
**TRANSLATING W.S. MAUGHAM'S AND D.H. LAWRENCE'S NOVELS
DURING COMMUNISM: SCENES, FRAMES AND TRANSLATORS' (IN)VISIBILITY**

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Abstract: It is known that, when translated in communist contexts, controversial texts were often domesticated. Since a required (or even imposed) level of precision had to be achieved, translations became a sort of re-writing of the originals. In the communism context, one of the key elements in this process was the translator, whose intervention was complemented by other elements in the control mechanism. The frames and scenes in censored literature are also crucial for analysing the controversial concepts, structures and the methods used in order to eliminate subversive elements or to diminish their effects. The present paper aims at analysing the status of translators who dealt with novels written by D.H. Lawrence and W.S. Maugham, as well as considering the scenes and frames employed by the two authors inasmuch as the novels under consideration were either banned or re-translated.

Keywords: translator's status, censorship, illusion of transparency, loss, target culture.

A phenomenon that often occurred in the cultural environment, during communism in Romania, was censorship. It was also very much related to norms. In the literature dedicated to the field of translation, Gideon Toury's norms have been very important for establishing the elements crucial to the process of translation. Norms, referring both to the linguistic facet of a text (operational norms) and to the socio-political dimension (preliminary norms) are of avail also when analyzing translations produced during communism. The effect of what Toury called preliminary norms (in Munday 2008: 112), for instance the translation policy functioning in the target system at the time, is of great importance for establishing the extent to which the matricial norms (removing, moving or adding pieces of text) functioned at the linguistic and literary level i.e. determining the intervention of the translator on the text for diminishing the effect of controversial texts.

Establishing the reasons and the extent to which certain texts were considered controversial requires knowledge of the censorship criteria employed, but also of the extralinguistic reality depicted in some literary texts, a reality that might have included elements that a communist regime could not accept. Consequently, it is necessary to clear up some aspects related to the activity of translators and censors in communist Romania and look at their role in a system where censorship prevailed. Moreover, details on the activity and the themes in the prose of the two writers— W. S. Maugham and D. H. Lawrence – are necessary for establishing the reason for censoring their works, hence criteria for censoring were applied due to specific elements depicted in their novels.

The translations of the novels *The Painted Veil* and *The Razor's Edge* by W.S. Maugham and *The Plumed Serpent* by D. H. Lawrence are target versions that were:

- (1) produced before communism and banned according to the criteria mentioned in the brochures and the instructions for censoring;
- (2) produced during communism by eliminating controversial concepts.

In the first category, we have also included a novel translated in 1946 (*The Razor's Edge* by W.S. Maugham), but banned during communism with no other version provided until 2010. In this case, the translation analyst would be forced to identify the language and translation elements that lead to the censoring of this text by issuing hypotheses on linguistic and extralinguistic aspects, the analysis being limited to a S.T- T.T pair where the T.T is the pre-communist version. For all these categories, an analysis of the originals and the translations, but also of the different target versions would be a further step for establishing the impact of the censorship criteria achieved through application of norms. Since in all written texts, frames and scenes are inseparable and the integration of linguistic and literary concepts has been acknowledged in translation studies, we shall establish how the extra-linguistic reality presented in the novels determined the preservation or distortion of the aesthetic features and, most important, the meanings of the originals in the target versions.

Tackling *ticklish* subjects in literature.

The censorial actions applied to the published matters in Romania consisted in purging libraries, bookshops and antique shops in view of eliminating anything that did not fit the ideology at the time (Petcu 1999: 166). Even though the intensity of censorship was not constant during the communist period, the censorship criteria – that followed the pattern of the Soviet ones (Corobca 2014: 1) – were constantly applied. Despite being considered a product of imagination, literature was not spared and this makes us reflect on why literature was a threat to the stability of the regime. Since authors live in societies and they are often inspired by reality, the scenes they presented and the frames they used to this purpose became controversial if they referred to concepts, ideas or facts that make up extralinguistic reality presented in the literary texts. Consequently, it is worth investigating into the reasons for which target texts provided before communism were banned and the reasons for which the frames (“the linguistic forms of the utterances”) that referred to the scenes (“the personal experience that gives rise to the frame”) (Lefevere 1992: 100) were omitted or replaced in the case of texts translated during communism. The censorship criteria stated in the brochures and instructions for censoring are, in fact, lists of concepts that were removed from books. This might also explain the banning of versions translated before communism or the omission of many paragraphs and pages that referred to *ticklish* subjects during communism. The identified subjects refer to aspects like politics (ideologies), social issues, religion and eroticism. The categories of delicate subjects were identified after a careful reading (by considering the censorship criteria presented by authors like Petcu and Corobca) and analysis of the source texts (a translation-oriented-like text analysis) useful for foreseeing – or more precisely – making assumptions about the difficulties translators

working under communism might have faced when having to translate what was called subversive literature.

The target texts produced before communism and banned during communism are *Fumul amăgirilor* (the 1943 translation of *The Painted Veil* by W. S. Maugham, translated by Jul Giurgea, Remus Cioflec Publishing House), *Tăiș de briciu* (target version by Jul Giurgea of Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*, 1946, Remus Cioflec Publishing House), and *Șarpele cu pene* (the 1943 translation by Iulian Vesper of the novel *The Plumed Serpent* by D.H. Lawrence). These were included in the lists of censored texts (see the complete list of censored texts in Prof. Paula Caravia's *Scieri cenzurate*). The target versions produced during communism but partially censored are *Vălul pictat* by Radu Lupan (1972) and *Șarpele cu pene* (1989) by Antoaneta Ralian. Consequently, in the sections below we shall focus on the translators as rewriters of the original texts in the languages of the target systems and also on the reasons for censoring W.S. Maugham and D. H. Lawrence's works.

Facets and Degrees of (In)visibility. The translator's Status during Communism

As it is known, Romanian communism and the effects of its censorial measures at the cultural level are a copy of the Soviet model. The phenomenon of censorship is just a component in the macrosystem of the translation in the East- European space. As Baer points out, East Europe and Russia was "a unique translation zone with its own culture of translation". Translation was said to have "retrieved the communal identity" by serving as "heroic metaphor representing the triumph over perceived backwardness and as a way to survive the onslaught – or flood – of foreign influences" hence they have even been called "cultures of translations". Consequently, "the target text was expected to stand on its own and compete with – or even surpass – the source text (Baer 2011: 10). It is, therefore, obvious why the approach to translation in this area of Europe at the time was generally target oriented. This tendency of being target-oriented could be a summary of the communist translation policy in the communist states in general and in Romania in particular.

As regards literary translations, translators and their role of re-creators (of the scenes of the original by choosing the proper frames) is as important as any of the other piece in the puzzle of the translation process. In this case, the most relevant factor might be the role of the translators as 'model readers'. By activating individual culture-specific scenes, they were supposed to understand the text and find proper frames for rendering these scenes in a way that would fit the readers' expectations or, as is the case of the controversial texts, the expectations specific to a certain cultural, political and social system like the communist one, where censors had an important role. Thus the translation as a text should first be activated and approved of by the censors' and then accessed by the readers, hence the importance of foreseeing potential intricacies of rendering culture-specific scenes that do not conform to the (social or political) norms at work and of using improper frames. Therefore, the translator is only one of the link in the whole process. The 'communist translator' was an intermediary between the source system and the target system, but obliged to see his work subsequently mutilated by other professionals

or institutions within or outside the literary system (editors, redactors, censors from the Ministry of Culture etc). As Denisa Comănescu states, censorship functioned on various levels in which editors were supposed to be the first censors (in Vianu 1998: 219), but they were often against censorship and tried to avoid it for the books to be published by keeping at least a few features of the originals. However, the translators and editors' roles were *undermined* by the censors. The latter were individuals who represented various authorities or institutions whose main interest was keeping people away from products (in particular cultural) that would countervail the communist ideology. The same Denisa Comănescu, editor of the English department for the Univers publishing house between 1978 and 1993, recalls the involvement, or more precisely immediate measures taken by a representative of the Ministry of Culture, a direct intervention in the editing process by providing his own *solutions* for translating particular elements. Antoaneta Ralian, one of the most prolific Romanian translators remembers that, when she was working for the Ministry of Culture (the department for the *purging* of literature), before getting the imprimatur, the drafts used to circulate as follows: publishing houses (after being translated or written)- General Administration of Press and Publications-publishing house. After careful reviews and checks for critical, allusive or interpretable elements. The Administration of Press would send many of the books back with big question marks or removed paragraphs, or would not send them back at all. Even after being approved, some of the manuscripts were checked again and even the published books were sometimes "chopped" for removing inappropriate words, paragraphs or pages (Petcu 1999: 182). The removal was, of course, done by applying the censorship criteria. In fact, Ralian also recalls the types of concepts that were often removed—elements referring to religion, erotic or anti-socialist, pro-capitalist etc.

In the case of translations, this could have meant disregarding both authors and translators. Therefore, the concept *translator's invisibility* might acquire two meanings in the present study. On the one hand, it could refer to the undermining of the translator on the part of the censors and the institutions they represented. On the other hand, the concept might acquire a more positive meaning as in Venuti's definition, but applied to the Romanian, not the Anglo-American context. Venuti's concept is very relevant inasmuch as it refers to the translator's skills of creating the **illusion of transparency**, a result of "translators' effort to insure easy readability by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning", a fact that makes the text a faithful rendering of the original and its author's intentions, in other words, a translation that does not seem a translation (Venuti 1994: 1). Making the author more visible through a high level of fluency in translation diminishes the translator's importance or visibility. The scholar also points at one of the possible drawbacks of this apparently positive fact – the impossibility for audiences to see beyond the product, acknowledge the role of the translator and the complexity of the whole process. Unfortunately, as far as the translation during communism is concerned, this dimension of translator's invisibility would not work at its best. The illusion of transparency was often achieved, but, from the point of view of a multilingual readers (also called "double readership") it would not have been enough since the differences between the target text and the source text were significant.

The interventions were often done at the linguistic level for diminishing the subversive effects that were found in almost everything. It was the role of the **patronage outside the literary system** (Ministries and Departments like the Ministry of Propaganda) that regulated the activity of the **professionals within the target system** (terms used by Lefevere to refer to the holders of power and the relations between them and the other participants in the act of translation). Interventions were identified by considering sources, as suggested by Toury (1995: 55, 65), like the products and the confessions of the professionals involved. Unfortunately, the last source is not always available since the translators have not provided consistent and detailed ‘testimonies’ of the censorship that was exercised on their texts. Nevertheless, an overview of the activity of the translators of the analysed novels as professionals in the literary field will enable us to understand their (in)visibility.

The two philologists who translated the controversial novels *The Painted Veil* and *The Plumed Serpent* during communism are Radu Lupan (1972) and Antoaneta Ralian (1989), respectively. The only one who admitted that her translations were censored was the latter and this is also confirmed by Comănescu (in Vianu 1998: 219) who narrated the censorship episode above (the modified text was, in fact, the translation of *Sons and Lovers* done by Antoaneta Ralian). Before starting to translate, the philologist had the task to ‘cleanse’ libraries (in the Literature Department of the Ministry of Culture). The censoring of publications started with her reports on the publications that displayed subversive features, but the key decisions were made by the censors in the department mentioned above and known also as Cenzură (*The Censorship*). As an intermediary between publishing houses and the Press Administration, first in the department Epurarea Bibliotecilor and then at Direcția Generală a Editurilor și Difuzării Cărților (before being employed as editor at the Univers publishing house and becoming a translator), she often removed, paraphrased and changed the words in order to save the texts from the crippling the censors from the Press Administration often did. Then her status changed. From a censor – inasmuch as she often foresaw possible elements that would have been considered subversive and censored texts herself for protecting at least some of the aesthetic features of texts (Paraschivescu 2011: 17-18) – she became a censored translator. The love for this craft was discovered when the ex-employee at the Ministry started working as an editor at the Univers Publishing House. The ability to modify texts for misleading censors seemed to have paved the way of a great activity as translator with more than 112 translated books. *The Plumed Serpent*, *Sons and Lovers* and *Women in Love* are just a few of the novels translated by Antoaneta Ralian. As regards the first novel, the translator managed to compensate the loss of expressivity – that is often said to occur in target texts – but also by the removal of many paragraphs and structures according to criteria imposed by authorities. Ralian herself admits in many interviews that her translations were amputated, that her texts were crochet books. The art of achieving the illusion transparency, the ability to offset losses by exploring the expressivity of the target language is what makes the translator a good writer (Ionescu 2004: preface), or – in Lefevere’s terms – a re-writer, and Antoaneta Ralian managed to acquire the quality of invisible translator (here bearing the positive connotation) despite the censorial constraints by achieving the level of precision

required by the authorities inasmuch as she often avoided translating controversial terms. Compared to the version of Julian Vesper published in 1943 (Cultura Românească publishing house) her version of the novel *The Plumed Serpent* is obviously marked by censorship. The following is only one of the instances when substitution or omission are used as prevalent strategies for concealing elements related to politics. The term “socialiștilor” that appears in Vesper’s translation, as a faithful rendering of the elements in the original, was replaced by a more general „politicienilor” by means of which reference to a particular political regime is avoided.

To the socialist and agitators he wrote: What do you want? Would you make all man as you are? (Lawrence, 1981: 376)

“Socialiștilor și agitatorilor, Ramon le scrie astfel: “Ce doriți dumneavoastră? Doriți ca toți să fie creați după chipul vostru?” (Lawrence 1943:466)

“Politicienilor și agitatorilor demagogi le scria: “Ce urmăriți voi? Să-i transformați pe oameni după chipul și asemănarea voastră? (Lawrence 1989: 462) Nevertheless, as regards the *required precision*, her translation of *The Plumed Serpent* seems to be divided into two parts – one where many controversial concepts were avoided and another in which some structures (in particular the ones referring to religion) do explicitly appear in the translation (starting from page 341). A possible factor that triggered this shift of translation strategy might be that it was published by Cartea Românească run by Marin Preda, (from the 1970) the publishing house of the Writers’ Union, that even under the careful surveillance of the Press Administration (DGPT), managed to fool Censorship and publish many subversive books (<http://www.cartearomaneasca.ro/despre-noi/>).

Radu Lupan’s career as a translator was not as prolific as Ralian’s (only twenty translations, mostly Anglo-American literature), but his activity as editor-in-chief at Redacția publicațiilor pentru străinătate and Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă (the State Publishing House for Literature and Art) is evidence of the status he had in the literary system (Panayiotis 2002: 362), of the overlapping roles of the translator, who, as a representative of these state institutions could not have done other than producing translations that would not have gone beyond the required level of precision, a *precision* imposed by the regime. This might account for the fact that his translations and essays on American and English literature were published, for instance *Vălul pictat*, his Romanian version of *The Painted Veil* that replaced the censored *Fumul amăgirilor* translated in 1943 by Jul Giurgea. His translation ‘shows symptoms’ of censorial measures, sometimes with slight and at times with major changes of meaning in particular as regards elements related to religion. Furthermore, *Vălul pictat* was published by the Eminescu Publishing House, created in 1969 as an institution of national interest, one of the many

institutions where the “socialist culture” was to be spread (Petcu 1999: 172) as a next step for eliminating alien ideologies and beliefs.

Scenes and Frames in W. S. Maugham and D.H. Lawrence’s novels. The functions of the source texts and translations

The answer to the question “What were the reasons for censoring the translations into Romanian of Maugham’s and Lawrence’s novels?” can be provided by analysing the translations (as Toury suggests), but also the source text in its system. The purpose of establishing how the censorship criteria functioned and how translators achieved the *required level of precision* in translations that were expected to conform with the ideology, cannot be reached without considering the source texts and the source system. Consequently, we shall explore the connection between the two authors’ world, their literary works for determining why the cultural-specific scenes depicted in their works resulted in controversial frames to be removed from the texts. These are, in fact, two elements of Margret Ammann’s functional model of translation critique (that might be employed for a further analysis of the censored texts) – the function of the source text in the source culture and the function of the translation in the target culture.

One of the hypotheses on which this study is based (and that takes into account literary critics’ arguments) is that the facts and actions depicted by the writers are to a certain extent related to the reality they witnessed (the scenes), a presentation of reality not tolerated in a communist system.

As regards W. S. Maugham, literary critics are convinced that most of the facts and stories that Maugham and his secretary (the journalist Gerald Haxton) witnessed or heard when they were travelling to the South Seas, China, South-East Asia and Mexico “appeared almost verbatim in Maugham’s fiction and plays” (Drabble 1995: 654). Moreover, Maugham was included in the category of realistic fiction writers from the late 1890s to the Edwardian period who “wrote about modern life and often portrayed subjects such as extreme poverty, sexual misadventure, or the remote reaches of the British Empire” (Drabble 2000: 682). Therefore, it was agreed that “to read Maugham and to read about Maugham translate into learning about the world from the thirty-seventh year of Victoria’s reign to the thirteenth year in the reign of Elizabeth II. To view the world of Maugham and his work is to view the tensions of the Boer War, World War I, and World War II [...] and to grasp the subtleties weaving through the inner weaknesses of a supposedly strong British colonial system in such romantic places as China, Malaya, Borneo, and India. Maugham lived through all of that, observed it all, played a part in it all, and wrote about all of that—and more” (Rogal 1997: vii-viii). Maugham’s books are also on the list of most often censored books (the index of banned books in the Encyclopaedia) and on the blacklists of organizations like the National Organization for Decent Literature (Green and Karolides 2005: 260). For instance, *The Painted Veil* was banned by the Irish Board of Censors under the Censorship Acts of 1929/1946 on obscenity grounds (Green and Karolides 2005: 296). The essay *The Summing Up* “distilled into a single volume the observations of a lifetime devoted to successful authorship” (Curtis in Scott-Kilvert: 374). The author explained his attachment

towards men for the sake of his work, by looking at them as material that was useful to him as a writer (Maugham 1951: 4) and he admits that the facts and people he depicted in his novels were often inspired by real people:

“In one way or another I have used in my writings whatever happened to me in the course of my life. Sometimes an experience I have had has served as a theme and I have invented a series of incidents to illustrate it; more often I have taken persons with whom I have been slightly or intimately acquainted and used them as the foundations for characters of my invention. Facts and fiction are so intermingled in my work that now, looking back on it, I can hardly distinguish one from the other. It would not interest me to record the facts, even if I could remember them, of which I have already made a better use [...]” (Maugham 1951:I).

Indeed, many of his novels appeared shortly after visiting remote places. Literary critics agree on the fact that as a storyteller and novelist, Maugham picked up plenty of ideas along his journeys in the south of France, on his regular travels with Haxton, in the Far East, and among his many friends in America. For instance, he wrote *The Razor's Edge* in 1944, while he was in America, hence the novel is one of his “malicious achievements” of describing the life of a snobbish American “socialite” of the Riviera. Moreover, the mysticism in this novel, the questions about life and the absolute that haunt the protagonist, could be connected to the extensive tour of India in 1936 with Huxley and Gerald Heard, a journey also described in the essays *The Saints* and *Points of View* (Curtis in Scott-Kilvert 1984: 376). The same can be noted in the case of *The Painted Veil*, a novel about a remote place in Asia, more precisely in a British colony. The novel was originally set in Hong-Kong, but the names of places and people had to be changed because of “threats of libel action” (Curtis 1997: 12). These were caused by the resemblance between the fictional elements and the reality at the time inasmuch as the material was gathered during the journeys Maugham undertook in 1919-1920 (Curtis 1997: 160), a fact that he states in the preface to the novel.

The Painted Veil was published in 1925. The novel was being serialised in *Nash's Magazine*, but two libel actions (by a family and the colonial secretary in Hong Kong) followed the publication because of the resemblance between the fictional elements and the reality in the colony. This brought about changes in the name of the main character from Lane to Fane and in the name of the colony from Hong Kong to Tching Yen (Curtis 1997: 160). In the preface of the Heinemann 1935 edition the author revealed the intricacies of having used certain names, but he also admitted that he had been inspired by events (witnessed during his voyage to China) not by characters as in the case of other novels. In fact, as regards the function of the text, critics agree on the fact that it is a *story* and some of them identify the potential type of reader:

“His style is sharp, quick, subdued, casual. It never heaps his story with efflorescences: it is neither rank nor cultivated. It tells a story.” (unsigned review cited in Curtis 1997: 165)

“Mr Somerset Maugham continues, by his studies of sexual frailty, to exploit the perennial interest in that subject ... perhaps, not addressing himself to adult intelligences, but rather to those for whom a story of illicit love and salutary disillusionment may still possess some freshness and piquancy” (unsigned review in *Times literary supplement* cited in Curtis 1997: 167)

“in *The Painted Veil* he reveals himself again as expert craftsman, knowing what many novelists never learn—the simple art of telling a story” (*New York Times* unsigned review cited in Curtis 160-161).

Other critics seem to criticize the fact that the novel functions as a story of the British people’s life in the colony, not of the Chinese life and culture (Rogal 1997: 22).

The Razor’s Edge was published in New York, by Doubleday and Company, and in London by William Heinemann, reprinted by Penguin Books (1978). It is a novel inspired by the mysticism of Hindu religion and philosophy. The criticism defines it as a collection of a short stories about characters in the pursuit of salvation. The very title (taken from the Kaska-Upanishad) reveals the theme of this novel. Nevertheless, the text is also a description of materialistic and snobbish American characters’ life, of an “affluent and worldly post-World War I American family” (Rogal 1997: 230-231), representatives of a state and society aware of its power and welfare.

As far as Lawrence was concerned, critics describe him as a writer that “hated art that kept its distance from humanity; in a central line of English Romanticism, he wanted literature to enlarge and extend human sympathies, to make people more fully alive to themselves and each other” (Rogers 1992: 383). By studying his works and life, scholars have noticed that “almost everything he wrote after *The White Peacock* (1911) reflects his personal odyssey. Consequently, many of his novels – *The Plumed Serpent* (1926), *Women in Love* (1920), *Sons and Lovers* (1913) – contain allusions to his own life and experiences. Niven argues that

“many elements in Lawrence’s life story found their way into his writing , for he hardly ever wrote about things he has not witnessed or about situations that did not ultimately derive from personal experience. [...] his mother became the basis for Mrs. Morel in *Sons and Lovers*” (Niven in Scott-Kilvert 1984: 88).

Nevertheless, the artist in him “never allowed his imagination to be dominated by documentary accuracy. Specific details about Lawrence’s life can be found in his writing only when he thought them useful to mention” (Niven in Scott-Kilvert 1984: 88).

In the context of Anglophone modernism that “rejected the recent past [...] in favour of remoter periods of history”, the author was inspired by “the primitive consciousness of American Indians

or ancient Etruscans” (Rogers 1992: 373). The Mexican reality was illustrated in *The Plumed Serpent* that was defined by critics as a travel writing (Niven in Scott-Kilvert 1984: 116). Lawrence travelled to Mexico where he witnessed a religious revival in 1926 (the year the novel was published) when the church and the state were in conflict. The most interesting aspects that the writer depicted in the novel are the ritual incantations in honour of the ancestral gods and the removal of Christian images from the churches that had actually happened as described in the novel. Lawrence knew details about both the Christian and the pagan religion of Quetzacoatl fighting for supremacy in Mexico at the time. In addition, like his female protagonist, he was supposed to choose between staying in Europe and “settling in an unsophisticated community” (1984: 110). The proofs are in his correspondence where he often described the way he felt for the first time in Mexico (like the protagonist) or the resemblance of the minor characters in the novel with the people he socialized with. Since in the twenties and the thirties fascination with politics was a prevailing aspect, Ramon, one of the characters, refers (among other concepts) to the desire of great individuals to dominate and control the masses. Critics also agree on the fact that the author argues through his characters about “the need for regeneration of mystery in the world”, a “prophetic tone” of the novel that alienates people more than the content. This prophetic tone is materialized by “stretching the language” i.e. by using “a heap of rhetorical, repetitive and inflated utterance” when describing mystical ceremonies or sexual acts, a thing that not too many English novelists have dared (1984: 109- 109). By pleading for this regeneration of mystery in the world, the idea implied by Lawrence as a man living in the European society was to fight against the age of the machine and the tyranny of materialism. According to Niven, the author’s travel writings “contain some of his finest prose moments, bringing to life alien landscapes and other cultures” (1984: 109- 109). In addition, his correspondence contains comments and ideas about the places he visited from his first travels to Germany to his last days in France, meant to supplement both his travel documentaries and his imaginative prose.

In an article published in *Secolul XX* in 1978 Popescu pointed at the necessity of a constant translation activity (of valuable literary texts) that became the main goal of the publishing policy of the socialist state. Publishing houses like *Univers* and *Eminescu* (publisher of *Vălul pictat*) were praised for having great importance in promoting foreign literature and the figures presented by the author of the article are overwhelmingly pointing at the number of translations published after 1944 until 1978. Moreover, he praises the translators for offering models and having paved the way of the Romanian writers and their literature (Popescu 1978: 260). Nevertheless, to a translation analyst, the existence of *communist translations* that replaced the censored target texts is, first of all, a proof of the intention to conceal certain features of original texts.

Conclusions:

The task we have undertaken was, in fact, to follow Lefevere's theory of considering the culture, the cultural or ideological constraints on the text and some features of the source texts that might have caused the censoring of translations. In this framework, Toury's method of identifying norms can be applied despite it starting from the text towards the cultural intricacies in the target system. This step should precede and enable the analysis of the target texts for identifying the problems from an empirical perspective. The importance given to the function of the source texts is justified by the fact that the present article dealt with translations and the existence of translations on the market is a result of the production of texts that have already come into being. The status of the originals can, under no circumstances, be disregarded. Therefore, by identifying the function of the target texts in the communist system, the translators' status and the scenes and frames employed in the English authors' works we prepare the ground for understanding translators' decisions and investigating into the linguistic peculiarities and translation aspects that could make translators *traduttori traditori* in a communist context.

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