WOMEN TRANSLATORS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL: COMPARATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGY

Tradutoras no século XIX no Brasil e Portugal: Historiografia comparada e epistemologia feminista

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Abstract: This paper focuses on revisiting the History of Translation in Brazil and Portugal in the 19th century from a feminist perspective. It aims at contributing to shaping a Comparative History of Translation carried out by and for women in both countries. To this end, we focus on Lusophone written culture and on the differences among Portuguese and Brazilian women's translation experiences in the 1800s. This paper addresses both individualizing and differentiating comparative history methodologies. Whereas the former methodology focuses on what is characteristic and distinctive in the history of women translators in Brazil and Portugal, the latter is revealed by categories of historical analysis, namely: religion, colonialism, and the education of women. We go on to show that, in Comparative Translation History, both methods of analysis underscore the significant role played by women as agents of translation, while also highlighting the singularities of the individual histories of Portuguese-speaking women translators in Brazil and Portugal.

Keywords: Women Translators, Translation History, Feminism, Brazil, Portugal

Resumo: Este artigo concentra-se em re-analisar a História da Tradução no Brasil e em Portugal no século XIX pelo viés feminista. Ele tem por base a construção de uma História Comparada da Tradução realizada por mulheres e para mulheres nos dois países. Para tanto, concentramo-nos na cultura escrita no mundo lusófono e nas diferenças das experiências femininas portuguesa e brasileira no oitocentos no que tange à tradução. Demonstramos neste trabalho tanto a história comparada individualizadora quanto a história comparada diferenciadora. Enquanto a primeira metodologia enfoca aquilo que é característico e particular na história das mulheres no Brasil e em Portugal como tradutoras, a segunda revela-se em variantes de análise da história, a saber: a religião, o colonialismo e a educação feminina. Em ambas as metodologias de análise da História Comparada da Tradução ressalta-se o papel importante das mulheres como agentes de tradução, mas também as singularidades de cada história das tradutoras lusófonas no Brasil e em Portugal.

Palavras-chaves: Tradutoras, História da Tradução, Feminismo, Brasil, Portugal

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1. INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century can be considered a period of unsubmissiveness on the part of women. A time in history in which women deeply reworked the structures of society, politics, and culture. The term 'feminist' was coined and women began playing a more prominent part in the public arena. From companions of their male counterparts, to citizens of the world. Their physical presence took on discursive existence.

In Portuguese-controlled territories, the nineteenth century brought linguistic consolidation to two geographies: Brazil and Portugal. Whereas the Portuguese language declined in Asia (Goa, India, and Macau), in Brazil it achieved hegemonic status as the number of Portuguese speakers outnumbered speakers of the native *língua geral* for the first time (NAVARRO, 2001) after 300 years since the beginning of the Portuguese colonialist enterprise in the region. Therefore, since the second half of the nineteenth century, Portuguese has been spoken by the majority of the population in Brazil. Conversely, in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, until as late as the 1980s only a limited part of the population spoke or wrote Portuguese (HENRIQUES, 2017).

Throughout Portugal's colonialist enterprise there were men – and women – translating and interpreting into and from Portuguese across the empire (METCALF, 2006). The Portuguese colonizing model included employing linguistic intermediaries, and its success was largely attributed to the work of 'go-betweens' (METCALF, 2006) such as interpreters[3]. This study, while recognizing the potential significance of the role of translators and interpreters in all Portuguese-speaking territories, focuses on women translators in Brazil and Portugal in the nineteenth century.

It is important to stress that during the nineteenth century there were both intense symmetrical and asymmetrical relations between Brazil and Portugal. In order to comparatively explore the history of women translators of the period, the following sections address nineteenth-century written culture and the press; habits and acts of translation; and outline a comparative methodology for studying the history of women translators in the Portuguese-speaking world.

[3] Between 1529 and 1630 there were 15 decrees regulating the activities of interpreters in Brazil (BAKER, 2000).

ISSN 2236-4013

2. WOMEN AND WRITTEN CULTURE

In addition to the social and political transformations in Brazil and Portugal in the wake of the French and the Industrial Revolutions, the birth of the printed press led to a rise of professions, such as writer, journalist, translator, and playwright, and forged the conditions that infused women with the desire to express themselves in writing. Both in Brazil and in Portugal there were women writers and translators (DUARTE, 2016; VAQUINHAS, 2001). This population was individuated by being white and bourgeois. The increased mobility of the white bourgeoisie was due to, among other factors, the developments in boat travel, which also led to the circulation of their deeds (discourses, arts, behaviors, etc.) to all the corners of the Atlantic. Thus, Portuguese nineteenth-century women settled in Brazil and Brazilian women settled in Europe[4]. The former more frequently so due to the change in the migration patterns to the newly independent country. Such patterns went from predominantly male to increasingly familial.

It is worth noting that, while in Portugal the female population could be divided in three main groups: aristocracy, emergent bourgeoisie, and rural, in the first centuries of Portuguese colonization, in Brazil until the last decades of the nineteenth century, the number of white women in the colony was meagre. The number of white Portuguese women migrating to the colony had always been inferior to the number black women, who came in bondage and accounted for most of the female population. To "offset" the lack of white women, the metropolis would send to the colonies orphans, criminals, and 'fallen women' (SILVA, 2002) .

The exploitive and oppressive conditions the enslaved populations experienced did not favour the emergence of Afro-descendant women writers. Still, two black Brazilian women stood out: Maria Firmina dos Reis (1822-1917) and Auta de Souza (1876-1901). Reis is known to have been a translator (TELLES, 2013), but her translated work remains unsurfaced, and the Souza was a celebrated writer and poet in her lifetime, an may also have translated. In Portugal, we have yet to come across records of black women writers and/or translators in the century in question. However, it is known that thousands of Africans were taken to Portugal in bondage, to work in households or on the fields as early as the sixteenth century, to the point that blacks accounted for about ten percent of the populations of Lisbon, Seville and Cádiz in the sixteenth (MBEMBE, 2018).

[4] Among which: Paula Candida (Brazilian journalist and translator based in France), Nísia Floresta (Brazilian abolitionist, educator, writer, and translator who lived in Europe, having settled in France), and Maria Velutti (Portuguese actor, director, playwright, and translator, in Brazil).

ISSN 2236-4013

In addition to black women, indigenous women also faced oppression. Since native populations did not depend on writing, little is known about them firsthand in the 1800s. In turn, indigenous women played a significant role as interpreters since the beginning of the colonization process (METCALF, 2006) in exchange for money, favors or goods (JULIO, 2015a, 2015b). Rachel Soihet (1997) points out that until the 1970s women were absent from the historiography of the colonial period, thus what is known about them has been learned from how they were viewed in the eyes of the men who wrote.

On the other hand, due to the abundant sources written by women in the nineteenth century (letters, diaries, newspapers, poems, translations, etc.), the history of the period is having a chance of being (re)written (MENEZES, 2005) by women themselves. Today, much source data has been digitized, and 'newly available' sources have provided more access to women's writings, which had previously not made it[5] into the history books (BERMÚDEZ, JOHNSON (2018).

Having provided an outline of the groups of women in Brazil and Portugal in the nineteenth century, this study, for reasons above-mentioned, is limited to white bourgeois women who were party to the culture of writing and print. It is known that the substantial publication of translations in Brazilian newspapers markedly influenced the formation of Brazilian literature (HALLEWELL, 2005). Hence, because women also translated prolifically, it can be argued they also played a role in forging the country's literature.

Although the group of women this study is concerned with belonged to a privileged category compared to the other groups, it is worth underscoring that white bourgeois women were much lower in status than men in the Portuguese and Brazilian patriarchal societies (BERNARDES, 1989), in which the *Letters* were dominantly male. In this context, translation was often considered 'above the abilities' (A REPUBLICA, 1900) of the 'beautiful sex' or 'weaker sex' (DUARTE, 2016).

In Portugal, the modernizing project of the Regeneration period (1859-1870) transformed the condition of women, since it entailed a government project for their education, and the development of the press. The first Portuguese newspaper directed by women was founded in 1849: *Assembleia Literária* (VAQUINHAS, 2002) by Antónia Gertrudes Pusich, born in Cape

[5] However, it cannot go without saying that historical studies – such as this one even – have focused on the lives of elite women (WEHLING, WEHLING, 2005), and this is not only because of hegemonic bias in historical studies, but also because certain groups of women – Afro-descendants and indigenous – were kept from engaging in written culture (HERNÁNDEZ, 2013), and therefore silenced. This study does not interpret their 'silence as absence' Duby (1995).

ISSN 2236-4013

Verde, who also founded and directed two other newspapers: *A Cruzada* (1858) and *A Beneficencia* (1852). Other newspapers whose editorial line favored the emancipation of women were: *A Voz Feminina* (1868), which belonged to Francisca and Guilherme Wood, together with Guiomar Torrezeão and Pinho de Almeida; *O Progresso* (1869), which also belonged to the Woods, and *A Mulher* (1883) (MACEDO, PEREIRA, 2015; SALVADOR, 2009).

In Brazil and thirty years before, the *Jornal das Senhoras* was founded by Argentinean translator Joana Paula Manso de Noronha, who was succeeded by Violante Atabalipa Ximenes de Bivar and Velesco and Gervasia Numésia Pires dos Santos Neves (BUITONI, 1986). Other Brazilian newspapers founded and directed by women were: *O Sexo Feminino* (1873, Campanha) by 'owner and editor' D. Francisca S. da M. Diniz (DUARTE, 2017); *A Mulher* (1883, Pernambuco), whose editors were Josepha A. F. M. de Oliveira and Maria Augusta C. Estrella, the latter was a co-founder together with Águeda Oliveira; and *A Família* (1888-1897), the newspaper that recorded the largest number of women writers - and translators (among which, Ignez Sabino, Anália Franco, Maria Amélia de Queirós, Corina Coaracy, Marie Benotte, Melo Revocata (FLORES, 2014).

These newspapers were vehicles of the unsubmissiveness of women during the nineteenth century. They were considered 'amplifiers of women's voices', because especially towards the end of the century women 'seized' the press to disseminate feminist ideas (LOUSADA, 2010). This was done in the open and women who owned and published newspapers had their names printed on the top of the first page. Moreover, in the inside pages, women contributors were no longer hiding behind pseudonyms – a common practice in newspaper articles and books translated by women earlier in nineteenth century (DUARTE, 2016; MUZART, 1999, 2004).

3. TRANSLATION: ACTS, HABITS AND BEHAVIOURS

Although this study focuses on white bourgeois women in Brazil and Portugal when we address women's acts of translation, for contextualization purposes, it is adamant indigenous women also be made visible. As far as oral translation is concerned, interpreters in the nineteenth century were mostly indigenous women in Brazil (JULIO, 2015b), and Macanese in Portugal in prior centuries (CAMPOS, 2006). The travels of men turned women into 'go-betweens'

ISSN 2236-4013

employed in travel and trade. These were, therefore, the contexts of the first acts of translation performed by women (and men) in the colonies.

By examining the acts of translation in the 1800s, we have identified three categories performed by women: female proto-translation, female translation, and feminist translation (REIS, FONSECA, 2018). Female proto-translation is not a translation per se, but consist of references and allusions to women who translated oral genres present in written documents. This category is made up primarily of oral texts (including their transcriptions), usually enunciated by men, and translated by women, and shortly after written down/recorded by the former. In turn, female translation or translation aimed at women are translations of texts for a female readership, produced by both men and women. Their topics are not emancipatory and reinforce the patriarchy. In the nineteenth century, there were many 'feminine texts', translated by men – and women – for women (PALLARES-BURKE, 1996). Lastly, feminist translation is concerned with texts written and translated mostly by women and for women, having emerged in the nineteenth century as a means of rectifying, exemplifying, or disseminating opinions and knowledge on women's rights, struggles, and emancipation.

In addition to the categorization of translation acts – and agents – provided in the previous paragraph, – a notion that befits the study of women in translation is the notion of *muliebrité* or *mulierité*. The term was first used by French psychoanalyst Cristhophe Dejours (2010), who developed the psychodynamic theory of work, and his pupil Pascale Molinier (2002). Dejours' theory concerns itself with the sexual division of labor in which *virilité* and *mulierité* are the conformist sexed conducts required in the exercise of a trade, craft, or occupation. Both *virilité* and *mulierité* are dominant ideologies that respectively define and describe men's and women's singularities in the context of work. In other words, *mulierité* is the expected and stereotypical behavior of a given time and space within a given group. In the exercise of any work, craft or trade, the expected behaviors for both men and women are homogenized and clearly defined. This is due to the habits and traditions of the agents of the work in question, who permanently legate to subsequent workers a gender-based culture of work.

In the context of translation, *mulierité* could be understood as particular set of behaviors and characteristics related to a particular group (e.g. white bourgeois women with access to writing), and also in terms of discursive features found in texts translated by women. It should be stressed that a certain *mulierité* is also affected by time and space in which it occurs. Translations by Brazilian and Portuguese women carried out at different times and places are in some way involved by the *mulierité* of the moment, since womanly behaviors are influenced by

ISSN 2236-4013

other womanly behaviors, both intergenerational and intragenerational. For instance, nineteenth-century women who mirrored themselves in other women translators would likely mirror themselves in the renowned Nísia Floresta, in Brazil, and Guiomar Torrezão, in Portugal. This would mean that modes of feminine and/or feminist translation have existed for generations, materialized in the choice of text, use of (non-)sexist language, empowerment etc., according to which each woman translator would seek their own style.

All women translators do not evidently represent every single woman translator of her time. Hence, they also do not represent the entire history of nineteenth-century women. In Brazil, a specific case of *mulierité* (i.e. female conformist behaviors and trends) is the translation of poetry by women in the nineteenth century. In a recent study, Marcos Salgado (2017) showed that the translations of poet Francisca Júlia shook up the *mulierité* of the translations carried out in nineteenth-century Brazil. According to Salgado, as a translator she was faithful, but not a servant of the original, and approached translation as a creative act.

Mulierité is a situated concept. Therefore, the *mulierité* in the 1800s is not the same as today's. Today's translator *mulierité* would include women belonging to many other groups other than the white bourgeoisie (e.g. activist, militant, black, Hispanic, Lusitanic, Chicana etc.). By examining situated *mulierités* we are able to better understand what to expect from or in a group at a certain time and place.

4. WOMEN TRANSLATORS' HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES

After providing an overview of how written culture shaped the group of women addressed herein, and of women's translation acts and behaviors, a question remains unanswered: What of the history of women translators? According to Jörn Rürsen (1987), the purpose of historical narrative is "orienting practical life in time by mobilizing the memory of temporal experience, by developing a concept of continuity, and by stabilizing identity". Now, if there is no memory, there is no identity, let alone perpetuation, continuity of history – in our case of the history of women translators.

Writing enabled women of the nineteenth century to be incorporated into public spaces (e.g. press, labor market), albeit in limited ways. We believe that translation, as a written form of expression, has had an important role in enabling women to move from the private to the

ISSN 2236-4013

public sphere. Hence, there were many known women writer-translators, women translator-writers, as well as women educator-translators, women actor-translators, women journalist-translators, etc. There is, however, a dissonance between the number of women translators (REIS; FONSECA, 2018) and their representation in translation history, as shown below.

First, if one goes through the pages of the chapters on "Translation Traditions" of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (BAKER, 2000), one does not find a chapter on the history of translation in Portugal. It is also worth noting that the chapter entitled Brazilian Tradition (BARBOSA, WYLER, 2011) makes no mention of women in the nineteenth, or in previous centuries. This evidences the perpetuation of the silencing and deletion of women from Translation History in the two Portuguese-speaking countries addressed in this paper. This absence may well result from many factors, such as the profile of contributors, available research, editorial policy etc. However, the absence of women translators is also felt in other translation history discourses, as shown below.

The second example encompasses studies carried out *by* women and providing an overview of the history of translation and interpreting in Brazil and Portugal (BARBOSA, WYLER, 201; CAMPOS, 2006; OLIVEIRA, VAZQUEZ, 2018; PAIVA, 2008; WYLER, 2001). Only Damiana Oliveira and Andreia Vazquez (2018) include women translators when writing about nineteenth-century Brazil, providing no more than lists of names and works. Wyler (2001, p. 83) goes as far as ruling out the very existence of women translators in the 1800s by stating that "Translators were men – never women – active in the civil service, literature, journalism, politics and the theatre." The examination of the discourse of works in Luso-Brazilian translation history and historiography suggests that the writing of translation history, even when carried out by women, is strictly male-centered and patriarchal. Thus, a history of translation and interpreting infused with feminist epistemology is called for.

Feminist epistemology in the history of translation and interpreting is understood as the situated knowledge on women translators and interpreters; recovered through discourses, narratives, statements, etc., that bring to light the emotion and the womanly experience of translators and interpreters, such as agency, memory, identity, and continuity. It is also part of this epistemology to approach historical and historiographical issues and discourses from a perspective that takes into account gender, thereby acknowledging women may have distinct trajectories, as opposed to the anthropocentric approach of General History that adopts the white Western male as measure of humanity (PINSKY, 2009); in addition to underscoring that any kind of silence – in our case the eloquent silence of and towards women in history – is a process

ISSN 2236-4013

which does not only operate the boundaries between what is said and not-said, but a process which prevents subjects from elaborating on the movements of their identity and histories of meaning (ORLANDI, 2007). As a result, locking women out from history can be understood as a process that extinguishes meanings that could be elaborated on historically, in order for particular meanings not to attain identitary, social strength (ORLANDI, 2007)

In this paper, to study women who translated in two Portuguese-speaking countries in the nineteenth century, a historical narrative based on feminist epistemology is supported by a comparativist perspective. The method of comparative history proposes a 'reciprocal illumination', which consists of setting out to compare two distinct and largely unexplored realities in order to uncover fundamental features of a certain history that may lead the researcher to emphasize aspects of another history, or even silences (un)shared by both compared histories.

To engage in comparative historiography of women translators this paper proposes both individualizing and differentiating elements of the history of translation (BARROS, 2014). By choosing to individualize, we look for historical similarities based on which we are able to trace specificities in the history of each group. On the other hand, differentiating means gathering different cases in the two studied histories in order to examine according to a predefined set of historical variables, both differences and similarities. Comparative history methods are not new to studies involving Brazil and Portugal, and may fall under Atlantic History (BARROS, 2014). The intense triangulated traffic of languages, religions, cultures, goods, and technologies promoted samenesses and also highlighted differences among Atlantic men – and women.

5. AN INDIVIDUALIZING COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF WOMEN TRANSLATORS IN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL

In the nineteenth century, Brazilian and Portuguese bourgeois women shared a language, and social roles as mother and wife. Moreover, because of the exploitation of the colonies and changes in migration patterns, they were also travel companions to men, par excellence.

In the perspective of nineteenth-century written culture, what both groups had in common was that the written (and even oral) genres in which women expressed themselves were renegade genres much despised by men, such as theatre (FARIA, 2001; TELLES, 2013). A key facet of the nineteenth-century's written culture was the press, through which both Brazilian and

ISSN 2236-4013

Portuguese women began developing and disseminating feminist ideas (DUARTE, 2016; VAQUINHAS, 2001).

Another common space occupied by the two groups of white bourgeois women were the girls' schools, both public and private, opened in the nineteenth century in the two countries. Schools for girls somewhat promoted interlocution among women, and were extremely important as a source of learning from women and enabling women to mirror other women: just as women translators mirrored other women translators, in choosing what genres to translate and how. It is worth noting that schools taught foreign languages mostly through the grammar-translation method, and many foreign language teachers were women teaching women. Nísia Floresta and Florinda d'Oliveira Fernandes were two examples of Brazilian women translators who opened schools for girls - (NOTICIADOR DE MINAS, 1871; MATTHEWS, 2012).

As far as Western women's and feminist culture are concerned, both Brazilian and Portuguese women were influenced by European culture, mainly French, but also English, and by feminist struggles and movements in France and England. Nísia Floresta and Josefina de Azevedo in Brazil, and Ana de Castro Osório and Maria Veleda in Portugal were acknowledged feminists and translators. All four translated texts revolving around issues such as women's education, voting rights, child rearing, health, sexuality, fashion, etc.

However, despite the common topics, translations carried out by women in Brazil and Portugal may have had somewhat seemingly different goals. Whereas in Brazil there was a concern with women's emancipation and some awareness of the fact that women made their own destiny, in Portugal, Irene Vaquinhas (2011) points out a preoccupation with the civil empowerment of women through motherhood. In other words, motherhood went from the domestic to the public sphere in women's quest for women's rights in Portugal. These differences may serve to explain in part why in Brazil the founding feminist text was a feminist translation by Nísia Floresta of – what was thought to be[6] – Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women: a feminist text nonetheless. On the other hand, in Portugal the founding translation by a woman was Ana de Castro Osório's[7] translation of the Brothers Grimm.

[6] Floresta translated *Woman not Inferior to Man* into Portuguese as being Wollenstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. *Woman not Inferior to Man* published by Sophia, a person of quality in 1739 has been found to be the version in English of *De l'Égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire de préjugés* written by François Poullain La Barre in 1673 (PALLARES-BURKE, 1996).

[7] By no means this inference underplays the role Osório had in shaping feminism in Portugal. She was one of the founders of the Republican League of Portuguese Women and the Portuguese Feminist Studies Group and was considered one of the most vocal Portuguese feminists (SILVA, 1983).

ISSN 2236-4013

6. A DIFFERENTIATING COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF WOMEN TRANSLATORS IN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL

To offer a differentiating comparative history of women translators in Brazil and Portugal in the nineteenth century, this study draws on the following variables: colonialism, religion, and education.

Regarding colonialism, although Portugal was occupied and invaded on numerous occasions, even in the nineteenth century, the country was never 'colonized'. Therefore, coloniality was never part of the identity of Portuguese women. Colonizing, on the other hand, meant being/seeming Portuguese, and the colony would do its best to mirror the metropolis or, in other words, to 'translate' the dominating culture through literature, fashion, behaviors, styles of writing, etc. The burden of being colonized was a heavy one. While women still struggled to translate – read and write – in Brazil, where the ban on printing books was only lifted after 1808, access to books and written materials in Portugal was much more common among women as well as socially acceptable.

In same the period, Brazilian women translators were kept from literary translation, not only for being considered below the task (WYLER, 2003), but also because of material conditions, whereas in Portugal the issue had been largely overcome. What could be a possible explanation for the differences between the two translation cultures? It may be that the *mulierité* in Portugal was broader than in Brazil. That is, there had been for centuries a culture of translation among women in Portugal, a culture which was only beginning in Brazil, with marks imposed by colonialism: the Brazilian woman translator was one who needed translation as a support to her voice like other Latin-American translators (SOUTHWELL, 2005). On the other hand, Portuguese women translators translated not to take ownership of their voice, but rather to express their existing voice, or even to amplify a voice they already seemed to own.

Colonialism in Brazil shaped Brazilian women translators, and shaped their desire to translate what until then only men had been translating (novels and *feuilletons*), despite the the idea of women as inferior to men being deeply rooted in early narratives and in male behaviors and discourses towards women translators (BERNARDES, 1989). This is not to say that Portuguese women were in a much better position, but rather to acknowledge that the coloniality of knowledge, that is, the issue of knowledge – not only geographies, economies or peoples – being heavily colonized, may have represented a heavier burden.

ISSN 2236-4013

In terms of religion, it was found that at no time were religions or sects inclusive to the point of having Brazilian women in the position of emissaries of a particular faith. At the same time in history, however, in Portugal, both Freemasonry and Spiritism included key women figures. As a result, whereas in Brazil the translations of chief texts in Spiritism, Freemasonry, and even anticlerical texts, were carried out by men (REIS, 2015); in Portugal, the genre was also translated by women, such as feminist free-thinker Maria Veleda (1871-1955), founder and contributor to a number of newspapers (MONTEIRO, 2013).

Religion, gender, and the power of translation are entwined in the History of Brazil and Portugal. The indigenous woman in Brazil and the Chinese woman in Portugal were the embodiment of this coming together. They were catechized to serve, they mothered the colonizers' offspring, they were their voice as go-betweens (METCALF, 2006). The personification of religion-gender-translation in indigenous women lasted until mid-nineteenth century, whereas, due to the decline of Portuguese investments in Macau, the ties to Macanese women begin to fade as of the 1700s. The roles of indigenous and Chinese women are found in and linked to proto-translation. This means that written sources merely allude to them, and that it is highly likely their role has been underreported, underplayed, therefore virtually falling into oblivion.

Finally, the third variable chosen to further the understanding of women's translation in the nineteenth century is education. Although in both Portugal and Brazil, women were generally educated by other women (whether in schools or by private tutors), the geographies of the two countries led to differences in their respective educational cultures. The differences are mainly due to the extent of the cultural proximity that Brazilian and Portuguese women have to Western European culture: French, English, and Spanish. Because Brazil was considered 'distant' from the center, certain cultural elements took longer to arrive, and when they eventually did, there was a certain delay. Distances also determined the knowledge of languages women had access to. Whereas in both groups, Latin and Greek were taught to girls (mostly through translation exercises, the preferred mode of language teaching in the 1800s), in Brazil, French was the most pervasive foreign language among women who translated (BERNARDES, 1989). On the other hand, in Portugal, not only French, but also English, Spanish, Italian, and other languages were commonplace among the white bourgeoisie (VAQUINHAS, 2011).

Languages also dictated in part what was translated and/or adapted to educate young women, and translation played a significant role in education. Textbooks were rare in Brazil in the nineteenth-century, and the ones that were sent to the country were translated and adapted

ISSN 2236-4013

for educational purposes, including for teacher education. An example of this kind of translation is the work of Zalina Rolim, who translated and adapted a number of textbooks for the Normal Schools (BALDUINO, 2006). In addition to textbooks, another genre also adopted in schools were conduct books or civility manuals, which prescribed proper social and moral rules for girls (and boys) and codified behavior according to their class, such as *Tesouro de Meninas* and *Tesouro de Meninos* translated from French into Portuguese in Portugal - with many changes and additions - and shipped to Brazil (SENA, 2014).

7. FINAL REMARKS

As seen above, the nineteenth century approximated translators and translation cultures. There was a clear attempt on the part of Brazil to mirror Portugal[8]. However, despite having much in common, there were noticeable differences between Brazilian and Portuguese translation cultures.

Comparative history illuminates ways to further the understanding of how the histories of women translators deal with absences and presences (COVA, 2008). It also provides a chance to see how translation operated as a vehicle of the voice of women. By translating, many women expressed themselves in terms of womanhood, motherhood, emancipation, education etc. Translation gave women a voice, and strengthened their voice. The two groups of women studied herein may have had somewhat different views of womanhood and feminism, which may have affected their choice of texts for translation. However, this remains to be investigated.

As an offshoot of this study, one could reflect on intersectional comparative translation history in which it would be possible to address a group of women, pursuant to their own identitary perspectives, thus making room for them in the history of women's translation and in women's translation history.

Writing history based on a feminist epistemology is to ensure women are made visible, in respect to every ramification of their lives and identities. The homogenization of a one-dimensional, univocal, continuous, and evolutionary history does no justice to the historiography of women translators and interpreters. Under what cirscumstances a woman became a translator or interpreter and what she translated can be connected to the development of feminism and

[8] Both countries as many others in the 19th century also mirrored French culture due to France's hegemonic position at the time.

ISSN 2236-4013

women identities. Perhaps, this is also another topic on which the notion of *mulierité* could shed some light in the comparative history of women.

Lastly, this study has focused on a small, socially and racially defined group of women: white and bourgeois. This particular group, as any other shunned from the annals of history, merits our attention, and also reinforces the message that women's translation history has yet a long way to go. Translation history and historiography require increased unfoldings to reveal more plural discourses and make room for the identities of women translators and interpreters, in general and in particular, so women are able to resurface and imprint their existence onto Translation Studies.

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