina in 1975. [29]

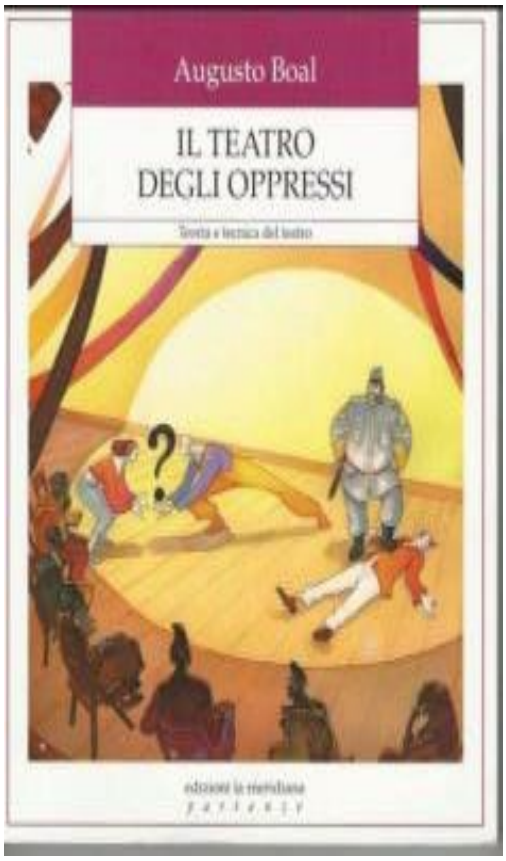
[29] Boal discussed Popular theatre forms in *Categorias de Teatro Popular*. São Paulo: Teatro de Arena de São Paulo, 1971, published by Arena, a low-cost publication that had probably a limited circulation in the circle of theatre aficionados. The book was published in Argentina, Categorias de Teatro Popular. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Cepe, 1972 and in Peru, Categorias de Teatro Popular. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1972.





Boal, Il Teatro degli Oppressi. Teoria e Tecnica del Teatro Latinoamericano

Giorgio Ursini Uršič's version has been reissued in Italy, but the title has been shortened: *Il teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro,* eliminating the Latin American contextualisation central to Ursič's reading and rewriting, and the chapter 'Il Sistema Tragico Coercitivo di Aristotele' was only reintroduced in 2011.



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Boal, *Il teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro*, 2005

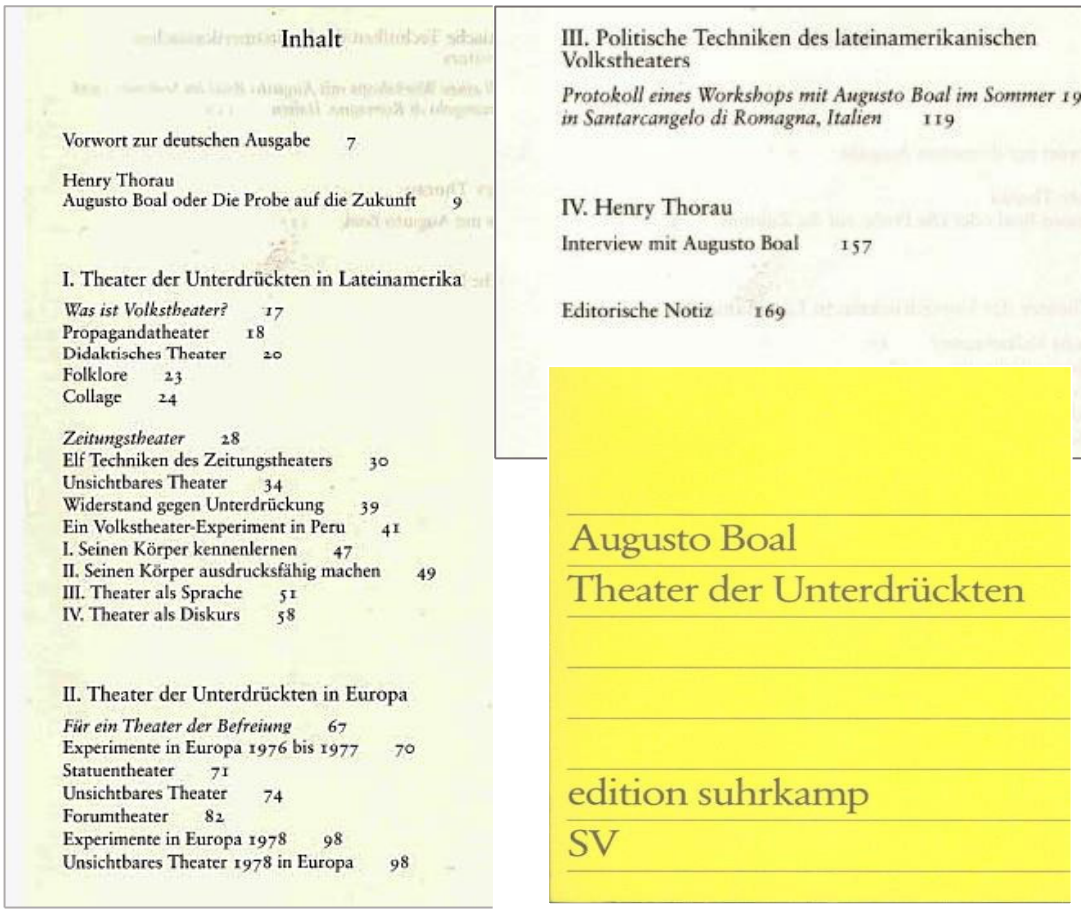
The translator Salatino of La Meridiana's 2011version sees the omission of the theoretical chapter as crucial to understanding the Theatre of the Oppressed's shift from theatre studies to socio-studies and community-based activities in Italy. The translator defends the retrofitting of one of the didactic chapters as key to the

accessibility of Boal's political theatre within the scope of theatre studies for the Italian context:

> Quando dieci anni fa decisi di laurearmi in Storia del Teatro con una tesi sul Teatro dell' Oppresso, incontrai non poche resistenze da parte dei miei docenti a riprova del fatto che il pensiero di boal, più largamente diffuso in ambito socio-educativo, godesse di così poca considerazione in ambito teatrale e accademico. Nel corso della mia ricerca riuscii a intervistare Claudio Meldolesi, che all'epoca insegnava preso il Dams di Bologna e che anni prima era stato fra i curatori dell'edizione italiana de *L'Arcobaleno del Desiderio* e gli chiesi un' opinione su questa *anomalia tutta italiana.*
>
> Mi rispose senza esitare: "*È ovvio che sia così, dal momento che i saggi di Boal su Aristotele, Machiavelli e Brecht non sono mai stati tradottinel nostro Paese*! (Salatino, 2011, page 157, my emphasis)

Nevertheless, the Framework of the Oppressed has enjoyed growing popularity in community education and community engagement projects in countries that published the unabridged version of Teatro do Oprimido. The acceptability in scholarly settings may be associated with other factors. Notwithstanding, the unexpected result of the addition is a disruption to the rewriting of Ursič based on Boal's Latin American Popular Theatre concept to intertwine the sections of the book.

The German version collected essays from three of Boal's books and original texts: *Teatro do Oprimido y outras poéticas políticas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1976; *Técnicas latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular*, Coimbra, 1977; *Duzentos exercícios e jogos para o actor e o não actor com ganas de dizer algo através do teatro*, Lisboa, 1978, unpublished workshop notes and an interview with Boal. The title *Theater der Unterdrückten* [Theatre of the Oppressed] omits the subtitle, a clear editorial choice to focus the volume on the Theatre of the Oppressed practices in different locations, with the omission of the theoretical and historical discussion of other types of theatre. The addition of the 'Protocol of a workshop with Augusto Boal in the summer of 1978 in Sant Arcangelo di Romagna, Italy' illustrates the shift in the character of the version when compared with the 'original' book.



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Augusto Boal
Theater der Unterdrückten

edition suhrkamp
SV

Boal, 1979, Theater der Unterdrückten,

Structure of the book

Teatro del/do Oprimido is a collection of essays written over a long period and upon different circumstances; it was put together following an almost scholarly structure: a diachronic discussion of three 'political poetics' – Aristotle, French classics, Brecht – followed by the account of Boal's 'experiences' in Peru and an overview of his period in Teatro Arena. The French translation changed the order of the chapters, a fact clarified by a note in Boal's introduction:

> *L'éditeur français a placé cette partie ['Une expérience de théâtre populaire au Pérou'] en tête de volume (Boal, 1977, Théâtre de l'opprimé)

The new order combined with the shorter title draws the reader to focus primarily on the emergence of the Poetics of the Oppressed; as a result of the relocation, the theoretical chapter functions as a blueprint for the proposed framework. The new position of chapters was incorporated into the subsequent Spanish language editions – although the Ediciones de la Flor version had been published before (1974) – indicating

the expanding role of the book as a guideline to practices over and above the scholarly character imprinted in the original order of chapters.

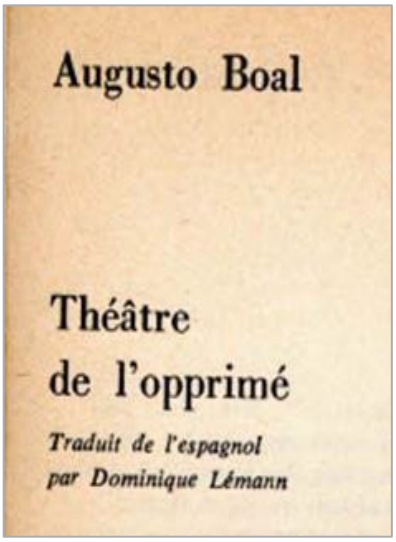
The Italian and German versions signal a more radical interference in the structure of the book, based on a new selection of essays; however, both versions moved the section 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' to the beginning of the book as a chapter standing in its own. The Italian version split the chapter 'Poética del oprimido' in two, with the second part of the chapter, '*El sistema Comodín'*, becoming a chapter on its own, in its original position, closing the volume. On the other hand, the German version omitted the second part of the chapter, '*El sistema Comodín'*. It brought part of *Técnicas Latino Americanas de Teatro Popular* to the forefront of the first chapter, combining it with 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'. The selection of texts outlines the criteria used by the editor for the organisation of the volume, embodied in the title of the two first chapters of the German version: '*Theater der Unterdrückten* ***in Lateinamerika****'* and '*Theater der Unterdrückten* ***in Europa'***. The third and last chapter of the German version is the editor's notes of Boal's workshop in Santarcangelo di Romagna, Italy, during July 1978. The German version revolves around the practice of Theatre of the Oppressed instead of the theoretical roots of *Boal's method.*

Source Language(s)

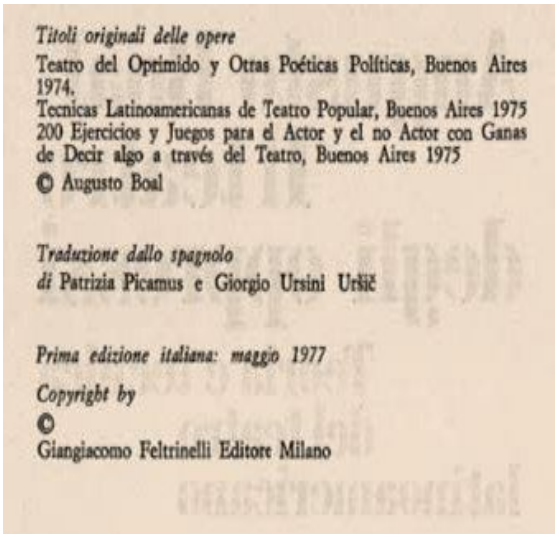
Portuguese was the most prominent official source language in the Translation map until the end of the 20th century, followed by Spanish, replicating the duality of the original text(s) (see Chapter 2) according to the edition's information. The map displays a shift in the position of both source languages, with the emergence of English and the prevalence of indirect translation by the first decade of the 21st Century. Despite the relevance of this fact for the comprehensive picture of the book's journey, the present chapter focuses on the first period of the translation to re-trace the first re-location of the journey of *Teatro del/do Oprimido.* The performative aspects of the translational history of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* will be considered more closely in Chapter 5.

The translingualism of the book, with the writing and rewriting in Portuguese and Spanish– studied in the previous chapter – initially affected the perception of the Brazilian edition as the original text(s). The fact can be proven by the data collected; the Spanish language was the source text of the first three translations, two into

romance languages, French and Italian, and the last one into English. However, the German translations declare Portuguese as the source language, a shift in the perception of the history of the book and the relocation of the Portuguese text as the source text(s) side by side with Spanish.



Boal, 1977, Théâtre de l'opprimé



Boal, 1977, Il Teatro degli Oppressi. Teoria e Tecnica del Teatro Latinoamericano



Boal, 1979, Theater der Unterdrückten

The Italian version's source language was Spanish until the late addition of the chapter 'Il Sistema Tragico Coercitivo di Aristotele' (Boal, 2011, Il teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro) translated from French, reflecting the position the latter language gained due to Boal's residence in Paris (1979-1986) and consequently the foundation of the Centro d`Étude et de Diffusion des Techniques Actives d´Expression (CEDITADE, 1979), renamed later as Centre du Théâtre de l'Opprimé Paris (CTO- Paris).

The English translation, first published in the USA and then in the UK, acknowledges Spanish as the source language. The German version, the fourth translation chronologically, mentioned that the source language was 'Brazilian', but two of the books cited in the editor's note are in the Portuguese edition.

The dislocation of versions of Boal's in different languages (Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese and French) considered as the 'original' text indicates the limitation of the concept of a singular source text to cover the Theatre of the Oppressed framework under construction. For example, the Korean (1985) translation from the German version is a clear, indirect translation (to some extent). It has an added layer as the German version is an abridged version of the three siblings – *Teatro do Oprimido e Outras Poéticas Políticas, Técnicas Latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular* e *Duzentos Exercícios e Jogos para o Actor e o Não Actor com Ganas de Dizer Algo através do Teatro*. In the 21st century, the Chinese (2000) and the Lithuanian (2014) versions are indirect translations, with the English version as source text, reflecting the language's global position. The pressure of the publishing market can perhaps explain this late shift in the position of English as a core language to the dissemination of the book *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, maybe reflecting the internationalisation of the Theatre of the Oppressed and the use of English as lingua franca in workshops, encounters, theatre festivals, conferences and the growing popularity of Theatre of the Oppressed from the 1990s in the English-speaking world.

Paratexts and translation

The diachronic analysis reveals that paratexts that appeared in a local or regional edition were incorporated into subsequent translations targeted at other readerships. The translation of the book involves at least two languages, reinstating the quite open structure of the volume and the constant reframing exercised by the author and editors.

The journey of the book across other borders comprises the contribution of new translators involved solely in the translation of paratexts. The phenomenon indicates that the dynamic of the performative dissemination of Theatre of the Oppressed practices is reflected in translational processes within the margins of the book in a continuum of re-location, adding new layers of content in an intratextuality construction.

Perhaps the most exemplary example of this process is Boal's interview with Copfermann. The bibliographical data of the Japanese edition, for example, states that while the book was translated from Spanish, Boal's interview with Émile Copfermann was translated from French. The interview was originally published in the first French edition, and it was later incorporated into Spanish editions and the Japanese edition. Nevertheless, the translator of the interview into Spanish, Graciela Schmilchuk,

reminds us that Portuguese was the source language of her translation (Chapter 3). The interview was not incorporated into Brazilian editions that followed the French and Spanish language ones. In a new twist, the interview was incorporated into the revised and expanded version of *Jogos para Atores e Não Atores* (Boal, 2015).

The introduction of interviews in the first edition in France, Italy and Germany captures the core position that the presence of the author exerted to mediate the reading of his texts. Similarly, Paulo Freire's last books became increasingly forms of dialogue, including interviews and debates. The publication of direct speech to give the reader access to the author's standpoint is consistent with editors committed politically to a postcolonial and anti-imperialist approach. Additionally, the widening of the exercise of authorship by the replication of his voice is an editorial strategy that brings a performative character to a book about theatre.

While the author's short preface was maintained in international editions, the different editors' additions brought to the forefront their role in introducing Boal to local readerships. Although the translators occupied a position close to the editor in the French, Italian and German translation, the number of translation notes was small during the first period of translation; the character of the visibility of translators of paratexts from the eighties and beyond differs, as the intention is to highlight the relevancy of the text or Theatre of the Oppressed's presence in a location.

Teatro del/do Oprimido in Translation: Interviews and Intermediators

Boal was interviewed by three of the editors (and theatre practitioners) of the translations analysed here. The three paratexts were incorporated in the French (1977), Italian (1977), and German (1979) translations of the book *Teatro del Oprimido (Ediciones de la Flor,* 1974); hence, they underpin how readers have accessed this book in translation to this day. The group of paratexts is one of the earliest reframings of the book, and it provides a fine example of the dynamic of the translational process of the book, whose path can be traced as a transnational journey through the assimilation of texts written and spoken in various languages. The inclusion of author interviews framed and contextualised the development of the Theatre of the Oppressed practices, giving visibility to editors and translators and a voice to the author from the South.

French	
Theatre de l'opprimé, éditeur Émile Copfermann, Maspero, 1977	
'Au peuple les moyens de production théâtrale' Entretien d'Émile Copfermann et Augusto Boal	
Entretien recueilli et rédigé par Émile Copfermann	PAGE 181-206
Notice biographique	
Italian	
Il teatro degli oppressi. Teoria e tecnica del teatro latinoamericano. A cura di Giorgio Ursini Uršič, Feltrinelli, 1977	
'Premesa'	
Giorgio Ursini Uršič	PAGE 7-12
'Una Intervista a Boal'	
A cura di Giorgio Ursini Uršič	PAGE 7-24
German	
Theater der Unterdrückten, ed. Henry Thorau, Edition Suhrkamp, 1979	
[Boal Biography note, no title]	
Henry Thorau	
Augusto Boal oder Die Probe auf die Zukunft	PAGE 9-16
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The interviews were an opportunity for editors to test their reading of the Theatre of the Oppressed, to validate their rewriting and to justify changes in the structure of the book proposed by them. As a discursive device, they bring to the forefront the patronage of publishers and editors. At the same time, the dialogical nature of the texts offers a glance at how the editors' reading mediated the dissemination of Boal's theatre ideas. As such, the interviews provide an opportunity to examine the reading of Augusto Boal's praxis by the North.

It is important to highlight that interviews have a somewhat performative character, with the embodiment of the voices of the interviewer and interviewee. Their dialogic nature produces a type of text consistent with Boal's target readership, practitioners of theatre, and with the ethos of Boalian theatre.

Theatre of the Oppressed was conceived as a provocative practice to challenge striking social inequality in Latin America. Boal's community theatre was inspired by the possibility of working with theatre to empower the oppressed and aspire towards a new social order. Emerging international recognition of his practice led to the

interviews that laid the groundwork for international translation projects. By analysing the reading process by three theatre practitioners from different backgrounds, this investigation seeks to measure what light it can shed on the reception of Boal's work and how this intercultural mediation was negotiated.

The Italian, French and German interviews will be presented here in the chronological order in which they were carried out to facilitate the observation of the shifts in the questions and Boal's answers, motivated by the volatile political context and the relationship between the interlocutor and the interviewee.

During the 1960s and after a conservative dictatorship took power in 1964, Boal's group, Teatro Arena, toured Europe, the USA and Latin America. During this period, international journals published essays that became part of the book *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, an act of defiance and a clear sign of the support of the theatre community. Boal was imprisoned and tortured in 1971, after which he had to flee Brazil and started his exile in Argentina. Through this displacement, Boal encountered other communities in which to develop his ideas and practices. In exile, he published *Teatro del Oprimido* in Argentina in 1974, followed by the Brazilian edition in 1975, an act of resistance against political persecution. By 1976, the window of opportunity for revolutionary activity was closing in Latin America as a result of the polarisation of the Cold War, with the overthrow of democratic governments and the consolidation of authoritarian regimes. Boal left for Portugal full of hope in the aftermath of the Revolução dos Cravos (1974) that had brought an end to the authoritarian Estado Novo regime. The decolonisation process accelerated with the pressure exerted by ONUs over Portugal to release control over overseas colonies (A. E. Silva). The war for independence was long and tragic: Mozambican War of Independence (1964-1974), Angola (1961-1975), Guinea Bissau (1963-1974). The Portuguese Colonial War struck a parallel with the Algerian Independence War (1954-1962), supported by French intellectuals and Boal's close collaborators. Boal stayed in Portugal for only two years, from 1976 to 1978, leaving because of what he saw as a lack of support for his work.

The interviews were conducted between 1976 and 1978, from the closing moments of his exile in Argentina to his final months in Portugal, before he moved to France, where he finally found a place to develop his work on a longer-term basis, from 1979 until 1986. The thematic axis of the interviews is the contextualisation of the emergent Theatre of the Oppressed on the international theatre scene. The interviewers

thus focus on Boal's career and the development of a 'popular' (Latin American) theatre.

The Italian interview was conducted in Buenos Aires in 1976 by Giorgio Ursini Uršič, the editor and translator of the Italian version of *Teatro del/do Oprimido,* which was eventually published in 1978. The interviewer focuses on enquiring about the effects of political repression in Latin American theatre. Boal compares the escalation of radicalisation and repression in Latin America to the situation in Vietnam. For Boal, the rise of right-wing dictatorships in Latin America is an orchestrated answer to international post-colonial armed revolutionary groups moving towards an alignment with the communist bloc.

Ursini Uršič then goes on to question the efficacy of Boal's strategy as he had to become an exile, to which Boal responds that, even though in exile, the continuation of his 'activities' (theatre and political activism) is a form of resistance. In Boal's answers, the persistent use of language references Marxist-socialist philosophy, for example, 'class struggle' and 'ruling class'.

In order to further investigate the anti-imperialist position defended by Boal, Ursini Uršič asks if he is against the 'use of techniques and styles borrowed from other countries. Boal argues that theatre must consider the reality in which it is inserted, responding to the local historical context; without that, it acts like

> una vittima passiva del colonialismo culturale (Boal, 1977, page 17)

Uršič cites the constant participation in festivals in Europe as potentially in conflict with Boal's anti-imperialist agenda. In response, Boal divides Latin American theatre groups into two types: one that offers a 'pure consumer product', 'with simple displays of folklore' fulfilling European and American expectations; a second type 'understands that the class struggle' also happens within the North. The interviewer goes on to inquire if Boal recognises his work as Latin American:

> Esiste, secondo lei, un'arte latinoamericana? O si tratta di un concetto ibrido inventato in Europa, per comodità di catalogazione? (Boal, 1977, page 22)

The concept of hybridism to describe Latin American culture was explored by the Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman (La Invención de America: Investigación acerca de la Estructura Historica de Nuevo Mundo y del Sentido de su Devenir). Boal defends the forms of popular art to replace the imperialist influence. He states that a

considerable part of the region is reacting against the 'violent oppression of North American imperialism' and 'moving towards liberation'.

Reference to the use of violence to achieve liberation is particularly strong in the Italian interview. The revolution here is not a rhetorical figure. The transnational character of the socialist project is at the core of Boal's task; the suppression of imperialism and the defence of nationalism gives way to a transversal community: oppression is the common denominator of groups, even in groups of the North (black movement, feminism, campesinos). However, the interviewer's reframing of these ideas nevertheless insists on the distinctive character of the Latin American theatre, a position supported by Boal's essays collected in the volume *Técnicas latino-americanas del teatro popular,* published simultaneously in Argentina and Brazil in 1975.

In this earlier interview, Boal makes a clear distinction between bourgeois (commercial) theatre and the '*teatro popolare'* (*'teatro del popolo')*, proclaiming that the pivotal transfer of the means of theatrical production to the people has already started in Latin America.

> '*Soltanto dopo che si siano trasmessi al popolo i mezzi dela produzione teatrale*, si potràparlare di autentico teatro Popolare nell'America latina. Esistono, eccome, dei gruppi che hanno incominciato a capire questa fondamentale lezione: e stanno passando al popolo gli strumenti che loro, per primi, hanno avuto a disposizione: gli insegnano a utilizzare il teatro da soli'. [15] (Boal, page 24, my emphasis)

This statement is very close in significance to the title of the French interview: 'To the people the means of theatrical production'. Émile Copfermann, editor of the French version (Boal, 1977, *Théâtre de l'opprimé*), explores Boal's path as a theatre practitioner, the origin of the essays, and the progression of Boal's ideas up to the day of the interview. To uncover the paradigm that underpins Boal's practices, Copfermann attempts to address the impact of the sociopolitical context on the conception of the Theatre of the Oppressed: The Cold War, the hardening of American imperialism and the radicalisation of left-wing struggles in Latin America.

Copfermann's interview 'Au people les moyens de production théâtre first appeared as an afterword in the first French edition (Boal, 1977, *Théâtre de l'opprimé*). It was later integrated into the first Swedish (1979) and Japanese (1984) editions, into

all subsequent Spanish language editions, and in the Brazilian consolidated edition of *Jogos para atores e não-atores* (Boal, 1998).

Copfermann connects the chapter ‘Poética del Oprimido’ with Boal's Copfermann connects the chapter ‘Poética del Oprimido’ with Boal's ‘current concerns’, contrasting it with ‘the texts on Aristotle or Machiavelli’ that ‘seem to entail a more constricted dramatic reflection’.

> Peux-tu situer l’origine de ces textes ? Ils semblent renvoyer à des époques particulières mais différentes de ton expérience théâtrale. “Poétique de l’opprimé”, placé en tête du volume, s’inscrit tout à fait dans tes préoccupations actuelles tandis que les textes sur Aristote ou sur Machiavel paraissent s’inscrire dans une réflexion dramaturgique plus restreinte. (Théâtre de l’opprimé, 1977, page 181)

Thus, through the dialogue established between them, Copfermann is able to justify the decision to move the chapter ‘Poética del Oprimido’ to the beginning of the volume in the French edition, underpinned by his understanding of the importance of the development of a Latin American liberatory theatre even in exile. The new structure attests to the high level of sympathy for the Latin American cause in the context of the hardening of dictatorial regimes in the regions, often supported by the capitalist bloc. Besides that, the violence of the decolonisation war in Algeria and in the Portuguese colonies and the positioning of the artistic community against its continuity were vivid experiences for the editor, Boal and the politically engaged readership. Boal recounts the revolutionary use of the theatre practices he advocates: to prepare participants to negotiate with the representatives of the Portuguese colonisers during the war of independence in Mozambique. The previous enactment of the encounter with the oppressor is a rehearsal of how to overcome the challenges they would face in a real-life situation. Boal underlines the significance of the embodiment of this experience; the individual leaves the passive role of spectator and becomes an actor, who then has a physical memory of the issues to be discussed in the aftermath. The spectator feels the thrill of the simulation of the action but is conscious of the nature of the theatrical action and the difference from the real action.

> Si tu agis l’action réelle dans un cadre fictif, c’est une répétition de l’action, ce n’est pas l’action elle-même ; en tant que telle, une action tout

de même, *mais qui ne te donne pas le sentiment d'en avoir terminé avec l'action réelle*. (Boal, 1977, page 186, my emphasis)

The French interview also places focus on Boal's experience with the Peruvian Gobierno Revolucionario de la Fuerza Armada literacy program as an example of the effectiveness of a political community theatre practice.

> La progression des idées du théâtre de l'opprimé est lente, mais elles progressent malgré tout. Le livre a beaucoup aidé, il a été vendu dans tous les pays d'Amérique latine : au Honduras, m'a-t-on dit, le chapitre « poétique de l'opprimé » a été recopié, polycopié, distribué en tracts. Il y a eu beaucoup d'éditions clandestines. C'est dommage pour les droits d'auteur, profitable pour la progression des idées. (Boal, 1977, page 197)

Copfermann questions the place of the Theatre of the Oppressed in a post-revolutionary scenario, citing Cuba after 1959, to which Boal recognises that after the revolution, a society may 'return to the practice of Aristotelian theatre'.

> Dans une société ayant accompli sa révolution, je pense, curieusement, qu'il faut revenir au théâtre aristotélicien'. (Boal,1977, page 192)

Nevertheless, he goes on to argue that beyond major national questions, there will be other issues which will continue to affect the population inasmuch as the society in the aftermath of a revolution is unstable; thus, Theatre of the Oppressed may still be relevant even after a revolution.

The memory of the activities in Brazil before the military coup in 1964 punctuates the denouncement of the persecution of activists in Latin America, implicit in the interview. The endorsement of the Latin American exiles in Europe and the resistance is the backdrop of the invitation 'to organise an intervention on the diaspora of Latin Americans for the Nancy World Theatre Festival' (Copferman, 1977). To respond to the request, Boal intends to stage a 'theatre forum scene about the integration of Latin American exiles in France, inviting the French audience to swap their 'role' with the 'Latin American actors' to propose a better solution than the one presented by the cast.

Boal reaffirms the core role of collective action and the insufficiency of placing hope in individual heroes to accomplish the revolution, in a clear departure from his position in 'Arena conta Zumbi' and 'Arena conta Tiradentes' where the individual hero is praised. Here, we are able to clearly perceive how the shift started by

participatory theatre leads to the community taking centre stage. This, together with the erosion of heroic figures, disillusionment with political leadership and the necessity to fit in Europe, is what has come to inform Boal's narrative framing of his practice by the end of the 1970s.

Copfermann wonders whether the type of audience organised by a common background means a move towards group techniques and psychodrama. Boal replies that the preoccupation of psychodrama is the past, and its intention is 'to cure the patient' compared to Forum Theatre, which is focused on the Future and aims to 'modify society'. Boal admits that the Forum Theatre process bears a certain resemblance to psychodrama as 'the true oppressed came to perceive what was taking place both in their mind and in that of the oppressor'. However, the main objective is 'to stimulate the actor to break with their previous situation' to transform society. Furthermore, groups from dissimilar backgrounds and different countries, from Denmark to the USA and Latin America, direct the work towards themes that are relevant to the reality they face. Boal goes on to add that the group takes control of the techniques and means of production, and the facilitator must accept the solutions each group proposes (Boal, 1977, pages 197-198).

Copfermann's acute reading of Boal's practices moving towards psychodrama is an early indication of translational processes involved in the transplantation of heatere of the Oppressed in Europe. This reframing of the theatre of the oppressed towards a 'social psychology' interpretation culminated in 1990 with the publication of The Rainbow of Desire: The Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy (Boal, 1990).

In a similar vein, the third interview, conducted in Italy in 1978 by Henry Thorau, the German editor and translator in collaboration with Marina Spinu, indicates that the relentless nature of the practitioner's hunger for experimentation is organically making him move away from the conventional forms and institutions of theatre, to finally break the passivity of the audience, turning his practice in the direction of pedagogy, psychodrama, sociodrama and therapy (Boal, 1979, page 164). Boal agrees with this foregrounding of the potential of the no conventional forms of theatre and adds that he is working to accomplish the end of the manipulation of the public.

Thorau divides Boal's action in Europe into two fronts: first, the fight against the dictatorship in Brazil, framed here as the struggle to establish a democratic government, and second, the 'application and dissemination of a Popular Latin

American Theater'. The editor asks about the allegation that Boal's work is communist propaganda, an expected reaction in West Germany during the Cold War. Boal argues that Invisible Theatre and Forum Theatre are not propaganda as the public is free to discuss the theme proposed on their terms and to arrive at their conclusions.

The editor asks about Boal's forecast for the future of the techniques he proposes. Boal offers an account of the dissemination in Brazil, where he mentions approximately forty groups using the newspaper theatre in 1972 and several groups practising Forum Theatre in Peru. While uncertain about the future of the techniques in Europe, Boal mentions the workshops he is leading to disseminate the method there.

> Bei uns in der "Dritten Welt" ist alles Alte, was aus dem Ausland kommt, von vornherein besser. In Europa ist es wohl umgekehrt. Dem, was hier ernst genommen warden könnte, drückt man schnell den Stempel des Exotischen auf. (Boal, 1979, page 165)

Furthermore, Boal's assertive statement that in the 'Third World', there is an acceptance of foreign contributions while the vector is reversed in the 'developed' world indicates his understanding and resistance to the relegation of the contributions of the South as a mere appropriation and re-creation of previous forms of artistic and social movements.

This provides a revealing insight into his reception in the North, with this more critical reflection differing from the excitement of the great numbers of participants in workshops. Boal's unease about perceptions of the Theatre of the Oppressed as an 'exotic' form is an indicator that – for him in exile – there is a continuous battle between the North host society's enforcement of its high position and the acceptance of foreign models from the South. The initial welcoming of Boal's ideas in Festivals and tours is thus replaced by a more critical perspective after lengthier contact.

To conclude, the contradictions between Boal's anti-imperialist discourse, his theoretical essays rooted in a Western European philosophical framework (Marx, Hegel) and his recourse to strategies from Stanislavski and Brecht in his practice provide a complex web that the three editors, as readers navigate with sympathy. The North/South dichotomy is reflected in the interviewers' reading of Boal's theatre as a Latin American theatre. Even though the interviews aim to establish a cohesive reading of the theatre proposed by Boal, supported by a decolonial understanding of the South,

they are witness to the tensions underpinning the reception of the Theatre to Oppressed in the North.

The consequences of such readings of the first period of the dissemination of the book in other languages may be traced in Boal's workshops and in the groups that continue to practice Theatre of the Oppressed in our time.

Agency of Publishers, Editors and Translators

The agency of the different publishers in reframing the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* contributed to the perception of Theatre of the Oppressed as a method of theatre practices scaffolded by a comprehensive theoretical basis and designed in its entirety from the beginning of the printed translational process. The perception of the book as a systematic prescription of practices based on a critical reading of historical theatre models and presenting a viable option for political theatre can be re-traced in the choice of title, book cover, re- structuring of the book, selection of chapters, addition of paratexts and visibility of translator and editor.

The agency of publishers in the first period of dissemination through translation coincides with that of the Argentinian publisher, preoccupied with the efficacy of the publishing strategy to attract the target reader by the enhancement of the functionality of the title and the engagement of a target audience that could recognise which ideological thinking the book was affiliated with and their position. The unity conferred by the title of the Argentine addition, as seen in Chapter 3, prefigures the shifts and interferences that permeate Boal's writing in translation; the efficacy of the text to convey meaning supersedes the author's style. The strategy of language functionality in the publishing strategy mirrors the pragmatism associated with theatre practices. The scholarly strategy places *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in an academic setting. Interestingly, the more academic structure was somewhat challenged by the rearrangement of the order of chapters and by new versions, namely the Italian and German versions.

At first glance, Boal proposed an attitude towards fixed systems of thought. This critical approach is vital to the continuity of the Framework of the Oppressed. Nonetheless, Boal's body of work always maintained a dual perspective, from practice to theory and vice versa. The balance of both facets is a crucial characteristic that editors reclaimed through their agency; the re-tracing of interferences in the first few translations of the book gives us a glimpse of the voices within the Theatre of the Oppressed to study the diachronic process of the configuration of a framework that

aims to overturn imperialist hierarchies. The analysis of the translation will consider the balance between pragmatic and functional strategies and textual stylistics present during the interlingual translational process.

French
Publisher: François Maspero

François Maspero's presence in the French publishing market was one of the most recognised with a quite long period from the fifties to the eighties. During his life, he became involved in all phases of the preparation of texts for delivery to readers, developing a holistic view of the publishing world and the reading market. He also became a leading writer and translator after he left his role in the publishing house that he created.

Maspero's influence opened space for debate, going from the operation of the bookshop *La joie de lire*, opened in 1956, to the publishing house Éditions François Maspero, founded in 1959, and to the editorship of the journal *Partisans*, inaugurated in 1961. The range of the publisher's activities resulted in a significant contribution to the French intellectual environment. He published books on colonialism, fomenting discussion and stirring 'hopes and fights for the construction of another world' (Hage). He was responsible for the publication of 'the political writings of James Baldwin, Malcolm X and Che Guevara, anthologies of classic labour-movement work, Althusser's "*Théorie*" collection'. Maspero became increasingly involved with the dissemination of contributions to the debate from outside France by the 'importation' of texts both by the acquisition of texts in their original language and by the publication of the translations that occupied the forefront of the catalogue side by side with crucial texts written in the French language (Hage, 2009, page 110). The transnational perspective holds at its heart tension between the local and the universal, between the re-positioning of the ex-colonies and the 'metropolis'. The publication of translations from languages and spaces outside the core system of authorisation of texts embodies this idealistic challenge of traditional borders and hierarchies.

This interview with Maspero, published by *Le Nouvel Observateur* in 1976 on the eve of the publication of Boal's book in France, gives us a glimpse of the background surrounding it and the role the publisher fulfilled in the dissemination of ideologically charged works. For Maspero, the publisher's role encompasses a political position, just as for the educator Freire's education is never neutral, and for the theatre

practitioner Boal, all theatre practice is political; each of them sees their professional area as their space for political action.

The publisher was always capable of standing up for their ideals; because he defended anti-colonialist militancy, he became a dissident from the Parti Communiste Français (PCF). However, his position in support of the struggle of anti-colonialist wars and movements was crucial to his decision to publish key works, such as Fanon's *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961), with a preface by Jean-Paul Sartre, who had also left PCF. The publisher's political perspective led him to question both sides of the Cold War[30], attacking the imperialism represented by the financial oppressor represented by the internationalism of the corporate world and the disappointment in the socialist experience and expressing a certain pessimism by the seventies.

However, the ideological position of the publisher is to transform society by means other than militarisation:

> I supported the Algerian people's struggle through my liaisons with the French federation of the FLN. I very quickly saw how this struggle was being appropriated in the interests of a new oligarchy. I had placed much hope in the Cuban Revolution during the early days but took my distance after Che's death, having also been to Bolivia twice. The militarisation of Cuban society and its alignment with the Soviet Union sealed the matter. Nevertheless, I never gave up on supporting anything that I saw as bringing hope. (Maspero, 1976, The Long Struggle of François Maspero)

The publisher's analysis of the cultural market and the role of publishing in the aftermath of 1968 is stark:

> There is overproduction and saturation in publishing, for sure, but I think that this is a superficial phenomenon. On the one hand, in 1968, a political "market opportunity" was discovered. On the other hand, the outpouring of university students into the street, who felt blocked in their careers by institutions and in their vague desires for political action by their incapacity to overcome their condition, always experienced negatively as

[30] At this point, it is opportune to mention that Boal and other Brazilian intellectuals – for example, Chico Buarque, composer of the songs of Boal's play '*Mulheres de Atenas'* (1976) – did not share the same position regarding Cuba, supporting Fidel Castro's government and denouncing the USA's blockade (1960) from the beginning to more recent years.

> intellectuals “cut off from the masses.” There is only one path: to produce books. Moreover, if this goes well, the demand will be strong on the market. However, to produce what? I would say openly that it does not matter. First of all, theory: one follows the elders, comments on them, where they can be found…I understand that we have had enough of their routinised and institutional Marxism. (Maspero, 1976, The Long Struggle of François Maspero)

The international dissemination and rapid Theatre of the Oppressed’s adaptation in other contexts are part of the process of the substitution of the ideal revolution by an intellectual exercise. The pedagogical character of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* inserts the book into a body of work that addresses the challenges of society through critical and transformative practices.

In this context, the significance of Boal’s work and its growing popularity within French intellectual circles, with the practitioner presence in theatre festivals, Copfermann’s influence on Maspero and his work within the publisher house, made the Éditions François Maspero the natural choice for the French edition of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in 1977.

Editor and interviewer: Copfermann

Émile Copfermann (Paris,1931 -1999) was the son of Romanian Jewish immigrants who arrived in Paris in the early 1920s after fleeing persecution. Tragically, his parents were deported and died in Auschwitz. Firstly, he lived in the countryside with his family. Subsequently, he was fostered in several orphanages and education centres, where he came to know Active education methods that left a lifelong impression on him. Copfermann’s background of migration, together with the displacement experienced during his childhood and his interest in theatre and Active education, may have contributed to the deep connection he established with Boal’s work.

He became a journalist, theatre critic, editor, novelist, popular education activist, a former member of the *Union de la Gauche Socialiste* (UGS) and a member of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU). After meeting Antoine Vitez, responsible for the monthly publication of *Bref des Amis du Théâtre* populaire, when representing the first association of spectators in France in 1955, they collaborated extensively. They were responsible for the new publication of the *Théâtre national populaire* (TNP), *Cité-*

Panorama, and of the periodic *Théâtre populaire* (1953-1964); the journal gathered together a significative body of contributors: Jean Vilar, Roland Barthes, Bernard Dort, Arthur Adamov, Samuel Beckett. Copfermann contributed with reviews, and the journal was instrumental in the dissemination of the ideas of Bertolt Brecht (Consolini).

The interest in the publication of instrumental texts to promote societal changes brought Copfermann to Maspero's publishing house, starting an intense and fruitful association. In 1963, Maspero appointed Copfermann as editor of the journal *Partisans*. As the collaboration between both men grew, Copfermann became the editorial director of the same house in the following year. Influenced by his ideological position, at this point, the publisher leaned towards a cooperative model for the company.

The contact with Théâtre National Populaire (TNP) and the debates about the role of theatre inform the *Le Theatre Populaire Pourquoi? (*1965) an important contribution to the debate about the role of popular theatre and public policies (Copfermann) published by Maspero. In the book, Copfermann highlights the contradiction of a 'popular theatre' that facilitates the continuation of the status quo:

> […] Marqué par ce mirage le théâtre populaire au lieu de se faire critique, agit en élément d'adaptation sociale, d'acquiescement aux valeurs de la société répressive'. (Copfermann 9)

Subsequently, he created the journal *Travail théâtral* (1970-1979), an independent publication with critical essays on theatre (de Faramond). In essays published in the journal and collected in his book *Vers un théâtre different*, Copfermann discussed the development of an *écriture*, a 'new dramaturgy, which was freeing itself little by little from the text in order to follow Artaud and the theatrical groups that he inspired', 'represented by the activities of the Théâtre du Soleil, the Théâtre de l'Aquarium, the Théâtre Z, and the Théâtre de la Carrièra (Féral).

Travail théâtral periodically published articles on Brecht, whose framework was viewed as a reference for a politically engaged theatre, and the evolving tendency towards collaborative practices inspired by the German thinker, captured, for example, in the article '*Bertolt Brecht, Une direction collective des théâtres?'* (Arbeitskreis).
In this context, Copfermann's work as a theatre critic, combined with his interest in active education and his ideological views, found in Boal's plays in festivals and essays

a similar approach to ideological questions combined with innovative practices. Boal's essay on popular theatre (Boal, Catégories du théâtre populaire) appeared in *Travail Théâtral*, in a number that combined articles of Tadeusz Kantor and Erwin Piscator's just a year after its publication with a limited circulation by Teatro Arena (Boal, Categorias de Teatro Popular) and in the same year of its publication in Buenos Aires (Boal, 1972). 'Théatre de l'Opprimé. une expérience de théâtre populaire au Pérou' was published in 1975, translated by the performer Odette Aslan, from the source text published in the journal *Crisis*. The editor added that the essay is part of the book *Teatro del Oprimido*, Ediciones de la Flor.

Copfermann is one of three critics to whom Boal dedicated the book *Stop: C'est Magique!*. According to the dedication, the three critics had a decisive role in the progression of the practitioner, and they also assisted Boal in the process of adapting to new realities through mobility before and after the exile (Boal, 1980, Stop: c'est magique). In the interview with Thorau published in the German version (Thorau, Interview mit Augusto Boal), Boal affirms that Copfermann was a co-founder of Centre D'Études Et De Diffusion Des Techniques Actives d'expression (CEDITADE, 1979). The fact suggests that the editor played a key role in facilitating Boal's move to France.

Italian

Giacomo Feltrinelli (1926-1972) was an Italian publisher who constructed an archive on Marxism and labour movements, collecting documents from before the Second War. He had an interest in countries emerging from post-colonial struggle and in socialist educational-humanistic movements (Feltrinelli). As an editor, he introduced the Paperback edition and 'one book per week' initiative and the publication of Latin American literature (Cesana).

The publishing house Feltrinelli (1954) has a history that parallels Maspero's, with the establishment of a new concept of bookshop that 'flourished between 1960 and the 1970' (Hage) that culminated with an organic development as publishing houses and their founders' political engaged activity reflected in the catalogue. The symmetry of the position and activity of both publishers, even when the two men diverged in the strategy chosen, made them collaborate as part of a wider network. In this context, the transnational character of their activity is illustrated by the fact that Giangiacomo Feltrinelli (1926 – 1972) published in French the banned *La Révolution*

algérienne, problèmes et perspectives (1962), by the French activist Francis Jeanson[31] (1922 – 2009), 'thus [making] it available to Parisian readers and activists and then distributed throughout France'. The Italian publisher suggested 'to do things 'on a grand scale' with the organisation of illegal transport by truck', but Maspero disagreed with the strategy and preferred to continue with the distribution of small post parcels to avoid censorship (Hage 110). The publisher did not feel limited to act only inside Italian borders: the urgency to deliver the text to a target readership justified the publication in the source language.

The collaboration between Feltrinelli and Maspero illustrates the transnational character of the socialist project and the sympathisers and activists' network. By 1964, Feltrinelli was disillusioned with politics and became involved with militant actions. He fell to his death when the bomb went off. Feltrinelli died tragically in 1972 when a bomb he alleged was carrying went off accidentally (Feltrinelli 252). The publishing house continued along the same editorial line.

German

The publishing House Suhrkamp was founded by Peter Suhrkamp (1891-1959) in Frankfurt in 1950, who developed the famous ethos that the company publishes more than just books; it publishes authors. After Suhrkamp's death, Karl Siegfried Unseld (1924- 2002) took it over, continuing the publication of important writers, mainly left-wing thinkers and fiction authors. He expanded the back catalogue of the publisher that rapidly became 'the intellectual centre of the German avant-garde'. During the division of Germany, the company defended the invitation of publishers from the East German RDA to the Frankfurt book fair (Unseld, 2010). By 1968, the editors of the house started a rebellious action claiming a more autonomous model with cooperative work with authors reflecting the spirit of the student movement. Still, Unseld managed to overturn it, and he maintained control of the firm.

Since its foundation, Suhrkamp has been Bertolt Brecht's publisher, and it currently has a specific theatre branch, the Suhrkamp Theater Verlag. The publisher broadened its Latin American catalogue in 1976 with great names such as Octavio Paz, and it

[31] Jeanson was convicted of high treason in absentia (1960) but he was forgiven and went back to France (1966). He worked in the Théâtre de Bourgogne under the direction of Jacques Fornier. He was the main editor of the Declaration of Villeurbanne in May of 1968 and influenced the concept of 'non- public' developed in the manifesto.

proudly continues to support Latin American literature. The Publishing House has been publishing Boal's *Theater der Unterdrückten* (1979-to date) and a new revised version of the classic *Übungen und Spiele für Schauspieler und Nicht-Schauspieler (2013- to date)* [*Exercises and games for actors and non-actors*].



Boal, Übungen und Spiele für Schauspieler und Nicht-Schauspieler

Editor, translator, practitioner, collaborator

Thorau and Spinu had a double role as editors and translators; besides that, Thorau was the author of the third chapter – a report on the 'protocols' of a Boal workshop – and he also interviewed Boal for the fourth chapter. The translation source language was Brazilian Portuguese, as discussed before. Both translators have expertise in Brazilian theatre, and Spinu wrote a book about the Brazilian playwright Nelson Rodrigues (Spinu, 1986). Thorau had a long-lasting relationship with Boal and Theatre of the Oppressed. More recently, Thorau has published a book about Invisible Theatre (Thorau, Unsichtbares Theater, 2013).

The disruptive character of the translation, maintaining just part of the chapter 'Poética del/do Oprimido' and introducing other essays and a new chapter, presents the prevalence of a pragmatic reading of the book, eliminating theoretical texts and contrasting accounts of the South and the North. The ample role played by Thorau in the making of the volume illustrates the complexity of translational processes in progress in the establishment of the Theatre of the Oppressed as a framework; the adherence to Boal's project is behind the re-framing of the book.

The editor's decision to omit the chapter '*Hegel e Brech: Personagem-Sujeito ou Personagem-Objeto?'* can be linked to the fact that Brecht is part of German's literary system and the host culture; what made the chapter less relevant for the target

readership. Interestingly, the geographical location of Boal's workshop, Latin America (Peru) and Europe (Italy), is used as criteria to reorganise the book. Here, the attachment of the region (with a complex and diverse reality within itself) apparently neutralises the highly ideological nature of the framework and considers the space of the Oppressed intervention as only a background for the practices of the Framework of the Oppressed.

English

The English translation *Theater of the Oppressed* was published simultaneously by Urizen Books in New York and by Pluto Press in London in 1979.

The publishing house Urizen Books (1975-1981) was an innovative company founded by Michael Roloff, editor at Continuum Books and translator of Handke, Wieland Schulz-Keil, a filmmaker, and Bernard Hassan, in 1976, which pledged to 'share a portion of its profits with all its authors and employees' (New Urizen). Unfortunately, it had a short life, closing only six years later.

Roloff's editorial experience was key to the new firm; he had represented Suhrkamp publishers in the USA and was able to interact with a network of publishers, including Feltrinelli's new director, Inge Feltrinelli and rapidly attracting a good deal of relevant book rights (Roloff). He summarised the publishing line of Suhrkamp that inspired him and that he wanted to replicate:

> '[…] I had represented Suhrkamp Verlag for two years and had had a chance to see how it developed its edition mix: four titles a month, politics, sociology and literature.' (Roloff)

The model of a profit-sharing or cooperative scheme was 'better known in Europe and England' than in the USA. Another important aspect of the company was that 'translators would receive a similar if diminished, author's deal in contrast to the usual arrangement' (New Urizen), and 'translators, too, were treated like authors' (Roloff). Wieland Schulz-Keil had directed plays in Europe, and he was a 'contributing editor to Theater Heute, Germany's leading theatre magazine' before moving to the USA, where he continued working as a film producer.

Roloff recalls his encounter with Boal and how the translation of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* came to be published by the company:

> '[…] Augusto Boal's *Theater of the Oppressed* was suggested to me by I forget his name, but I am still grateful for the suggestion, and I once spent a few hours with the author at the Fifth Avenue Bar'. (Roloff)

The undeniably resentful tone of Roloff regarding the end of the partnership with Schulz and the financial collapse of the viability of the editorial project is only replaced by a positive tone when he reminds the readers of the books the company was responsible for bringing to the market. *Teatro del/do Oprimido* is among them.

With the collapse of Urizen, *Theatre of the Oppressed,* I had to find another publisher in the United States of America. Theatre Communications Group (1961), a non-profit organisation that supports playwrights and theatre groups, has been publishing the book since 1993 in the country.

The history of the British Pluto Press, founded in 1969, resembles that of Urizen Books but with an even more ideological mark:

> An independent publisher of radical, left-wing non-fiction books. Established in 1969, we are one of the oldest radical publishing houses in the UK, but our focus remains to make timely interventions in contemporary struggles. (Pluto books, website)

The aftermath of the civil rights movements that culminated in the 'upheaval' of 1968 is clear in the manifesto of the company. The founder of the publishing house, Richard Kuper, stated that he thought the organisation would publish pedagogical socialist material as he was a member of the International Socialists (IS). Still, soon, he realised they would produce a more diversified line of work. The publishing house defines its project as 'emerging out of the Marxist tradition', with an ethos of 'anti-capitalist, internationalist and politically independent', not being associated with 'any political party or organisation'. The position of translation is highly ideological in this context:

> Our books have appeared in countless different languages and on every continent, reflecting an internationalism that is practical and not merely programmatic. (Pluto books, website)

The remarkable back catalogue of Pluto passed on to the second directive of the company included books that became classics like Karl Marx, Frantz Fanon, Noam Chomsky, bell hooks, Edward Said, and Boal's works. The challenge to maintain an

internationalist ethos in a national world was always present. The resilience of the publishing house saw the end of the communist bloc in the nineties, with the so-called 'end of ideology' era and a resurgence of activists in the new millennium. The documentary 'Pluto Press Documentary: 50 Years of Independent Radical Publishing' shows how the company reinvented itself and is now a Social Enterprise with a presence in the UK, Europe, USA (). *Theatre of the Oppressed*, still published by Pluto, was constantly remembered on the 50th anniversary of the cooperative as a key work.

Conclusion

Boal's proposal of theatre practices that aimed to challenge societal roles and inequality attracted the attention of theatre critics and practitioners from the beginning of the dislocation of his work to other countries. However, the theoretical discussions that justified and posed questions about traditional practices of theatre underwent translational processes that echoed in the way the seminal *Teatro del/do Oprimido* was translated, sometimes as part of a trilogy, as the foundation of a theoretical framework upon the reading of a diachronic exposition of crucial theatre poetics.

In this chapter I retraced the ways in which editors' and practitioners' agency shaped the reading, development, relocation and reinscription of the Theatre of the Oppressed during Boal's exile.

In this chapter I have begun to trace the history of Boal's translation into other, primarily European languages, in the 1970s. Based on primary research to create a database of all the published translations of *Teatro del/do oprimido*, and informed by my uncovery of the ways in which the early translations, into French, Italian, German and especially English, have impacted subsequent translations and editions up to the present day, the main focus of the chapter ended up being on the factors that led to the translation, on the different agents involved, and on the ways in which the book was framed. As I have shown, the process of Boal's translation in this period unfolded in parallel with the trajectory of his exile in Europe, and his movement from Lisbon to Paris. It was also impacted by his relationships with a network of engaged theatre practitioners and publishers in Europe. These contingencies can be traced within the re-framing of the texts, along with aspects that relate to the new sociocultural contexts in which they were translated. In some cases, this relates to different understandings of

theatre, the popular, the oppressed, or even revolution, for even the international language of "Marxism" turns out to have its own local meanings and understandings. In other cases, this relates to the ways in which each target context reads the significance of the figure of Boal and his contribution. It is notable both how the different target texts insist on framing him as a figure of Latin American revolution, while at the same time shifting the emphasis and significance of this revolutionary message. The micro-linguistic analysis in Chapter 5 builds on the contextual and paratextual work in this chapter. In many ways, it is the continuation of the findings presented here, investigating how far the reframing of Boal's work leaves traces in the linguistic translation of his words and ideas.

In chapter 5, I will excavate linguistic traces of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in translation to retrace translators' strategies and choices and to see how the changing international and transcultural context manifests in the body of the text.

Chapter 5

Linguistic Analysis of the Translation of 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'

Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to explore how the readings of Boal discussed in the previous chapter are reflected and embodied in the translations by analysing the micro- linguistic features during the first translation period and the reception of the Theatre of the Oppressed between 1975 and 1979. To carry out this analysis, I created a parallel aligned corpus containing the Spanish, Brazilian-Portuguese, French, Italian, and English versions of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* published in the 1970s. The criteria for the choice of languages follow the date of publication, the status of the language as an intermediary source language for indirect translation (Spanish, French, and English) of Brazilian texts, the grade of restructuration of the book (Italian) and the necessity to define a manageable corpus for the scope of the chapter. The German translation is presented only in the prologue parallel reading, as it breaks the translation pattern and introduces creative rewriting, crossing genre from narrative to poetry.

This method enabled comparative analysis of language choices and other linguistic features to establish which of the versions (Spanish or Brazilian-Portuguese) were used as the primary source text and the level of intertextuality between the different versions and other intertexts (both relating directly to the Theatre of the Oppressed framework, such as the paratexts discussed in the previous chapter. This was deemed necessary to investigate how far the ideological shifts detected in the paratexts are present in the linguistic texture of the target texts, as well as to gain further insight into how and why particular ideological keywords became significant (and later fixed) in the new context of dissemination and reception of the Framework of the Oppressed.

The analysis focuses on *Teatro del/do Oprimido*'s chapter 'Poética del Oprimido', section 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'. According to the investigation in Chapter 1 of the connections between Boal and Freire's work, the section may be the origin of the reading of Theatre of the Oppressed belonging to the

Framework of the Oppressed. Consequently, the essay analysed here is an intersectional place to observe how displacement and translation played a role (or not) in the unfolding process of the Framework's construction. In line with my findings in Chapter 3, the Spanish version, written during Boal's exile in Argentina, is provisionally positioned as the ST, with the Brazilian Portuguese version placed as a Target Text alongside the French, Italian, and English translations. A fuller analysis of the traces of the Spanish language in the Civilização Brasileira text is also provided in chapter 3. Here, rather than a prescriptive concern with identifying shifts away from the meaning of a single authoritative source text, I am more interested in describing the relationship between the different texts, detecting how they communicate intertextually, between and across languages in the development and dissemination of the Framework of the Oppressed, and in connection with related discourses and keywords in the host context. In other words, this chapter's parallel comparative analysis is descriptive rather than performing a translation quality analysis.

The micro-analysis of critical concepts that inform the Framework of the Oppressed forms a vital part of the reconstruction of cultural and linguistic transposition processes underlying the framework's subsequent and continued dissemination. Furthermore, as recognised in the work of Lefevere, building on the insights of the Manipulation School and descriptive translation studies, translation as a form of rewriting always entails a process of adaptation to the host cultural context. It must, therefore, be read with ideological and political constraints in mind. The magnifying glass will facilitate a more detailed observation of how patronage (Lefevere, 1992, page 87) mediates the translation of a highly ideological text; on the other, it will provide further details of the translators' strategies to relocate the project and engage their target readership. Because of the overtly political framing of Boal's text, the primary focus will be on the ideological aspect of the translational process. However, it is worth noting that the initial norm of the target texts appears to dictate adherence to the source system, with close correspondence lexically and syntactically throughout. Perhaps, as discussed below, this indicates prevalent approaches to translation in the 1970s, with greater expectations of formal equivalence, particularly of essays and theoretical texts. Furthermore, aesthetic and political identification with Boal's project might also have influenced a high level of fidelity to form and content. In parallel, this chapter pays particular attention to the (re)construction of the Theatre

of the Oppressed terminology across the different languages of the five versions, as the translational and reception processes in the first period of the dissemination of the book are critical to the development, acceptance, and fossilisation of a lexicon that is recognised and shared by Theatre of the Oppressed practitioners. The investigation of keywords across the source and target texts is thus considered to be a key part of the diachronic analysis of the construction of the Framework of the Oppressed, from the publication of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogia del/degli/of Oprimido* (1970) to the reading of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* (1974) in translation through to international appraisal of the two books as part of a standard system. The micro-analysis proposed here recognises that social and intellectual 'issues [can] not all be understood simply by analysis of the words. However, we must be 'conscious of the words as elements of the problem' (Williams, 1976, page XXVII). Williams' keywords dictionary is based on 'the developments in philological knowledge that had demonstrated the historical interrelationship between languages' and 'marries the resources of philology to investigate social and political thought' (MacCabe, 2014, page IX). Thus, William's work is highly effective to analyse translation processes observed in the parallel corpora, considering how ideology informs the target texts. The (re)writing and (re)construction of the Theatre of the Oppressed terminology in different languages can, in other words, provide important clues to the cultural processes involved in the transposition of Boalian ideas to other realities (in space and time).

As analysed in Chapter 3, '*Una experiencia de teatro popular an el Perú*' is Boal's account of his participation in teaching theatre techniques in a literacy programme, Programa de Alfabetización Integral (ALFIN, 1973-1977), founded by the revolutionary government of Peru (1968-1980) (De Buhler, Reforma Educativa Peruana: del proyecto a la realización, 1977) and has three essential narrative layers: as well as presenting and outlining a theatre praxis, it disseminates a revolutionary message and an account of Boal's Latin American exile experience.

In Chapter 4, we were able to observe how Boal's ideas were (re)framed by mediators in different European languages in the 1970s via a series of paratextual and macro-textual processes (introductions, interviews, and re-structuring of the elements of the text). Here, we will explore more specifically how the translators (often theatre practitioners themselves) rewrote the text in the light of this reframing.

Linguistic Analysis

The created an aligned parallel multilingual corpus, utilising Sketch Engine tool to search for patterns in the translations. After that, I made a close textual analysis of the re-writing strategies used at word and sentence level. Finally, I proceeded a critical analysis of particular ideological keywords at the heart of the Theatre of the Oppressed project. In retracing the usage of keywords, I used newspaper and journal archives and the repository of university libraries to locate samples of the period of the production or publication of the texts. How the relation between the source text(s) and target texts is embodied in the texts themselves will be a key part of the study, as the prior analysis of the editorial project framing each translation pointed to a dynamic process of re-writing(s) that reflected the diverse network of intellectuals and theatre practitioners involved. The translation analysis aims to identify and account for the different forces operating in and on each text, namely the poetics of each host culture, as well as other extratextual powers, such as patronage and ideology (Lefevere, 1992), to assess the impact these had on the rewriting of Boal's essay. After an initial analysis of the translations' norms, the focus was narrowed to the translation of particular keywords and phrases associated with categories of theoretical roots, the revolutionary message, and the theatrical methodology.

Semantic fields

The prologue of 'Poética del/do Oprimido' is a short text that overlaps the two dimensions of Boal's work post-1964: the preparedness for a revolution and the articulation of the theatre of the oppressed as a system. The prologue aims to articulate the connection between the two sections of the chapter, 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' and 'El Sistema Comodín'. To that end, according to his main objective to disseminate political theatre, Boal uses a fable structure to tell the creation of theatre from the Greek myths to the 'people taking power'. The prologue keywords relate to the semantic field of theatre, revolution and Theatre of the Oppressed (see the full text of the prologue in Appendix J, pages 254 and 255).

A. Theatre: *teatro, carnaval, canto ditirâmbico, actores, espectadores, protagonistas, actuar;*

B. Revolution: *actuar, pueblo libre, clases dominantes, masa, pueblo oprimido, eliminar la propriedad privada, adoctrinamiento coercitivo*

C. Theatre of the Oppressed: *Sistema Comodín, teatro invisible, teatro foro, teatro imagen*.

The prologue was converted into a poem in the German translation (Boal, Theater der Unterdrückten, 1979) (see appendix xix), which concentrated on describing the poetic of the oppressed proposal to breaking the fourth wall, bringing performers and audience together and highlighting that the revolutionary dimension happens as a theatre practice. The translator's strategy aligns with the German version, which disrupted and restructured the book by adding the translator-practitioner Boal's workshop description.

The French translation adapted the chapter's prologue to reflect the chapter's dislocation to the beginning of the book. Similarly, the text was adapted in subsequent editions in Spanish with the relocation of the chapter 'Poética del Oprimido' at the beginning of the volume and introducing minor changes. It is clear from this that the French translation influenced later Spanish editions through the reorganisation of the chapter and the introduction of Boal's interview to the editor Émile Copfermann's *Au people les moyens de production théâtrale* (December 1976 -January 1977, Paris)'. In other words, Boal's residence in France from 1979 to 1985 led to a more prominent position for the French language and French readings in the dissemination of the Framework of the Oppressed, with the editorial decisions taken in the French edition being echoed in subsequent Spanish language editions, from Spain to Cuba. Even more recently, with the addition of the chapter '*El Sistema trágico coercitivo de Aristóteles*' in the latest Italian version, the translator states that the French text was the source for the translation (Salatino, 2011, page 157). The position of the Brazilian text is de-centred, and there is little sense that it is used as a source text for translation. The Italian version did not alter the prologue even though 'Poética del oprimido' is the only chapter from *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, and the two sections of the chapter were dismembered according to the rewriting axle.

The prologue indicates the author's strategy to use allegory to establish other systems of relations and equivalences for the reader. The revolutionary discourse takes centre stage in '*Experiencia en Perú'.*

Ideology and Revolutionary Discourse

To study the roots that feed and ground the Theatre of the Oppressed, it is essential to analyse the translation of Marxist terms and phrases embedded in Boal's text to observe what kind of shifts are visible in the first period of the dissemination of the book. Comparative study shows how Marxist keywords 'developed key meanings' or 'underwent a complicated and interactive development in several major languages' (Williams, 1976, page XXXI). The rooting of the Theatre of the Oppressed in Marxist ideology can be detected across the different chapters, as seen in Chapter Three. However, to 'avoid censorship, those in the cultural world had to invent strategies of resistance, between the lines, making the most of any tiny opportunity to protest' (Schwarcz, 2018, page 533) or to disseminate the revolutionary message.

Reading across the different versions of the text, in Spanish, Brazilian-Portuguese, French, Italian, and English, we will see a tendency to reproduce Marxist terms and phrases closely, indicating familiarity with this framework and a desire to continue to embed Boal's work in Marxist praxis, and, perhaps paradoxically, a parallel tendency at certain times to dampen or reduce the Marxist content, through synthesis, the use of synonyms, or in some instances significant shifts in positioning or point of view.

Here, we can see a clear example of how the translations often closely follow the Argentine-Spanish original's lexis and syntax. The highlighted terms relate to the Marxist theoretical framework and are a core part of the social analysis in Boal's essay.

Ar Sp 18 words	7) Rituales y máscaras. Las relaciones de producción (**infraestructura**) determinan la cultura de una sociedad (**superestructura**).
PtBr 17 words	7) Rituais e Máscaras - As relações de produção (**infra-estrutura**) determinam a cultura de uma sociedade (**superestrutura**).
Fr 16 words	7. Rituels et masques. Les rapports de production d'une société (**infrastructure**) déterminent sa culture (**superstructure**).
It 16 words	7. Riti e maschere. I rapporti di produzione (**infrastrutture**) determinano la cultura di una società (**sovrastrutture**).

En 16 words	7. Rituals and masks: The relations of production (**infrastructure**) determine the culture of a society (**superstructure**).
ArSp 13 words	A veces cambia la **infraestructura**, pero la **superestructura** permanece, por un tiempo, igual.
PtBr 14 words	Às vezes, modifica-se a **infra-estrutura**, mas a **super-estrutura** permanece, por algum tempo, a mesma.
Fr 14 words	Parfois l'infrastructure change, mais la **superstructure** perdure un moment sans changement.
It 14 words	A volte cambia l' **infrastruttura**, ma pemane la **sovrastruttura**, uguale, per un certo tempo.
En 13 words	Sometimes, the **infrastructure** changes, but the **superstructure** for a while remains the same.

Arguably, the verb transitivity of the Spanish version differs from the Brazilian-Portuguese version. The position of the verb at the beginning of the sentence in both versions of the second sentence highlights the importance of the action; both Spanish and Portuguese have a flexible syntax position system. However, the French, Italian, and English translations clearly make *infraestructura* as the subject agent of the verb *cambiar*, interpreting the sentence as follows:

*A veces cambia la **infraestructura*** (subject after the verb)
= *A veces la infraestructura* (subject) *cambia* (active voice)

The utterance in Brazilian-Portuguese has a grade of ambiguity, with both interpretations grammatically possible:

Às vezes, modifica-se a **infra-estrutura** ('se' reflexive pronoun)
= Às vezes, modificam (subject not explicit) a infra-estrutura **(**active voice)
or
Às vezes, modifica-se a **infra-estrutura** (passive voice with 'se')
= Às vezes a infra-estrutura é modificada (passive voice)
(De Castillo, 2010, page 290)

The discussion around the possibility of interfering with the phases of the development of society, to what extent the infrastructure and superstructure can be

modified, and the 'compartmentalised historical vision of the Partido Comunista Brasileiro'[32] (Boal J., 2022) is pivotal to understanding the fragmentation of the left and the difference of opinion related to the armed struggle. However, my analysis only shows that translators tried to adhere to Boal's text closely.

In this particular example, overall, there is little re-writing of the ideological keywords in the original across the languages. However, it draws attention to how the translatability of Boal's praxis in the 1970s is linked to a common theoretical superstructure recognisable across the target contexts. The terms are not only embedded in the source and target languages with the characteristic process of appropriation and adaptation of the words that express a consolidated philosophical concept with a transversal movement in translating theoretical or philosophical texts.

They ultimately translate from a prior text and language (German). The sample below focuses on the use of the term superstructure within cultural analysis:

> 'Superstructure' (*Überbau*) has had the most attention. In common usage, after Marx, it acquired a main sense of a unitary 'area' within which all cultural and ideological activities could be placed. However, already in Marx himself, in the later correspondence of Engels, and at many points in the subsequent Marxist tradition, qualifications were made about the determined character of certain superstructural activities. (Williams, 1973, page 33)

Nevertheless, the quotation from Williams above indicates that these terms shift in meaning across time (and space), something we will see more clearly in the case of other words borrowed or calqued from Marx.

> El conjunto de estas relaciones de producción forma la **estructura** económica de la sociedad, la base real sobre la que se levanta la **superestructura** jurídica y política y a la que corresponden determinadas formas de conciencia social. (Marx and Engels, 1966, page 348 my emphasis)

Although Marxist discourse provides the grounds on which Boal constructs the concepts of the Theatre of the Oppressed, there is quite a controlled use of the terms, with a careful presence of them only in key moments of the text. The immediate target

[32] For a study on Theatre of the Oppressed and the Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Boal J., 2022)

readership – even of the source text – was expected to be initiated in Marxist theory. The author's choice makes sure that the readability of the text prevails. Again, it is possible that self-censorship was a factor of the careful approach to weigh when and to what extent the specialised terminology should be part of the theoretical discussion. To that end, Boal added a pedagogical dimension to the essay, explaining concepts through storytelling in a very contextualised narrative, as observed in the following sample. In this instance, the 'actor' (client without money to pay) interacts with the 'audience' (the waiter) in an Invisible Theatre – the Theatre of the Oppressed technique in which 'actors' perform a scene in public locally, bringing the 'audience' to the middle of the action to find solutions for a problem without revealing that the actors are performing – intervention:

ArSp 42 words	[...]Pero como no tengo dinero, le pagaré en **fuerza de trabajo.** –¿En qué? -preguntó atónito el mesero ¿En **fuerza** de qué cosa? – En **fuerza de trabajo**, así nomás, como lo oyó usted. Dinero no tengo, pero puedo alquilar mi **fuerza de trabajo.**
BrPt 43 words	[...]Mas, como eu não tenho dinheiro, vou pagar em **força de trabalho** —Em **força** do quê"? — perguntou o garçom atônito.**"** — Em **força de trabalho**, 'nada mais nada menos. Dinheiro eu não tenho, mas posso alugar a minha **força de trabalho**.
Fr 36 words	[...]Mais, comme je n'ai pas d'argent, je vous paierai en **force de travail**. – En **force** de quoi? répond Je garçon stupéfait. – En **travail**. Je n'ai pas d' argent mais je peux vendre ma **force de travail**.
It 44 words	[...]Ma visto che non ho soldi, glielo pagherò sotto **forma di lavoro**. Come? - chiese attonito il cameriere. - Sotto **forma** di cosa? Sotto **forma di lavoro**, così come ha sentito. Non ho denaro, però posso mettere a disposizione la mia **forza di lavoro**.
En 36 words	'[...]But since I'm broke, I will pay you with **labour-power**.' 'With what?' asks the waiter, astonished. 'What kind of **power**?' With **labor-power**, just as I said. I am broke but I can rent you my **labour-power**.

ArSp 41 words	El actor le explica de nuevo a éste el asunto de **alquilar su fuerza de trabajo**, y agrega: – Y además hay otro problema: yo **alquilo mi fuerza de trabajo** pero la verdad es que no sé hacer nada, o casi nada.
BrPt 46 words	O protagonista, uma vez mais, explica o assunto - esse de **alugar a força de trabalho**, e acrescenta: "Além disso tem outro problema: eu estou disposto **a alugar a minha força de trabalho**, mas, na verdade, eu não sei fazer nada, ou quase nada...
Fr 27 words	L'acteur lui raconte à nouveau son histoire de **vente de force de travail** et ajoute: « L'ennui c'est que je ne sais presque rien faire.
It 40 words	L'attore spiega di nuovo a questi la storia Il della possibilità **di lavorare** e aggiunge: – C'è inoltre un altro problema: che io metto a disposizione la mia **forza di lavoro**, ma in verità non so fare nulla o quasi nulla.
En 41 words	The actor explains again to the latter the business of **renting** his **labour-power** and adds: 'And besides, there is another problem: I'll rent my **labour power,** but the truth is that I don't know how to do anything or very little.

The collocation *fuerza de trabajo* is used three times in the source text in sample A.2.1; the same number of repetitions was carried through in Portuguese and English. In French, the term appears twice, with the avoidance of duplication in the short answer: '— En force de quoi? […] — En travail. […]'. In Italian, the term 'forza di lavoro' appears just once, and *forma di lavoro* replaces it. The Invisible Theatre intervention culminates in explaining the Marxist concept of labour-power. 'Labour-power' is a term coined by Karl Marx in 'Capital':

> We mean by *labour-power* or labour-capacity, the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the material form, the living personality, of a human being, capabilities which he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind. (Marx K., 1976, page 270, my emphasis)

Boal's repetition of the concept's name is an efficient pedagogical device and an almost subliminal form of writing about capitalism (and passing on his message) and unbalanced capital distribution. However, the Italian and French translators' decision to avoid excessive repetition improves the structure of the text and fluency.

In Marx, the process is seen as the history of labour, in which humanity creates it by creating its world. Still, society turned away from this essential nature by specific forms of alienation in the division of labour, private property and the capitalist mode of production in which the worker loses both the product of their work and his sense of their productive activity, following the expropriation of both by capital. The increasing popularity of the term 'alienated' (Williams, 1976, page 5) (see Chapter 1 for Boal's critique of Brazilian 'alienated artists' (Boal, 1968, O que pensa você da arte de esquerda?) explains the introduction of the word in the French version (1977).

ArSp 18 words	Esta historia en particular era una porquería, pero, al mismo tiempo, servía como magnífico ejemplo de **penetración ideológica**.
PtBr 14 words	Esta história, particularmente, era uma porcaria, mas servia como excelente exemplo de **penetração ideológica**.
Fr 12 words	Cette histoire-là était particulièrement sordide, mais utile comme magnifique exemple d'**aliénation idéologique.**
It 18 words	Questa storia in particolare eta una porcheria, ma, allo stesso tempo serviva da magnifico esempio di **penetrazione ideologica**.
En 20 words	This particular story was sheer trash, but at the same time, it served as a magnificent example of **ideological insight**.

The translator's choice of 'ideological insight' in the English version shifts the attention to the oppressor who understands how to keep the oppressors alienated through the dissemination of stories that reinforce stereotypes instead of emphasising the popularity of the type of fiction targeted to the masses analysed by Boal, a *fotonovela*. The French translation strategy highlights the negative impact of the popularity of the stories – aligned with Boal's point of view – with the choice of the term *aliénation* in place of penetration. Alienation is part of the semantic field of the Marxism theoretical framework.

Teatro Político: *Rol Protagónico*

The long utterance in the sample below is closely conveyed in all translations studied with a subtle movement towards emphatic and functional punctuation that, together with a change of text register, favoured a gain in readability. The brackets highlighted the additions of words in the Portuguese language and English versions.

ArSp 54 words	Lo que propone la Poética del oprimido es la acción misma: (1) el espectador no **delega poderes** en el personaje ni para que piense ni para que actúe en su lugar**;** (2) al contrario, él mismo asume su **rol protagónico** (3), cambia la acción dramática, **ensaya** soluciones, **debate** proyectos de cambio en resumen, (4) **se entrena** (5) para la acción real.
BrPt 57 words	O que a Poética do Oprimido propõe é a própria ação**!** (1) O espectador não **delega poderes** ao personagem para que atue nem para que pense em seu lugar**:** (2) ao contrário, ele mesmo assume um **papel protagônico (**3), transforma a ação dramática **[**inicialmente proposta**]**, **ensaia** soluções **[**possíveis**]**, **debate** projetos modificadores**:** (4) em resumo, **[**o espectador**] ensaia** (5), [**preparando-se]** para a ação real.
Fr 58 words	Ce que propose la poétique de l'opprimé, c'est l'action même: (1)le spectateur ne délègue [aucun] pouvoir au personnage, ni pour qu'il joue, ni pour qu'il pense à sa place: (2) au contraire, il assume lui-même son rôle d'acteur principal (3) transforme l'action dramatique, tente des solutions, envisage des changements — (4) bref, s'entraîne(5) pour l'action réelle'.
It 60 words	Ciò che propone appunto la Poetica dell'Oppresso è l'azione in sé: (1) lo spettatore non delega poteri al personaggio né perché pensi, né perché rappresenti al posto suo; (2) al contrario, è egli stesso che assume un ruolo di protagonista (3), modifica l'azione drammatica, sceglie soluzioni, discute progetti di trasformazione — (4) in breve, si trascina (5) nell'azione reale.
En 63 words	Nevertheless, the poetics of the oppressed focuses on the action itself: (1) the spectator delegates no power to the character [(or actor)] either to act or to think in his place; (2) on the contrary, he assumes the protagonic (3) role, changes the dramatic action, tries out solutions, discusses plans for change — (4) in short, trains (5) himself for real action.

In the sample, the reading in parallel with the translations indicates that the Spanish version was the source of the translations instead of the Portuguese language text. Furthermore, here, it is possible to observe that the Brazilian version was edited with these additional words to improve the utterance's structure and emphasise the spectator's role. The fact that there are additions that only appear in the Civilização Brasileira version provides evidence of self-translation from the Spanish and that the solutions in the French edition were considered. Even though the sample is from an essay (rather than a work of fictional creation), the presence of self-translation here reveals that Boal sees translation as a process of imaginative rewriting, taking more liberty than would normally be expected of translation proper, performing an

actualisation of the text to address the Brazilian public, to highlight current issues and reinstate his agency in the Brazilian scene from his exile in France.

Attention to the punctuation of the different versions underlines the process of self-translation as re-writing indicated above. The first line of the Brazilian text is an emphatic call for action, marked by the exclamation mark (1); here, the paragraph's opening tone is that of a Manifesto, with an appeal to the affective, something that is more muted in the other languages. Overall, the Brazilian text's prosody privileges the fluidity of the text, with the use of commas and colons, in the second part of the passage. In contrast, the Argentinian version uses a more dispassionate and descriptively orientated tone to introduce the different features of the theatre of the oppressed. This choice is mimicked in the French, Italian and English versions, so the actions listed become an expansion and explicitation of the first clause. The passage in other languages presents a more neutral description of the 'Poética del Oprimido' – reflecting the original title of the chapter – rather than resorting to the emotional appeal of propaganda – yet both are key elements of Boal's practice in some ways. Although it became known as Theatre of the Oppressed, the term poetics reminds us that this refers both to the theoretical and practical domains, the praxis.

In contrast, the second colon in this passage reinforces the impression that the French and Brazilian versions were probably produced near each other. The Italian and English bring across the semicolon from the Spanish version. While all three then follow the Spanish punctuation closely, the fact that they all introduce dashes to mark out the final, more informally phrased, summary of the elements of the Theatre of the Oppressed – in Spanish 'en resumen, (4) se entrena (5) para la acción real' – might indicate a higher degree of intertextuality across the translations, i.e., that the French version is used as a mediating version by all subsequent translations. In all three translations, there is a tendency to standardise punctuation, emphasising cohesion and coherence to transmit the Theatre of the Oppressed project as a resource.

In terms of lexical choices, both the Portuguese and English versions opt for close translation of the adjective *protagónico*, whilst the French translator uses the strategy of modulation and explanation (*d'acteur principal*) and the Italian the addition of a preposition and the use of the noun *protagonista,* (*di protagonista*). Further reflection on the term *protagónico* is relevant here, as it is a word that brings together the semantics of Marxist praxis and performing arts in a manoeuvre that is key to

Boal's project. If we look more closely at the word's usage in Spanish, we will find examples that indicate it was primarily used as an adjective to refer to dramatic roles. In the instance that follows, for example, it is very clearly used in the context of what Boal would call 'dramatic theatre': 'Protagónico, ca. adj. protagonista. Posiblemente esté el jovencísimo actor […] un poco "verde" para un papel tan absolutamente protagónico como es el suyo' (Seco, 1999, page ABC).

However, the collocation *función protagónica* and *rol/papel protagónico* also appear frequently to refer to a social group, for example, *pueblo*, in texts from a revolutionary context. See, for example, the following usage from texts produced in the same period as the Argentine edition of *Teatro del Oprimido*:

> Para ello propone la formación ahora de un Frente que agrupe a los sectores antifascistas de Chile y expresa su decisión de luchar para que en el interior del Frente la clase obrera juegue el *rol protagónico* que le corresponde […]. (Chile-América, 1974, page 5, my emphasis)

And

> Si la autogestión tiene como finalidad transformar el trabajador, hoy reducido a instrumento de producción, en el *protagonista* directo de la producción y dueño de su propia vida, este *papel protagónico* debe empezar a realizarse en el seno del sindicato. Lo que diferencia radicalmente a un sindicato autogestionario de un sindicato autoritario es que en éste el trabajador es mero ejecutante de las decisiones tomadas desde arriba, y en aquél, en el sindicato autogestionario, cada trabajador es responsable, de acuerdo con los demás, de la marcha del sindicato y debe tener un *papel* decisor, *protagónico*. (Giner, 1976, page 126, my emphasis)

The collocation *papel protagónico* conveys the transformation of the passive masses to active participation in decision-making; the term was broadly used in the labour movement during the 1970s. As discussed earlier (Chapter One), Latin American political theatre worked with trade unions to mobilise factory and rural workers. This helps explain how the pamphlets' language might have influenced theatre vocabulary.

Although the adjective *protagônico* (3) does not appear either in Brazilian Portuguese language dictionaries (Dicionário Houaiss) or European Portuguese language dictionaries (Dicionário Porto Editora da Língua Portuguesa) or the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa's (CPLP) official corpora (Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa), it does appear in academic, political, and journalistic texts in Portuguese. The following example from *Jornal do Brasil* is drawn from an article about the Peruvian revolution. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given that both texts refer to the same context, the collocation used reflects exactly the usage in Boal's text:

> O programa do PARA, como o de Velasco Alvarado, não descartava mas ao contrário punha ênfase no papel do Estado, que se uniria de um lado aos seus trabalhadores fortalecidos e de outro ao setor externo para assumir um *papel protagônico* do processo. (Góes, 1975, page 15, my emphasis)

Significantly, however, in this piece, it is the Revolutionary government that assumes the central role alone. The word *protagônico* also appears in the following sample drawn from the newspaper Tribuna da Imprensa, a translation from Spanish into Portuguese of Salvador Allende's speech to union workers, indicating translingualism:

> Santiago – O presidente socialista Salvador Allende presidiu hoje uma sessão solene com a qual a Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) principal sindicato trabalhista chileno, comemorou os vinte anos de sua fundação.
>
> O chefe de Estado demonstrou sua estima aos trabalhadores afiliados à CUT dizendo: "São vocês que têm um **rol** [sic] **protagônico no processo revolucionário**, porque vocês são o governo". (O grito da América, 1973)

The context of both samples indicates that the adjective protagônico has a lower usage in Portuguese and is mostly used in a Latin American revolutionary discourse that originated in Spanish. By way of comparison, the word protagonista can function as a noun and also as an adjective and has much higher usage. In Brazilian-

Portuguese, it is also used frequently to convey politically activist meanings as well as theatrical ones:

> Protagonista. Etimology: gr. prōtagōnistḗs,oû no sentido de 'que *combate na primeira fila*; o que desempenha o *papel principal em uma peça teatral*; falar em público; ter o primeiro lugar', de prôtos no sentido de 'primeiro' + agōnistḗs no sentido de 'lutador, atleta', do v. agōnídzomai no sentido de 'concorrer em jogos públicos, lutar, disputar o prêmio; combater'; [..] der. de agṓn,ônos no sentido de *'assembleia, reunião*, assembleia para os jogos públicos; jogo, concurso, luta, combate; *ação militar, batalha;* luta judiciária, processo' [...] (Dicionário Houaiss, my emphasis)

In 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú', the use of the word *protagónico* lends the text a highly specific ideological register. The production of texts and speeches by the labour movement in Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America greatly influenced texts written in Brazil, and the language of the pamphlets circulated beyond borders. In this context, if there is a degree of translingualism in the translator's choice, it is not accidental but a mark of adherence to the Latin American revolutionary project and a clear ideological statement. Hence, the translation choice is part of an ideological discourse; translingualism is significant as it brings the historical context to the fore.

Within Boalian theatre, in the late 1960s, *protagónico* described the first function of the Sistema Comodín, the character interpreted by only one actor, in contrast with the second function represented by the Coringa themselves:

> La primera función es la «*portagónica*» [sic] que, en el sistema, representa la realidad concreta y fotográfica. Esta es la única función en la que se da la vinculación perfecta y permanente entre el actor y el personaje: un solo actor representa a un solo protagonista. Aquí se da la empatía.
>
> Son varias las características necesarias para esta función, en la cual el actor debe valerse de la interpretación stanislavskiana, en su forma más ortodoxa. El actor «*protagónico*» debe tener la conciencia del personaje y no de los autores. (Boal, Teatro del Oprimido, 1974, page 220-221)

From a diachronic perspective, which is cognisant of how Boal's work has been made more accessible over the intervening period, the register here is highly formal and scholarly, limiting its accessibility to a wider public. Thus, it is perhaps unsurprising that even in the first translation period, the French edition opted to use the explanation strategy, rôle d'acteur principal, avoiding translingualism and revolutionary jargon. Investigation into the etymology of *protagonist* in French makes it clear that Boal's strategy to describe a theatrical practice that simultaneously instigates preparation for the revolution could have been conveyed in the translation without losing the Spanish implications of *protagónico*. In French, protagonist : Personne qui joue le premier rôle dans une affaire. → héros (Société Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2016).

However, the French translator's strategy to explain the adjective, *d'acteur principal*, in terms that are more accessible to a wider readership ends up privileging a focus on the semantic field of theatre and performance; it highlights the subject as an *actor* that emerges from the passive role of *spectator*.

In contrast, whilst the Italian version shows a similar preference for accessibility, it remains a much closer translation than the Spanish version. The translator adds the preposition *di* to the noun *protagonista* to convey the adjective *protagónico*, using a minimal shift in the utterance structure.

In both cases, however, the readability of the text is improved at the expense of erasure of the source context – revolution in Latin America. This example demonstrates how the universals of Target texts – simplification, explicitation and normalisation – play a role in the rewriting of Boal's text. Although the 'idea that translators *subconsciously* simplify the language or message or both' (Baker, 1996, page 176, my emphasis) seems unlikely, as discussed in the previous chapter. The consideration of the target readership and the Theatre of the Oppressed's objectives to engage with popular civil movements beyond theatre practitioners is clear in the editorial project of the first period of the *Teatro do/del Oprimido* translation. In other words, even though the French and Italian samples analysed here 'neutralise' the Latin American revolution any discourse represented by the *papel protagónico*, to efficiently reach different audiences, the translators compensated in other parts of the text with the use of foreign loan words, neologisms, and the introduction of paratexts that addressed the

context of the origins of the Theatre of the Oppressed. It is the very agency of these translators and editors, as explored previously, that indicates the likelihood of a *conscious* choice here to ensure the accessibility of the text for a wider readership, from community activists to non-theatre experts. The conscious choice might explain the motivation behind the replacement of the adjective, avoiding the neologism that might have restricted understanding to those who are already well informed about Latin American revolutionary discourse. To some extent, Boal's language is redesigned to target a different readership, more associated with theatre journals and magazines, and this helps to explain the translators' flexible approach regarding terminology and register. What is clear from reading across the different versions of this sample is that the principles and strategies of translation are not applied consistently. However, in general, any losses at a micro-level are compensated for at a macro-level through the paratexts discussed in the previous chapter. Notwithstanding the change of register and style, the microanalysis in this instance indicates the consistency of the editorial line with the macro-objectives of the text and Boal's proposition to invite the passive spectator to be the centre of the action, aligned with the political and labour discourse of the time.

The English translation uses a similar strategy to the Brazilian version, conveying *protagónico* by using a close translation, *protagonic*. In English, the noun protagonist is a technical term used primarily by literary, theatre and cinema critics when analysing texts; nonetheless, special attention should be given to the second meaning below:

> 1. Literature, theatre, film. Formal. One of the main characters in a story or a play.
>
>   Example: Her *protagonists* resemble silhouettes or marionettes, who present angular and impenetrable exteriors.
> 2. *Supporter: an important supporter of an idea or political system*.
>
>   Example: Key *protagonists* of the revolution were hunted down and executed. (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023, my emphasis)

Although the example below is drawn from a later explanation of the word *protagonic*, it offers insight into how the adjective is linked ideologically to the Latin American revolutionary context in texts about Cuba and, after the Bolivarian

government (1999–present), to Bolivarian discourse in Venezuela, in recent critical discourse:

> The struggle for a new political model of inclusive citizenship is coined in Bolivarian discourse as *una democracia participativa* and *protagónica*. While the first part of the expression is easily translated to "participatory democracy," the word *protagónica* (henceforth, protagonic) needs some clarification. It refers to a citizen's right not only to participate in pre- established frameworks designed from above but also to be a real 'actor, taking the initiative and leading in public affairs. This signalises a qualitative difference from "only" participatory politics. (Strønen, 2017, page 114)

According to Strønen, community members participate in decision-making through self-management in a 'participatory democracy'; after that, *protagonic* is a core concept for the emergent Forum Theatre (and of Legislative Theatre).

The statement that closes the essay 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' – 'Perhaps the theatre is not revolutionary in itself; but have no doubts, it is a rehearsal of revolution!' (Boal, 1979, page 44)– appears here in a condensed form: [el espectador] *cambia la acción dramática,* ***ensaya*** *soluciones,* ***debate*** *proyectos de cambio en resumen,* ***se entrena*** *para la acción real*. The effect of the repetition of the statement in the conclusion of the essay is somewhat lost because of the shift from the verb *ensaiar* (Fr. *répéter*, It. *provare,* En. *to rehearse*) to the verb *entrenar* in Spanish:

> Del fr. Entrainer, 1. tr. Preparar o adiestrar personas o animales, especialmente para la práctica de un deporte. (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española)

The French and English are close translations of the Spanish, with the sense to train the population to be part of the revolution. In Italian, the verb was translated by *trascinare*:

> trascinare v. tr. [lat. *traginare, der. di trahĕre «trarre»: v. trainare]. – 1. a. Tirarsi dietro qualche cosa, o anche animale o persona, facendoli strisciare sul suolo (Dizionario Treccani)

Hence, in English, to drag, to attract, to fascinate, to actuate (Cambridge Dictionary). The translator's choice resonates with the ripple effect aimed at by the techniques, bringing spectators to be active and in the centre of the project. Here, the semantic field of the revolution was prioritised over the theatrical arena, even though the double meaning was present in *ensaia*.

It is possible that Boal (and the Brazilian editor) had to water down the text to avoid censorship, and the term *rehearses* – more firmly associated with the semantic field of theatre and the performing arts – could be considered less explicitly revolutionary in the context. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is not entirely convincing as the section as a whole touch directly on the forbidden theme of Reforma Agrária (Land Reform) without any disguise. Furthermore, it maintains the reference to Cuba entirely removed from the English edition. The ALFIN project, on which this chapter of Boal's work draws, was part of the revolutionary government in Peru that had been supported by Latin American guerillas, even though the military government withdrawal of the project of the revolutionary civil movement (Góes, 1975). The combative tone is conveyed subtly in the Brazilian version; the message is aimed at a readership that recognises the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement and actively reads implied meanings, a strategy well disseminated during the Cold War years and the censorship post-1964 in Brazil.

The relation between theatre and *real action* is clear in the early Latin American editions of the text; however, the strategy to implement the revolutionary project was severely tested in this period, reflected in Boal's diminishing enthusiasm for the armed revolution during his exile. Even though Boal mentions the disillusionment with the Peruvian Revolutionary government in his interview with Emile Copfermann (December 1976 to January 1977), the text of the chapter is reprinted without re-contextualisation.

The second part of the utterance has a compelling tone, with Boal proposing to replicate the democratic, participatory process in performance to achieve active critical public engagement by removing the separation between the stage and the audience. The revolutionary discourse can potentially acquire a tone of spectacular occurrence, and by extension, it may use the vocabulary of performative arts. The Boalian text

carries through that semantic contiguity between the semantic field of revolution and the field of theatre practices.

Words of Liberation: Conscientização, Teatro Popular

The term *conscientização* has a pivotal role in constructing the framework of the Oppressed; the translation of the word and the concept was core to disseminating Freire's ideas. The concept was inspired by the reading of German philosophers, from Hegel's idealism, focusing on the individual subject, to the societal understanding of Marx, Hegel and Lukács. Perhaps rather surprisingly, the word appears only once in the section 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú'. Yet Boal's narrative here has a more pragmatic focus: the description of theatre practices to balance the theoretical content of the book's other chapters. The narratives of actual liberatory theatre practices fill the gap created by the absence of the word conscientização.

ArSp 13 words	En el primer caso se produce una "catarsis"; en el segundo, una "**concientización**".
Pt Br 12 words	No primeiro caso, produz-se uma "catarse"; o segundo, uma "**conscientização** ".
Fr 16 words	Dans le premier cas il se produit une "catharsis", dans le second, une "**prise de conscience**".
It 13 words	Nel primo caso si produce una "catarsi", nel secondo una "**presa di coscienza**".
En 15 words	In the first case, a 'catharsis' occurs; in the second, an **awakening of critical consciousness**.

(my emphasis)

The concept of conscientização, usually associated with Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, was not, by his admission, created by him.

> Acredita-se geralmente que sou autor deste estranho vocábulo "conscientização" por ser este o conceito central de minhas idéias sobre a educação. Na realidade, foi criado por uma equipe de professores do Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros por volta de 1964. Pode-se citar entre eles o filósofo Álvaro Pinto e o professor Guerreiro. Ao ouvir pela primeira vez a palavra conscientização, percebi imediatamente a profundidade de seu significado, porque estou absolutamente convencido

> de que a educação, como prática da liberdade, é um ato de conhecimento, uma aproximação crítica da realidade. Desde então, esta palavra forma parte de meu vocabulário. Mas foi Hélder Câmara quem se encarregou de difundi-la e traduzi-la para o inglês e para o francês. (Freire, 1979, page 15)

The word in Portuguese conveys both societal and psychological meanings:

> 1 ato ou efeito de conscientizar(-se); 1.1 ato de ficar consciente da própria condição ou situação; 1.2 processo ou efeito de trazer ao nível consciente sensações, sentimentos, impressões, pensamentos, ideias, experiências etc. próprios ou alheios ‹a c. das causas psicológicas de uma somatização. (Dicionário Houaiss)

In Portuguese and in Spanish, the noun represents 'la acción o efecto de concienciar o concienciarse' (Fernández, page 55) and is derived from conciencia. It signifies the reflection and action derived from the realisation of consciousness. It is a concept embedded in Marxist ideology, as illustrated by the following example recorded in a Spanish newspaper in 1970:

> Se programan una serie de actos […] encaminados, […] siguiendo tendencias *marxistas*, "a *concienciar* tendenciosamente al pueblo en ocasión de aquella muerte." (Concienciar: Abc 29th December 1970) (Diccionario Seco, 1999, page 1166, my emphasis)

Even though Freire's literacy project for adults is mentioned in a note at the beginning of the section of Boal's chapter on his Peruvian experience as an inspiration for ALFIN, the connection with the Freirean philosophy is implied but not discussed in the text itself. The specific link to Freirean philosophy is encapsulated by the word conscientização.

As Freire himself indicated, the term's origins are not entirely clear. One of the most accepted versions is that Freire heard it from a team of scholars from the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros around 1964 (Freire, 1979, page 25). Yet, Bordenave indicates that the concept circulated even before this in Brazil (George, 1995, page 72).

As recognised by Freire, the Brazilian Catholic archbishop Hélder Câmara, an advocate of Liberation Theology, was responsible for internationalising the term in English and French (Freire, 1979, page 15). Given this internationalisation of the term in the 1970s, it is interesting to note the degrees of resistance of the different target languages to incorporate the concept. Both in the French and Italian translations, the noun is conveyed in a noun phrase: noun+ preposition + noun. Both romance languages effectively rewrite the concept, adapting from the source language to a form perceived as more acceptable to the target system. Freire commented about the French 'prise de conscience' that it conveys the 'apprehension of reality' but leaves out the action that follows reflection. In a similar translational process, in English, *conscientização* became critical consciousness, unfolding the noun into an adjective followed by a noun, consequently losing the holistic perspective of the concept encompassing reflection and action in a single word.

The word *conscientização* appeared in English texts about education before the publication of Theatre of the Oppressed (Smith, page 17). Although there is evidence of a degree of English language resistance to anglicising the word, *conscientisation* was used to translate the Freirean concept in other texts and is named a core Freirean concept. Another word that has a key meaning when linked to Freirean Pedagogia del/do Oprimido and his work is *liberación*, and, of course, *teología de la liberación*. Nevertheless, *liberación* was also an action word with immediate connection to the context of the revolutionary-decolonising movement (1950-1975).

ArSp 71 words	Todas estas experiencias de teatro popular persiguen un mismo objetivo: la **liberación** del espectador sobre quien el teatro ha impuesto visiones acabadas del mundo. Y como quienes hacen el teatro en general son personas que pertenecen directa o indirectamente a las clases dominantes, por supuesto sus imágenes acabadas serán las imágenes de la **clase dominante**; el espectador del **teatro popular (el pueblo)**, no puede seguir siendo víctima pasiva de esas imágenes.
Br Pt 70 words	Todas estas experiências de teatro popular perseguem o mesmo objetivo: a **libertação** do espectador, sobre quem o teatro se habituou a impor visões acabadas do mundo. E considerando que quem faz teatro, em geral, são pessoas direta ou indiretamente ligadas às **classes dominantes**, é lógico que essas imagens acabadas sejam as imagens da classe dominante. O espectador do **teatro popular (o povo)** não pode continuar sendo vítima passiva dessas imagens.
Fr 70 words	Toutes ces expériences de théâtre populaire n'ont qu'un seul et même but : **libérer** le spectateur sur qui le théâtre a imprimé des images achevées du monde. Les gens qui font du théâtre appartiennent en général, directement ou indirectement, aux **classes dominantes :** leurs visions fermées seront donc celles des classes dominantes. Le spectateur du **théâtre populaire, le peuple**, ne peut continuer à être la victime passive de ces images.
It 74 words	Tutte queste esperienze di teatro popolare sono volte allo stesso obiettivo: la **liberazione** dello spettatore, su cui il teatro ha imposto visioni compiute, finite del mondo. E dal momento che coloro che fanno teatro generalmente sono persone che appartengono direttamente o meno alle **classi dominanti**, è naturale che le lor magini finite saranno quelle della classe dominante; lo spettatore del **teatro popolare (il popolo)** non può invece continuare ad essere vittima passiva di queste immagini.
En 76 words	All these experiments of a people's theatre have the same objective – the **liberation** of the spectator, on whom the theatre has imposed finished visions of the world. And since those responsible for theatrical performances are, in general, people who belong directly or indirectly to the ruling classes, obviously, their finished images will be reflections of themselves. The spectators in the **people's theatre** (**i.e., the people themselves**) cannot go on being the passive victims of those images.

ArSp 43 words	La poética del oprimido es, esencialmente, la **poética de la liberación**: el espectador ya no delega poderes en los personajes ni para que piensen ni para que actúen en su lugar. El espectador **se libera**: **¡**piensa y actúa por sí mismo**!,** Teatro es acción**!**
BrPt 42 words	A poética do oprimido é essencialmente uma **Poética da Liberação**: o espectador já não delega poderes aos personagens nem para que pensem nem para que atuem em seu lugar. O espectador **se libera**: pensa e age por si mesmo! Teatro é ação**!**
Fr 35 words	La poétique de l'opprimé est d'abord celle d'une **libération**: le spectateur ne délègue aucun pouvoir pour qu'on agisse ou pense à sa place. Il **se libère**, agit et pense pour lui-même. Le théâtre est action.
It 40 Word	La Poetica dell'Oppresso è scenicamente la **Poetica della Liberazione**; lo spettatore non delega piú poteri ai personaggi né perché pensino né perché rappresentino al suo posto. Lo spettatore **si libera**: pensa e agisce per se stesso**!** Il teatro è azione**!**
En 42 words	The poetics of the oppressed are essentially the **poetics of liberation**: the spectator no longer delegates power to the characters either to think or to act in his place. The spectator frees himself; he thinks and acts for himself**!** Theatre is action**!**

The Italian translation, maybe accidentally, added another overlap between the theatre semantic field (*Poetica dell'Oppresso*) and the revolutionary discourse (*Poetica della Liberazione*). The words in brackets do not appear in the text but convey the same meaning:

Spanish	***Esencialmente***	*[scenicamente]*
Italian	*[essenzialmente]*	***escénicamente***
English	***Essentially***	*[scenically]*

Returning to our main point, in the sample above, the noun *liberación* and the verb *liberar*, accompanied by the reflexive pronoun, to free oneself, to become liberated (Cambridge Dictionary), embody the objectives of Boal's work. In the second sample, *poética de la liberación* replaces *poética del oprimido* from the title of this

section, indicating for Boal that they are interchangeable. Likewise, after disseminating the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire defended that the praxis of critical education should go beyond a simple change in methodology, always fighting against empty rhetoric and the inadequate use of his concepts. He insisted that the isolated use of the term 'oppressed' did not encapsulate the critical perspective he advocated. Over the years, Freire preferred to use the term *educação para liberdade* to emphasise the main objective of the praxis he proposed instead of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, the same substitution that we can see in the excerpt from Boal.

The term *liberation* has a transversal history, providing an excellent example of how words travel across texts of ideas and experiences shared by communities. According to Raymond Williams, during the 20th century, the word liberation was used to name 'movements of resistance to Fascism in the occupied countries, notably France, and then for the armed overthrow of occupying powers or forces' and 'in Algeria and Vietnam, for movements of resistance to occupying colonial powers, especially from the 1950s'. In other words, after 1918, self-determination became ingrained in the use of liberation in both the political and personal sense (Williams, 1976, 133-134).

As indicated in our discussion of *conscientização*, the development of Liberation Theology within the Catholic church in Latin America supporting and promoting social changes through *comunidade de base* is part of the context for Freire's first educational experiments in the Northeast of Brazil. In the sample below, we can see the continuum between the ideas and terms used by one of the founders of Liberation Theology and Boal's essay:

> Caracterizar la situación de los países pobres como dominados y oprimidos, lleva a hablar de una liberación económica, social, política. Pero está, además, en juego una visión mucho más integral y honda de la existencia humana y de su devenir histórico. (Gutiérrez, 1972, page 52-53)

In the second sample, poética de la liberación replaces poética do oprimido in the title of the section of the book. While, in general, the different versions stay very close in word length and structures to the Spanish, thus reflecting the same slippage between a Poetics of the Oppressed and a Poetics of Liberation, it is interesting to note

that the French elides the repetition of poetics. In contrast, the Spanish and English present them both in lower case, and the Brazilian-Portuguese and Italian opt to highlight them more by placing the first letter of each noun in upper case. The French translation omitted the repetition of the term poetic and the exclamation marks; it is the most concise translation. Apart from that, the target texts are all a close translation of the source text.

Places of Revolution and Land Struggle

Boal's essay overlaps the revolutionary keywords with the theatre methodology lexicon. In doing so, he situated the Theatre of the Oppressed in theatre history and the dialectic of history with the power balance struggle. The Theatre of the Oppressed developed in the context of decolonising movements and the struggle for democracy in Latin America. Cuba represented an example of a successfully carried- out revolution for a network of intellectuals and artists. Boal's intertwined message of revolutionary inspiration resonates in the inclusion of Cuba, Peruvian *gobierno revolucionario, latifundistas* and agrarian reform in the text.

ArSp 16 words	Seguramente no pasó lo mismo en **Cuba**: ahí los campesinos fueron actores de la **reforma agraria**.
BrPt 15 words	Certamente não aconteceu o mesmo em **Cuba**: aí os camponeses foram protagonistas da **reforma agrária!**
Fr 17 words	Les choses furent tout autres à **Cuba**: là-bass les paysans devinrent acteurs de la **réforme agraire !**
It 18 words	Certo non capitò lo stesso a **Cuba**: qui furo no i contadini gli stessi autori della **riforma agraria!**
En	[Omitted]

ArSp 41 words	En Otusco, antes del actual **gobierno revolucionario** hubo una rebelión campesina; los terratenientes (que ya no existen en **Perú**) apresaron al líder de esa rebelión, lo condujeron a la plaza central del pueblo y ahí, delante de todos, lo castraron.
BrPt 35 words	Em Otusco, antes do atual **governo revolucionário**, houve uma revolta camponesa; os **latifundistas** [sic] (já não existem mais no **Peru**) prenderam o líder dessa rebelião, conduziram-no à praça central do povoado e, diante de todos, castraram-no.
Fr 40 words	Il y avait eu à Otusco, avant le **gouvernement révolution** n aire, une révolte paysanne ; les **propriétaires fonciers** qu'aient capturé le leader, l'avaient traîné sur la place du village et là, devant une centaine de personnes, ils l'avaient châtré.

It 38 words	A Otusco, prima dell'attuale **Governo Rivoluzionario**, ci fu una rivolta contadina; i **proprietari terrieri** (ormai non esistono in **Perù**) catturarono il capo della rivolta, lo condussero nella piazza centrale del paese e li, davanti a tutti, lo castrarono.
En 39 words +25words	In Otuzco, before the present **Revolutionary Government[2]**, there was a peasant rebellion; the **landlords** (that no longer exist in **Peru**) imprisoned the leader of the rebellion, took him to the main square, and, in front of everyone, castrated him. **2** The government was established after the October 1968 **revolution** and headed by President Juan Velasco Alvarado (replaced in August 1975 by Francisco Morales Bermúdez). (Translator's note.)

The omission of the reference to Cuba in the English language translation may indicate the operation of censorship, whether external or self-censorship, in the context of the Cold War and anti-Communist politics in the United States. Interestingly, the translator's note gives the names of the presidents of the Peruvian revolutionary government and the date of the commencement of their government, impartial descriptive information that contextualises the text.

The French translation also cuts the bracketed reference that indicates that the Peruvian revolution successfully implemented the desired Agrarian reform. In contrast with the reference to Cuba, the Peruvian revolution is mentioned throughout the target texts, and all the translations maintained the historical connection.

The definition of class struggle and the characterisation of social groups, oppressors and oppressed, are pivotal to Boal's recasting of Marxist theory. From this standpoint, the objective of the Theatre of the Oppressed is to promote a space for the agency of the oppressed to be realised, in which belief systems can be challenged, different voices heard, and the people 'rehearse a liberatory action' becoming 'actors'. This section will focus on how the groups of oppressed and oppressors are named across the translations to explore how they disseminate Boal's project across linguistic and cultural borders. It should not be forgotten that this chapter focuses on a particular instance of Boal's experimentation with a liberatory theatre practice, one that is rooted in the context of revolutionary struggle among the marginalised rural population in Peru. The extensive plurilingualism of the indigenous people of Peru and the low literacy rates were huge challenges that the revolutionary government faced to create

conditions to modify the economic and social situation of the disenfranchised population.

Decolonisation and Indigenous Language

The linguistic (and cultural) diversity of the Peruvian population and the presence of pre-Columbian languages is at the core of the section 'Una experiencia del Teatro popular en el Perú' presented here. The plurilingualism of the indigenous people of Peru is depicted in the introduction to the essay; Boal explains the decision of the directors of the literacy programme to respect the indigenous languages and to be sensitive to autochthonous cultural knowledge. However, the coloniser language – Castellano – was chosen for the literacy programme. When Boal elsewhere refers to the fact that in his work in Peru, participants used 'various languages', he means this more generally: language, music, painting, cinematography, and theatre (Boal, Teatro del Oprimido, 1974, page 192).

ArSp 50 words	4) regiones donde **[**se presentan problemas de**]** **lenguas maternas** que no son el **castellano**, y que incluyen al 40% de la población. De este 40%, la mitad está constituida por ciudadanos bilingües que aprendieron el **castellano** después de dominada su **propia lengua materna**. La otra mitad no habla el **castellano**.
Br 42 words	4) regiões onde a **língua materna** não era o **castelhano**, e que incluem 40% da população. Destes 40%, metade está constituída por cidadãos bilíngües que aprenderam o **castelhano** depois de terem dominado a **língua materna indígena**. A outra metade não fala **castelhano**.
Fr 47 words	4. régions où les **langues maternelles** ne sont pas I '**espagnol**, ce qui représente 40 % de la population. Sur ces 40 %, la moitié sont des citadins **bilingues** qui ont appris I '**espagnol** après avoir maîtrisé leur **langue maternelle**. L'autre moitié ne parle pas I '**espagnol**.
It 45 words	4. regioni dove esistono **lingue madri** diverse dal **castigliano** e che comprendono il 40% della popolazione. Di questo 40%, la metà è costituita da cittadini **bilingui**, che hanno imparato il **castigliano** dopo una piena padronanza della loro **lingua madre**; l'altra metà non parla lo **spagnolo**
En 45 words	• areas where Spanish is not the first language, which embraces 40 per cent of the population. Of this 40 per cent, half is made up of bilingual citizens who learned Spanish after acquiring fluency in their own indigenous language. The other half speaks no Spanish.

After this short introduction, the narrative does not explicitly mention indigenous languages. The influence of the indigenous cultures may, however, be sensed in Boal's narrative of the legend about the Checken Lake (Boal, 1974, Teatro

del Oprimido, pages 185-187). Even so, in explaining the lake's origins, his pedagogical aim is clearly to depict the capitalist ideology of the landlord (*latifundista*), leading to the local community's loss of the right to their land. Bola's narrative of his experiences in Peru focuses on the shantytowns and the rural communities, clearly related to the social inequality suffered by the indigenous people of Peru. However, the ethnic dimension of the social challenges for the local population with whom Boal was working may not be clear for a readership removed from the Peruvian reality. The struggle of the people in Peru remains in the section's background and thus may lose visibility to an international readership diachronically and synchronically.

In the sample, the fact that the mother tongue is the indigenous people's language is not made explicit in the Spanish source text, nor the French and Italian versions. However, the previous reference to diverse mother tongues in all three versions provides the context for the correct interpretation of the reference. The Brazilian edition adds a second adjective, *língua materna indígena*, in keeping with the process of expansive and explanatory self-translation we have observed previously. The English version conveys the phrase by *indigenous language*, perhaps because there is no previous reference to the mother tongue but to the *first language* of 40% of the population not being Spanish. In this sense, the English version is closer to the Brazilian version, and it is also interesting that none of the versions maintains the Argentine edition's reference to this diversity of languages being a problem (*se presentan* ***problemas*** *de lenguas maternas que no son el castellano*). Perhaps in keeping the ST ideology (remember the first edition was in Argentina, where ethnic and linguistic diversity had been addressed very differently to elsewhere in Latin

America), the American social experience of contact with the variety of autochthonous languages becomes almost transparent in the rest of the text, with the mention of diverse indigenous groups occurring only in the introduction of the essay. Even here, the focus is mainly on the linguistic diversity of the pre-Columbian communities, without explicitly discussing the relation of oppression of these groups or issues of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation. The challenge of bringing Boalian practices to a multilingual setting is not revisited during the subsequent narrative of theatre practices. The words to refer to the disenfranchised population may reveal the perspective of the practitioners coming from outside the community.

Oppressed People

ArSp 10 words	El actor elige una comida llamada "**Churrasco a lo pobre**".
Pt Br 9 words	O protagonista escolhe uma comida chamada "**Churrasco de Pobre.**
Fr 7 words	Et l'acteur demande un rôti de bœuf.
It 10 words	L'attore sceglie quindi un piatto chiamato "**churrasco a lo Pobre**".
En 10 words	The actor chooses a dish called **'Barbecue à la pauper'**.

ArSp 37 words	Así que me pongo a trabajar en algo durante tantas horas como sea necesario para pagar mi **churrasco a lo pobre**, que en verdad, estaba delicioso, mucho mejor que la comida que ustedes sirven **a esos pobres**.
Pt Br 42 words	Quer dizer: eu posso trabalhar pra vocês durante tantas horas quantas sejam necessárias pra pagar o meu **Churrasco de Pobre** que, pra dizer a verdade, estava uma delícia, estava muito melhor do que essa porcaria que vocês servem **a todo mundo ...** "
Fr 30 words	Je suis prêt à travailler le nombre d'heures nécessaires pour payer ce **rôti**, **rôti** qui était, en vérité, délicieux, bien meilleur que ce que vous servez **à ces pauvres gens...**
It 29 words	Potrei mettermi a lavorare da qualche parte per le ore necessarie a pagare il mio **churrasco**, che era veramente delizioso, molto meglio di ciò che servite **a questi poveretti...**
En 39words	So, I will work doing something for as long as it's necessary to pay for my "**barbecue à la pauper**", which, to tell the truth, was really delicious – much better than the food you serve **to those poor souls...**

The samples above describe an Invisible Theatre intervention. According to Boal, the experience happened in a hotel restaurant and involved the facilitators of the ALFIM project and the general public during a meal. The name of the main meal, *churrasco a lo pobre*, also *Bisté a lo pobre*, is a popular dish in Peru and Chile:

> Bisté a lo pobre. El *anglicismo bisté* (o bistec) 'tajada de carne de vaca' está totalmente *asimilado por el español*. En el Perú bisté (o bistec) a lo pobre es denominación ***irónica*** aplicada a un *abundante plato* que

> consiste en un trozo de carne acompañado de papas, plátano y huevo fritos. Véase este ejemplo de Bayly: "– ¿Cómo es *el bisté a lo pobre*? – preguntó [Diego]. / – Buenazo – dijo Francisco –. Te lo recomiendo. *Viene con todo*" (Los últimos días de La Prensa, Barcelona 1996, page 27). (Hildebrandt, 2015, my emphasis)

Boal's choice of dish uses the paradox at the heart of the dish's name, which is precisely not an affordable dish for people with low incomes, to enhance the sarcastic tone of the narrative and draw attention to social disparities. The Italian version replicates the dish's name; the foreign term reminds the reader of the source context and gives the reader the wordplay and the critical tone. The English version translated the meaning of the name into French; *'Barbecue à la pauper*' introduces the first part of the name in English, barbecue and the second part in French, *à la pauper*. Although the word barbecue was incorporated into English, it is no longer perceived as a foreign word:

> Framework for grilling meat, fish, etc., from American Spanish barbacoa, from Arawakan (Haiti) barbacoa, framework of sticks set upon posts, the raised wooden structure the West Indians used to either sleep on or cure meat. (Collins Dictionary)

About the second part of the dish's name, the frequent occurrence of expressions incorporated from the French language, like 'à la carte', for example, signals the high level of acceptability in the English language system to incorporate French terms related to food. The sarcastic tone is carried through the target text (and highlighted) even though the local reference – Peruvian context – is lost. Although the English version is a close translation into French – barbecue à la pauper – the French translator's strategy was to avoid the local dish. The French translation removed 'a lo pobre' and opted for a generalisation, *rôti de bœuf*, without the wordplay. In the second sample, the repetition of *rôti*, the shift of the utterance's structure and the concise translation reach a cleaner and functional text that moves somewhat away from Boal's style. The Italian translation conveys only *churrasco*, avoiding the repetition of *pobre*. Here, the loss of the exasperated tone of the narrative and local reference – the name of the dish would be recognised by the Peruvian and Latin American readership – are

compensated by the enhancement of the readability of the narrative for a larger readership. However, the repetition of the *pobre* in the source text and the Brazilian and English translations reinforces the critical discourse; the double naming – the name of the dish and the emphasis on the disenfranchised population – is a pedagogical device.

ArSp 27 words	De un lado, los que veían sus empleos amenazados por los **recién llegados**; del otro, los **pobres** que todo lo habían dejado atrás en busca de trabajo.
Pt Br 25 words	De um lado, os que sentiam seus empregos ameaçados pelos **recém-chegados**; do outro lado, os **pobres** que tudo deixaram atrás; em busca de trabalho.
Fr 26 words	D'un côté ceux qui voyaient Ieurs emplois menacés par les **nouveaux venus**; de **l'autre**, ceux qui avaient tout abandonné pour partir à la recherche d'un travail.
It 26 words	Da un lato quelli che vedevano i loro lavori minacciati dai **nuovi venuti**; dall'altro i **poveri** che avevano abbandonato tutto dietro di sé per cercare lavoro.
En 27 words	On one side were those who saw their jobs threatened by the **newcomers**; on the other were the **poor** who had left everything behind in search of work.

In the sample above, all the translations are close translations to describe the hostility of old habitants towards newcomers from rural areas, with the rapid urbanisation and the consequent formation of neighbourhoods without living conditions. Still, the French translation eliminates the direct reference to the social class, *pobre*.

Oppressed Communities

The Spanish and Brazilian texts paint a detailed portrait of the linguistic richness of expression to refer to the precarious conditions in which the population attracted to urban centres in Latin America finds themselves. The context of the text – written in 1973 – is the rapid shift towards an industrial economy that left a large part of the rural population unable to access education with the migration to urban centres.

Both the Argentinian-Spanish and Brazilian texts are plurilingual here, maintaining and translating, where necessary, terms in both languages to present a sense of a common, cross-border reality of experience:

ArSp 19 words	1) barriadas o pueblos jóvenes, que corresponden a nuestras "villas 2) miserias" (cantegril, favela... [Ciudades perdidas]);2) regiones rurales;3) regiones mineras;
BrPt 22 words	1) barriadas ou pueblos jóvenes que correspondem às nossas favelas (cantegril, villamiséria) ; 2) regiões rurais; 3) regiões mineiras;
Fr 16 words	l. quartiers et agglomérations récentes, ce qui correspond à nos bidonvilles ; 2, régions rurales ; 3. régions minières;
It 19 words	1. quartieri poveri o villaggi di recente formazione, che corrispondono alle nostre bidonville; 2. regioni rurali; 3. regioni minerarie;
En 16 words	•barrios (neighbourhoods) or new villages corresponding to our slums (cantegril, favela, etc.); • rural areas; • mining areas;

ArSp 24 words	4) Una mujer fue acababa de emigrar de un pequeño pueblo del interior respondió con una foto de la calle principal de la barriada
BrPt 21 words	Uma mulher, que havia emigrado de um pequeno povoado interiorano, respondeu com uma foto da "rua" principal da favela onde morava:
Fr 24 words	4. Une femme récemment émigrée d'un petit village de l'intérieur répondit à la question par une photo de la rue principale de son quartier.
It 21 words	4. Una donna, emigrata da poco da un piccolo paese dell'interno, rispose con la foto della strada principale del suo quartiere;
En 24 words	A woman who had recently emigrated from a small village in the interior answered with a picture of the main street in her barrio.

The differentiation of each local referent embeds in the text the history of Boal's path (Brazil, Argentina, Peru) and wider travels through festivals and tours throughout Latin America.

Peruvian *pueblos jóvenes*, a shanty town on the outskirts of a city. Formerly called barriadas and renamed pueblos jóvenes by the Peruvian government in 1968. Literally 'young town', perhaps after Quechua *Musuq Llaqta*, new town'. (Oxford English and Spanish Dictionary, 2022, my emphasis)

Argentinian, villas miserias, barrio de viviendas precarias, con grandes carencias de infraestructura. (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española)

Brazilian favelas, conjunto de habitações populares, ger. construídas sem planejamento, onde residem pessoas de baixa renda; morro. (Dicionário Houaiss)

Uruguayan cantegril, Barrio o zona de viviendas precarias. (Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española Diccionario de americanismos, 2010)

Ciudades perdidas[33]: lugar de una ciudad donde se concentran personas pobres, generalmente inmigrantes, con viviendas y medios de vida deficientes. (Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española Diccionario de americanismos, 2010)

Much of this diversity is lost in French, English and Italian translations, although the English version maintains some loan words, generally translated or explained. Noticeably, the rich version is probably Spanish, with 40 words. However, this is partly because Spanish terms are left untranslated in Brazilian-Portuguese, indicating greater familiarity with Spanish-American lexical items than vice-versa. In the remainder of this section, I will focus primarily on translations of the words *barriada* and *barrio*, which appear repeated in the Spanish ST.

The term *barriada* is a Spanish Americanism used in a great part of the region that designates a

> marginal neighbourhood, generally of poor and precarious constructions (Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española Diccionario de americanismos, 2010)

From an anthropological perspective:

> Residential community formed by low-income families in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents themselves and which are generally but not exclusively formed illegally.
>
> They were initially called *urbanizaciones clandestinas* but in 1953 were officially designated as *barriadas*. Subsequently they have been called *urbanizaciones populares*, *urbanizaciones marginales, pueblos jóvenes* and most recently *asentamientos humanos*. These terms are the Peruvian equivalent of *favelas* in Brazil, *barrios* in Colombia and

[33] The Mexican phrase 'ciudades perdidas' would later be introduced in the Mexican edition.

> Ecuador, *callampas* in Chile, *ranchos* in Venezuela and *colonios prolearios* in Mexico. (Chambers, 2005)

In a direct connection with the target readership to construct rapport, the collocations reflect the local way of designating the space: *pueblos jóvenes* is the term used to refer to Lima's shantytowns; the Brazilian edition refers to *our favela* and the Argentinian to *villas miserias*. The strategy is replicated in French, Italian and English, whereby the first term is a close reference to the reader's location, anchoring the text in the target audience experience.

The Italian translation uses the French term *bidonville*, which circulates in texts but has less frequency than *baraccopoli*. This, and other aspects of the phrasing, might indicate a reference to the French translation, which uses *bidonvilles* to localise in the sample studied and alternates between the usage of *aurtier* and *bidonville* elsewhere in the text. The English use a loanword *barrio* throughout. Although, in the first instance of usage, it translates *barrios* as neighbourhoods in brackets. This was deemed necessary even though – perhaps, precisely because – it is now a term used widely in the United States to designate the Spanish-speaking quarter of a town or city, especially one with a high poverty level and associated with Latino heritage. For example:

> Among New York City puertorriquenos, the Latino-populated area was referred to as el *barrio*, or 'the neighbourhood.''[...] 'In this collection of short stories, Rodriguez brings us into the lives of a wide range of characters from Los Angeles' *Latino barrio*. (Oxford English and Spanish Dictionary, 2022, my emphasis)

Thus, once more, we find plurilingualism in the English version; yet, here, this 'foreignisation' brings the text close to home, referencing the social issues involving Latino American migration in the USA. It is consistent with the Theatre of the Oppressed ethos and contextualises Boal's work. It is a fact that the English translation was simultaneously published in the United Kingdom. Boal visited the United States and worked closely with the Chicano theatre group Teatro Campesino during the Latin American exile period.

Teatro Popular

ArSp 8 words	Una experiencia de **teatro popular** en el Perú
Pt Br 7 words	Uma experiência de **teatro popular** no Peru.
Fr 7 words	Une expérience de **théâtre populaire** au Pérou
It 6 words	Un'esperienza di **teatro popolare** in Perù
En 7 words	Experiments with the **People's Theatre** in Peru

In the sample above, the English language version is the only target text that is not a close translation of the title of this section of the chapter 'Poética del Oprimido'. Instead of An Experience of Popular Theatre in Peru - it has 'Experiments with the People's Theatre in Peru'. The choice of the translator to introduce the collocation 'people's theatre' explicitly indicates the type of ideology associated with Boal's practices and the revolutionary historical context, heightened by the use of the definite article (which is also an addition only found in English). The collocation of 'popular theatre' in the English language is more associated with traditional forms of performance like pantomime, mime, puppetry, or shadow plays rather than the highly politicised sense introduced by Boal. However, as discussed below, this is also true of the other languages focused on here.

ArSp 63 words	Si antes interpretaba un señor encerrado en su gabinete a quien la inspiración divina le dictaba un texto acabado, aquí, por el contrario, tiene que interpretar al **público popular** reunido en su comisión de fomento, sociedad de amigos del barrio, grupo de vecinos, escuelas, sindicatos, fábricas, ligas campesinas o lo que sea, e interpretar lo que piensa este **conjunto de hombres y mujeres**.
BrPt 119 words	Se antes interpretava a um senhor que escrevia fechado em seu escritório **[**(e não tenho nada contra esses senhores: sou um deles!)**],** aqui, ao contrário, deve interpretar um **público popular**, um **dramaturgo coletivo** que não lhe oferece um texto acabado mas sim soluções, sugestões, cenas, frases, características — e ele deve reunir tudo isso na apresentação perfeita de um personagem vivendo uma história. Esse **dramaturgo coletivo** vive numa favela, ou trabalha numa fábrica, ou são os vizinhos que se reúnem na sociedade dos amigos do bairro ou os paroquianos de uma igreja, ou os camponeses de uma Liga Camponesa, ou os estudantes de uma escola. Os atores têm a missão de interpretar os pensamentos destes **grupos de homens e mulheres.**

Fr 47 words	S'il jouait jusque-là l'homme enfermé dans sa chambre à qui l'inspiration divine dicte un texte achevé, il doit maintenant interpréter le **public populaire**, gens du quartier, de la commune, voisins, syndicats, usines, ligues paysannes, etc., il doit interpréter ce que pense cet **ensemble d'hommes et de femmes**.
It 65 words	Se prima interpretava un signore chiù so nel suo studio al quale l'ispirazione divina dettava un testo compiuto, qui al contrario deve interpreta re il pubblico popolare riunito nei suoi comitati di agitazione, società di amici di quartiere, associazioni di vicini, scuole, sindacati, fabbriche, leghe contadi ne, o quello che sia, e interpretare ciò che pensa questo insieme di uomini e donne.
En 61 words	If formerly he interpreted the solitary author locked in his study, to whom divine inspiration dictated a finished text, here on the contrary, he must interpret the mass audience, assembled in their local committees, societies of 'friends of the barrio', groups of neighbors, schools, unions, peasant leagues, or whatever; he must give expression to the collective thought of men and women.

(my emphasis)

The sample helps contextualise Boal's use of 'popular' as referring to the 'people' in a Marxist revolutionary sense in opposition to the bourgeois theatre. Interestingly, however, not only does the English avoid popular, but it does not maintain its previous procedure of opting for 'people's. Instead, this is replaced with 'the mass audience', reflecting terminology used for urban popular culture. The passage marks an important transition towards the public space and the abandonment of the formal stage. Hence, the inclusivity of the list of places where the people congregate is important. Most versions maintain each item, but the French curtail it significantly, omitting 'school' and the English omitting factories (although the text would have circulated within unions and might have been considered redundant).

Once again, the four versions analysed generally present a close translation of the Spanish text, but the passage is much longer in Portuguese. The Brazilian version moves away from the Argentinian version with the introduction of the author's comment. The liberty to add personal reflective comments is characteristic of Boal's approach to rewriting his work; the author has a perception of the flexibility to add personal comments and fictional passages in a text of ideas within the Brazilian textual system. The utterance enunciates the first steps towards the deconstruction of the dichotomy between playwright andspectator. The two terms of the comparison – the traditional playwright and the popular audience – oppose each other, and the expression *por el contrario* marks that. In the French version, the terms are just apposed, and the word of contrast disappears.

Before discussing diverse meanings and interpretations of popular theatre, it is important to reflect on the implications of the use of 'mass audience' in English. According to Williams (1976, page 144), 'mass/masses' has two distinct implications. The first refers to the 'many-headed multitude or mob: low, ignorant, unstable', and the second describes the group of people positively, with a social revolutionary potential. During the 20th century, the term 'mass audience' abandoned the revolutionary framework with the commodification of mass culture (Wiliams, [1976], 2015, page 145). However, it is possible to defend that, in the context of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, the revolutionary tone of 'mass audience' would be the primary interpretation due to the increased number of people involved with social movements for the target readers interested in community activism. The agency of the publication of the translation would ensure its delivery to a specific target readership embedded in the ideological discourse of revolutionary Marxism. Even so, closer attention to Boal's writings might indicate that it is a choice that does not fully capture his understanding of the concept.

As discussed in previous chapters and evidenced in the reluctance in the English version to use the term popular theatre, the history of theatre is full of examples of the dichotomy (and sometimes the interaction) of the aristocratic form topopular performative forms. The concepts of teatro *popular* and *público popular* will have a specific anthropological meaning in each of the host countries (and in rural or urban zones and neighbourhoods), according to the ideology of the writer and of the community of readers (a transnational community) and also the particular historical moment of publication, which may differ from the reader's conception in another time.

> As for the term público popular, it may, like 'mass audience' be read as relating to an impoverished and disenfranchised audience.
> relativo ou pertencente ao povo, esp. à gente comum ‹indignação popular›
> feito por pessoas simples, sem muita instrução ‹arte popular›;
> que prevalece junto ao grande público, espcialmente às massas menos instruídas
> ‹crendice popular›;
> dirigido às massas consumidoras ‹música popular›;
> adaptado ao nível cultural ou ao gosto das massas ‹edição popular de um clássico da literatura› ‹espetáculo popular›;

> ao alcance dos que não são ricos; barato ‹ingressos a preços popular› (Dicionário Houaiss)

In English:

> 1. Popular, adjective: liked, enjoyed, or supported by many people: She is the most popular teacher in the school.
> 2. popular adjective: for or involving ordinary people rather than experts or very educated people: popular music/entertainment/culture
> The popular press virtually ignored the issue. (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023)

Besides,

> ‘mass audience’ refers to the quantity and, by extension, the public reached by the cultural industry that produces accessible mass-produced art.
> Mass: having an effect on or involving a large number of people or forming a large amount. (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023)

However, it is important to recall that the desire to reach a ‘mass audience’, a wider and more popular public, was one of the core reasons for the break between the Teatro Arena and the Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC) foundation. In his essay ‘Categorías de Teatro Popular’ (Boal, 1971), Boal uses the term teatro popular to refer precisely to the forms of theatre used by the CPC and Teatro Arena (beyond its rather small headquarters) that critically engage a large audience. The popular categories Boal described are closely related to Piscator and Brecht’s practices. The first type of popular theatre, del pueblo y para el pueblo [of the people and for the people], comprises three classes: didactic (rewritings of the classics for a small middle- class audience in a formal theatre space, Teatro Arena), agitprop, and cultural (fast adaptations to address issues of the moment for large audiences in unions and neighbourhood associations, CPC). The cultural category rewrites folklore and local traditional forms of performative arts, for example, the Carnaval and Bumba Meu Boi in Brazil; the material is used for pedagogical aims. Here, the popular relates to the

stories circulating in informal or spoken culture – the starting point and a crucial source for transformative Freirean pedagogy.

The differentiation between erudite, popular, and mass culture is discussed at length in Boal's essays (Boal, Categorias de Teatro Popular, 1971) from the same period as the publication of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*. His approach to this issue is generally characterised by a Marxist and anti-imperialist perspective, attacking the cultural industry in the context of neo-imperialism. In his writings, 'mass audience' generally refers to the television audience, manipulated by the conservative forces (supported by the capitalist block, USA) and without a political consciousness (*alienada*). According to Boal, in the Brazilian context, the mass audience is represented by the power of television. Boal remained critical of the negative influence of the media on the advancement of social change:

> A televisão – tal como existe – é o contrário da arte, porque o artista é aquele que nos ajuda a ver o que apenas olhamos, a ouvir o que apenas escutamos. [...] A televisão, ao contrário, nos cega e nos ensurdece. A televisão é a antítese da psicanálise. (Boal, Teatro Legislativo, 1996, page 117)

The main directors, playwrights and actors of his time with the Teatro Arena formed a revolutionary theatre front that aligned with the project of the Cuban revolution and worked against the imperialism of the United States of America; because of this, the mass production of art was interpreted as an attempt by the imperialist forces attempt to silence the popular/local art (including the indigenous participants in the ALFIN project in Peru). However, many of them would later go on to work in television. Furthermore, in a reminder of the differences in connotations of key ideological concepts or keywords as they travel between and across different languages, in the United States, popular art is supported by the civil rights movements against the oppressor who defends the social status quo.

As indicated earlier, the usage of mass/masses is complex, holding both revolutionary and conservative perspectives, yet it remained part of the progressive leftist discourse in English, at least:

> In the modern social sense, then, masses and mass have two distinguishable kinds of implication. Masses (i) is the contemporary word for many-headed multitude or mob: low, ignorant, unstable. Masses (ii) describes the same people but is now seen as a positive or potentially positive social force.
>
> […] In contemporary usage, the most piquant element of the mass and masses complex is its actively opposite social implications […] mass society has also been used, with some relation to its earlier conservative context, as a new term in radical and revolutionary criticism. Mass society massification (usually with strong reference to the mass media) is seen as modes of disarming or incorporating the working class, the proletariat, and the masses: that is to say, they are new modes of alienation and control, which prevent and are designed to prevent the development of an authentic popular consciousness. (Williams, 1976, page 141-146)

The meaning of mass as an adjective depends on the noun that it complements and on the textual context. Thus, the phrase 'mass audience' lessens the social reference of a 'lower class' stressed in the other languages. Hence, the terminology reflects an ideological standpoint. However, the translation reframing has a subdued shift to a less 'revolutionary' agenda, moving towards the somewhat less transparent differentiation of 'popular' and 'mass' audiences.

So far, we have focused primarily on the framework of the oppressed as a sub-division or lexical set of the semantic field of Marxist-socialist philosophy. Nevertheless, the Theatre of the Oppressed is also a lexical set of the theatre semantic field that rewrites past and contemporary theatre frameworks, from Stanislavsky to Piscator and Brecht, as well as popular and community theatre forms. The following samples will illustrate examples of Boal's work towards naming specific exercises or techniques that would form a comprehensive praxis consistent with the ideological background of the Framework of the Oppressed.

Theatre of the Oppressed Terminology: Forum Theatre

Forum Theatre became the best-known form of Theatre of the Oppressed; to some extent, it is treated as synonymous with Theatre of the Oppressed. Invisible Theatre is another form of Theatre of the Oppressed that has enjoyed fluctuating popularity in

different countries and contexts, although questions about its ethical premises have been raised. Boal narrates in 'Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú' the first and crucial intervention of the audience that almost spontaneously left the practice of spoken suggestion on how to re-enact a scene to the next step of the spectator assuming the role of actor. According to him, this episode indicated how to transform an accidental situation into a structured technique that could be recreated in other contexts. Years later, Boal narrated an early episode from before his exile with factory workers that could have also inspired the creation of forum theatre. He revisited the episode narrated in the section studied (Boal, 2000, page 223 - 228).

Boal's narratives of the origins of the forum theatre as a 'popular' and 'spontaneous' reaction to a problem exposed by the dramatisation of a social issue legitimise the technique. The description of the epiphany creates a myth surrounding Boal's work, inspired by the audience's reaction and not by other practitioners or intellectual exercises. The diachronic analysis of the terminology of theatre practices that surrounded the origins of the Forum Theatre as an established technique through translation retraces the jettisoning and the amalgamation of practices, the development of terminology and how the process was conveyed in translation.

The judiciary/legal semantic field is a key part of the post-revolutionary scenario in Peru, and Boal's accounts unsurprisingly validate the revolution and the 'judgment' of the oppressors' class in the then-recent aftermath of the Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas (1968-1980). The left-wing Peruvian government was nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-American and anti-oligarch, and aligned with Cuba in clear opposition to the rest of the Latin American dictatorships. Drawing on the language of this movement, Boal finds a compelling name for his theatre method that reflects the radicalism of the revolutionary position and the way new authorities hold onto power through the punishment of dissident voices after the period of guerrilla combat.

In terms of a fuller semiotic analysis, the staging of a trial within a play with all the 'social masks' – according to Boal's essays – involved in a court case (judge, barrister, solicitor, accused, witness, etc.) was used by the Living Theatre (various) and in Brecht's plays, for example in the 'parable play' '*Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui*' ['*The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui'*] – directed by Boal in 1970 –, in the short play '*Die Ausnahme und die Regel*' (1929-30) ['*The Exception and the Rule*']

and '*Das Verhör des Lukullus*' (1938-1940) ['*The Trial of Lucullus*']. '*The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*' opens with a prologue that narrates the plot directly to the audience; real events inspire the scenes, present the process of a crime investigation and the following trial (scene 8); the structure is similar to the structure of Boal's Coringa System. Spectacular trials were one of the elements that informed the political theatre of Piscator, Brecht and Weiss that recreated them as a type of theatrical device in particular plays (Arjomand, 2022). The proximity of the structure of Boal's practices and the judiciary system is explicitly mentioned in the following pamphlet, whose title is very close to the second section ('*O Sistema Coringa*') of the chapter '*Poética do Oprimido*':

> 33. O "Sistema Coringa" se assemelha a um tribunal. Como foi cometido o crime, "objetivamente"? O juiz só poderá sabê-lo se interrogar diversas testemunhas e não apenas uma. A verdade objetiva do crime é aquilo que permanecer constante nos diversos relatos. Também assim, o personagem, objetivamente, será aquilo que permanecer constante nas diversas interpretações. (Boal, no date [70s], O Sistema Coringa. Uma experiência de Augusto Boal no Teatro de Arena de São Paulo, page 9, my emphasis)

And

> 40. Cada cena tem seu estilo, referidos todos ao estilo "tribunal" do espetáculo. O mais fotográfico naturalism pode ser sucedido por uma cena de canto coral. (Boal, no date [70s], O Sistema Coringa. Uma experiência de Augusto Boal no Teatro de Arena de São Paulo, page 11, my emphasis)

Hence, using words from the judiciary semantic field provides/acts as an explicitation of the aspect of Boal's practices inspired by this tradition of political theatre.

Pt CEEC		2 x teatro-foro		
ArSp	7 x teatro- foro	2 x teatro- juicio		
PtBr	7 x teatro- debate	2 x teatro-julgamento	1 x teatro foro	
Fr	4 x théâtre- forum	2 x théâtre- jugement	1 x théâtre forum	

It	5 x teatro- forum	1 x teatro- processo	1 x teatro processo	1 x teatro forum
En	7 x forum theatre	1 x trial theatre	1x analytical theatre	

In the table above, the term *teatro-foro* has a close translation in all the translations (samples in Appendix xx) and is in the process of fossilisation. In Spanish, foro is part of the judiciary semantic field and also retains the meaning of a public assembly:

> En la Roma antigua, plaza […] donde se celebraban las reuniones públicas y donde el pretor celebraba los juicios. 2 por analogía, lugar donde actúan los tribunales que administran justicia 3. Por extensión, ejercicio de la abogacía. Reunión de personas competentes en determinada materia, que debaten ciertos asuntos ante un auditorio que a veces interviene en la discusión. (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española)

Foro is part of the judiciary semantic field in Brazilian Portuguese also. However, it is the word *fórum* that brings the sense of a popular assembly described in the third meaning:

> jur, hist. m.q. foro (no sentido de 'praça pública'; 'tribuna'; 'tribunal')
> jur. edifício em que está sediado o Judiciário, onde funcionam os magistrados ou os tribunais
> reunião, congresso, conferência que envolve debate de um tema (Dicionário Houaiss)

The difference in the use of language is clear in the following samples from newspapers of the period:

> JUIZ – O juiz em exercício na 11a Vara Criminal estará de plantão hoje, das 12 às 16 horas, no Fôro Rua D Manuel 15 para conhecer pedidos urgentes de habeas-corpus. (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1970)

And

> Eduardo Faerstsein é o representante brasileiro no *Forum* Mundial da Juventude realizado em Nova Iorque de 5 de janeiro a 15 de março. (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1970)

The consolidation of the name of the practice, *Teatro Foro* in Spanish, the standardisation and its close translation across the languages analysed here may have been helped by the Latin origin of the term, which brings an 'international' (or Western) feel to practitioners across frontiers, in a lingua franca. Notwithstanding this force exerted by the standardisation, the Brazilian version conveys the Spanish *Teatro-Foro* as *Teatro-Debate*. The change of terminology from *Teatro Foro* to *Teatro Fórum* in Portuguese came after the publication of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*; hence, the native language of Boal was the last of the five languages focussed on here to stabilise and standardise the name of the technique. Nevertheless, the pressure of the translations from the first period of translation, the relocation of Boal in France and the international workshops reflected the reshaping of the term in Portuguese.

The fluctuation of the terminology shows the intention to substitute the term *foro*, a term highly connected with the judiciary in the Portuguese language (associated with the oppression of the military government in Brazil), with the term *debate*. This terminology expresses the engagement of the public in a more democratic environment. It conveys the balance of power in a participative practice without a higher-level authority; nonetheless, the term was more appropriate to Boal's previous experiences when a debate followed a performance.

Spectator in Action: Spectator + Actor

The audience becomes the *actor* who acts, fulfilling the overlap of revolutionary discourse and theatre method.

ArSp 37 words	Para que se entienda esta Poética del oprimido es necesario tener presente su principal objetivo: **transformar a l pueblo**, " **espectador** ", ser **pasivo** en el fenómeno teatral, en sujeto, en **actor**, en transformador de la acción dramática.
PtBr 34 words	Para que se compreenda bem esta Poética do Oprimido deve-se ter sempre presente seu principal objetivo: transformar o povo, "**espectador**", ser **passivo** no fenômeno teatral, em sujeito, em **ator**, em transformador da ação dramática.
Fr 33 words	Pour comprendre cette poétique dc l'opprimé, il ne faut pas oublier son principal objectif : transformer le peuple, "**spectateur**", être **passif** du phénomène théâtral, en sujet, en **acteur** capable d'agir sur I 'action dramatique.
It 27 words	Per comprendere questa "Poetica dell'Oppresso", bisogna tener presente il suo principale obiettivo: trasformare il popolo"**spettatore**", essere **passivo** nel fenomeno teatrale, in soggetto, **attore**, capace di modificare l'azione drammatica.
E n 37	In order to understand this poetics of the oppressed, one must keep in mind its main objective: to change the people –'**spectators**', **passive** beings in the theatrical phenomenon – into subjects, into **actors**, transformers of the dramatic action.

(my emphasis)

The term *spect-actor* – a term later 'created by Boal from the juxtaposition of two terms, spectator and actor' 'with the activation of the spectator' (Howe et al., 2019) to break the 'passivity normally associated with the role of audience member' (Jackson, 2005) – is a poetic and concise form that embodies the text of the essay's conclusion. Here, the samples provide a close translation of the target text, reflecting a translator-practitioner understanding of the core role of the process of 'liberating' the spectator of the Theatre of the Oppressed.

Conclusion

The source text of 'Una Experiencia en Perú' is multiple. In the first movement, the 'source text' is a dynamic embodiment from Portuguese to Spanish. In the second movement, the analysis provides clear evidence that Spanish has been used as the source text for the Italian and English translations. The Brazilian version is an expanded version, with Boal bringing back parts of the original essay (Boal, ALFIN Alfabetização Integral. Uma Experiência no Perú, 1973), rewriting others and suffering the influence of the French rewriting. After that, the French 'target text' was reflected in the Spanish editions. There are traces of the French version's influence in the Italian versions in the linguistic analysis. There is evidence of them mediating each other. This

brings to the fore the collaborative and dialogic process of translation here. Simultaneously, there is a probability that translators examined the Brazilian version in parallel to the Spanish or French versions during the translation process. Beyond the chapter's scope and present research, the English translation may have become a 'source text' for later indirect translations.

The complexity of the dynamic of the translation processes and the modulation of ideology and mediation of the sociocultural project left marks in the text. While some marks reflect the experience of exile and are anchored in a defined time in history, others are marks of an aspiration that transcends time, a political theatre.

The essay is a historical landmark in the systematic development of the differentiation between the passive spectator of traditional forms of theatre and the emergence of participatory practices proposed by Boal. The opposition between active and passive is equally marked in the samples, with the rupture between stage space and audience and the inversion of the roles of actor and spectator.

The international Marxist project provides the ideological framework for Boal's essay and, consequently, (as words and thoughts are intrinsically linked), it is also the main linguistic source for the concepts proposed in the book *Teatro del/do Oprimido*. The source text analysed here is, in this sense, a rewriting of Marx's oeuvre. Boal's creative insight transforms the revolutionary '*protagonic* people's role' – in the footsteps of Piscator, Brecht, and political theatre practices – to the spect-actor, an active role that intervenes in the representation of reality. The audience's active role is a crucial step in the direction of the embodiment of the theoretical ideas presented in the essay, as the other parts of the book present Boal's insights on theatre history and his journey in the Teatro Arena.

The process of taking terms like *conscientização*, *liberação* and *ator* from the realm of texts of ideas to the forefront of a pragmatic theatre practice can be traced in the linguistic analysis. In this sense, the movement beyond abstract concepts to the narrative of practices to 'liberate' or free (as is the term generally preferred in the English version) the 'passive spectator' is shared across the translations. Intertwined in the essay is multilingualism, the space of contact between languages and cultures from Boal's exile and the practitioner networks that believed in and were committed to an international project.

In this chapter I performed an in-depth linguistic analysis of interlingual translations of *Teatro del/do Oprimido*, focusing in particular on the ways in which they were shaped by ideological, theatrical and sociocultural. For that, I created a purpose-built parallel aligned multilingual corpus which allowed me to have a clearer overview of the relationship and differences between the diverse versions: for instance, difference in word length, restructuring or omissions, only become clear in the aligned corpus. Likewise, the parallel aligned corpus has made it easier to see which texts are being used as source texts at different moments: Spanish, Portuguese or even French, at times. In the process, I have both revealed the ways in which Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed is marked by and made up of a series of plurilingual and multicultural encounters, which will be traced further in considering the performative transmission of his work in chapter 6, and delved into the changes in his texts (and praxis) visible in the process of translation into different languages and contexts. Here, in particular, I have attended to the ways in which the ideological and cultural ideas in his work shift and are re-read, in line with the re-framings I investigated in chapter 4. Examples range from the domestication, in some cases through exoticisation, of traces of a Latin-American revolutionary experience, to the ways in which different understandings of 'popular theatre' impact on reformulation of the text.

In chapter 6, I turn my attention to the performative aspect of Boal’s work.

Chapter 6

The performative translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed

Introduction

The chapter analyses the performative translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed via the work of established groups and networks of practitioners. Up to now, this thesis has focused on tracing the interlingual translation processes involved in developing and disseminating the Theatre of the Oppressed while acknowledging the importance of performance networks and theatre practice in this journey across different languages, eras, and borders. While there has been recognition in earlier chapters of the interweaving of the linguistic and performative in the translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed, this chapter will focus more closely on the dynamism and importance of the embodied translation of Boal's theatre practices. The methodology employed is consistent with the *praxis* of the oppressed, based on the dialectic relationship between theory and practice (Carvalho, 2019).

As seen in Chapter 1, the performative translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed took place in parallel with the conceptualisation phases of the Framework of the Oppressed, even before the publication of the seminal book *Teatro del/do Oprimido* in 1974. The path of Boal's practices was multidirectional; first, through Teatro Arena's musicals *Arena conta Zumbi* and *Arena conta Bolívar* tours of the United States (1969 and 1970) (Pottlitzer, 2010), Mexico and Peru (1970), and Uruguay (1971), second through the participation in international festivals, mainly Nancy (1970, 1971, 1972) and the V Festival Latinoamericano and la Primera Muestra Mundial de Teatro, in Manizales, Colombia (1973), which are landmarks in Boal's international inclusion in a broader politically engaged theatre movement. These events marked the last stage of Teatro Arena's history and Boal's disengagement from the group. Then, after his exile, without the cast of Teatro Arena, Boal extensively led international workshops to promote what became known as Theatre of the Oppressed. The transition from his work as a director and playwright to his career as an individual facilitator of the Theatre of the Oppressed is a shift towards a community-based theatre. However, Boal continued to direct professional theatre alongside his work with non-actors. The current chapter will focus on performative translation after the publication of *Teatro del/do oprimido*.

Here, I focus more closely on the embodied translation and dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed via the networks of practitioners involved in forum theatre groups, starting with Boal's role in translating his praxis in diverse contexts by creating the *Curinga/Comodín/Joker*. This figure mimics the function of the interlingual translator. I will trace how the legacy of this practice was (and continues to be) passed on (as translational afterlives) within these groups before turning my attention to a detailed case study of the work of Sanjoy Ganguly in India.

In order to retrace the diverse processes of performative translation, many of which develop in parallel to the interlingual translation processes analysed previously, the chapter focuses first on the historical stages following Boal's establishment in France in 1979 to his eventual return to Brazil in 1986. This means that the first part of the chapter provides the continuation of the journey followed by the Theatre of the Oppressed after its initial translation and reception in the major European languages, from the first publication of the book in Argentina in 1974 to the German translation in 1979 and allows us to appreciate the importance of Boal's role as performative translator of the framework in diverse contexts. The second part of the chapter follows the trajectory of the framework via the legacy of the groups and networks most directly connected to Boal in France and Brazil, interweaving consideration of their differences with attention to alternative readings of his work influenced by the re-translation of its connections to Freire. Recognition of the influence of the English translation of Boal's work in the global dissemination of the Framework of the Oppressed underpins the case study chosen to close the chapter, the work of Sanjoy Ganguly in India, whose leadership in many ways mirrors that of Boal. However, his methods of attending to the diversity of languages and cultures within the Indian national space via strategic use of interlingual and intersemiotic translation remind us once more of the multi-directional translational ethos at the heart of the Framework of the Oppressed.

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the performative translation of the Theatre of Oppressed practices in the twenty-first century to address the continuum of the translational process involved in the relocation of the praxis. However, the extraordinary dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed means that it is impossible to compare performative translation across a comprehensive sample of Theatre of the Oppressed groups within the scope of the current project. Hence, I have elected to mirror the approach followed in earlier chapters, which began with initial

contextualisation, followed by macroanalysis of the first period of translation, and the microanalysis of a pivotal section of *Teatro del/do Oprimido* that describes the core of the practices known today as Theatre of the Oppressed.

As we have seen in previous chapters, Boal's first translators (and editors) were theatre practitioners or part of the professional theatre domain (as actors, critics, dramaturgs, etc.). They actively transmitted Boal's concepts through commentary, interviews, and the establishment of theatre groups.

Likewise, the systematic dissemination of Theatre of the Oppressed praxis follows the model of the multiplication of facilitators via a strategy aimed at the transnational construction of a community of activists. For this to take place, the framework had to adapt to consider local realities and cultural attitudes. In constantly rewriting the praxis, Boal adapted the critical community theatre framework to attend to other contexts during workshops, festivals, and encounters, reframing it with additions to the core of the Theatre of the Oppressed: from the game (image, sound, and words), image theatre (newspaper theatre and rainbow of desire), to forum theatre (direct actions and invisible theatre) and legislative theatre (Boal, 2005, pages 14- 17). In this process, Boal developed the *Curinga/Joker*, the facilitator of the Forum theatre. As will be explored in the first part of this chapter, the *Curinga/Joker* – and Boal as the primary leading facilitator of the praxis – act similarly to community interpreters executing cultural mediation.

The agent noun 'interpreter,' from Latin *interpres, -ĕtis,* who 'interpret',' from the Latin verb *interpretāri,* acquired the meaning of 'someone who explains to others, in a language they understand, says it to others who are unknown' (Diccionario de la lengua española)[34]; 'one who translates spoken languages; a translator of written texts' (Harper, 2001-2023). In French, *interprète*, and Italian *interprete* actor, singer, performer (Société Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2016). Early uses of the term suggest it designated intermediary negotiators in markets that facilitated the communication between clients and sellers who spoke different languages. By extension, it came to be used to refer to 'someone who performs a piece of music or a part in a play, etc., in a way that expresses their ideas about its meaning' (Cambridge Dictionary). The two

[34] Intérprete. Del lat. interpres, -ĕtis.
1. m. y f. Persona que interpreta.
2. m. y f. Persona que explica a otras, en lengua que entienden, lo dicho en otra que les es desconocida.
3. m. y f. Cosa que sirve para dar a conocer los afectos y movimientos del alma.

senses of the word can be found in romance languages, i.e., French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and, to a certain extent, in English, although it is less commonly used to refer to the second dimension nowadays due to a preference for terms like actor and performer; in German, it is used in the sense of a performer.

As will be seen, Boal, in the role of the foundational *Kuringa/Joker*, through his transnational activity disseminating the Theatre of the Oppressed, amalgamated both facets: the *performative* nature of the interpreter and the cultural mediator.

Nowadays, Theatre of the Oppressed is consolidated as a political community-based theatre practice aiming to develop a critical response to local struggles while creating a transnational network supported by practitioners' communities. Numerous international festivals have been dedicated exclusively to it since the end of the twentieth century. This chapter will identify the main strategies used for the dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed practices, going on to outline the profiles of some of the most prominent groups and networks before investigating a case study that pulls the strands together: the narratives of Sanjoy Ganguly, founder and leader of Jana Sanskriti (1985) and an international workshop leader. Ganguly's texts provide the primary data source for this analysis as critical accounts of his memory of the performative experience. The criterion for focusing on Ganguly's work was his strong connection with Boal, his status as a recognised authority within the Theatre of the Oppressed practitioner community, and Jana Sanskriti's longevity.

Performative Translation and Translation Studies

Although most extant work on theatre in the field of Translation Studies focuses on the translation of dramatic writing and the performative rewriting of a Source Text in another context, there is a type of theatre that does not follow a preestablished play text: a 'devised play' based on a collaborative practice whose starting point has 'no fixed script, but rather a play fashioned collaboratively as the ensemble works together' (Bassnett, Plays for Today). Forum Theatre, the most famous Theatre of the Oppressed practice, is one such practice: the forum script is developed through improvisation to respond to a specific context and encourage the intervention of the spectator. I am not proposing to study Forum Theatre scripts here. The analysis of the performative translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed with which this chapter closes will instead be centred on the published comments of the respected practitioner, Sanjoy Ganguly. The agency of the facilitator – in general, characterised as the 'front person,' leader of

the group, and in international workshops as an 'outsider,' the facilitator that trains community players in the 'arsenal' of the Theatre of the Oppressed practices – is understood here as a form of mediation similar to the work of community interpreters in contexts where cultural and social norms have to be considered immediately and have a crucial role in the efficient communication of the essential meanings attached to the source text, which run the danger of being misconstrued because of differences in the target culture. In this sense, the facilitators' role is close to the work of the interpreter: facilitators may have previous contact with the written (the Theatre of the Oppressed textual tradition) and spoken word (the Theatre of the Oppressed workshops and performances). Nevertheless, like interpreters, their role is to manage and mediate spoken texts with their ephemeral nature. The facilitator 'interprets' Boal's texts and the collective voice of the community theatre group and the spectators. As will be seen, Sanjoy provides a critical commentary on the experience, offering a snapshot of how facilitators reflect on the cultural and social mediation and how the process occurs on the ground.

Boal, theatre practitioner, rewriter and narrator of himself

As discussed in Chapter 1, the theoretical framework is first tested on the open stage in Boal's work with Arena and then re-constructed in the aftermath as a reflective exercise. The translingualism and multiculturalism intrinsic to understandings of the framework today come from the junction between this early background of transnational revolutionary ideology embodied in the multiplication model of dissemination and Boal's constant dislocation during exile and return to Brazil.

Boal rewrites the Theatre of the Oppressed through the repetition of anecdotal passages and the re-creation of legends and new branches (Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre). Indeed, his later repetitions of the narrative of the Theatre of the Oppressed encompass Boal's 'imagined' autobiography (*Hamlet e o Filho do Padeiro. **Memórias Imaginadas***) composed of snapshots of his professional life; in Boal's words:

> Afinal sirvo pra quê? Instruções de uso – bula. O Teatro do Oprimido, de onde veio, pronde vai? Está nos quatro ângulos do mundo, mas onde cresceu criança? (Boal, 2000, page 14)

Boal's narrative is part of the Framework of the Oppressed, balancing a transversal project with local possibilities for change.

The community-based multiplication model: transnational dimension

The multiplication model – one facilitator leads a workshop and trains a group of future facilitators who go back to their local groups to multiply the praxis – is at the core of Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed. In Brazil, the strategy was previously applied by the *Movimento de Cultura Popular* (MCP, 1959 -1964), founded in Recife with the support of the Municipality's Department of Education, and developed various cultural activities, including theatre, based on a critical pedagogical programme. The group founders were, among others, Paulo Freire (1921-1997), Germano Coelho (1927-2020) and Ariano Suassuna (1927-2014). The programme disseminated the multiplication model rooted in local communities. The historical context, with the strong development of an organised rural movement demanding agrarian reform (Schwarz 483 - 485), attracted Teatro Arena to bring its work outside urban centres. In effect, Teatro Arena supported the development of the model, collaborating within the MCP with the establishment of the Teatro de Cultura Popular (1961-1964). In contrast, Teatro Arena's original headquarters, a small theatre in São Paulo with a capacity of around two hundred people, which then expanded with the addition of a theatre inside a shopping centre in Rio de Janeiro, attracted mainly an urban middle- class audience, students and leftist sympathisers. This situation was considered unsatisfactory by Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Oduvaldo Vianna Filho, former members of the *Teatro Paulista do Estudante,* who aspired to a more politically engaged theatre; they decided to leave Teatro Arena and founded the *Centro Popular de Cultura* (CPC, 1961 - 1964) within the *União Nacional de Estudantes* (UNE) inspired by the MCP. However, they invited Boal to work with them on many occasions. Boal collaborations with the CPC as playwright and director should be seen as part of the network of politically engaged work created by the critical-nationalist theatre movement in Brazil. Boal's experience and understanding of the multiplication model as a strategy to disseminate cultural practices that aimed to challenge society and the political system, a 'revolution' through popular theatre, proved crucial for the later repercussions of the Theatre of the Oppressed, first during his exile and after that as one of the best-known international theatre activists.

The multiplication model represents a place of cultural exchange and intercultural mediation. Moreover, by aiming to widen the pool of practitioners, the multiplication community-based model has immense potential for cross-cultural action. The strategy is consistent with Marxist ideology, which encompasses a transnational dimension.

From this perspective, the resonance of the Framework of the Oppressed internationally is part of a broader movement that aims to invert the balance of power and political order to achieve sustainable societal change, intervening from the bottom up. For this to happen, community-based groundwork is vital; hence, the 'pedagogical' character of the Framework of the Oppressed. Facilitators, sometimes external agents invited to the community to bring the Theatre of the Oppressed tools, must exert an attentive agency to balance an effective intervention with respect for local knowledge and experiences. Hence, mobility, local adaptation, and cultural bridges are part of the very fabric of the Theatre of the Oppressed. In this sense, the Theatre of the Oppressed dissemination and impact is more than a signal of success: it is part of the core of its praxis. Alongside the localisation of Boal's practices, certain transnational themes served to draw together and establish practitioners' networks. In discussing the international dissemination of Boal's practices, it is, hence, necessary to attend to the multidirectionality of influences and 'translation practices' between and across languages and cultural contexts, local concerns and transnational challenges and activism.

The Theatre of the Oppressed groups that emerged after the end of the Cold War concentrated on transnational themes, such as feminism and race, a sign of the shift away from the Marxist philosophy that placed class struggle at the centre of awareness-raising strategies; of course, local realities, historical context, and societal structures, for example, have to be considered and mediated in international encounters. However, social inequality, the legacy of colonialism and slavery, remained a central theme of political theatre groups in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. For example, after his period in exile, Augusto Boal collaborated with the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST) that defends the Agrarian reform to tackle the concentration of land in the hands of a few large estates. More recently, Julian Boal has continued and extended this work.

Genealogy of the terminology of the *Teatro do/del Oprimido*: from the *Sistema Coringa* to the Forum Theatre

The second part of 'Poética del/do Oprimido', 'O sistema coringa/ El sistema comodín' brings together a series of essays that Boal wrote in 1966 in 'different times and with different purposes' during the drafting of the play *Arena Conta Tiradentes*, before the text was tested on the stage (Boal a., 1967, page 9). The collection of essays was first published in Brazil in 1967 as a foreword to the play. The essays have been published in specialised theatre journals, such as '*Las metas del sistema comodín'* in *Primer Acto* in 1972, alongside the play.

The pessimistic and controversial section entitled '*Elogio fúnebre do teatro brasileiro visto da perspectiva do Arena*' [Eulogy of the Brazilian theatre seen from the perspective of the Arena'] became '*Etapas del teatro Arena de São Paulo*[35] in *Teatro del Oprimido* with the part of the essay claiming the death of the Brazilian theatre omitted. Boal's articles criticising key theatre figures may have damaged and strained his relationship with theatre peers and former collaborators in his home country before his exile. For Boal, the only possible answer was political theatre, and practitioners should follow the template developed in Teatro Arena (Boal, 1968). This damaged relationship within the artistic community, alongside the decision to collaborate with the armed resistance, may explain why Boal did not regain a prominent position in the mainstream theatre after his return to Brazil (1986). The focus on reconciliation after the dictatorship, as in other post-dictatorial contexts, such as Spain, leads to a minimisation of historical trauma and the marginalisation of the experiences of persecuted political prisoners and the disappeared. It is these same forces which, according to Andrade, 'currently prevent Boal's memory from being recognised in Brazil as much as it is valued abroad' as one of the most influential theatre practitioners of the last part of the twentieth century (Andrade, 2014, page 121). Amnesty in Brazil was a compromise; there was no possibility for any court case against torturers and no accountability. During exile in Europe, Boal's poignant narrative of the trauma of censorship, torture, and exile was central to marking his position as a politically persecuted Brazilian.

[35] ['Phases of the São Paulo Arena Theater']. In the French translation: 'Évolution du théâtre Arena de Sao [sic] Paulo'. English translation: 'Development of the Arena Theater of São Paulo'. Italian: 'Fasi del teatro Arena di São Paulo'. The section is not part of the German version.

Boal's sharp criticism of his contemporary Brazilian theatre practitioners was toned down outside Brazil. The strategy was followed in the first phase of translation, following Ediciones de la Flor – which corroborates the position of the Argentinian version as the source text during the period – the French translation, the Italian and German versions, and the English language translation omitted the prologue. The distance/differences between Boal's recognition outside Brazil and in his homeland, beyond the historical trauma and the memory resistance (Andrade, 2014), may be traced in how his ideological position – and his artistic choices – were mediated in translation. Outside Brazil, Boal's 'revolutionary' theatre and Oficina's tropicalism were understood as a united artistic front against the abuses of the dictatorship. Meanwhile, Boal criticised the Anthropophagic Teatro Oficina's 'O *Rei da Vela'* in Brazil. However, the show was well received at the 1er Festival International des Jeunes Compagnies in Nancy (1968), with the enthusiastic appraisal of main French critics, including Bernard Dort and Emile Copferman (Peixoto, 1982).

In the first Brazilian edition of *Teatro do Oprimido*, the first section's title became '*Introdução*', and the more neutral title, '*Etapas do Teatro de Arena de São Paulo,*' was maintained. The '*Introdução*'' is an attack on the 'festive left' with a modernist aesthetic seen by Boal as a politically alienating art, like Teatro Oficina's '*O Rei da Vela'* (Oswald de Andrade, 1933, first staging in 1967) and '*Roda Viva*' (Chico Buarque, 1968), Tropicalism (exhibition 1967, studio music album 1968), and Cinema Novo. The same tone is present in '*Que pensa você da arte de esquerda*? (1968), published in Portuguese in the *Latin American Theatre Review* (1970); here, Boal accuses Tropicalism (and Teatro Oficina) of an 'absence of lucidity' (Boal, 1968, page 51). Besides this, Boal's sharp critique can also be found in the first texts about *Sistema Coringa*: the system aims to 'restore the full freedom of the character- subject, within the strict schemes' through the '*análise do contexto social*' […] to avoid the use of '*estilo lírico, como expressionismo e surrealismo'* that provokes 'caos subjetivo' (Boal a, 1967).

At the crossroads that divided Brazilian artists between those defending a 'rational discussion' of the National problems and 'radical action' after 1968, Boal distanced himself from former collaborators José Celso Martinez Corrêa (known as Zé Celso, 1937), Gilberto Gil (1942) and Caetano Veloso (1942). Boal's approach to a political theatre aimed at revolutionary action was a response to the progressive

intensification of Brazilian military repression culminating with the issue of the Ato Institucional nº 5 (AI-5, 13th December 1968) that 'allowed the dictatorship to repress all opposition and dissent […] creating a legal framework for their arbitrary measures' (Schwarz, 2015, page 522 - 523).

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that Boal's *Sistema Coringa* was developed within the Teatro Arena, that is, in the frame of a professional theatre company; in other words, although he later frames it more explicitly as politically engaged theatre developed as an act of resistance to the collapse of democracy in Brazil, the system was not initiated as part of the movement towards popular community-based theatre. Initially, the Joker system involved a rotation of the actors, whereby different actors would play the same character throughout the play. The main goal of this rotation was to promote the distance between actor and character, to interrupt identification and Aristotle's cathartic effect, to produce something closer in ethos to Brecht's 'distancing' effect, and, ultimately, to promote the audience's critical analysis of the characters.

Boal uses Aristotle's terminology to describe the system and the role of the Coringa in the second part of 'Poética do/del Oprimido', 'O Sistema Coringa'.[36] The terminology inserts Boal's essays in the history of the theatre and philosophy of art but compromises its readability for a non-expert readership: 'If we could separate *ethos* and the *dianoia* – and we can only, do it for didactic purposes – we would say that the protagonist assumes ethical behavior and the 'Joker' a dianoethic one'.[37](Boal, 1979, page 181)

The main point here is the differentiation between the protagonists:

[36] The etymology and later variant spellings of coringa are discussed in other section of the chapter.
[37] '[…] Se "ethos" e "dianóia" pudessem ser separados – e só o podem para fins didáticos –, diríamos que o [sic] protagonista atribui-se um comportamento "ético" e o Coringa, "dianoético". (Boal, Teatro do Oprimido, 2019) In the Portuguese version, Aristotle's terminology is graphically marked to highlight that the words have been used in this conceptual context.

Desempenha a função "protagônica" o personagem que o autor deseje vincular empàticamente à platéia.

(Boal a., 1967, page 38)

A consciência do ator-coringa deve ser a de autor ou adaptador que se supõe acima e além, no espaço e tempo, da dos personagens.'

(Boal a., 1967, page 39)

The character whom the author wishes to link empathically with the public performs the protagonic function.

(Boal, 1979, page 181)

The outlook of the "Joker"-actor must be that of the author or adaptor, which is assumed to be above and beyond that of the characters in time and space.

(Boal, 1979, page 182)

During the *Arena conta Tiradentes* phase of the development of the *Coringa*, the actor with the 'Joker' function is open and inclusive, able to step in as any one of the characters during the rotation.

This rotative system of [all] the actors gradually gives way to the function and the multifaceted role of the *ator-coringa*. In Forum Theatre, the Joker mediates and acts as an intermediary for the audience's proposals and opens a space to activate the spectator as part of the action (Boal, 1980, page 147-148). Furthermore, the Joker's role as a constructor of bridges between cultures, as or when necessary, renders them an influential translator figure within the dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed. The abandonment of the Joker System and the broadened role of the Joker is commented upon by Mady Schutzman, who believes that the system can bring a necessary complexity to the binarism of the oppressor-oppressed:

> I glimpse in the Joker System a remedy for what I believe Forum Theatre […] lacks. Forum Theatre relies on clear distinctions between protagonist and antagonist and a language of oppressed and oppressor. […] The Joker of the Joker System was a live theorist and pattern detector with a paradoxical vantage point. […] [In Teatro Arena] Boal, as Joker, would intervene to interview a character, shift the style from realism to melodrama, or ask each character to interpret each other's characters. (Schutzman, 2006, page 133)

The practitioner criticises the transfer of the active role almost exclusively to the spect-actor and proposes the reinstatement of a more radical intervention of the Joker, including the use of clown and humour techniques. In more recent times, practitioners and scholars have published extensively about the Joker (Schutzman, 2006; Vélez Loza, 2019; Santos, Curinga, 2016; Sanctum, 2009, 2016; Canda, 2018), indicating another twist in the translational afterlives of the Framework of the Oppressed.

Coringa, Comodín, Curinga, Kuringa and Joker

Beyond the erasure of the 'differentiation in status between what is seen as 'original' and what is seen as 'translation' (Bassnett, 2013, page 15), Boal seizes the opportunity to develop the language of the Theatre of the Oppressed, introducing loanwords, neologisms, adapting, translating and back translating concepts. The language of the Theatre of the Oppressed is dynamic. From the beginning of the 21st century, the term *Curinga* gained traction, and Portuguese and Spanish language-speaking practitioners of the Theatre of the Oppressed extensively used it. In this instance, the Portuguese language moved from the secondary or shadowy place to claim the position of the source language in the complex process of Boal's relocation in Brazil and the turning point of the foundation of Centro do Teatro do Oprimido in Rio. Yet in the revised and expanded edition of *Jogos para atores e não atores* in 2015 and the 2019 Teatro do Oprimido Brazilian edition, the term *coringa* remained, reaffirming the archaeology of the texts and Boal's journey to configure a shared language to describe the Theatre of the Oppressed.

In the following table, I mapped the shifts of the use of coringa, curinga, comodín, joker in the versions of the Theatre of the Oppressed texts.

	Book	Edition	Language	Country	Year
Comodín	Teatro del Oprimido	Ediciones de la Flor	Spanish	Argentina	1974
		Alba Editorial		Spain	2009
		Interzona		Argentina	2014

coringa	Teatro do Oprimido	Civilização Brasileira	Portuguese	Brazil	1975 1977 1983 1991 2005
		Cosac Naify Serviço Social do Comércio			2013
		Editora 34			2019
joker	Theatre de l'opprimé	Máspero La Découverte	French	France	1977 1996 2007
"Comodín"	Il Teatro degli Oppressi	Feltrinelli	Italian	Italy	1977
		Edizioni la Meridiana			2005
'Joker'	Theatre of the Oppressed	Pluto	English	USA/UK	1979 1989 1992 1993 2019
"Jokers"[38]	Theater der Unterdrückten	Edition Suhrkamp	German	Frankfurt	1979 2016

The genealogy of the term 'coringa' started with theatre concepts from different cultures: 'In this way, all the theatrical possibilities are conferred upon the "Joker" function: he is magical, omniscient, polymorphous, and ubiquitous. On stage, he is a master of ceremonies, raisonneur, kurogo, etc' (Boal, 1979, page 182).

> The raisonneurs—those characters who "reason" in opposition to the actions and values of the principal targets of Molière's satire—have been considered to be the author's spokesmen or to be models of social behaviour and paragons of rationality and honnêtété or to be comic creations and targets of satire in their own right. (Scott, Winter 2008)

And

> A character in a play who appears to act as a mouthpiece for the opinions of the play's author, usually displaying a superior or more detached view of the action than the other characters. (Baldick, 2015)

[38] *Joker* appears twice in the Introduction by Henry Thorau, 'Augusto Boal oder Die Probe auf die Zukunft'. [Augusto Boal or The Test of the Future]

Boal directed *Tartufo* [*Tartuffe*] (1964) just five months after the military coup in Brazil. Boal reflected on the possibilities of the *raisonneurs* to relate to the Brazilian (local) political context. Thus, the rewriting of classics collaborated with the advancement of the character that communicates directly with the audience.

> The shogunate not only banned women from the stage, it also forbade young men from performing kabuki. All the female roles then, […] had to be played by middle-aged men. This required more make-up, better wigs and more elaborate costumes to sell the illusion.
>
> All those extra props necessitated the assistance of the "kuroko" or "kurogo" meaning black clothing. They were stagehands who operated props and helped with costume changes and so on. They were dressed in black from head to toe to signal to the audience that they weren't "really" there and should be ignored.
>
> (Strusiewicz, Tokyo Weekender, 2022)

Boal also directed in the same period Brecht's '*O Círculo de Giz Caucasiano'* ['*Der kaukasische Kreidekreis'*] (1967) and reflected on Brecht's Epic Theatre. The concept of the distancing effect [*Verfremdungseffekt*] was influenced by Eastern theatre. (Mumford, 2028). In the case of Kabuki's Kurogo, theatre detaches itself from reality and is revealed as a convention. In the aftermath, Boal developed the Sistema Coringa (*Arena conta Zumbi*, 1965 and *Arena conta* Tiradentes, 1967).

The development of terminology was characteristic of Boalian work and facilitated the transformation of the Theatre of the Oppressed into a transnational commodity. In the case of the shift to the term *Curinga* from *Coringa*, utilised in *Teatro do Oprimido*, both spellings are accepted and used in Brazil.

> Brasileirismo.
> indivíduo versátil que se presta a múltiplas e diferentes funções
> por extensão de sentido; esportes;
> Brasileirismo. jogador capaz de atuar em várias posições numa equipe
> *por extensão de sentido.; teatro;*
> *Brasileirismo. ator que faz diversos papéis numa mesma peça*
> ludologia

> carta de baralho (curingão ou qualquer carta convencionada) que, em certos jogos, vale para substituir outra(s) em determinadas situações; dunga, melé
> (Dicionário Houaiss)

The third meaning of *curinga* as the rotation of characters interpreted by the actors in a play indicates the high status of Teatro Arena and the Joker System texts. The etymology of Curinga/Coringa indicates that it is a loanword from ‘quimbundo (língua da família banta, falada em Angola pelos ambundos) kuringa é 'fingir' (Lopes); forma histórica: curinga 1899 and coringa 1951’ (Dicionário Houaiss). Even though Brazilian-Portuguese native speakers don’t feel the word *curinga/coringa* as a foreigner word, African loanwords intertwined in Brazilian-Portuguese have been the focus of dictionaries with the objective of bringing visibility to the African diaspora (Lopes, 2011).

Despite the term *curinga* growing in popularity within the community of Theatre of the Oppressed Spanish language practitioners, it still clearly requires clarification when aiming at a wider target audience or readership, as observed in the passage below:

> [4] El curinga es una figura mezcla de animador, coordinador, de teatro o moderador de los acontecimentos en el Teatro del Oprimido. Recordamos que la traducción en castellano de esta palabra es “comodín”. (Teixeira, 2009, page 124)

In the following chapter of the same book, Flavio Sanctum notes:

> En la baraja el *curinga* (comodín, *joker*) es la carta que puede asumir varios valores en el juego. […]
>
> En el Teatro del Oprimido (T.O.) el *curinga* representa el experto de la metodología, capaz de desarrollar talleres y conferencias, dirigir espectáculos, actuar, organizar grupos populares, mediar en el diálogo entre espectáculo y la sala en el Teatro Foro (T.F.) y organizar una sesión de Teatro Legislativo (T.L.) entre otras acciones. (Sanctum, 2009, page 125)

In the ***K****uringa* – Berlin Theatre of the Oppressed satellite group founded by Bárbara Santos, 'c' became 'k'; the name embodies the translingualism intrinsic in the history of the practice and its constant adaptability to new contexts. Words with a Germanic root are spelt with a 'k', and borrowed words from other languages kept the spelling 'c'; hence, Santos and Till Baumann opted to adapt the name to a local version. Yet, and more significantly, Santos and Baumann bring back the African word, *kuringa,* from the Quimbundo language. In texts published in Portuguese, Santos used *curinga* in 2016 to refer to the Theatre of the Oppressed function: '*Curinga* é artista em constante processo de aprendizagem' (Santos, 2016, page 422). However, Santos uses ***K****uringa* in 2019, in reference to the programme to form Theatre of the Oppressed facilitators and multipliers: 'Em outro momento, em uma das edições de um dos cursos do Programa *KURINGA* de Qualificação em teatro do Oprimido' (Santos,2019, page 377, my emphasis).

In English texts, *Joker* tends to prevail as the term of choice, but there is occasional use of *curinga*: 'What would happen if the Theatre of the Oppressed Joker was more like the *curinga* of the Joker System?' (Schutzman, 2006, page 134).

Recently, the development of a terminology shared by practitioners has reached a new phase, including the publication of the *Curindiccionario* (Joffre- Eichhorn, 2019, page 477-480), a short lexicon associated with the Kuringa practices. It is noticeable that the group responsible for the compilation and the creation of some terms, the TransformArte from Bolivia, opted for the spelling of Kuringa with a 'c'. The first word, 'anatiris', to name the 'Theatre of the Oppressed workshop participants'[39], is borrowed from the Aymara, 'one of the original languages of Bolivia', the embodiment of the local voice. Here, the decolonising ethos that recognises the etymology of *kuringa/curinga* from the Kimbundo language appreciates that the indigenous language is the language of Theatre of the Oppressed. Moreover, both *curinga* and *anatiris* are examples of the Theatre of the Oppressed translingualism.

[39] Anatiris: Participantes de un proceso/taller de TdO. Palabra en aymara, uno de los idiomas originarios de Bolivia. Anatiri es "el que juega2, que viene de anataña "jugar". (Joffre-Eichhorn, 2019, page 477).

The majority of terms in the *Curindiccionario* are juxtapositions of the noun *curinga* with other words to form a compound word or the transformation of the noun to another word class:

Juxtaposition	Curringa + guerrear	curinguerrear
	Curringa + filosofía	curinsofía
	Curinga + falso	curinfalso
Change of word function	Curinga(noun) + -ar = verb	curingar
	Curinga + -ado = adjective/ participle	curingado
	Curinga + -azgo =	Curingazgo

Although the expansion of Theatre of the Oppressed jargon can exclude newcomers to the practice (Howe) this is accompanied by an awareness of how to prevent that through the explanation of terminology.

Alliances

As asserted in the Theatre of the Oppressed via the chapter on the 'Experience in Peru' discussed earlier in this thesis, the only way to overcome historical constraints and injustices is a revolution. Consequently, the original textualisation of the Framework of the Oppressed entailed a degree of Manicheism in the portrayal of the oppressor, dehumanised, and the oppressed, victimised. During his exile in Europe, Boal addressed the shortcomings of this Manicheism with the introduction of games and practices to study the oppressor closely, giving a more multifaceted overview of the societal flaws and failures. In this endeavour, the aim was shifted towards the rebalancing of power from within the system through the building of alliances. Even though the Theatre of the Oppressed looked the same, the alliance model – depending on the context and historical conditions of the place practitioners are working – introduced an ideological shift in response to spatio-temporal changes (aftermath of the radicalism of rural and urban terrorism in the seventies and beginning of 1980s; and a translation from Latin America to Europe) (Chapter 3 and 4).

Boal as an interpreter of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* (1979-2009)

In the first period of the publication of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* translation (1974 to 1979), the inclusion of Boal's workshop description and photos in the German version,

for example, is evidence of how performative translation and Boal's presence is vital to the interlinguistic translation process, both in terms of how translators and editors approach the project and the way it is presented to and read by the public. In addition, as discussed in previous chapters, the inclusion of Boal's interviews in many editions is an effective device to bring/foreground the presence of the practitioner and to propose a rebalancing of power relations – the voice of the practitioner from the South is reproduced in a dialogical format – consistent with the objectives of the Theatre of the Oppressed. In this sense, the published interviews – now frozen in time – were intended to introduce a performative dimension to the static text. Boal's persona, developed through international workshops, is inseparably linked to transforming the Theatre of the Oppressed into a commodity capable of circulating internationally.

The changes in historical context, with the end of the Cold War (1991) and the accession of liberalism and globalisation, may explain the displacement of the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* redefined as a text for experts, scholars, and educators, and the rise in popularity of *200 Exercícios de Jogos para o Ator e o Não-Ator com Vontade de Dizer Algo Através do Teatro* (1977) with its pragmatic appeal occupying the forefront position for practitioners. With more recent changes in the political scene, the Theatre of the Oppressed practitioner community has mobilised to respond to local contexts, and more (but arguably different) transversal issues (gender and race discrimination, domestic violence, etc.) have emerged once more. Once again, the importance of the ideological dimension of the practice has been highlighted to respond to the practitioners who appropriated Theatre of the Oppressed techniques to promote reconciliation and acceptance of inequality, to silence workers and vulnerable groups, or 'who voluntarily emptied the Theatre of the Oppressed of its political content' (Boal J., 2019, page 292). In addition, theatre scholars have a double role; many are academics and also practitioners. There is an increased interest in applying active learning in colleges both as a pedagogical or research tool – not only for theatre studies but for social studies and health areas – and Theatre of the Oppressed practices are adapted to this end (Howe, 2021).

As established in previous chapters, practitioners, activists, and scholars restate/recover the value of the Theatre of the Oppressed's revolutionary and transnational project in this broader context. In a micro dimension, this aspect is mirrored within the work of several community groups invested in addressing the

challenges of multilingual, multi-ethnic and diverse societies, creating a second level of cultural mediation. The work of such groups, like Marias do Brasil, Madalenas GTO Bissau, Magdalenas Comarca Andina, Ma(g)dalenas Nepal and Anastacia Berlin is informed by feminist theory and practice and the impact of the black power movement in the US, which brought to the fore the need for intersectionality alongside the development of a post-colonial theoretical perspective to account for the experience of oppression in the diverse South, from the East to Africa and Americas.

The well-consolidated network *Teatro de las Oprimidas, Red Ma(g)dalena Internacional*[40] created in 2001, under the coordination of Bárbara Santos, with the support of the CTO-Rio, is a key example of identity-based groups, with its feminist approach, clear transnational agenda, and the change of paradigm:

> Our network construction is an endless search for our feminist identity. Therefore, it is in continuous movement. In our Network, the reference areas are articulated with each other, where we understand that one strengthens the other in a dialogical and dialectical relationship. (Relatório de comunicação do projeto Teatro das Oprimidas, 2021))

The Network comprises theatre groups from Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Europe (see map in Appendix ii).

In Boal's narrative of the experiences with participatory theatre in Peru, analysed in previous chapters, the landlord and ruling classes were the oppressors, and the oppressed were the people. More recently, Theatre of the Oppressed groups have formed to actively engage with identity themes or societal issues, i.e., race, gender, sexual abuse, xenophobia, and Islamophobia. According to Boal's later accounts, many of these themes were already present in the first experiences of Theatre of the Oppressed. Boal himself, in a letter on the 18th of March of 2009 to Sanjoy Ganguly, mentions themes to be inserted in a programme for discussion: 'themes like Violent Communities, Gender, Racism, Sexism, Economic Crisis, Neo-Liberalism, Land,

[40] It is paramount a word of caution here to explain that the *Red Ma(g)dalena Internacional* has no relation to the Magdalena Project, founded in Wales in 1986, a dynamic cross-cultural network, providing a platform for women's performance work, a forum for critical discussion, and a source of support, inspiration and performance training'. The Magdalena Project's annual journal was published from 1996 to 2008 in collaboration with Odin Theatre. So, regardless of the name, both networks have different agendas and follow different theatrical lines.

Salaries and Workers, Rainbow of Desire, Legislative Theatre, Mental Health, Schools, Education, and Pedagogy, etc.' (Boal, 2017, page 151).

Two Theatre of the Oppressed branches, Rainbow of Desire and Legislative Theatre, were enlisted alongside social themes that both practitioners have tackled tirelessly. In Boal and Sanjoy's interaction, the double dynamic of Boal's lectures and workshops is laid out. On the one hand, the meetings are an opportunity to discuss critically central societal themes, aiming at developing and strengthening the base of the community of practice. On the other, the encounters are a space to disseminate and advance Theatre of the Oppressed methods. Furthermore, the international arena promotes/fosters the conditions for the sustainability of such practices; through networking, practitioners can avail of financial support from transnational non-governmental initiatives or established theatre groups.

Internationalisation

Boal showed recognition that the support of artists had an effect of 'protective internationalisation,' as materialised in the invitation to Teatro Arena to participate in the Nancy Festival in 1971, for example, and the strong reaction against Boal's imprisonment (1971) showing 'international solidarity' (Boal, 2000, page 313 and 322). Teatro Arena travelled to the Nancy Festival without Boal. However, the court granted special permission, and he joined the group in France, avoiding the end of his trial in Brazil (Andrade, 2014). Boal's displacement unfolds the multiplication model internationally, with the foundation of groups directly connected with the practitioners

in different countries. The practitioner returned to Latin America as an exile in Argentina (1972 to 1976), from where he worked on Latin American projects, such as the Plano Alfin (Programa de Alfabetização Integral) in Peru, or with professional theatre groups, such as El Machete. In his first period in Europe, he worked with A Barraca in Portugal (1977 – 1978).

Beyond Boal's Presence, Intercultural Mediation in the 21st Century

As glimpsed in the case of *Red Magdalena Internacional* above, the cultural and social heterogeneity of Theatre of the Oppressed groups is reflected in the range of oppressions addressed in their work, responding to urgent themes and more structural societal issues in the 21st century.

For instance, Forn de Teatre Pa'tothom – 'an entity dedicated to theatre, specialising in Theatre of the Oppressed' founded by Jordi Forcades and his sister,

Montserrat Forcades, in 2000 in Barcelona – focuses on a range of societal themes. The group's most recent subjects include Islamophobia, prejudice, racism, the housing crisis, school bullying, and gender-based violence. The group's view is to invite 'heterogeneity' and 'people with different profiles' to provoke dialogue, which requires 'efforts toward recognition and trust' that can only be 'sustained over time' (Forcadas). Consequently, intercultural mediation informs the Catalan group's work, the theme of the Catalan group interventions and Forum Theatre pieces.[41]

Increasingly, rather than the themes being simply part of the discussion prior to specific interventions, the issues have become more and more the basis and the binding element of community groups.

A clear example of how a 'communal' experience informs Theatre of the Oppressed groups, entices members and attracts audiences eager to discuss specific issues is the London-based Cardboard Citizens. Founded in 1991 by Adrian Jackson, it has grown around the issues of people experiencing homelessness. Jackson himself was a close collaborator of Boal, responsible for introductions, editing, and translating five of the practitioner's books[42] into English. The Cardboard Citizens Manifesto indicates the group's aspiration 'to work with and for people who experience homelessness, inequity, or poverty' (Cardboard Citizens). In this case, the shared homeless experience of participants and spectators is the element that creates the company's identity. Even so, the company offers opportunities for individuals with other backgrounds to engage in various capacities, consistent with the company's ethos, whose purpose is to 'make new citizens' beyond the constraints of 'borders, governments, and laws' (Cardboard Citizens).

While the profile of the Cardboard Citizens is more homogenous than the Forn de Teatre Pa'tothom, both groups maintain the ideological objectives of the Theatre of the Oppressed at the forefront of their work. The shared element of the Theatre of the

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[41] Example of Forn de Teatre Pa'tothom's work:
Forum Theatre: *La insuportable banalitat del tema*: obra de teatre fòrum que aborda la discriminació contra la comunitat musulmana, projecte europeu 2019 a 2022
Themes: teatre per a una economia social i solidària
Intervencions i/o *tallers a instituts,* la situació de l'habitatge i el lloguer a barcelona, bullying, teatre per consumidors de metadona, detencions per perfil ètnic, teatre per la memòria històrica. (Forn De Teatre Pa'tothom)

[42] *The Aesthetics of the Oppressed*, 2006; *Legislative Theatre: Using Performance to make politics*, 2004, *Hamlet and the Baker's Son: My Life in Theatre and Politics*, 2001, and T*he Rainbow of Desire: The Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy*, 1995 and from the French revised edition, *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, 2001.

Oppressed practitioners is the foundational element of cultural identity; in this case, the group may open dialogue, through theatrical intervention, with other groups of broader society. Where there is a need for interlinguistic translation in multilingual countries and spaces, the joker may be invested with the role of intercultural interpreter to mediate and build trust between spect-actors and the actors.

Europe

Centre du Théâtre de l'Opprimé Paris (CTO-Paris) (1978 - to date) and Réseau Théâtre de l'Opprimé (1998 - to date)

During Boal's residence in France (1978-1986), a pioneer team founded the first centre dedicated to the Theatre of the Oppressed, the *Centre de Diffusion des Techniques Actives d'Expression*[33] (Boal methods), the CEDITADE, in 1979 (Martel). At this point, the 'Centre for Training in Active Education Methods' hosted practitioners working with Boal. Thus, the name CEDITADE reflected that. The history of the *Centre du Théâtre de l'Opprimé Paris* (CTO-Paris) is convoluted, but despite the centre's change of name and dissidents, the centre is still active in some form and shape. According to Martel, the history of the Paris Theatre of the Oppressed satellite group can be divided into three periods. The first period of activities, from 1978 to 1985, had a 'high degree of political intensity'; Boal's group collaborated with social or party organisations. Although a Brazilian Amnesty Act (August 28, 1979) that granted pardons to the politically persecuted in Brazil – the act left out those convicted of terrorist acts – was signed by the last president of the Military dictatorship (1964- 1985) and paved the transition to a democratic government (Schwarz, 2015), Boal visited Brazil in December of 1979 (Boal, 2000, page 325). However, he was one of the last exiles to return definitively to Brazil. During the period, Boal directed shows in Europe and Brazil, led international workshops, and continued to support the CTO- Paris.

The second period encompassed the reorganisation of the CTO-Paris after Boal's return to Brazil when the group's leadership liaised with Boal and the organisation of international encounters from 1986 to 1997. The third period of the CTO-Paris history was split into two main Theatre of the Oppressed organisations in 1998: Rui Frati became the artistic director of the CTO-Paris, and dissidents created the *Réseau Théâtre de l'Opprimé*, the French Theatre of the Oppressed Network (Martel). The establishment of two fronts was the outcome of a 'very painful period' (Martel, 2019), and some practitioners consider that the result of the divisions was 'the dissolution of the Paris Centre' (Andrade, 2020). However, the *Compagnie du Centre*

du Théâtre de l'Opprimé Paris (CTO-Paris) (Théâtre de l'Opprimé. Qui nous sommes.) remains active, with a range of Theatre of the Oppressed courses, shows, and collaboration 'with theatre companies; furthermore, it claims to work towards the recognition of the CTO-Paris as the European Investigation Center for the Theater of the Oppressed method' (Théâtre de l'Opprimé. Qui nous sommes). The addition of the title 'Company' reflects the fact that the CTO-Paris produces professional shows, as noted in the following statement : 'Des professionnels de la scène soucieux de défendre leur place d'artistes citoyens créent à chaque saison un spectacle d'auteur contemporain, privilégiant les formes où se conjuguent théâtre et musique'. (Théâtre de l'Opprimé. Qui nous sommes).

The CTO-Paris development of musical theatre is consistent with one of the aspects of Boal's oeuvre, the critical rewriting of popular theatre, mainly musical theatre. The musical element was present in his collaboration in the concert collage 'Opinião' (1965) and the Arena period 'Arena conta Zumbi' (1965), 'Arena conta Tiradentes' (1967), 'Arena conta Bolivar' (1969), linked to the emergent Theatre of the Oppressed; furthermore, the plays after his return to Rio de Janeiro, the musical 'O corsário do Rei' (1985), and two rewritings of operas that he named 'sambóperas,' 'Carmen' (1999), and 'La Traviata' (2001) indicate the practitioner's continuous interest in the musical genre and the practice of rewriting classics to respond to new contexts. However, few studies address musicals as the development of a popular theatre form and as a rewriting of classic plays (Assis, 2011). Boal maintained his work as a facilitator of workshops within community-based theatre, disseminating and advancing the Theatre of the Oppressed in parallel to his activities as director and playwright within the scope of professional theatre. Along the same lines, the CTO-Paris reaffirms the political inspiration of its work while developing professional shows and supporting community-based theatre activities. According to the artistic director, CTO-Paris' mission is to instigate the discussion of social issues through theatre.[43]

In a similar tone, the network *Réseau Théâtre de l'Opprimé's* main objective is 'to fight against oppression through the theatre.' However, the network, which has more than twenty associate groups that respond 'to requests for interventions, shows,

[43]Aborder les conflits sociaux et humains par le théâtre… provoquer la discussion, réfléchir et comprendre ensemble en scène, voilà notre parti-pris !

training' (Présentation du Réseau Théâtre de l'Opprimé), focuses on the advancement of Theatre of the Oppressed and, beyond that, the over-arching group organises workshops, promotes encounters and exchanges between practitioners in a more horizontal model:

> Notre réseau réunit des groupes de Théâtre de l'Opprimé, petits ou grands, sans hiérarchie, sans idée de fédération, en France et les Pays francophones voisins, professionnels ou amateurs (compagnies, associations, collectifs). Les plus anciens d'entre nous ont travaillé au C.T.O. Boal de Paris, jusqu'au départ de Boal pour le Brésil, puis la dispersion de ce groupe en 98. (Présentation du Réseau Théâtre de l'Opprimé)
>
> […] Après la fin du CTO-Boal en 1998, le mouvement du théâtre de l'opprimé héritait en France d'un sentiment de méfiance marqué, quant à la supposée volonté de centralisme d'un groupe sur les autres. (Une aide au lancement du réseau TO de France)

The horizontal organisation replaces the satellite model and inaugurates in France a new way to support the established Theatre of the Oppressed groups and to instigate the dissemination and advancement of the practice. The horizontal model is less centralised, more democratic, and dialogic and is open to listening to new proposals and critical responses, avoiding the institutionalisation of the *praxis* in a static method. Aspiring beyond geographic frontiers, the French language is presented as a binding element for the community of practitioners. Yet, social groups within the shared French language embody subcultures or different identities.

European Theatre of the Oppressed network TOgether (2011 – to date)

The European Theatre of the Oppressed network TOgether, active since 2011, comprises seven groups: Active Inquiry (Edinburgh, Scotland), Dramski Studio (Pula, Croatia), GTO Lisboa (Lisbon, Portugal), Krila Teatro dell'Oppresso (Bologna, Italy), Pas à Passo (Amiens, France), uTOpía Barcelona (Barcelona, Catalonia-Spain) and Kuringa (Berlin, Germany). The collaborative project was created to develop a curriculum for a qualified trainer of the Theatre of the Oppressed and produce an inter-group Forum-theatre play. The project was funded by the Programme of the European Commission and included a self-assessment developed by the Department of

Education of Bologna University. To achieve the last goal, the community of practitioners united to create and perform 'Hotel Europa,' a piece reflecting the European financial crisis, with shows at the Fringe Festival (Edinburgh, 2016). For the project, the network called itself TOgether International Theatre Company, under the artistic direction of Bárbara Santos.

The construction of a curriculum aims at standardisation to ensure maintenance of the ethical principles of the practice and minimum quality expectations for the Theatre of the Oppressed courses that are thus enhanced by international authorisation; however, on the flip side, it is a form of institutionalisation, and it has the potential to change the perception of the practice into a comparative method and a commodity. The strategy disrupts the multiplication method prevalent from the first days of the Theatre of the Oppressed to this day. Beyond that, the project has a more practical objective: creating forum theatre pieces. The groups represent a diversity of countries and social groups. Consequently, the amalgamation of the groups to work together involves intercultural mediation. The polyphony of voices within Europe and the variety of the financial crisis experiences were embodied in creating a forum piece, 'Hotel Europa.' Intercultural mediation occurs in the exchange of perspectives in the work of the 'inter-group' and aims to continue in the interaction with the spect-actors:

> TOgether Theatre Company es el resultado de un proyecto europeo en el que hemos participado 7 organizaciones que trabajan con el Teatro del Oprimido y la evaluación externa de la Universidad de Bologna. (Barcelona, 2017)

The organisations that participated in the project were Active Inquiry, Edinburgh, Scotland; GTO Lisbon, Portugal; INK Pula Festival, Croatia; Krila Bologna, Italy; KURINGA Berlin, Germany; Pas à Passo Amiens, France; uTOpia Barcelona, Spain. (Santos 440 - 449)

Kuringa-Berlin

Kuringa-Berlin encompasses the following branches: The Masculinities Lab under Till Baumann's coordination, founded in 2017; the Madalena-Berlin, founded in 2011; and the Kuringa community, that promotes activities to support Theatre of the Oppressed practitioners. The umbrella group promotes public events and is engaged in 'developing the Theatre of the Oppressed aesthetics'. Till Baumann is the translator

and editor of the revised and expanded German version of *Games for Actors and Non-Actors* (2013).

Since 2021, Kuringa has supported Sabotage Theater Collective, an independent group that worked on racism, migration, social injustice, and isolation. Kuringa-Berlin also supports the youth group Wir Sind Hier! Part of Roma Trial e.V., an organisation of Roma and non-Roma youth that works on intercultural coexistence and discrimination challenges through Theatre Forum interventions. The group developed an Education Programme against Antigypsyism.

Brazil

Fábrica do Teatro Popular

After the Amnesty Act (1979), Boal directed '*O corsário do Rei*' (1985) and 'Fedra' (1986) in Brazil and finally moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1986, at the invitation of the Secretary of Education of the State of Rio de Janeiro, the anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro, to work with the *Fábrica do Teatro Popular* in public schools, known as the schools *Centros Integrados de Educação Pública (CIEPs).* The holistic education initiative aimed to spread basic art knowledge to equip students from deprived areas to express their experiences critically. Boal's collaboration encompassed theatre techniques, and the modules offered reflected Boal's coordination during Arena's years: Dramaturgy seminar, Interpretation Laboratory, and Scenography Atelier. According to an early report describing the project, Boal indicates that the *Fábrica do Teatro Popular* structure would follow a multiplication model similar to Teatro Arena's hierarchy structure, with a centre and small nucleus; students from an original group would become facilitators and an 'assembly line' would 'assembly units of 10 to 25', upon Boal's coordination (Boal, 1987). The facilitators that formed the Brazilian Boal's new group have a cultural profile homogeneity, even though teachers and future researchers were part of the emergent CTO-Rio, developed beyond the walls of the schools.

Centro de Teatro do Oprimido, CTO-Rio

Between the years of 1986 and 1989, trainees of the Fábrica de Teatro Popular worked together on projects and organically formed a flexible group of practitioners; as a natural progression, they founded the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido and in 1990, the Constitution of the CTO – Rio was written (Felix et al.; 2016). Boal was a leader of the CTO – Rio, but, in parallel, he led international workshops and collaborated with social groups and professional theatre companies. During Boal's city councillor

mandate, between 1993 and 1996, CTO-Rio supported the development of community groups engaged with Legislative Theatre. After that, with the funding of the Fundação Ford, the following Theatre of the Oppressed groups emerged around cultural identity (Rodrigues, 2016):

Panela de Pressão	residents of underprivileged communities
Marias do Brasil	female domestic workers
Corpo em Cena	residents of underprivileged community
Maré Arte	young residents of underprivileged community
Artemanha	LGBTQ+ and allies
Pirei na Cena	patients of a psychiatric hospital

Nowadays, the centre's activities include international in-house workshops and the promotion of encounters and exchange of Theatre of the Oppressed practitioners. The CTO – Rio is part of Boal's vision to have Theatre of the Oppressed centres spread worldwide to establish a network to support each other and promote advances in disseminating the praxis. Besides the groups founded directly by Boal, groups and associated groups expanded the international networking of practitioners that call themselves Theatre of the Oppressed followers.

Escola de Teatro Popular (ETP) (2017 to date)

Boal worked with the *Movimento Sem Terra* (MST) on his return to Brazil. The organisation continued the collaboration with the CTO Rio. Unfolding the Theatre of the Oppressed scope, the Escola de Teatro Popular (ETP) was founded in 2017, eight years after Boal's death, and defines its role as: 'é um espaço de formação e multiplicação de Teatro do Oprimido' (Escola de Teatro Popular).

The activists have an active role in ETP's management; the education board has Movimento Sem-Terra (MST) representatives, Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto (MTST), and two youth groups. ETP offers Theatre of the Oppressed and Political Theatre training to activists from associations. Thus, some courses are only accessible by invitation. However, as a resistance to the right-wing Brazilian government, ETP has increased the number of open workshops, free online material, and street interventions. Julian Boal supports the school as an international ambassador of the Theatre of the Oppressed through fundraising and talking about the project.

India

Jana Sanskriti Centre of the Theatre of the Oppressed

Sanjoy Ganguly founded the Jana Sanskriti Centre of the Theatre of the Oppressed in India, a rural location near Kolkata, in 1985; the group works with rural communities of West Bengal. The movement expanded with the first women's groups in 2002 and the establishment of a Bi-Annual International Festival of Theatre Forum in 2004, the *Muktadhara – 'Mukta'* means free and 'Dhara' flowing steam. This festival 'has hosted hundreds of participants from over 40 countries (Muktadhara – Jana Sanskriti's International Forum Theatre Festival, India) and was consolidated with the foundation of the Indian Association of Theatre of the Oppressed in 2006 (Yarrow, 2017, page XIII). The Jana Sanskriti Centre for the Theatre of the Oppressed is a satellite association of more than thirty Theatre of the Oppressed groups (Ganguly, 2010, page XVI) and 500 to 600 actors (Klement, 2013).

Sanjoy Ganguly's narratives of the Theatre of the Oppressed through a Translation Studies perspective.

Ganguly and Jana Sanskriti are a reference for practitioners of the Theatre of the Oppressed and a highly successful example of a local group that nurtures the dissemination of the practice. The practitioner's work is credited as a 'fusion' of Indian and 'Western' modes,' 'both essentially Indian and radically international' (Yarrow, 2017, page 17).

For Ganguly, Boal's work is continually recreated, adapted and expanded in new contexts (Ganguly, 2010); in other words, the translational process is never fixed or closed. Ganguly documents how he mediates the challenge of relocating Boal's practices in a particular time and space and negotiates diversity in his work in India and international fundraising workshops. Despite the intrinsic duality of texts about theatre, at the crossroads of theory and practice (Boal's *praxis*), combining both aspects can give us a critical perspective on the tension between the international appeal and local societal focus of the Theatre of the Oppressed practices.

In his writings, Sanjoy Ganguly narrates and reflects closely on the validity of using Boal's critical theatre in other contexts and how to respond to local challenges in ways that offer invaluable insights into questions of cultural translatability via theatre practice. Moreover, the reflexive quality of the texts opens a vital window to observe the dynamics of group facilitators and their agency as mediators negotiating power (im)balance within and between communities of practitioners in particular local, national, and international contexts.

Ganguly's far-reaching translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed opens a dialogue with the wider philosophical and artistic heterogeneity characteristic of Indian tradition(s). The practitioner goes beyond a recontextualisation of the practice; he operates a twofold rewriting of the praxis. Ganguly reads the Theatre of the Oppressed through Indian socialist thinkers. Hence, the reframing is consistent with the overarching ideology that underpins the Theatre of the Oppressed. In rewriting the Theatre of the Oppressed, Jana Sanskriti delves into the aesthetic of Indian traditional performative forms in creating Forum theatre pieces. Consequently, the group has an aesthetic appeal, with a 'richness of colour, spectacle, and rhythm – albeit produced with very simple materials' that engages local and international audiences.

Ganguly's book *From Boal to Jana Sanskriti, Practices and Principles* format is comparable with the *Teatro del/do Oprimido* and the translations of Boal's book: for example, in the Frontispiece, on the left of the Half title page, there is a reproduction of Ganguly and Boal's photo in a familiar-work situation, that authorises Ganguly as a close Boal follower; in Part 1, five workshops are described with several images to illustrate them; in Part 2, five interviews with Sanjoy Ganguly; three essays of the author two about the political aesthetics of Jana Sanskriti and one about the challenges to the Joker, the facilitator of a Theatre Forum session, and the problems of using sympathy to reach the audience when working with critical thinking; finally, the book finishes with letters from Augusto Boal and Sanjoy Ganguly from the short period of March to April 2009. The mix between the description of practical work with the adaptation and development of exercises proposed in Boal's work, interviews, and essays of the practitioner is almost a synthesis between the 'two volumes' *Teatro del/do Oprimido* and *Ejercicios y Juegos para el actor y para el no actor con Ganas de decir algo a través del teatro*. The resemblance to the format of the German *Theater der Unterdrückten* version of Teatro del/do Oprimido is undeniable. Of course, books about theatre commonly bring the representation of the *praxis,* the semiotic text*,* through visual resources and resort to the addition of photos to balance theoretical content and practical examples. The editorial device of photo-documentation supports the construction of Ganguly's persona – shadowing Boal's strategy to project his presence on the international stage – whereby a 'leader' or a wise man who guides 'disciples' becomes crucial in developing a Theatre of the Oppressed theatre group the last editorial resort is the addition of interviews. Again, the same device used in *Théâtre*

de l'opprimé (and after that in Teatro del Oprimido), *Il Teatro degli Oppressi* and *Theater der Unterdrückten* — analysed in the previous chapter — Ganguly's voice is reproduced to invite the reader to approach the Theatre of the Oppressed closely guided by the master. Even so, the theatre practitioner's visibility and the published interview fix the text in time, making it a closed object. Ganguly's presence is symmetrical to Boal's; paradoxically, the consolidation of groups and networks organised around influential leaders responsible for the sustainability of the 'mother cell' and nuclei is part of the 'workshop culture' criticised by Ganguly. The inversion of practitioners from the South disseminating a political theatre to practitioners of the North overturning the global order is based on constructing a persona that can occupy a high position in the hierarchy; the individual figure of the 'thinker-pedagogue- practitioner' has the permission to break the hegemonic power flow. Nevertheless, practitioners from the North's adherence to a critical project like Theatre of the Oppressed can be interpreted as a sufficient token to guarantee the ethos of disseminating the framework.

In the book, Ganguly reiterates the revolutionary character of the Theatre of the Oppressed, connecting directly with Boal's legacy and pointing to the inconsistency of practitioners that almost erase the ideology at the root of the practice. The de-politicization of the language in other contexts, when practitioners rename the practice and hide the word *oppressed*, as noted by Yarrow, is significant and reflects the attitude of some groups in developed countries that see oppression as a phenomenon restricted to in-development countries. However, we must consider that the erasure of the word 'oppressed' can also be a strategy to secure public funding; the constraints imposed on practitioners to comply with institutional projects come with the compromise of the theoretical background of Boal's practices and ideas. Regarding the financial sustainability of community-based theatre, the correspondence between Boal and Ganguly gives us a brief idea of how the practitioners from the South used an international network to raise funds, as seen in Ganguly's letter on the 2nd of March 2009:

> 'I am now in Canada to talk about ToO and the practice done by Jana Sanskriti. It is also fundraising for me.' (Ganguly, 2017, page 148)

Along the same lines, the acronym ToO is another form of neutralising the language and narrowing the target reader to experts or people initiated in the field. Of

course, the popularisation of acronyms is part of the English linguistic system. The form TO gained traction and is currently practitioners' preferred form. It is gaining ground with the exponential dissemination of electronic texts through the fast-track translation that presents translingual traces and the primary assimilation of English language preferences. In this context, the phenomenon is part of the perception of a lingua franca, as the acronym can circulate in romance languages and English across the world wide web. Besides that, political parties, social associations, and movements adopt abbreviations, for example, MST (*Movimento dos Sem Terra*); hence, the Theatre of the Oppressed community of practitioners may emphasise the activism involved in their work by adhering to the systematic use of the acronym TO.

The exchange of the letters shows that if the financial support falls in part on the communities of practitioners or institutions of countries from the North, the close contact of Ganguly and Boal underpins the importance of their work and the advancement of a network of practitioners' open to exchange experiences beyond sponsorship and despite financial hardship.

Regarding language and the narrative of the dissemination of the practice, Ganguly's option to reiterate the practice's name, Theatre of the Oppressed, is consistent with the ethical principles defended in his texts. Furthermore, in the preface, Yarrow's differentiation (or discrimination) of the translational processes of the Theatre of the Oppressed, when inserted in the South context, discloses an intrinsic tension between the author, Ganguly and the practitioners that opt for the neutralisation of the language. Yarrow mediates the pressure by contextualising Ganguly's work. Yarrow's agency in the brief introduction is thus similar to the editors' agency exerted in the translations previously analysed in Chapters 3 and 4. The complexity of the social fabric and the disenfranchised population of the South sets the background against which a political theatre can be developed. In the North, the oppressions are mainly identified as 'internal oppression.' The editor, Ralph Yarrow, states in the preface of the book that

Ganguly retains Boal's terminology of the 'oppressed.' There has been extensive discussion in the *TO movement* and work about it, and another kind of 'apple,'', 'interventionist, community' or 'development' theatre; some practitioners have come up with alternatives. In India and the immediate context of Jana Sanskriti's

work, it is clear that external forms of political and economic oppression are *still* widespread. (Yarrow, 2017, page XIII, my emphasis)

Nonetheless, in the Foreword, Van Erven draws attention to the transferability of Ganguly's work:

> I have reread the five interviews with Sanjoy Ganguly at the end of this collection of texts about Jana Sanskriti. I am struck once again by their clarity of analysis, the provocative *critical thinking*, and the *worldwide applicability of ideas* that have been evolving collectively over thirty years from *local roots* firmly planted in the soil and culture of West Bengal. The journey of Jana Sanskriti is part of a much larger story about engagement, participatory community-based art spreading across the globe after World War II. Importantly, *it is not a story that originated in the North*, but *in the 1970s and 80s, it was at least significantly propelled by artists in Brazil, India, and other places in the South*. (Van Erven, 2017, page X, my emphasis)

Here, once again, the principal leading factor in acknowledging – and in some ways collapsing - Ganguly's and Boal's theatre's critical practice is their origins in the South. Curiously, however, the period highlighted by Van Erven is that of Boal's exile, when his displacement articulated an international network mainly from the North that supported the publication of essays, books, and workshops. In a contradictory way, to address the imbalance of cultural capital, scholars and practitioners look towards the South as a form to redefine their contribution to the status quo and to overcome colonisation and cultural imperialism.

In the fourth interview presented in the book conducted in November 2014 in Vienna by Joschka Köck, Ganguly affirms that Jana Sanskriti has become a 'space for people from Europe to meet' to 'get connected' and that groups from the same country sometimes do not know each other (Ganguly, 2017, page 118). Hence, Ganguly desires to establish a Theatre of the Oppressed International Centre. The practitioner declares that the imbalance of power North-South does not happen in Jana Sanskriti as the group is a 'point of reference', it 'has already an extensive reputation and a record of work,' and 'people regard our group from a very high, respectable point of view.' It is striking that Ganguly refers to the fact that the inversion of power, the reference from the South

to the North, is enough to assure/shore up the validity of the critical practices that question social structures. Consequently, Jana Sanskriti reproduces a vertical hierarchy, an upside-down image that helps tentative reconciliation with/for practitioners from the North to overcome oppression and make peace with the past. Nevertheless, Ganguly admits that in this 'workshop culture,' sometimes the attitude is ''privileged people going to help'' (Ganguly's quotation marks) the 'so-called harder world,' and that constructs a 'hierarchy.' Developing a critical perspective must be carefully managed in workshops that train practitioners within communities they do not belong to. In such cases, the Theatre of the Oppressed can become charity work, with the (passive) victimisation of the oppressed that, in a distorted turn of events, must overcome historical trauma. The delicate balance between the dissemination of the Theatre of the Oppressed through workshops that are responsible for bringing in further funding, the continuity of groups, and the critical consideration of the consistency of the work carried under the umbrella of the highly diverse community- based and professional theatre groups requires a constant reassessment of the community of practitioners.

However, apart from the South-North dichotomy, local realities are also plural. It goes some way to counter the idea that globalisation reinforces a single 'development model, one cultural value, one single perspective of life and way of thinking (Poutot). In that case, Ganguly reaffirms the role of the Theatre of the Oppressed to resist the erasure of difference. Consequently, to attend to linguistic diversity and Indian traditional (folk) aesthetic (Ganguly, 2010, page 132), Jana Sanskriti reimagines the repertoire of popular art forms to translate the Theatre of the Oppressed to the socio-economic context and culture of spect-actors. It is important to understand that 'folk forms were really metaphoric'. In this sense, Ganguly re-locates the *popular/ traditional/ folk* in the centre of Theatre of the Oppresed. The allegorical aspect is reinterpreted as an instrument to bring a critical perspective and disrupt the audience's passivity. In Jana Sanskriti performances, the primacy of the performers' movements and the precise use of visual elements open dialogue beyond the monolingual discourse.

Ganguly declares that Jana Sanskriti actors 'script the play' (Ganguly, 2017, page 91). The practice goes beyond the collective writing of a play. The Jana Sanskriti practitioners work mainly with the spoken word and the body, in alignment with the

Theatre of the Oppressed practices that encourage practitioners to develop ways to express the embodiment of social structures and power struggles. The practice returns us to Boal's work in Peru as part of the Alfin literacy project, text in translation analysed in Chapters 3 and 5. Hence, more than innovation, the importance of Ganguly's work is to reinstate crucial aspects of the Theatre of the Oppressed to respond to local issues using traditional Indian theatre aesthetics. Furthermore, Ganguly defends a dynamic approach to theatre practices, avoiding getting trapped in past solutions: Theatre for change or revolution will never end its journey (Ganguly, 2017, page 132).

Ganguly tells of the shift in his thought when he read Indian thinkers. He praised Vivekananda's (1863-1902) texts as the Hindu monk proposed integration of analytic tradition and rational modernity as a local take on the socialism that the Indian Communist Party resisted. In parallel with Freire, the Hindu philosopher and activist believed in the people's intellectual capacity to develop a critical and participatory form of governance. Ganguly reaffirms that spirituality is ingrained in the 'concept of scientific rationalism' (Ganguly, 2017, page 123-125).

In that same line of thought, Ganguly indicates/points to the qualitative leap of Jana Sanskriti when Forum theatre spect-actors experience a revolution within themselves, based on rational thinking, and become 'spect-activists' (Ganguly, 2017, page 95). Moreover, according to Ganguly's interview in November 2014, it is necessary to challenge frameworks, break with the Marxist or the Gandhian point of view, the two lines of thought that the practitioner is affiliated to: I have to go beyond the frame it is not a theory but a realisation. Moreover, the realisation comes from the love (Ganguly, 2017, page 121).

The statement encompasses the idea that the embodiment of an experience through theatrical expression and the understanding of reality is more effective than the analysis through words and discussions framed by a somewhat rigid system of thought. The practitioner prioritises the *praxis* of the Theatre of the Oppressed; instead of the ideological debates framed by systems of preconceived ideas, he suggests the shift towards the people's experiences as a new paradigm. Consequently, recognising cultural diversity is imperative to respond to globalisation that obliterates cultural differences.

Conclusion

The performative translation of the Theatre of the Oppressed is a privileged space to observe the tensions between the transversality of a transnational project and specific local culture(s). The ideological background was initially homogeneous, ingrained in socialism and Brecht's ideas. The rewriting of the Theatre of the Oppressed is not neutral, and, with time, the process dissemination through workshops and the foundation of networks, the original philosophical paradigm has become looser – or potentially more capacious. Furthermore, Ganguly proposes a rewriting of the aesthetics of the practice by incorporating traditional performative forms vocabulary to engage local audiences. However, the objective is to stimulate the intellectual apprehension of the experience represented in the Forum theatre piece. In the journey to translate the Theatre of the Oppressed to attend to a specific context and audience taste informed by Indian cultural traditions, Jana Sanskriti developed a performative translation that is well received by international audiences.

In this chapter, I have focused on processes of performative translation of Boal's work, attending first to the different ways in which he 'translated' his work while engaging with different groups and contexts, and the presence of diverse figures of translation within his work: most importantly that of the Coringa, or Joker, who moves between individuals, languages and groups. In the process, I have shown the importance of practioners in translating his words and ideas, as glimpsed also in chapter 4. Most importantly, this chapter traces re-translations of Boal's work from the 1990s onwards, showing how far the focus has been on performative translation rather than the linguistic translation of *Teatro del/do oprimido*. In many ways, it is these performative translation processes that have recast his work in the frame of a Framework of the Oppressed, relating it closely to Freire's praxis. In this chapter, I have mapped the legacy of Boal's work with different practitioner groups from the 1980s onwards and their role in generating new, productive readings of the Theatre of the Oppressed. I have identified evidence that the prevalence of performative translational processes of the Theatre of the Oppressed from the beginning of the 21st century exemplifies the shift towards the reading of the Theatre of the Oppressed as a practice based on the pedagogy of the oppressed. Ganguly, for example, sees Boal as a Freirean thinker (Ganguly, 2010).

The creation of the Conference Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed and scholarly research about the theme illustrates the intersection of Freire and Boal's

works. The Framework of the Oppressed emerges as the combination of the Pedagogy and the Theatre of the Oppressed. In this perspective, the dislocation of *Teatro do/del Oprimido*'s theoretical essays to the background and the replacement by Freire's *Pedagogia do oprimido* is evidence of the dialogic and transversal translation at the moment I am writing. Theatre of the Oppressed has become a pedagogical tool.

Conclusion

Framework of the Oppressed: Translation, Cultural Mediation, and Inclusion

Coming back to the questions I asked in my introduction, the present thesis contributes to more nuanced understanding of the ways in which the translation and reception of Boal and Freire cumulatively construct a vision of the relationship between the two Brazilian thinkers and practitioners. This is clearest if we compare the translation and reception of Boal in the 1970s, 1990s and 2000s (i.e. reading across the history traced chapters 3-6 of my thesis). The Boal of the 1970s is framed in terms of Latin American revolutionary politics, and this influences the initial naming of his praxis a Theatre of the Oppressed. The Boal of the 1980s and 1990s becomes increasingly dislocated from this, in part due to his own mobility in Europe, in part to reflect the increasingly individualist psychosocial applications of his work. It is with the growing strength of decolonialising approaches in the last decade that Boal and Freire have begun to be merged as part of a coherent emancipatory project.

Telling the story of these translation shifts in a linear thesis with separate discrete chapters has been one of the greatest challenges I have faced, for ultimately this is a translation history where the lack of a stable single source text calls for an understanding of translation that is multidirectional and pluri- rather than interlingual. For example, my original plan in chapters 3, was to establish and analyse the source text and then proceed to read translational changes in other languages, but in gathering my data, it soon became clear that *Theatre of the Oppressed* was traversed by translational processes from the very beginning, and that the subsequent interlingual translations actually contribute to this. It also means that the Spanish and Brazilian-Portuguese "source" texts at times manifest as translations of each other in the parallel multilingual microanalysis I undertook for Chapter 5.

The question of how far it is possible to pursue a more expansive, plural and horizontal vision of these processes, like that espoused in the Theatre of the Oppressed method, in some ways remains unresolved. My thesis is ultimately a first step in a direction that demands collaborative, dialogic work — to go beyond the inexorably 'authorising', monumentalising tendencies of academic writing (most obviously

perceived in the enshrining of the figure of Boal as author and authoriser of translations) to characterise the more playful, performative, border-crossing figures of the spect/actor and the Joker proposed in his praxis.

This thesis originally set out to retrace the work of two key Brazilian thinkers, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal, in order to ascertain how their concepts of the oppressed have been shaped and transformed by translation and were received and assimilated by different cultures. Responding to increasing recent international interest in applying their work in different disciplinary contexts, in particular in the Anglophone world (and via translations into English), I was also motivated to address the dislocation of their work, the way in which the process of being translated to new contexts had contributed to a lack of attention to the sociocultural context in which their theories and practices actually emerged and developed, and ultimately to a reproduction of neocolonial North-South hierarchies.

After undertaking an extensive literature review of work on Freire and Boal, it became clear to me that the initial plan to structure the thesis in two parts, in order to investigate the translation history of both figures in equal depth would be beyond the scope of a PhD thesis, so I elected to focus primarily on Boal, while continuing to see his work as intimately imbricated with that of Freire, as part of what I refer to throughout as a Framework of the Oppressed. Indeed, this understanding of Boal and Freire's ideas as being interlinked tends to be taken for granted nowadays, with the former often presented as a disciple or follower of the latter. One of the key contributions of my research in this thesis has, in fact, been to uncover that the relationship between the work of Freire and Boal should not be seen in linear terms, as one having influenced the other, but more as them having both been shaped by the cultural and sociopolitical context in which their ideas and practice developed: by the diverse political and cultural activists with whom they collaborated and the communities with which they came into contact.

As I have shown in Chapters 1 and 3, especially, Freire's and Boal's cultural activism developed in parallel, with there only being evidence of sporadic contact between the two of them either in Brazil or in exile. Furthermore, while their names commonly stand as a kind of authoritative shorthand for the revolutionary educational and artistic ideas and practices associated with the Framework of the Oppressed, it became clear in my research for these chapters that their work actually emerges from

a community of practice, and often involves translation from a range of different languages and cultures. This realisation not only presented an additional challenge for my research, through the understanding that I was not simply dealing with stable single-authored Brazilian-Portuguese or Latin American Spanish source texts that could then be used as a basis to understand how their message changes in translation to other languages, but also helped me to understand the very importance of linguistic and cultural translation processes to the pedagogy and theatre of the oppressed. In other words, it actually reaffirmed my conviction of the urgent need to study the translation processes inscribed in these works as they travel.

In line with my initial thesis plan, I divided the study of these processes into three main stages: the collection and mapping of the texts published within the Framework of the Oppressed over the past 50 years; the macro- and microtextual analysis of the translation of these texts into other languages; and, finally, the analysis of translational processes involved in performative dissemination of their ideas through communities of practice. In the case of Freire, whose work and its travels across different languages have been carefully documented and are accessible in an online archive, I decided to focus primarily, in chapter 2 of this thesis, on providing an overview of the development and translation of his ideas across the decades, with the way in which debates over translation and reception fed back into his own reframing of his pedagogical framework. The analysis I carry out in this chapter not only contributes an important critical synthesis of existing work on the translation and reception of *Pedagogia do Oprimido*, but also provides valuable context for discussion of the use of key terms like *conscientização* by Boal (as discussed in further depth in chapter 5).

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of the thesis attempt to map the translation mobility of the key texts associated with Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed and constitute the first attempt to undertake a systematic study. They are based on careful archival research to uncover the genealogy of Boal's *Teatro del/do oprimido* and clearly show, contrary to Boal's own claims in his 2000 memoirs, that the Spanish text published in Argentina, is not a translation of a prior text in Brazilian-Portuguese, but that both texts draw on a range of pre-published essays in Portuguese, Spanish and Brazilian- Portuguese, that leave multilingual traces across the published versions. Hence, my decision to speak of *Teatro del/do oprimido* throughout this thesis, in order to remind readers of the co-

existence and blurring between the Spanish and Brazilian-Portuguese "source" texts. Furthermore, not only is there frequently ambiguity in translation paratexts in other languages about which version has been used as the source text, but subsequent editions of the text in Spanish and Portuguese often include elements, such as the interview that accompanied the first French edition, that initially appeared in other languages.

Having mapped the translation history of Boal's *Teatro del/do oprimido*, I went on to focus on the earliest translations of the text into European languages, as these are marked by the parallel mobility of Boal's exile and the physical transplantation of his practice to Europe. Chapter 4 provides an investigation of the extrinsic factors underpinning the translations into French, Italian, German and English, and attends in particular to the ideological vectors that governed these processes. This analysis is then complemented by a microlinguistic analysis of the translations in chapter 5, based on a parallel multilingual corpus comprising the Argentine-Spanish, Brazilian-Portuguese, French, Italian and English versions up to 1979, and then honing in on shifts in the translation of particular keywords in the text, in order to provide an insight into the ways in which the Framework of the Oppressed changes as it travels.

In both Chapters 4 and 5, it becomes clear how important performative attitudes and inclinations towards Boal's practice are in the process of translation, either through the prevalence of theatre practitioners and actual collaborators with Boal undertaking translation of his work, or in the impact of local understandings of performance culture in the translation of particular terms. This is what governed the content and structure of chapter 6, where I attempt to balance a chronological overview of the ways in which Boal's ideas travelled through performance practice in exile and beyond, but also to delve into the ways in which translation processes manifest within the praxis of Theatre of the Oppressed.

Teatro del/do Oprimido is an embodiment of a practice that aims to dissolve the barriers between the stage and the audience, instigating dialogue and critical thinking. In my journey of excavating the history of texts and the practitioners' networking, I came to understand that the Framework of the Oppressed can be a blueprint for a more inclusive consideration of the translation of books of ideas from the South.

Appendices

Appendix A

A publishing history of Pedagogia do Oprimido

Source Text	Translator	Title	Year	Place	Publisher	Language	Paratexts
ST1 Manuscript		*Pedagogia do Oprimido*	1968	Chile	_____	Brazilian Portuguese	
ST2 Typed		*Pedagogia do Oprimido*	1968	Chile	_____	Brazilian Portuguese	
ST2 Copyright **Not published**		*Pedagogia do Oprimido*	1970	Brazil	[Paz e Terra]	Brazilian Portuguese	Prefácio, Professor Ernani Maria Fiori
TT	Myra Bergman Ramos	*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*	1970	New York	Herder and Herder	English	Introduction by Richard Shaull, Forward by Paulo Freire
TT	Jorge Mellado	*Pedagogía del Oprimido*	1970	Uruguay	Tierra Nueva	Spanish	
TT	Editor Linda Bimbi	*La Pedagogia Degli Oppressi*	1970	Roma	Mondadori	Italian	Foreword by the editor "Dal Nordest a Barbiana: Proposta per una Cultura Alternativa
ST		*Pedagogia do Oprimido*	1972	Portugal	Afrontamento	Portuguese	
TT	Christian Ejlers		1972	Copenhagen		Danish	
	J.E.A. Andriessen - Van der Zande	*Pedagogie van de onderdrukten, cover: dit is waarlijk revolutionaire pedagogie Ivan Illich*[44]	1972	Baarn	Een Anthos-Boek	Dutch	Woord vooraf, Ernst Lange 1.De cultuur van het zwijgen 2. Opvoeding is nooit neutraal 3. Pedagogische kritiek op de Revolutien Inleiding, Freire[45]
Traduit du brasilien	Literacy Collective	*Pédagogie des Opprimés. Suivi de conscientisation et revolution*	1974	Paris	La Découverte Maspero	French	Présentation : Le Collectif d'alphabétisation, Une conversation avec Paulo Freire Bibliographie
	Giannis Kritikos	*αγωγή του καταπιεζόμενου*	1974	Athens	Rappas Κέδρος	Modern Greek	
ST		*Pedagogia do Oprimido*	1975	Brazil	Paz e Terra	Brazilian Portuguese	Prefácio, Professor Ernani Maria Fiori

[44] ['This is truly revolutionary pedagogy', Ivan Illich]. For details of Illich's influence in the period see (Cayley, 2021).

[45] [Foreword / Ernst Lange. 5 1. The culture of silence - 2. Education is never neutral - 3. Pedagogical criticism of the revolution. Introduction]

Source Text	Translator	Title	Year	Place	Publisher	Language	Paratexts
	احمد بیرشک سیف للا داد	ستمدیدگان	1979			Farsi, Moderna Persian	
	Yasuko Ozawa, Tetsuji Yamamoto		1979	Tokio	Aki Shobo	Japanese	
	ภาคิน นิมมานนรางศ ์ นลัท ตั้งพรพิพัฒน์ วิจักขณ์	การศึกษาของผูถ้ ูกกดขี่	1985		Federation of Independent Students of Thailand	Thai	

Appendix B
The 25 most cited books in the social sciences

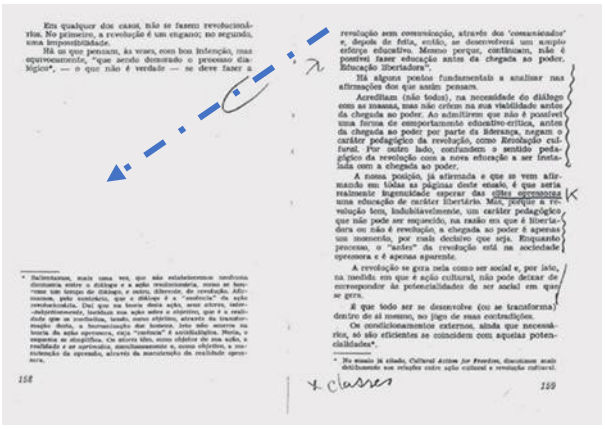
Book	Author	Date*	Discipline	Citations
The Structure of Scientific Revolutions	Thomas Kuhn	1962	Philosophy	81,311
Diffusion of Innovations	Everett Rogers	1962	Sociology	72,780
Pedagogy of the Oppressed	Paulo Freire	1968/1970	Education	72,359
Competitive Strategy	Michael E Porter	1980	Economics	65,406
Imagined Communities	Benedict Anderson	1983	Political Science	64,167
Mind in Society	LS Vygotsky	1978	Psychology	63,809
Discipline and Punish	Michel Foucault	1976/1977	Philosophy	60,700
A Theory of Justice	John Rawls	1971	Political Science	58,594
Social Foundations of Thought and Action	Albert Bandura	1986	Psychology	55, 324
The Interpretation of Cultures	Clifford Geertz	1973	Anthropology	48,984
The History of Sexuality (3 Volumes)	Michel Foucault	1978-1986	Philosophy	47,955
Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation	Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger	1991	Education	47,627
The Fifth Discipline	Peter M Senge	1992	Management	43,876
Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance	Douglass North	1990	Economics	43,411
Culture's Consequences	Geert Hofstede	1980	Management	42,144
The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life	Erving Goffman	1959	Sociology	40,573
Das Kapital	Karl Marx	1867-1894	Economics	40,237
Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste	Pierre Bourdieu	1984	Sociology	39,729
The Social Construction of Reality	Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann	1966	Sociology	38,845
Metaphors We Live By	George Lakoff and Mark Johnson	1980	Linguistics	38,723
Stress, Appraisal and Coping	Richard Lazarus and Susan Folkman	1984	Psychology	38,665
Communities of Practice	Etienne Wenger	1999	Psychology	37,775
The Economic Institutions of Capitalism	Oliver Williamson	1985	Economics	37,651
Motivation and Personality	Abraham Maslow	1954	Psychology	37,614
Attachment	John Bowlby	1969	Psychology	37,318

*Single-volume books originally published in a foreign language are listed twice, with the English-language edition listed second'. (Green, 2016)

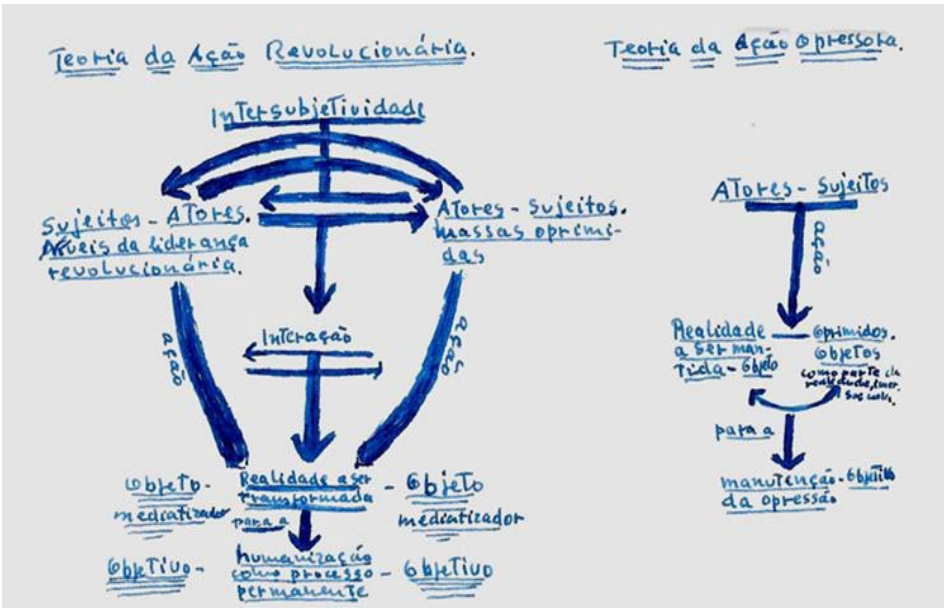
Appendix C
***Pedagogia do Oprimido* in Translation (Google Scholar, 2023)**

Title	Language	Publisher	Cited by	Year
Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Toward a Sociology of Education (page 374-386)	English		9,116	22020
Pedagogía del Oprimido	Spanish	WW Norton & Company	4,764*	22000
Pedagogía de la autonomía: saberes necesario para la práctica educativa	Spanish	Siglo XXI, México	70,738	22014
Educação como prática de liberdade	Portuguese	Editora Paz e Terra	6,649	
Education for Critical Consciousness	English	Bloomsbury Publishing	5,265	11973
Educação e mudança	Portuguese	Editora Paz e terra	9,411	22014
Extensão ou comunicação?	Portuguese	Editora Paz e terra	8,771	22564
Literacy: Reading the word and the world with Donaldo Macedo	English	Routledge	8,219	22005
La educación como práctica de la libertad	Spanish	Siglo XXI Editores México	7,981	22014
A importância do ato de ler: em três artigos que se completam	Portuguese	Cortez Editora	7,832	22022

Appendix D
Blank space in Brazilian edition before 17th edition



Graphic in the Manuscript



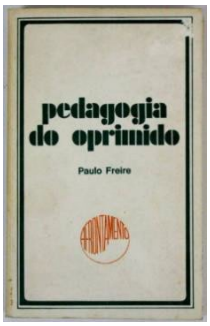
Appendix E

History of editions of *Pedagogia do Oprimido*

Portuguese and Galician language editions of *Pedagogia do Oprimido*

Title	Year	Place	Publisher	Language	Paratexts
Pedagogia do Oprimido	1972	Portugal	Afrontamento	Portuguese	
	1975	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Paz e Terra		Prefácio: Aprender a Dizer a Sua Palavra, Professor Ernani Maria Fiori
O Manuscrito	2018	São Paulo, Brazil	Editora e Livraria Instituto Paulo Freire Universidade Nove de Julho		Apresentação Jason Ferreira Mafra, José Eustáquio Romão e Moacir Gadotti Prefácio à 2a edição, José Eustáquio Romão e Moacir Gadotti] Nota sobre as edições da Pedagogia do oprimido Entrevista com Jacques Chonchol em 20 de agosto de 2013
Pedagoxía do oprimido	2020	Galicia	Kalandraka Editora	Galician	Epílogo, Xavier Besalú i Costa

Front Covers of Portuguese and Galician language editions of *Pedagogia do Oprimido*



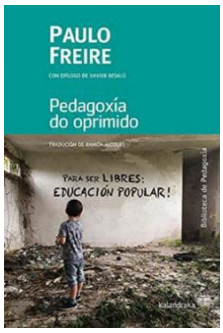
Afrontamento, 1972



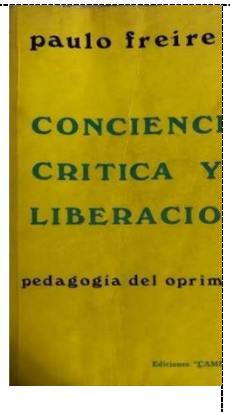
Paz e Terra, 1975



Instituto Paulo Freire, 2018



Kalandraka Editora, 2020

Front Covers of Spanish language editions of *Pedagogía del Oprimido*			
			
Camilo, 1970	Tierra Nueva, 1970	Siglo XXI, 2007	Siglo XXI, 2012

Spanish language editions of *Pedagogía del Oprimido*

Year	Title	Place	Publishers	Paratexts
1970	*Pedagogía del Oprimido*	Uruguay	Tierra Nueva	
1971	*Conciencia Crítica y Liberación Pedagogía Del Oprimido*	Peru Bogota Colombia	Camilo (Fundación sin ánimo de lucro)[46]	
1973	*Pedagogía del Oprimido*	Buenos Aires	Siglo XXI Tierra Nueva	foreword by Ernani Maria Fiori Bibliographic appendix by Hugo Assman
1974		San Jose, Costa Rica	Ministerio de Educación Pública	
1978		Madrid Not authorised[47]	Siglo XXI Editores	
?			Movimiento Cultural Cristiano, Ediciones Voz de los Sin Voz[48]	Foreword by the editor Julián Gómez del Castillo[49] Editor's note[50]:,

English language editions of *Pedagogía del Oprimido/ Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: English translator Myra Bergman Ramos

[46] Bogota, Ediciones Camilo, 'Este libro es el resultado de las observaciones de *tres* años de exilio del autor..[emphasis added] The book may be an early version of the book, as, in the Brazilian version (Paz e Terra, 2017), Freire states in the preface that the essay is the result of the observation of his five years in exile; in the English version, it is six years (Continuum, 2005).

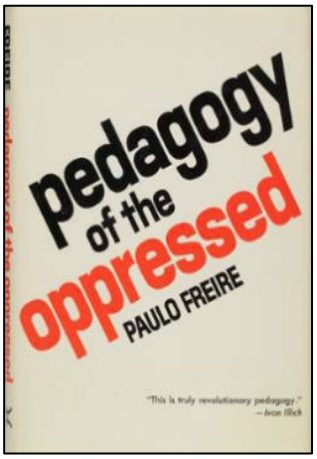
[47] Found by Gadotti in January 1997. 'I showed Freire the volume, and he was very happy with it' (Gadotti, 2016).

[48] https://movimientoculturalcristiano.org/ediciones-voz-de-los-sin-voz/ retrieved 27/03/2023

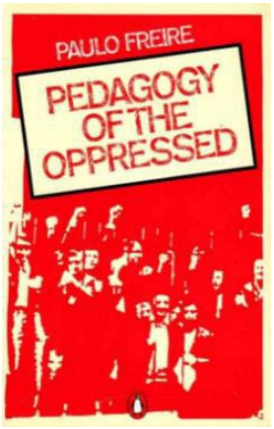
[49] https://juliangomezdelcastillo.es/ Retrieved 27/03/2023.

[50] In response to the the high price of books set by the the commercial establishment that makes them almost inaccessible, we thank the authors and workers who make it 'Voz dos sem Voz.' for their voluntary work. Books are essential to enhance people's culture. Therefore, they should be treated as such and not as a commercial commodity.

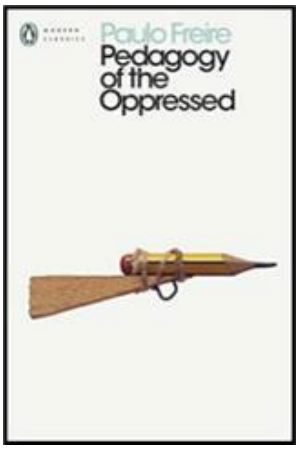
Year	Edition	Place	Publisher	Paratexts
1970		New York	Herder and Herder	Introduction by Richard Shaull
			Seabury Press[51]	
			Sheed and Ward	
1972		London	Penguin Books	Introduction by Richard Shaull Foreword by Paulo Freire
		Montreal	Methuen Publications	
1993	Revised 20th-anniversary edition	New York	Continuum	
2005	30th Anniversary Edition	New York London	Continuum	Publisher's Foreword Introduction to the Anniversary Edition by Donaldo Macedo Introduction by Richard Shall Preface by Freire



Herder and Herder, 1970



Penguin, 1996



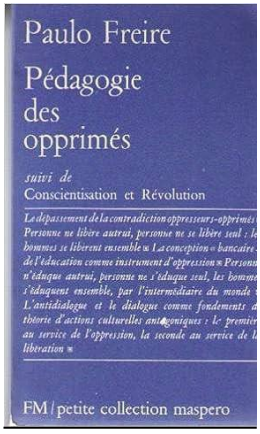
Penguin Classics, 2017

Editions of *Pédagogie des opprimés*

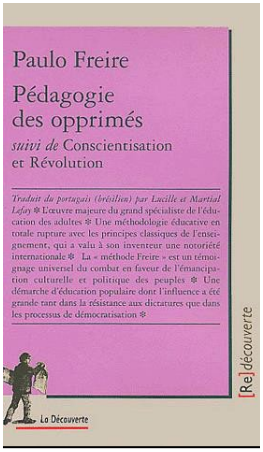
[51] Religious publishing house belonging to the Episcopal Church.

Title	Translator	Year	Place	Publisher	Paratext
Pédagogie des opprimés Suivi de Conscientisation et Revolution	*Traduit du brasilien* Missing translator's name	1974	Paris	La Découverte Maspero	Présentation: Qui est Paulo Freire ? Quelle a été as démarche ? La Méthode de conscientisation By Le Collectif d'alphabétisation, March 1974 Conscientisation et révolution Eclaircissements nécessaires Une conversation avec Paulo Freire, page 183-197 Bibliographie sur les ouvrages d'alphabétisation en Français, page 199-200
La Pédagogie des opprimés La Pédagogie des opprime.és	**New translation**, traduit du portugais par Élodie Dupau et Melenn Kerhoas	2021	MarseilleFrance Montréal Québec, Canada	Agone, coll. Contre-feux Éditeur Rue Dorion	Préface, Irène Pereira La trajectoire de Paulo Freire (1921 – 1997) La réception internationale de son œuvre Lire et relire La Pédagogie des opprimés Pédagogie, méthode et lutte contre la déshumanisation Notes de Référence

Front covers of French language editions of *Pédagogie des opprimés.*



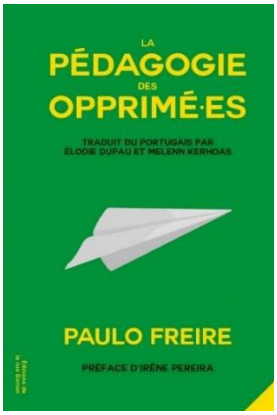
Maspero, 1974



Maspero



Agone, 2021



Montreal, 2021

***La Pedagogia degli Oppressi*, Italian, Translator Cristina Alziati, Editor Linda Bimbi[52]**

Year	Place	Publisher	Paratext
1971	Roma, Milan	Mondadori, Collana, Oscar Saggi	'*Dal Nordest a Barbiana: proposta per una "cultura alternativa*"', Linda Bimbi Glossario:en maiuscolletto è indicatto il termine usatto nella traduzione italiana; in corsivo l'originale portoghese Imparea parlare. Il metodo di alfabetizzazione di Paulo Freire, Ernani Maria Fiori
2002	Turim	Gruppo Abele[53]	*'Perché continuare a leggere Freire?',* Moacir Gadotti *Prefazione alla nova edizione italiana,* Linda Bimbi '*Dal Nordest a Barbiana: proposta per una "cultura alternativa*"', Linda Bimbi Glossario:en maiuscolletto è indicatto il termine usatto nella traduzione italiana; in corsivo l'originale portoghese
2011			Preface by Silvia Maria Manfredi and Piergiorgio Reggio

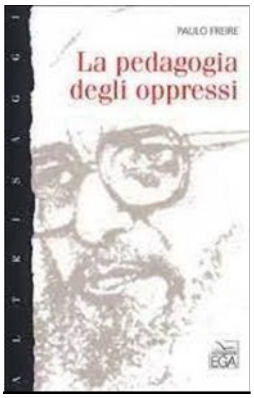
Front covers of French language editions of *Pedagogia degli oppressi.*



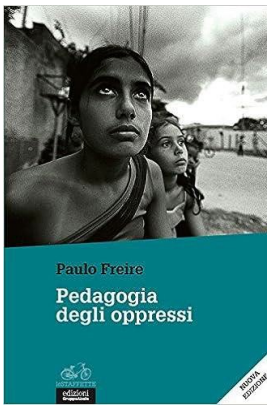
Mondadori, 1971



Mondadori



Gruppo Abele 2002



Gruppo Abele 2018

Appendix F

[52] Translator of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Mondadori, Milan, 1971); Education as the Practice of Freedom (Mondadori, Milan, 1977); Pedagogy in Process. Letters to Guinea Bissau (Mondadori, Milan, 1979). About the editor. Bonifazi, Chiara. *Linda Bimbi: A Faith in Human Rights*, Introduction by Luciana Castellina, English translation by Ruth Taylor of the book by Chiara Bonifazi, *Linda Bimbi. Una vita tante storie*, Edizioni Gruppo, Abele, Torino, 2015.

[53] The Abele Group is a non-profit organisation founded in Turin in 1965 by Don Luigi Ciotti to support communities and disseminate knowledge about politics and culture.

Boal plays staged by the Teatro Experimental do Negro

Year	Title	Director
1953	*O Logro*	Geraldo Campos de Oliveira
1954	*O Cavalo e o Santo*[54]	Geraldo Campos de Oliveira
1955	*Martim Pescador*	Leo Jusi (1955)
1956	*Filha Moça*	Geraldo Campos de Oliveira *Text censured
1958	*Laio se matou*	Raul Martins

[54] Boal was in the United States

Boal's adpatations and texts for theatre in Brazil (1960-2001)

Year	Title	TT Adaptation Translation	ST Author	Language	Director
1960	*A Engrenagem [L'Engrenage]*	Adaptation Augusto Boal and José Celso	Jean Paul Sartre	French< Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1963	*As Famosas Asturianas [Las famosas asturianas]*	Adaptation	Lope de Veiga	Spanish< Portuguese	Yan Michalski
1963	*O Melhor Juiz, O Rei [El mejor alcalde, el Rey, The Best Mayor, The King]*	Adaptation Augusto Boal, Gianfrancesco Guarnieri and Paulo José	Lope de Vega	Spanish< Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1966	*O Inspetor Geral [The Inspector General]*	Translation Augusto Boal and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri	Nikolai Gogol	Russo< ? < Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1968	*Mac Bird*	Translation Augusto Boal	Barbara Garson	English< Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1976	*A Tempestade [The Tempest]*	Inspired by William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*	Augusto Boal	[English]< Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1981	*Mulher Judia*	Theatre Forum adaptation Augusto Boal	Bertolt Brecht	? < English	Direção: Augusto Boal
1984	La Malasangre	Translator Augusto Boal	Griselda Gambaro	Spanish < French	Augusto Boal
1986	Fedra	Adaptation Augusto Boal	Jean Racine	French < Portuguese	Augusto Boal
1987	A Mulher Do Padeiro [The Baker's Wife, La Femme du Boulanger]	Translation Augusto Boal	Marcel Pagnol	French < Portuguese	Never staged
1995	Iphigénie [Iphigenia in Aulis]	'Free Translation' Augusto Boal Forum Theatre	Euripides	Greek < ?< French	Augusto Boal
1999	Carmém: Sambópera	Adaptation Augusto Boal	Georges Bizet and Prosper Merrimée	French< Portuguese	Augusto Boal
2001	La Traviata – Sambópera	Adaptation Augusto Boal and Celso Branco	Giuseppe Verdi	Italian< Portuguese	Augusto Boal

Appendix G
Journals where the Source Texts of *Teatro del/do Oprimido were published*

Primer Acto, Spain
constituye un caso único en la historia de las publicaciones teatrales en lengua española. Nacida y crecida en los años 50, […] se ha caracterizado siempre por su independencia crítica y por su espíritu democrático. […]ha publicado una larga lista de jóvenes autores y creadores de todo el mundo […]; ha defendido el carácter social y artístico del teatro frente a la concepción puramente económica y rutinaria; […] ha apostado por la *Comunidad Iberoamericana*, atención que hoy hace compatible con su indagación permanente sobre la posible función del teatro en la construcción de una Europa más abierta y solidaria, o en el diálogo política y económicamente difícil entre las orillas norte y sur del Mediterráneo.[EA]

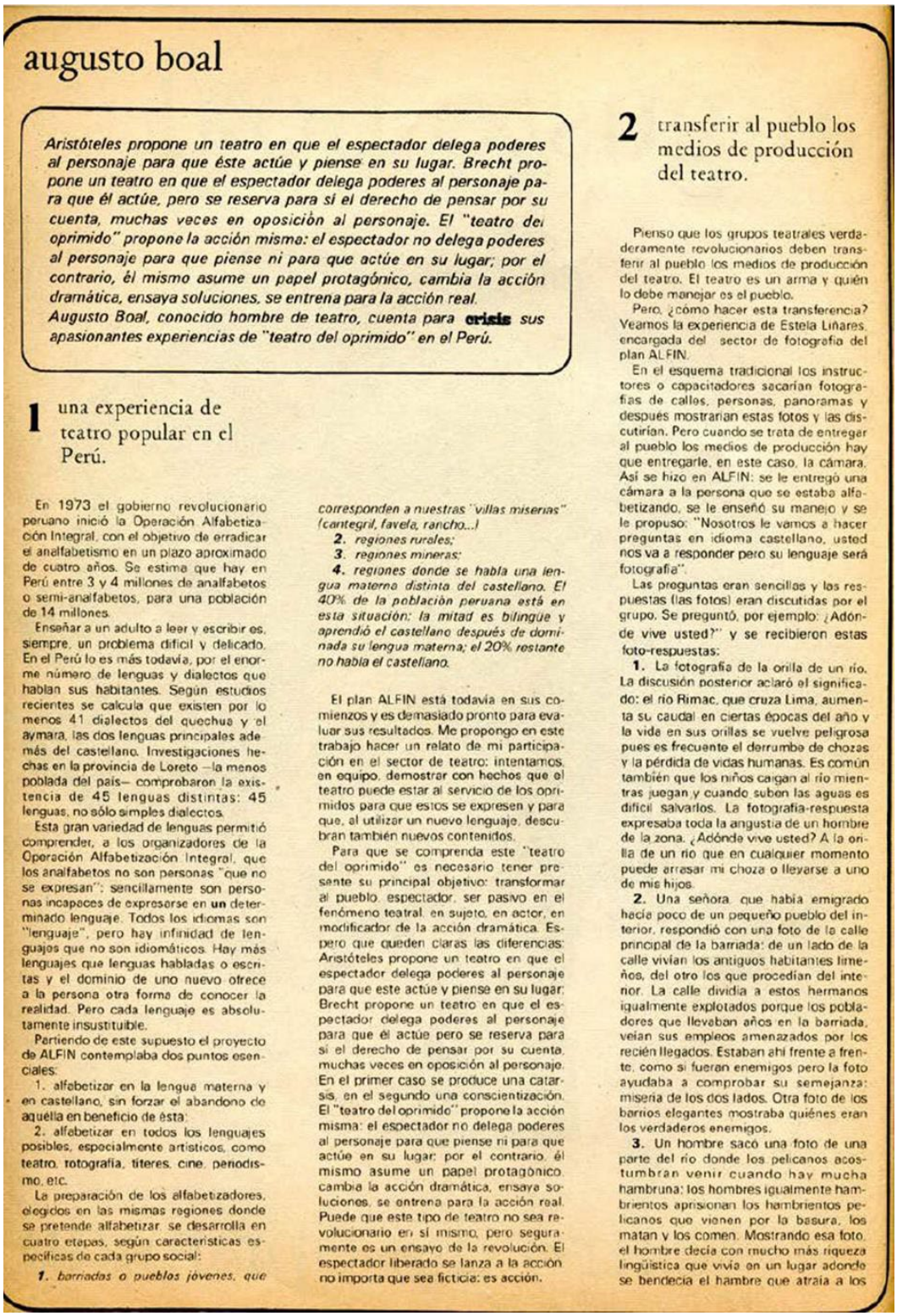
Conjunto, Cuba

Desde su fundación en 1964 [*Conjunto*] estudia la escena latinoamericana y caribeña desde diversas facetas, que articulan la historia con la contemporaneidad, y difunde exponentes su quehacer en múltiples tendencias. Publica artículos y ensayos especializados, entrevistas y críticas, y por lo menos un texto teatral de autor latinoamericano o caribeño. [...] Creemos cumplir un doble objetivo: ofrecer un campo para difundir lo que hacemos en teatro y romper la incomunicación entre nuestros teatristas.'

Crisis, Argentina

fue una revista emblemática de literatura y cultura de los años setenta. Durante el periodo usualmente conocido como su primera época, y entre los meses de mayo de 1973 y agosto de 1976, publicó 40 números. […] Eduardo Galeano como director editorial […] contaba con un heterogéneo grupo de colaboradores que respondían a distintos orígenes, trayectorias y afinidades políticas (asociadas a corrientes de la izquierda, el peronismo y el nacionalismo populista), provenientes tanto del campo de la literatura y el periodismo como del ámbito universitario. Sin embargo, a diferencia de otras revistas culturales de esos años, *Crisis* se inscribió como un proyecto editorial periodístico y profesional que no apuntaba a una elite cultural sino a un gran público lector. Su programa incluía tanto la revisión y relectura de la historia argentina como la de su tradición literaria y cultural, con un fuerte énfasis en la revaloración de los llamados géneros menores (la tradición del género policial y el folletín, la telenovela, el circo y el teatro criollo).'

Boal, Una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú. Teatro del Oprimido, 1974 b, Crisis number 14.



augusto boal

Aristóteles propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que éste actúe y piense en su lugar. Brecht propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que él actúe, pero se reserva para sí el derecho de pensar por su cuenta, muchas veces en oposición al personaje. El "teatro del oprimido" propone la acción misma: el espectador no delega poderes al personaje para que piense ni para que actúe en su lugar; por el contrario, él mismo asume un papel protagónico, cambia la acción dramática, ensaya soluciones, se entrena para la acción real.
Augusto Boal, conocido hombre de teatro, cuenta para **crisis** *sus apasionantes experiencias de "teatro del oprimido" en el Perú.*

1 una experiencia de teatro popular en el Perú.

En 1973 el gobierno revolucionario peruano inició la Operación Alfabetización Integral, con el objetivo de erradicar el analfabetismo en un plazo aproximado de cuatro años. Se estima que hay en Perú entre 3 y 4 millones de analfabetos o semi-analfabetos, para una población de 14 millones.

Enseñar a un adulto a leer y escribir es, siempre, un problema difícil y delicado. En el Perú lo es más todavía, por el enorme número de lenguas y dialectos que hablan sus habitantes. Según estudios recientes se calcula que existen por lo menos 41 dialectos del quechua y el aymara, las dos lenguas principales además del castellano. Investigaciones hechas en la provincia de Loreto —la menos poblada del país— comprobaron la existencia de 45 lenguas distintas: 45 lenguas, no sólo simples dialectos.

Esta gran variedad de lenguas permitió comprender, a los organizadores de la Operación Alfabetización Integral, que los analfabetos no son personas "que no se expresan": sencillamente son personas incapaces de expresarse en un determinado lenguaje. Todos los idiomas son "lenguaje", pero hay infinidad de lenguajes que no son idiomáticos. Hay más lenguajes que lenguas habladas o escritas y el dominio de uno nuevo ofrece a la persona otra forma de conocer la realidad. Pero cada lenguaje es absolutamente insustituible.

Partiendo de este supuesto el proyecto de ALFIN contemplaba dos puntos esenciales:

1. alfabetizar en la lengua materna y en castellano, sin forzar el abandono de aquélla en beneficio de ésta;

2. alfabetizar en todos los lenguajes posibles, especialmente artísticos, como teatro, fotografía, títeres, cine, periodismo, etc.

La preparación de los alfabetizadores, elegidos en las mismas regiones donde se pretende alfabetizar, se desarrolla en cuatro etapas, según características específicas de cada grupo social:

1. *barriadas o pueblos jóvenes, que corresponden a nuestras "villas miserias" (cantegril, favela, rancho...)*
2. *regiones rurales;*
3. *regiones mineras;*
4. *regiones donde se habla una lengua materna distinta del castellano. El 40% de la población peruana está en esta situación: la mitad es bilingüe y aprendió el castellano después de dominada su lengua materna; el 20% restante no habla el castellano.*

El plan ALFIN está todavía en sus comienzos y es demasiado pronto para evaluar sus resultados. Me propongo en este trabajo hacer un relato de mi participación en el sector de teatro: intentamos, en equipo, demostrar con hechos que el teatro puede estar al servicio de los oprimidos para que éstos se expresen y para que, al utilizar un nuevo lenguaje, descubran también nuevos contenidos.

Para que se comprenda este "teatro del oprimido" es necesario tener presente su principal objetivo: transformar al pueblo, espectador, ser pasivo en el fenómeno teatral, en sujeto, en actor, en modificador de la acción dramática. Espero que queden claras las diferencias: Aristóteles propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que este actúe y piense en su lugar; Brecht propone un teatro en que el espectador delega poderes al personaje para que él actúe pero se reserva para sí el derecho de pensar por su cuenta, muchas veces en oposición al personaje. En el primer caso se produce una catarsis, en el segundo una concientización. El "teatro del oprimido" propone la acción misma: el espectador no delega poderes al personaje para que piense ni para que actúe en su lugar; por el contrario, él mismo asume un papel protagónico, cambia la acción dramática, ensaya soluciones, se entrena para la acción real. Puede que este tipo de teatro no sea revolucionario en sí mismo, pero seguramente es un ensayo de la revolución. El espectador liberado se lanza a la acción no importa que sea ficticia: es acción.

2 transferir al pueblo los medios de producción del teatro.

Pienso que los grupos teatrales verdaderamente revolucionarios deben transferir al pueblo los medios de producción del teatro. El teatro es un arma y quién lo debe manejar es el pueblo.

Pero, ¿cómo hacer esta transferencia? Veamos la experiencia de Estela Liñares, encargada del sector de fotografía del plan ALFIN.

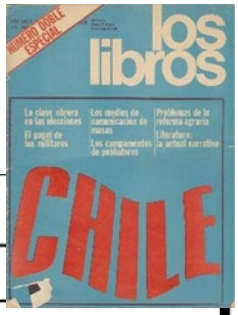
En el esquema tradicional los instructores o capacitadores sacarían fotografías de calles, personas, panoramas y después mostrarían estas fotos y las discutirían. Pero cuando se trata de entregar al pueblo los medios de producción hay que entregarle, en este caso, la cámara. Así se hizo en ALFIN: se le entregó una cámara a la persona que se estaba alfabetizando, se le enseñó su manejo y se le propuso: "Nosotros le vamos a hacer preguntas en idioma castellano, usted nos va a responder pero su lenguaje será fotografía".

Las preguntas eran sencillas y las respuestas (las fotos) eran discutidas por el grupo. Se preguntó, por ejemplo: ¿Adónde vive usted?" y se recibieron estas foto-respuestas:

1. La fotografía de la orilla de un río. La discusión posterior aclaró el significado: el río Rimac, que cruza Lima, aumenta su caudal en ciertas épocas del año y la vida en sus orillas se vuelve peligrosa pues es frecuente el derrumbe de chozas y la pérdida de vidas humanas. Es común también que los niños caigan al río mientras juegan y cuando suben las aguas es difícil salvarlos. La fotografía-respuesta expresaba toda la angustia de un hombre de la zona. ¿Adónde vive usted? A la orilla de un río que en cualquier momento puede arrasar mi choza o llevarse a uno de mis hijos.

2. Una señora, que había emigrado hacía poco de un pequeño pueblo del interior, respondió con una foto de la calle principal de la barriada: de un lado de la calle vivían los antiguos habitantes limeños, del otro los que procedían del interior. La calle dividía a estos hermanos igualmente explotados porque los pobladores que llevaban años en la barriada, veían sus empleos amenazados por los recién llegados. Estaban ahí frente a frente, como si fueran enemigos pero la foto ayudaba a comprobar su semejanza: miseria de los dos lados. Otra foto de los barrios elegantes mostraba quiénes eran los verdaderos enemigos.

3. Un hombre sacó una foto de una parte del río donde los pelícanos acostumbran venir cuando hay mucha hambruna: los hombres igualmente hambrientos aprisionan los hambrientos pelícanos que vienen por la basura, los matan y los comen. Mostrando esa foto, el hombre decía con mucho más riqueza lingüística que vivía en un lugar adonde se bendecía el hambre que atraía a los



teatro

Situación del teatro brasileño

Los reaccionarios buscan siempre, con cualquier pretexto, dividir a la izquierda. La lucha que hay que emprender contra ellos a veces es emprendida por ellos en el seno de la propia izquierda. Debido a esto, nosotros –***Festivos***[1] serios o sesudos– tenemos que precavernos. Nosotros, los que en distinto grado deseamos modificaciones radicales en el arte y en la sociedad, debemos evitar que diferencias tácticas de cada grupo artístico se conviertan en una estrategia global suicida. Lo que los reaccionarios desean es ver a la izquierda convertida en una bolsa de gatos; desean que la izquierda se derrote a *sí* misma. Y contra esto tenemos que reaccionar: tenemos el deber de impedirlo.

No obstante, con el pretexto de no dividir tampoco tenemos el derecho de callar nuestras divergencias. Por el contrario: las diferentes tendencias de nuestro arte actual serán mejor comprendidas gracias al cotejo de objetivos y procesos. Esto resulta necesario principalmente en este momento en que todo el arte de izquierda enfrenta la necesidad de ubicar sus procesos y sus objetivos. El choque entre las diversas tendencias no debe significar la predominancia definitiva de ninguna, ya que todas tienen que ser superadas, puesto que también habrán de ser superadas las circunstancias políticas que las hayan determinado, a cada una en su momento.

Por ello, toda discusión resultará válida dentro de la izquierda siempre que sirva para apresurar la derrota de la reacción. Y que esto quede bien claro: la palabra "reacción" no debe ser entendida como una entidad abstracta, irreal, un puro concepto, sino por el contrario, como una entidad concreta, bien organizada y eficaz. "Reacción" es el actual gobierno oligarca, yancófilo, pauperizador del pueblo y desnacionalizador de las riquezas del país; "reacción" son sus fuerzas represivas, cazadoras de brujas, y todas sus dependencias independientemente de los uniformes de fajina o del traje civil; es el SNI, el SNC[2], la censura federal, estatal o municipal y todas las comisarías; son los criterios puestos en juego para subvenciones y prohibiciones; y son asimismo todos los artistas de teatro, cine o TV que olvidan que la principal tarea de todo ciudadano, a través del arte o de cualquier otra herramienta, es liberar al Brasil de su actual estado de país económicamente ocupado, derrotando al invasor, el "enemigo del género humano" según la precisa formulación de un pensador latinoamericano recientemente asesinado.

Así, antes de que la izquierda artística se agreda a sí misma debe buscar destruir todas las manifestaciones derechistas. Y el primer paso a dar para ello reside en la discusión abierta y amplia de nuestros temas principales. Esto nunca podrá ser efectuado por la derecha, puesto que su característica principal es la hipocresía.

El repertorio y el mercado

El repertorio de obras de arte ofrecido actualmente al público está deteriorado. Grande es el número de artistas que finge ignorar este hecho: esta ignorancia, verdadera o simulada, constituye un *crimen*. En lo que respecta al teatro, son criminales los elencos cuya principal preocupación consiste en ganar algunos cobres vendiendo baratijas, sirviendo a los apetitos más rastreros de las plateas tranquilas; son criminales todos los que permanecen servilmente atentos a la última moda parisina, al último lanzamiento londinense, vale decir los que renuncian a su ciudadanía artística brasileña y se convierten en repetidores del arte ajeno; son criminales los que acostumbran presentar, solamente, visiones rosas del mundo a través de los universos feéricos de las piezas de bulevar, o del psicologismo anglosajón que tiende a reducir los más graves problemas sociales y políticos a desajustes neuróticos de unos pocos ciudadanos.

Son criminales los fabricantes irresponsables de comedietas idiotas que, según la publicidad, "hasta parecen italianas". Estos son criminales y no artistas, porque el arte es, siempre, la manifestación sensorial de la verdad y no dice la verdad el artista que constantemente ignore la guerra de genocidio del Vietnam, que ignore el lento asesinato por hambre de millones de brasileños en el norte, el sur, el centro, el nordeste y el centroeste. Estas son verdades nacionales y humanas que ningún mensaje presidencial, por experto que pueda parecer, permitirá olvidar.

¿Por qué son tantos los grupos teatrales que se dedican al teatro podrido, al teatro de la mentira, corruptor? Dejando de lado a los canallas por convicción, existen también los canallas por comodidad. Los primeros creen en la conquista del mercado aunque para ello les sea necesario producir "con limitaciones" para un rápido consumo. Si el mercado consume cocaína, escríbase a la Tennessee Williams... El mercado es el demiurgo del arte; este lugar común ya fue destruido por Roberto Schwarz (***Teoria e Prática***, Nº 2), quien anota que entre el artista y el consumidor, en una sociedad capitalista, se inserta el capital mediador, el mediadopatrocinador. El dinero, sí, es el verdadero demiurgo del gusto artístico puesto en funcionamiento.

El mercado consumidor de teatro es, en última instancia, el factor determinante del contenido y de la forma de la obra de arte, del arte mercadería. Y este mercado, en los principales centros urbanos del país, está constituido por la alta clase media, y de ahí hacia arriba. El pueblo y su temática están apriorísticamente excluidos. Este grave hecho ha deformado la perspectiva creadora de la mayoría de nuestros artistas, que se ajustan a los deseos más inmediatos de la "corte burguesa" de la que se vuelven serviles payasos, practicando un teatro clasista, vale decir, un teatro de la clase propietaria, de la clase opresora. La consecuencia lógica es un arte de opresión.

Así, el primer deber de la izquierda es el de incluir al pueblo como interlocutor del diálogo teatral. Y, cuando hablo del pueblo, una vez más hablo concretamente: "pueblo" es esa gente de poca carne y puro hueso que vive en los barrios y trabaja en las fábricas, son esos hombres que labran la tierra y producen alimentos, y son todos los que desean trabajar y no hallan empleo. Ninguno de ellos frecuenta los teatros de las *cinelândias*[3]. Por esto es necesario que el teatro frecuente los circos, las plazas, los estadios, los teatros al aire libre, los descampados, llevado en camiones. La inclusión sistemática de esas plateas obligará al cambio del contenido y la forma del teatro brasileño. No basta con que el Teatro Arena de Sao Paulo y otros pocos elencos se dispongan a hacerlo, como siempre lo han hecho: es necesario que toda la izquierda lo haga, y que lo haga constantemente.

Este no es un trabajo fácil. Antiguamente los Centros Populares de Cultura realizaban admirables tareas en el sector artístico y cultural: espectáculos, conferencias, cursos, reuniones de coros, alfabetización, cine, etc. Los reaccionarios, no obstante, se escandalizaban ante el hecho de que también el pueblo gustase del teatro, de aprender a leer, etc. Los CPCs[4] fueron eliminados y los responsables de tal crimen siguen viviendo muy campantes. El teatro es excesivamente bueno para el pueblo y precisamente por eso todos los gobiernos excluyen, con sumo cuidado, la verdadera popularización del teatro de sus planes de apoyo. En general, se da dinero para que los precios bajen de siete a tres cruzeiros; las llamadas temporadas populares son apenas una de las muchas mistificaciones gubernamentales. Son tan hipócritas como las liquidaciones quincenales promovidas por tiendas de artículos importados. Hasta se le roba al pueblo el uso de la palabra "popular". Y lo máximo que se ha conseguido es incluir a los estudiantes en la rebaja: ésta es una condición necesaria para que el teatro se vitalice, pero no resulta suficiente. Si un teatro propone la transformación de la sociedad debe proponérselo a quien pueda transformarla: lo contrario sería hipocresía o explotación.

El aullido

El día 1 de abril de 1964 el teatro brasileño fue violado, y con él toda la nación. Los tanques tomaron el poder. Algunos sectores de la actividad nacional se acomodaron rápidamente a la nueva situación de fuerza. El teatro, por suerte, y durante cierto tiempo, reaccionó unánime y enérgicamente ante la dictadura camuflada. A la violencia militar se contestó con violencia artística: ***Opinião, Eletra, Andorra, Tartufo, Arena Conta Zumbi*** y muchas otras piezas buscaban agredir a la mentira triunfante. Variaba la forma, el estilo, el género, pero la esencia era la misma exhortación, el mismo aullido: era ésta la única arma

[1] ***Festivos***. En el lenguaje popular se denomina *esquerda festiva* (izquierda festiva) a la que reúne a los intelectuales con escasa capacidad de agresión. El término surgió, seguramente, pocos años atrás en oportunidad del enfrentamiento de las líneas maoísta y moscovita; tiene, por cierto, connotaciones peyorativas.

[2] ***SNI*** y ***SNC***. Serviço Nacional de Informações y Serviço Nacional de Censura. Como sus nombres lo indican, dos de los organismos represivos brasileños.

[3] ***Cinelândia***. Lugar de una ciudad donde se agrupan cines y teatros; por ext. de un barrio de Río de Janeiro donde tal cosa ocurre y que, característicamente, es frecuentado de noche por cuanto *travesti* anda suelto.

Appendix
Teatro de las Oprimidas

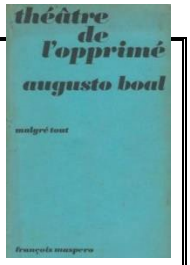


Ganguly, From Boal to Jana Sanskriti. *Practices and Principles*, 2017

Appendix H:
Keyword List: Sketch Engine

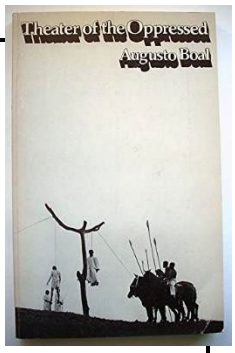
Teatro del Oprimido, 1974		*Teatro do Oprimido*, 1975	
ArSp		PtBr	
personaje(s)	248	personagem(s)	222
teatro	228	teatro	243
espectador	139	espectador	134
actor(es)	119	ator(es)	107
Brecht brechtiano(a) brechtianismo	84	Brecht brechtiano (a), (neo)brechtianismo	89
realidad	59	realidade	61
Comodín actor-comodín	42	Coringa ator-coringa	45
Hegel	41	Hegel	42
Arena	29	Arena	41
revolucionario(a)(s)	25	revolucionário(a)(s)	19
popular	25	popular	28
escenario	24	palco	18
revolución	20	revolução	21
alfabetizar alfabetización alfabetizador alfabetismo, semialfabetizado	16	alfabetizar alfabetização alfabetizador analfabetismo, semi-alfabetizados	14
oprimido(a)(s)	15	oprimido(a)(s)	10
marxista	15	marxista	13
arma(s)	12	arma(s)	16
perú	11	Peru	13
armar (verb)	10	armar	5
hegeliano(a)(s)	10	hegeliano(a)(s)	9
Marx	8	Marx	9
latifundista	6	latifundiário (s), latifundista[sic]	14
reforma agraria	4	reforma agrária	5
tortura	2	tortura	2
prisionero(s)	2	preso	2
Cuba	2	Cuba	2
1964	2	1964	2
teatro-realidade	1	teatro-realidade	1
popularización	1	popularização	1
popularidad	1	popularidade	1
paulo freire	1	paulo freire	1
peruano	1	peruano	2
desarmar	0	desarmar	1
oprimir	0	oprimir	4

Appendix I
Editions of *Teatro del/ do Oprimido*, First Edition

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">French

</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Théâtre de l'opprimé, Maspero, Paris, 1977 209 pages</td></tr>
<tr><td>Source Title</td><td>Teatro del Oprimido</td></tr>
<tr><td>Source Language
SL</td><td>Spanish</td></tr>
<tr><td>Translator</td><td>Dominique Lémann</td></tr>
<tr><td>Structure</td><td>Avant-Propos
Poétique de l'opprimé
UNE EXPERIENCE DE THEATRE POPULAIRE AU PEROU
LE SYSTEME DU JOCKEY
Le système tragique coercitif d'Aristote
Machiavel et la poétique de la "virtu"
Hegel et Brecht: personage sujet ou objet?
Au people les moyens de production théâtrale [Entretien d'Emile Copfermann et Augusto Boal]
Notice biographique</td></tr>
</table>

Italian 	
Il teatro degli oppressi. teoria e tecnica del teatro latino-americano. Feltrinelli, Milan, 1977 237 pages	
Source Title	*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*, Buenos Aires, 1974 *Técnicas Latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular*, Buenos Aires 1975 *200 Ejercicios y Juegos para el Actor y el No Actor con Ganas de Decir Algo a través del Teatro,* Buenos Aires 1975
Source Language SL	Spanish
Translator	Patrizia Picamus Giorgio Ursini Uršič
Structure	*Premessa* di Giorgio Ursini Uršič *Uma Intervista a Boal* a cura di Gio Giorgio Ursini Uršič 1. *Poetica dell'oppresso* 2. *Categoria di teatro popolare* 3. *Tecniche latinoamericane di teatro popolare* 4. *Il Teatro Arena di São Paulo* 5. *Il sistema" Comodín*

English



Theatre of the Oppressed

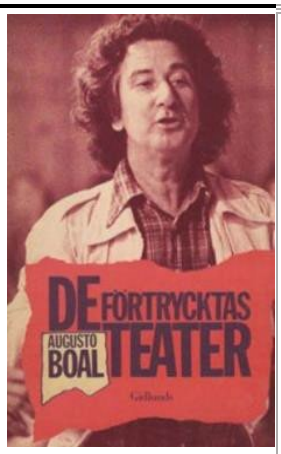
Urizen books 1979 New York, USA
Pluto Press 1979 London, UK 197 pages

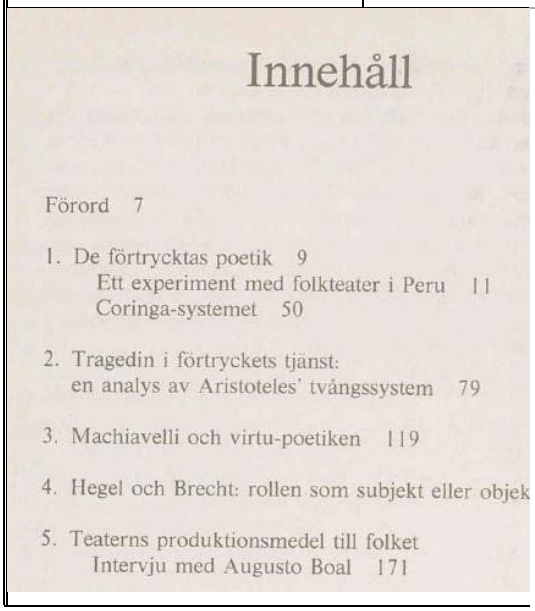
Source Title	*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*
Source Language SL	Spanish
Translator	Charles A. and Maria-Odilia Leal McBride,
Dedication	For Fabián, Julián and Cecilia
Structure	Foreword 1. Aristotle's Coercive System of Tragedy 2. Machiavelli and the poetics of Virtù 3. Hegel and Brecht: The Character as Subject or the Character as Object? 4. Poetics of the Oppressed 5. Development of the Arena Theater of Sao Paulo Appendices Not e Ind ex

German	
Theater der Unterdrückten Suhrkamp Verlag, Germany, 1979 169 pages	
Source Title  	*Teatro de [sic] oprimido e outras poéticas políticas,* Rio de Janeiro 1976 *Técnicas latinoamericanas de Teatro Popular,* Coimbra, 1977 *Duzentos exercícios e jogos para o actor e o não actor com ganas de dizer algo através do teatro,* Lisboa, 1978 *sowie unveröffentlichte Typoskripte des autors* [as well as unpublished typescripts by the author]
Source Language SL	Brazilian [Portuguese]
Translator	Marina Spinu and Henry Thorau
Dedication	Für Ruth Simis[55], Fernando Peixoto, Sábato Magaldi, Chico Buarque de Hollanda, Émile Copfermann[45]
Structure	*Vorwort zur deutschen Ausgabe* Henry Thorau *August Boal oder Die Probe auf die Zukunft* I. Theater der Unterdrückten in Lateinamerika[56] II. Theater der Unterdrukten in Europa[47] III. Politische Techniken des lateinamerikanischen Volkstheaters III. Henry Thorau Interview mit Augusto Boal Editorische Notiz

[55] Ruth Simis produced Boal's play 'Primeira Feira Paulista de Opinião' (1968); she was incarcerated for six months and tortured by the military dictatorship in Brazil, and she went into exile in Berlin. Fernando Peixoto (1937-2013) was a theatre practitioner and Brecht's translator of Brecht who worked both with Teatro Oficina and Teatro Arena. Sábato Magaldi (1927-2016) was a theatre critic, Chico Buarque is a well-known composer who wrote the songs of Boal's play 'Mulheres de Atenas' (1976), an award-winning fiction author.

[56] I. Theater of the Oppressed in Latin America; *Was ist Volkstheater*? Propagandatheater, Didaktisches theater, Folklore, Collage; *Zeitungstheater:* Elf Techniken des Zeitungstheaters, Unsichtbares theater, Widerstand gegen Unterdrückung, Ein Volkstheater-Experiment in Peru, I. Seinen Körper kennenlern, II. Seinen Körper ausdrucksfähig machen, III Theater als Sprache, IV. Theater als Diskurs

Swedish	
De förtryckta teater Gidlund 1979 Stockolm, Sweden 192 pages	
Source Title	*Teatro do oprimido,* 1975
Source Language SL	Portuguese
Translator	Marianne Eyre[57] and Loreta Valadares



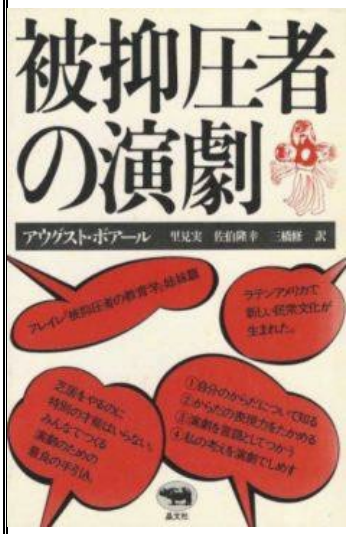
Innehåll

Förord 7

1. De förtrycktas poetik 9
   Ett experiment med folkteater i Peru 11
   Coringa-systemet 50
2. Tragedin i förtryckets tjänst:
   en analys av Aristoteles' tvångssystem 79
3. Machiavelli och virtu-poetiken 119
4. Hegel och Brecht: rollen som subjekt eller objek
5. Teaterns produktionsmedel till folket
   Intervju med Augusto Boal 171

[57]Prolific translator Portuguese< Swedish; translated José Saramago from Portugal, Mia Couto from Mozambique and Clarice Lispector from Brazil, among others. She translated Boal's Stop: C'est Magique!, *Förtrollad, förvandlad, förstenad : teater för alla.* [Enchanted, transformed, petrified: theatre for all] Stockholm: Gidlund. 1980. She did the subtitles of Boal's Stop! É mágico from Portuguese into Swedish 1 CD-R (6 tim. 47 min.), published in 2010

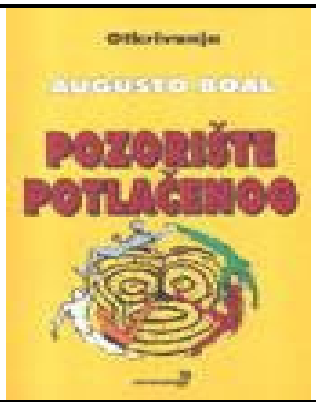
Modern Greek	
το Θέατρο του Καταπιεσμένου, Theory Publications Athens Greece 1981 231 pages	
Source Language SL	No data. However, the addition of the interview conducted by Copfermann and the year of publication, when the interview was still not part of the Spanish version, suggests that it was translated from French.
Translator	Elpida Braoudaki
Structure	Ένα πείραμα λαϊκού θεάτρου [Une experience de théâtre populaire] [~~au Pérou~~] Το σύστημα του τζόκερ [Le système du jockey] Το καταναγκαστικό τραγικό σύστημα του Αριστοτέλη [Le système tragique coercitif d'Aristote] Μακιαβέλι και η ποιητική της αρετής [Machiavel et la poétique de la "virtu"] Ο Χέγκελ και ο Μπρεχτ: Θεατρικό πρόσωπο υποκείμενο ή αντικείμενο [Hegel et Brecht: personage sujet ou objet?] Στο λαό τα μέσα της θεατρικής παραγωγής Au people les moyens de production théâtrale (interview)
Sources : (Protoporia.gr) (Catalogue Open Abekt)	

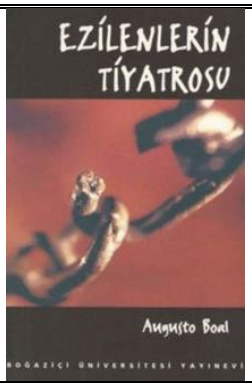


Japanese

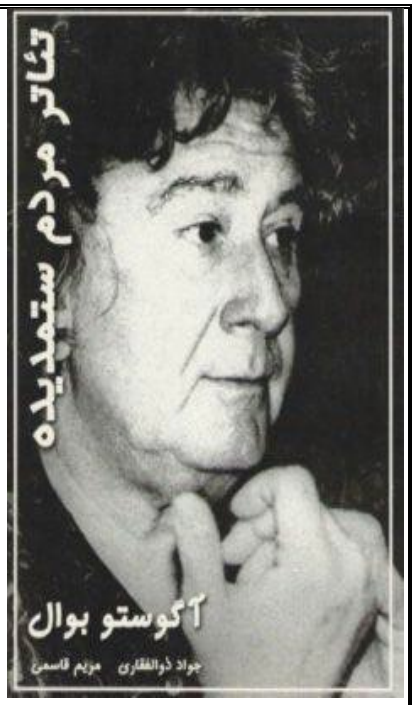
被抑圧者の演劇 [Theatre of the Oppressed]
Shobunsha Publisher Tokyo, Japan 1984 367 pages

Source Title	Teatro del Oprimido
Source Language SL	Spanish
Translator	Minoru Satomi, Takayuki Saeki, Osamu Mihashi
Structure	「訳者あとがき [Translator's Afterword] に収められているエミール・コッフェルマンによるインタヴュー記録の全訳である。」 (Interview by Émile Copfermann in the French translation "Théâtre de l'opprimé" 1977)

Croatian 2004	
Pozorište potlačenog [Serbo-Croatian (to 1992)] Niš: Gradina [Yugoslavia (to 2002)], Publisher: Prosveta – Niš 1984. 73 pages	
Source Title	*Theater de l'opprime*[49]
Source Language SL	French [Portuguese UNESCO Translationum[50]]
Translator	Radmila Nedeljković, Milena Dragićević-Šešić
Korean	
(Thorau, Henry; et al.): Okappadnunjadului yonkuk / Seoul: Yolhwadang [Korea, Republic of], 1989. 167 pages	
Source Title	*Theater der Unterdrücken*
Source Language SL	German [Portuguese]

Turkish	
Ezílenlerín Tíyatrosu, publisher Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları1996 Istambul,Turkey, 198 p	
Source Title	*Theater of the oppressed* English
Translator	Necdet Hasgül

Chinese	
Bei yapozhe juchang, Taibei: Yangzhi wenhua shiye gongsi People's Republic of China, 2000. 286 pages	
Source Title	*Theatre of the Oppressed*
Source Language	English
Translator	Shuya Lai

Persian 	
Āryān Riẓāyī. Mūnū / shūrāyī va guft va gū bā mardum: tajrubah-'i ti'ātr-i sitam'dīdagān dar Īrān Nowruz Institute of Arts *Chāp-i avval.* 2003, Tehran, Iran. 226 pages	
Source Text	*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*
Source Language	Spanish

Appendix J
Teatro del/do Oprimido, Prologue

ArSp 147 words	Al principio, el teatro era el canto ditirámbico: el **pueblo libre** cantando al aire libre. El carnaval. La fiesta Después, las clases dominantes se adueñaron del teatro y construyeron sus muros divisorios. Primero, dividieron al **pueblo**, separando **actores** de **espectadore**s: gente que hace y gente que mira: ¡se terminó la fiesta! Segundo, entre los **actores**, separó los **protagonistas** de la **masa**: ¡empezó el **adoctrinamiento coercitivo**! El **pueblo oprimido** se libera. Y otra vez se adueña del teatro. Hay que derrumbar los muros. Primero, el **espectador** vuelve a **actuar**: teatro invisible, teatro foro, teatro imagen, etc. Segundo, hay que eliminar la **propiedad privada** de los **personajes** por los **actores** individuales: Sistema Comodín. Con estos dos ensayos intento cerrar el ciclo de este libro. En ellos se muestran algunos de los caminos por los cuales el **pueblo** reasume su función **protagónica** en el teatro y en la sociedad.
BrPt 135 words	No princípio, o teatro era o canto ditirâmbico: o povo livre, cantando ao ar livre. O carnaval. A festa. Depois, as **classes dominantes** se apropriaram do teatro e construíram muros divisórios. Primeiro, dividiram o **povo**, separando **atores** de **espectadores**: gente que **faz** e gente que **observa**. Terminou-se a festa! Segundo, entre os **atores**, separou os **protagonistas** das **massas**: começou o **doutrinamento coercitivo**! O **povo oprimido** se liberta. E outra vez conquista o teatro. É necessário derrubar muros! Primeiro, o **espectador** volta a representar, a atuar: teatro invisível, teatro foro, teatro imagem, etc. Segundo, é necessário eliminar a **propriedade privada** dos **personagens** pelos **atores individuais**: Sistema Coringa. Com estes dois ensaios procuro fechar o ciclo deste livro. Neles se mostram alguns dos caminhos pelos quais o **povo** reassume sua função **protagônica** no teatro e na sociedade.
Fr **135** **words**	À l'origine, le théâtre était chant dithyrambique : le peuple libre chantant à l'air libre. Le carnaval. La fête. Puis les classes dominantes s'en emparèrent et y établirent leurs cloisons. Elles divisèrent d'abord le peuple, en séparant les acteurs des spectateurs, les gens qui agissent de ceux qui regardent. Fini la fête ! Ensuite elles distinguèrent, entre les acteurs, les protagonistes de la masse: alors commença l'endoctrinement coercitif ! Le peuple opprimé se libère. Il s'empare à nouveau du théâtre. Il faut abattre les cloisons. Le spectateur se met d'abord à jouer : théâtre invisible, théâtre forum, théâtre image, etc. Il faut ensuite éliminer l'appropriation privée des personnages par les acteurs individuels : système du joker. Ces deux essais montrent […] comment le peuple reprend sa fonction d'acteur principal au théâtre et dans la société.

It 141 words	All'inizio teatro era il canto ditirambico: il **popolo** li bero che cantava all'aperto. Il carnevale. La festa. Poi le **classi dominanti** si impadronirono del teatro e costruirono le loro muraglie. Dapprima divisero il **popolo**, separando **attori** da **spettatori**: persone che **agiscono** e per sone che **guardano**: finí la festa. In seguito, tra gli **attori** stessi, si separarono i **protagonisti** dalla **massa**: ebbe ini zio l'**indottrinamento coercitivo**. Il **popolo oppresso** si libera. E si impadronisce un'altra volta del teatro. Bisogna abbat tere i muri. Lo **spettatore** ritorna a recitare: teatro invisibile, teatro forum, teatro immagine, ecc. Bisogna eliminare la **proprietà privata** dei **personaggi** per diventare **attori individuali**. Con questi saggi tento di chiudere il ciclo di questo libro. In esso vengono indicati alcuni cammini attraverso i quali il **popolo** riassume la sua funzione di **protagonista** nel teatro e nella società.
En **160** **words**	In the beginning the theatre was the dithyrambic song: **free people** singing in the open air. The carnival. The feast. Later, the **ruling classes** took possession of the theatre and built their dividing **walls**. First, they divided the **people**, separating **actors** from **spectators**: people who **act** and people who **watch** – the party is over! Secondly, among the **actors,** they separated the **protagonists** from the **mass**. The **coercive indoctrination** began! Now the **oppressed people** are liberated themselves and, once more, are making the theatre their own. The **walls** must be torn down. First, the spectator starts **acting** again: invisible theatre, forum theatre, image theatre, etc. Secondly, it is necessary to eliminate the **private property** of the **characters** by the individual **actors**: the 'Joker' System. With the two essays that follow I attempt to close the circle of this book. In them we see some of the ways by which the people reassume their **protagonistic function** in the theatre and in society.
Ger **95** **words**	Am Anfang war das Theater der dithyrambische Geasang: Das frei Volk sang im Freien! Der Karneval. Das Fest. Dann haben die Mächtigen das Theater okkupiert und trennende Mauern errichtet. Zuerst trennten sie das Volk, Indem sie die Schauspieler von den Zuschauern trennten : Leute, die schaffen, und Leute, die gaffen ! Das Fest war aus, Dann, unter den Schauspielern, wurden die Protagonisten von der Masse getrennt: Es begann die Zwangsunterwisung . Das unterraced Volk befreit sich. Und macht sich das Theater von neuem zu eigen. Die mauern mussen fallen! Der Zuschauer kehrt zum Handeln zurück!

Appendix K
Forum Theatre

ArSp (1974) 55 words	6) **Teatro-juicio**. Una historia es contada por algún participante Y enseguida los actores la improvisan. Después se descompone cada personaje en todos sus papeles sociales y se pide a los participantes que elijan un objeto físico, escenográfico, para simbolizar cada papel.
PtBr (1975) 55 words	6) **Teatro-Julgamento** — Um dos participantes conta uma história e sem seguida os atores improvisam. Depois se decompõe cada personagem em todos os seus papéis sociais, e pede-se que os participantes escolham um objeto físico, cenográfico, para simbolizar cada papel.
Fr (1977) 50 words	6. **Théâtre-jugement** Quelqu'un raconte une histoire que les autres improvisent. On décompose ensuite chaque personnage en chacun de ses rôles sociaux, et on demande aux participants de choisir un objet concret pour symboliser chacun des rôles;
It (1977) 16 words	6. **Teatro processo**. Qualcuno racconta una storia e poi gli attori la improvvisano. Dopo si "scompone" ogni personaggio in tutti i suoi ruoli sociali e si chiede ai partecipanti di scegliere un oggetto reale, scenografico, per simbolizzare ogni ruolo.
En (1978) 16 words	6. **Analytical theatre**: A story is told by one of the participants and immediately the actors improvise it. Afterward each character is broken down into all his social roles and the participants are asked to choose a physical object to symbolise each role.
ArSp 36 words	Entonces se propuso al público una sesión de **teatro-foro**: la escena iba a ser presentada otra vez exactamente como la primera, pero cada uno tenía ahora derecho a intervenir y cambiar la acción, ensayando su propuesta.
PtBr 38 words	Foi então que se propôs ao público uma sessão de **teatro-debate**. A cena seria representada outra vez, de forma idêntica, porém agora teriam todos o direito de ensaiar suas soluções e propostas, intervindo diretamente na ação e modificando-a.
Fr 35 words	On proposa alors au public une session de **théâtre- forum**. On jouerait la scène une deuxième fois, exactement de la même façon, mais chacun avait maintint ant le droit d'intervenir e d' essayer sa solution.
It	[omitted]
En 37 words	Then the technique of **forum theatre** was applied: the scene would be staged exactly as it had been the first time, but now each spectator-participant would have the right to intervene and change the action, trying out his proposal.

Spectator and Protagonist

ArSp 27 words	Tal vez porque en los dos casos el campesino era el **espectador pasivo**: en el primer caso le quitaban la tierra, en el segundo se la otorgaban.
PtBr 28 words	A razão talvez resida no fato de que, nos dois casos, o camponês era o **espectador passivo**: no primeiro caso lhe tiravam a terra, no segundo lhe outorgavam.
Fr 22 words	Car, dans les deux cas, le paysan était **spectateur passif**: avant, on lui prenait sa terre, maintenant, on la lui donnait .
It 22 words	Forse perché nei due casi il contadino era **spettatore passivo**: nel primo caso gli portavano via laterra;e nel secondo gliela conce devano.
En	[omitted]

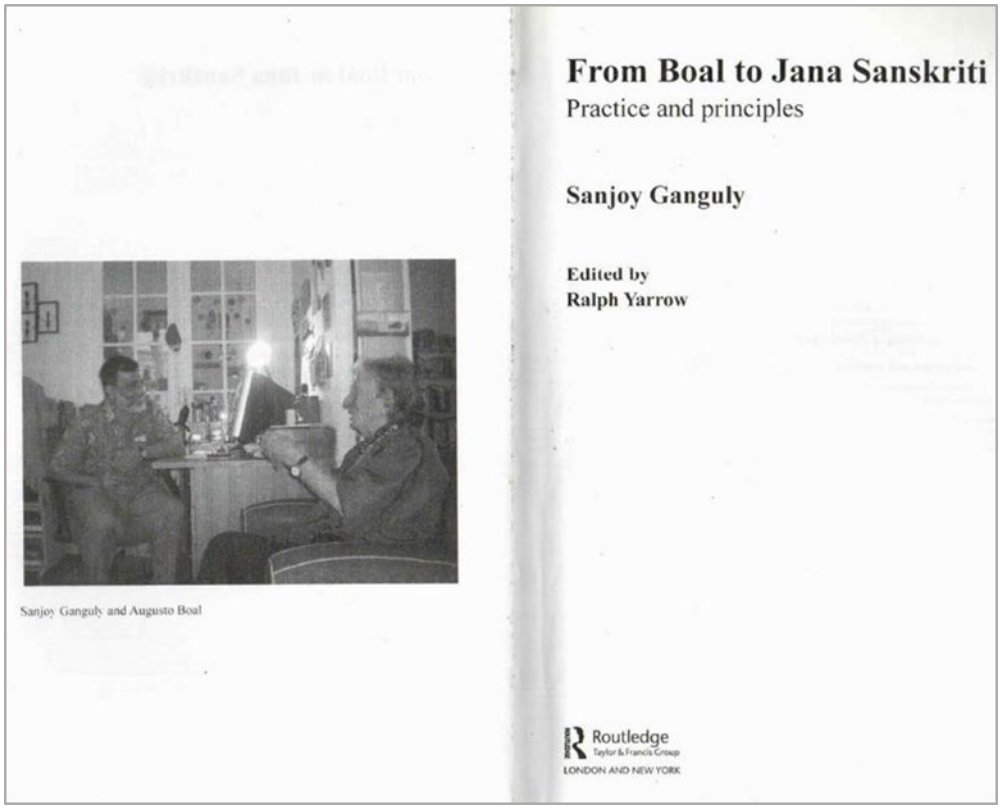
ArSp 11 words	Primero, el **espectador** vuelve a **actuar**: teatro invisible, teatro- foro, teatro-imagen, etcétera.
PtBr 15 words	Primeiro, o **espectador** volta a **representar**, a **atuar**: teatro invisível, teatro foro, teatro imagem, etc.
Fr 14 words	Le **spectateur** se met d'abord **à jouer**; théâtre invisible, théâtre forum, théâtre statue, etc.
It 12 words	Lo **spettatore** ritorna a **recitare**: teatro invisibile, teatro forum, teatro immagine, ecc.
En	First, the **spectator** starts **acting** again: invisible theatre, forum theatre, mage theatre, etc.

ArSp 44 words	Estará entonces habilitado para practicar formas teatrales en que por etapas se libera de su condición de "**espectador**" y asume la de "**actor**", en que deja de ser objeto y pasa a ser sujeto, en que de testigo se convierte en **protagonista**
PtBr 52 words	Só depois de conhecer o próprio corpo e ser capaz de torná-lo mais expressivo, o "**espectador**" estará habilitado a praticar formas teatrais que, por etapas, ajudem-no a liberar-se de sua condição de "**espectador**" e assumir a de "**ator**", deixando de ser objeto e passando a ser sujeito, convertendo-se de testemunha em **protagonista**.
Fr 43 words	I sera donc d'autant plus capable de pratiquer diverses formes théâtrales qu'il se sera progressivement libéré de sa condition de "**spectateur**" pour devenir "**acteur**", qu'il aura cessé d'être objet pour devenir sujet, qu'il se sera transformé, de témoin qu'il était, en **acteur principal**.
It 46 words	Solo a questo punto sarà pronto per mettere in atto forme teatrali nelle quali si libererà per gradi dalla sua condizione di"**spettatore**"e assumerà quella di "**attore**", nella quale smetterà di essere oggetto per convertirsi in soggetto, passando così dalla posizione di testimone a quella di **protagonista.**
En 45	Then he will be able to practise theatrical forms in which by stages he frees himself from his condition of **spectator** and takes on that of **actor**, in which he ceases to be an object and becomes a subject, is changed from witness into **protagonist.**

Teatro de las Oprimidas



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