

# NINETEENTH CENTURY WOMEN TRANSLATORS IN BRAZIL: FROM THE NOVEL TO HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

Dennys Silva-Reis<sup>1</sup>  
Luciana Carvalho Fonseca<sup>2</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** Within Translation Studies, there is a lack of works devoted to women translators in Brazil, and the role women played in Translation history has even been ruled out in Translation Historiography. This paper is a study of the imaginaries looming over nineteenth-century women translators in Brazil, and has two main goals. First, to explore these imaginaries in three nineteenth-century novels: *Senhora*, *Luciola*, and *Flesh*. Second, to compare such imaginaries to the women translators found in a corpus of nineteenth-century news pieces. The corpus was processed with a language processing software. The main findings were that, contrary to the imaginaries fostered by the novels, women in the news had more agency and were more diverse than in the novels. Moreover, the news corpus revealed there were many women involved in a large variety of translation acts in Brazil in the nineteenth-century, and that their translations were purposeful and meaningful, in addition to intersecting not only with their domestic (wife, mother) role, but also with an array of other professional activities (actress, director, educator, writer).

**KEYWORDS:** women translators, nineteenth-century, translation historiography, novels, corpus linguistics

**RESUMO:** Nos Estudos de Tradução, há uma lacuna de trabalhos dedicados a mulheres tradutoras no Brasil, e o papel desempenhado por elas na história da Tradução chegou a ser negado na Historiografia da Tradução. Este artigo é um estudo dos imaginários que pairam sobre as mulheres tradutoras do século 19 no Brasil e tem dois objetivos principais. Primeiro, explorar esses imaginários em três romances da época: *Senhora*, *Lucíola* e *A Carne*. Em segundo lugar, comparar tais imaginários aos das mulheres tradutoras encontradas em um corpus de notícias do século 19. O corpus foi construído e explorado com um software de análise de linguagem natural. As principais conclusões foram que, ao contrário dos imaginários inscritos nos romances, havia mais diversidade e mais agência por parte das mulheres nas notícias. Além disso, o corpus de notícias revelou que havia muitas mulheres envolvidas em uma grande variedade de atos de tradução no Brasil no século 19, e que traduzir era um ato com propósito e sentido, além de uma atividade que perpassava não só o papel da mulher no âmbito doméstico (esposa, mãe), mas também uma série de outras atividades profissionais (atriz, diretora, educadora, escritora).

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Mulheres tradutoras, século 19, historiografia da tradução, romance, linguística de corpus

## Introduction

Homemaker, wife, and mother: three words summarize the locus and role attached to upper and middle-class women in nineteenth-century Brazil. At the same time in Europe and a little later in Brazil, women were ‘elevated’ to the status of ‘mothers of the Republic’. However, in both geographies, women were portrayed as inferior, treated as property of men, and producer of men: women were largely seen as a translation of their biological sex. Any other locus or role sought by women would face distasteful disapproval, was considered overly ambitious, or labeled outright inappropriate by the patriarchal society of the 1800s. Men ruled, spoke for, and represented all members of society. To aim power, the right to speak, and representativeness implied equating oneself to the male paradigm.

Since all hegemony is never absolute, a number of women in the nineteenth century understood that having power, having a voice, and representing fellow women, did not mean

---

<sup>1</sup> Universidade de Brasília, UnB, ORCID 0000-0002-6316-9802

<sup>2</sup> Universidade de São Paulo, USP, ORCID 0000-0002-7938-9607

'being male'. Being a woman meant valuing and respecting oneself, and having representation. It also meant the possibility of expressing one's value as a person, as a protagonist of one's own history, as a political, social, and cultural being, all of this through a voice of one's own.

Nineteenth-century women did not lack what to say; nevertheless, they did lack ink and paper, which were not easily accessible in Brazil at the time. Attaining writer status, expressing oneself, and having access to education have been considerable challenges for women to date. In the nineteenth century, even more so, since all of these activities were labeled 'manly' in the sense that only men qualified for and were considered up to and worthy of such. Moreover, History has always ascribed major roles and prominent works to – white – men, who also 'happened' to be the most educated. Because of this vicious circle, written History, mirroring the period's ideology right into the nineteenth century, as a matter of course operated in a way that effaced the first feminist acts and discourses.

It was only much later, in the twentieth century that questions and studies about the role of Brazilian women in History and their political, social, and cultural roles appear. Today, the field of Women's History in Brazil (PRIORI, 2013, PINSKY, PEDRO, 2016) has been engaged in the endeavor of demystifying the country's male-centered history, thus awarding due visibility to women. In the fields of Language and Literature, the efforts of the "Women and Literature" Work Group (*GT "Mulher e Literatura"*) are worthy of note. For years, the group has been recovering – and uncovering – names of almost-forgotten Brazilian women writers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (MUZART, 2000, 2004). Hence, because of increased attention to women's history, many questions have emerged and remain to be answered, among which: Did women translate in nineteenth-century Brazil? Who were they? What, where, and how did they translate? What were their language combinations? What imaginaries loom over them in literary works? How were they represented by the news?

Within Translation Studies, scarce are the works<sup>3</sup> devoted to answering the above or addressing women translators in Brazil in general. There is an overall lack of works on women translators to the extent that the role women played in Brazilian Translation History has even been ruled out in Translation Historiography (WYLER, 2001), most likely because historical sources are disperse and challenging to recover. To counter the present status of works on women's history in Translation Studies, this paper explores the imaginaries and representations of nineteenth-century women translators in Brazil, with two main goals. First, we aim at uncovering the imaginaries that loom over women translators in three nineteenth-century novels: José de Alencar's *Senhora: profile of a woman* and *Luciola: profile of a woman*, and Júlio Ribeiro's *Flesh*. Secondly, we aim to compare such imaginaries to the representations of women translators in a corpus of news pieces from twenty-one newspapers running across the country at the time. Finally, by unveiling their presence in the history of translation and assigning long overdue visibility to their names<sup>4</sup> and works, we hope this paper helps counter the underplay of women's roles in Translation Studies, Translation History, and Translation Historiography.

## Six notes on the 1800s

---

<sup>3</sup> The only work providing an overview of Brazilian women translators in the nineteenth century is Maria Eduarda dos Santos Alencar's MA thesis, entitled *Tradutoras brasileiras dos séculos XIX e XX* [Brazilian Women Translators in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries], 2016.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of over fifty names of women who translated in Brazil in the nineteenth century, see Appendix.

Before directly pursuing the stated goals, this section underscores some key features of the period that directly influenced translations carried out by nineteenth-century women in Brazil:

- 1) **One century and three different political systems.** The Brazilian nineteenth century can be divided into at least three major periods: Colonial (until 1822), Imperial (1822 to 1889), and Republican (as of 1889). In the first period, it is difficult to find women writers, although we have countless reports of women fighters and among these women interpreters (METCALF, 2008). In the Imperial period, when the country becomes the only monarchy in the Americas, the printing press was established – albeit later than in other Latin American countries<sup>5</sup> – and a resulting book market flourished after the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, there are records of significant number of women engaged in writing a wide range of genres, as well as translating them. In 1889, with the Republic, the legacy of the women in the previous period is inherited, there being boosted continuity to the number of printed works and writing by women, and a great deal of feminist activism can be found (TELES, 1999).
- 2) **The likely woman translator.** Women in Brazil could be grouped as indigenous, white, or black (TELES, 1999), and just as writing and music, written translation was – and continues to be – a racially biased activity. Indigenous women were unlikely writers, since there are no records, to date, of native Brazilian populations having writing systems, or records of indigenous women writing at the time. Although, native Brazilian women were often in contact with European colonizers, and acted as a cultural and linguistic mediators or ‘go-betweens’ (METCALF, 2008), as oral translators or interpreters. As for Afro-Brazilian women, it is likely they may have had more chances to have – limited – access to writing in the post-abolition period, that is, after 1888. Yet, there are hardly any reports of known black women writers (DUARTE, 2014). It is also known that black women fathered by white men and raised in the white household may have had access to writing. Albeit, so far, the only known Afro-Brazilian woman to have translated<sup>6</sup> in the nineteenth-century is Maria Firmina dos Reis (MENDES, 2016), the daughter of a black woman and a white man, whose works however remain to be uncovered (TELLES, 2013). As for white women, in the beginning of the Colonial period, they arrived in Brazil to play biological roles<sup>7</sup>. In the Imperial period, scores of white women arrived with the Portuguese court in 1808. As of the beginning of the 1800s, some white women enjoyed the status of ladies of the court, and later in the Republican period, they belonged to the white bourgeoisie. White women were for the most part raised to be married, and play the role of mother and wife in the home (BERNARDES, 1989). They belonged to a group that enjoyed some education for the purpose of refinement, which would thus increase their chances in marrying up. White women were therefore the group that were more likely to write – and translate – in the nineteenth century (MUZART, 2000, 2004);
- 3) **The female population increase.** In addition to the women that were forced into the country in slaveships, the population inflow of women to Brazil also resulted from the eighteenth-century Gold Cycle, and the threat of a French invasion to Portugal in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese royal family crossed the Atlantic and moved to Brazil in 1808 fleeing Napoleon. This meant that in the nineteenth century white women in the country were most likely to have been born in Portugal, having spent the rest of their lives in Brazil. This was the case, for example, of Eugênia Infante da Câmara (1837-1874), playwright, director, and translator (ABREU,

---

<sup>5</sup> The first newspaper in Latin America was *Gazeta de México y Noticias de Nueva España* (1722). Peru, Colombia, Uruguay, and Argentina all had newspapers circulating before the 1800s. Brazil steps into the nineteenth century with no own educational system or printing press. A Royal Decree from 1706 banned and confiscated all printed material from Brazilian soil. As a result, the first Brazilian newspaper to be printed in Brazil was the *Diário de Pernambuco* in 1825. The *Correio Braziliense* and the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, both created in 1808 started off being printed in London.

<sup>6</sup> There are records of Afro-Brazilian women writers, such symbolist poet Auta de Souza (1876-1901), who was learned in French and English, and who may also have translated.

<sup>7</sup> This was also true for other countries in the Americas. See the ‘kings daughters’ or ‘filles-du-roi’ in Canada.

STONE, 2013) and Maria Velutti (1827-1891), who is one of the women in the corpus. It is worth noting that, in this study, when we refer to women translators in Brazil, we also mean foreign-born women who translated in the country.

- 4) **The increase in mobility and circulation of ideas and genres.** Because of the invention of the steamboat<sup>8</sup> and all improvements in boat travel, the number of women travelers grew significantly in the nineteenth century (ANASTÁCIO, 2011). Arrivals and departures of steamboats were regular sections of Brazilian newspapers<sup>9</sup>. The same applying to sections on new books and novels. Advances in transportation and developments in the printing press made the Brazilian nineteenth hundreds a par excellence century of unprecedented circulation of people and ideas – national and foreign. The most common genres of the period were letters and diaries (travel writing), almanaks, novels, and, most numerous of all, pieces for newspapers and magazines. Many women translated for newspapers and magazines (BERNARDES, 1989), specifically. A small number translated novels, drama, and the humanities. Despite women’s engagement in translating, records of works of fiction addressing the condition of being a woman translator by women writers have not been found. Maria Benedita Borrmann (1853-1895) has been the only writer to have briefly addressed the status of being a woman writer at the time in her novel *Lésbia*, published in 1890;
- 5) **The most well known women translators.** Four women translators stood out in the nineteenth century: Émilie du Chatelêt (1706-1749), Anna Blackwell (1816-1900), Maria P. Chitu (1846-1930), and Nisia Floresta Brasileira Augusta (1810-1885)<sup>10</sup>. Chatelêt was ‘the woman translator’ who inhabited long-standing imaginaries, and despite having lived in the eighteenth, she was still popular in Brazil in the following century. Émilie du Chatelêt was a French scientist who gained considerable recognition for translating the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* by Isaac Newton into French (DELISLE, WOORDSWORTH, 1998). Anna Blackwell was an English teacher, writer and professional translator, who was much acclaimed for her translations of Allan Kardec’s<sup>11</sup> works into English. Maria P. Chitu was born in Krakow, and was acclaimed for being the first translator of Dante in Romania, as well as for her extremely strong and erudite personality (CALINA, 2013). Last but not least, Nisia Floresta, who was born in the Brazilian Northeast, and is “unquestionably one of the most significant women writers of the early and mid-nineteenth century Brazil, if not the most significant” (MATTHEWS, 2012). Her first published work was the translation of *Woman not Inferior to Man*<sup>12</sup>, which circulated in Brazil as a free translation of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindications of the Rights of Woman* (PALLARES-BURKE, 1996). These four translators are recognized and remembered by both men and women of letters, and are a source of inspiration due to their life styles and the impact of their translation activity;
- 6) **The education of women.** Patriarchal society in the nineteenth century, because of emerging republican values, begins to address the education of a larger group of women. A number of girls’

---

<sup>8</sup> In Europe, passenger trains also boosted women mobility in the nineteenth century. As a result, travel become a regular topic in women’s writings, as in Charlotte Brontë’s letters and novels (e.g. *Jane Eyre*).

<sup>9</sup> The first section of the first issue of the *Diário de Pernambuco*, the oldest newspaper in circulation in Latin America, introduced the paper’s main topics, among which maritime movements: “*Tambem se publicarão todos os dias as entradas e saídas das embarcações do dia antecedente, portos de onde vierão, dias de viagem, passageiros, cargas, e notícias que trouxerão.*” (*Diário de Pernambuco*, number 1, page 1, Nov. 7, 1825)

<sup>10</sup> All of these women are mentioned in nineteenth-century newspapers as having produced noteworthy translations in Europe. Other well-known translators in Europe, such as English translator Constance Garnett (1861-1946), widely celebrated in Europe for her translations from the Russian (REIS, 2010), was likely not well known in Brazil. Her name has not been found in the news items investigated so far.

<sup>11</sup> Blackwell’s fame in Brazil is likely to have resulted from Spiritism, which was introduced in the country in the nineteenth century and spurred by lovers of Victor Hugo and by His Royal Highness Don Pedro. Among other translators of Kardec’s works in Brazil were physicians such as Bezerra de Menezes (1831-1900).

<sup>12</sup> *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).

schools are opened. One example is the *Colégio Augusto* founded and run by Nísia Floresta. Despite the advances in women's education, society draws tight boundaries around the education of girls. As described below, such boundaries shape and govern the imaginaries, the discourse, and writings of nineteenth-century women.

### Women in Translation: acts of translation in the 1800s

By examining nineteenth century translation practices, we were able to identify three main types of acts of translation carried out by women. This section enumerates and categorizes the translation acts relating to women in:

1. *female proto-translation*<sup>13</sup>,
2. *female translation*, and
3. *feminist translation*.

Because there are no written records but only mentions or allusions to translated genres in a number of written sources, *female proto-translations* are not translations per se. They mainly correspond to mentions – in historical documents – to oral genres uttered by men and translated by women, since long before women hitting the Brazilian press, they – indigenous women in particular – had been acting as interpreters, mediators, and/or 'go-betweens' (METCALF, 2008) in negotiations and diplomacy (JULIO, 2015). Failing to acknowledge the mentions to these acts of translation by arguing they are undefined oral genres, or that they were not governed by interpreting conventions, only serves to strengthen the invisibility and denial of a significant part of the historiography of women translators and interpreters. It is worth mentioning that recovering and reconstructing the history of women in Translation Studies is far from being accomplished due to inherent challenges such as the lack of documentary sources<sup>14</sup>. There are very few names of women in the protohistory of translation; one that stands out in the nineteenth-century colonial period is interpreter Damiana da Cunha (JULIO, 2015).

In contrast to the non-existing translation corpora of *female prototranslation*, the second category, *female translation*, or *translation for women*, provides researchers direct access to translated texts. But what kind of texts? Nineteenth-century translated texts were mostly intended for the general public, and source texts favored the dominant patriarchy and were written mostly by men, but also by women. There were many 'feminine texts' that were translated by men for a female audience. These *female translations* contributed significantly to the maintenance of women under the patriarchal system, since they aimed at 'refining' women and making them 'better' wives and mothers, and little else. An example of *female translation* is the work of Miguel do Sacramento Lopes da Gama (1791-1852) in the *O Carapuceiro* newspaper. The originals were pieces from British newspaper, *The Spectator*, translated in belles-infidèle fashion for women in the tropics (PALHARES-BURKE, 1996). Women also engaged in the translation of 'feminine texts', but for the most part women translators themselves did not hold this act of translation in high regard (BERNARDES, 1989).

The third act of translation identified is *feminist translation*, which emerged in the nineteenth century as a means of making right, modeling, and/or disseminating women's rights. This translation act consisted of women translating originals written by women and for women. Feminist genres mostly included articles, critiques, and essays. Feminist translation was responsible for the circulation of feminist ideas around the globe (COSTA e ALVAREZ, 2003). There was likely to be a bilateral nature to it. In other words, when a feminist text was translated into a target language, a target language original would be translated into the source language – a kind of exchange of knowledge among feminist

---

<sup>13</sup> Prototranslation is inspired in 1994 Valentín García Yebra's *protohistória*. In this sense, regardless there being no translated text corpora that provide direct evidence of a certain group of translators or acts of translation, there are sources that note the existence of oral translation being done and/or translated texts.

<sup>14</sup> Luís Câmara Cascudo addresses the subject very briefly in *Literatura Oral no Brasil* (2006).

translators. This was the case of Josefina Alvares de Azevedo (1851-1905) who, as editor-in-chief, translated women's writings from the French newspaper *Le droit des femmes* in the Brazilian newspaper *A familia*. By the same token, the French newspaper *Le droit des femmes*, edited by feminist Eugénie Potonié-Pierre (1844-1898), published a translated version of *O voto feminino*, penned by Josefina Alvares de Azevedo, which addressed the political rights of women at the time (BERNARDES, 1989; SOUTO-MAIOR, 2000).

In the light of the previous paragraphs, our theoretical approach resides in women's acts of translation and feminist translation. As any act of translation, one begins at the reading stage:

Reading is what turns letters, sentences, and plots into an oeuvre. And reading is always determined by the position the reader occupies in society at a given historical moment. Therefore, [reading] is done in the eyes of class, race, and gender. These same notions of class, race, and gender are mutable and constructed throughout history. Thus, each novel is a place where an entire web of cultural codes, conventions, citations, gestures, and relationships intersect<sup>15</sup> (TELLES, 2013, p.402).

Reading is a privileged *locus* from which one reflects about why and for whom one translates. It is also while reading that one asks: who translates? In effect, literary reading material offered to the Brazilian – female – readership in the 1800s did not shine a positive light on women translators, as shown below. However, the poor/bad woman translator figure could be interpreted as a sign that the translation profession was about to take a turn.

### **Women translators in nineteenth century literature**

The nineteenth century was undeniably the century of the novel (TELLES, 2013). Therefore, novels are sources of and pathway to the understanding of the period's social and cultural contexts. They provide elements that show the potential imaginaries, mentalities, and fictional discursive purposes of the time. Added to that,

It is known today that literary genres are closely related to the social and historical conditions that determine the formation of the readership, their tastes and sensibilities, and that, on the other hand, these are also modified according to the change in material support, as demonstrated by the History of manuscripts, printed matter, and recent digital experiments<sup>16</sup> (FERREIRA, 2013, p. 73).

Thus, before being sold in book form, novels were often previously published in installments in newspapers or *feuilletons* (MEYER, 1996). The novel was a literary genre

---

<sup>15</sup> Unless translations have been published in which case they are listed in the references, all citations have been translated by the authors, and the source is provided in the footnotes. Source text: “A leitura é o que transforma em obra as letras, frases e enredos. E a leitura é sempre determinada pelo lugar ocupado por um leitor na sociedade, num dado momento histórico. Portanto, é feito através do crivo de classe, raça e gênero. Essas mesmas noções, de classe, raça e gênero são mutáveis e construídas no decorrer da história. Sendo assim, cada romance é um local de intersecção de toda uma teia de códigos culturais, convenções, citações, gestos e relações.” (TELLES, 2013, p.402)

<sup>16</sup> Source text: *Sabe-se, hoje, que os gêneros literários estão intimamente relacionados às condições sociais e históricas que determinam a formação do público leitor, com seus gostos e sensibilidades e que, por outro lado, eles também se alteram de acordo com a mudança do suporte material dos textos, como o demonstra a História dos manuscritos, dos impressos e das recentes experimentações digitais.* (FERREIRA, 2013, p. 73).

sought by men or women in want of becoming or being considered well-read. Literary History<sup>17</sup> in the nineteenth century is a male-dominated territory that only assigned great-writer status to men. Consequently, successful women novelists of the past were struck from history and historiography.

Moreover, it is worth noting that being a translator was a kind of ‘mandatory internship’ for successful novelists (ESTEVEES, 2003). In light of all the circumstances surrounding Brazilian nineteenth-century novels, the following sections seek to answer: How were women translator characters portrayed in nineteenth-century Brazilian novels? How are women’s acts of translation recounted?

Before directly addressing how women-characters-who-translated were portrayed in nineteenth-century Brazilian novels, it is worth taking into account how upper-class women in general were regarded. In Machado de Assis’ novel, *Helena*, the author conveys the imaginary looming over the education of women in the 1800s:

Besides her natural qualities, Helena possessed certain social gifts that made her well received everywhere, and partly changed the family’s way of life. I am not speaking of her magnificent contralto voice nor the correctness with which she had learned to use it, because the counselor’s memory being still fresh, there had been no opportunity for it to be heard. She was an excellent pianist, was good at drawing and sketching, spoke French fluently and a little English and Italian, was skilled in sewing and embroidery and all types of women’s work. She conversed with witty grace and, read to perfection. Thanks to these resources and to great patience, art, and a submissiveness that was not humble but self-respecting, she had succeeded in smoothing the rough ones, attracting the indifferent, and taming the hostile<sup>18</sup> (Machado de Assis, 1984, p.26).

Machado de Assis’s account of Helena’s qualities is a flawless description of a model education for the bourgeoisie. An education suitable for women who did not work outside the home but were able to read, embroider, play the piano, and speak foreign languages (BERNARDES, 1989) in order to be the best possible companion for man, and an entertainer in family and social gatherings.

*Helena* provides insight on the education of white Brazilian bourgeoisie women. As far as foreign languages are concerned, in this section, we will continue to look at the novel to see how renowned Brazilian nineteenth-century writers wrote about women characters who employed their foreign language skills to translate.

The excerpts below are from novels that are exemplary in capturing and conveying the imaginary around women who engaged in translation in the nineteenth century, namely *Luciola: Profile of a Woman* (1862) and *Senhora: Profile of a Woman* (1875) by José de Alencar (1829-1877), and *Flesh* (1888) by Júlio Ribeiro (1845-1890).

---

<sup>17</sup> In *Formação da Literatura Brasileira*, for example, Antônio Cândido (1981) hardly mentions any Brazilian or non-Brazilian women writers.

<sup>18</sup> Source text: Além das qualidades naturais, possuía Helena algumas prendas de sociedade, que a tornavam aceita a todos, e mudaram em parte o teor da vida da família. Não falo da magnífica voz de contralto, nem da correção com que sabia usar dela, porque ainda então, estando fresca a memória do conselheiro, não tivera ocasião de fazer-se ouvir. Era pianista distinta, sabia desenho, falava correntemente a língua francesa, um pouco a inglesa e a italiana. Entendia de costura e bordados e toda a sorte de trabalhos feminis. Conversava com graça e lia admiravelmente. Mediante os seus recursos, e muita paciência, arte e resignação, — não humilde, mas digna, — conseguia polir os ásperos, atrair os indiferentes e domar os hostis (ASSIS, 1979, p. 286).

Added to the fact that all three novels provide insight to the period's imaginary around women translators, their chronological order of publication reveals the centuries' mindset evolves in terms of what being a translator means, at least in a fictional environment. This 'evolution' accompanies the development of the translation profession in Brazil, since it is during the second half of the century – precisely at the time of publication of *Lucíola*, *Senhora*, and *Flesh* – that the profession develops among (men and) women.

### **Excerpt 1 – *Luciola: Profile of a Woman* (1862)**

Lucia was often found sewing and singing at middle voice some monotonous Brazilian *modinha*, which only the grace of a beautiful mouth, and the melody of a fresh voice, could render pleasant. At other times she would spend whole hours rough sketching, finding the notes of a song by ear on a piano, writing a French lesson, a language which she translated poorly; or finally frame embroidering me a gift<sup>19</sup> (ALENCAR, 2015, p. 134).

In the excerpt above, taken from the first part of the novel, the main character, Lucia, translates because she knows foreign languages; therefore, translation is represented as a pastime. However, the craft of translation is carried out 'sofrivelmente', which means there could have been great effort (painstakingly), but the result was poor.

This excerpt stresses the patriarchal view of translation, which like many other activities were not destined for women, not even as a pastime since they were utterly below the task. In fact, a closer look at the passage shows that activities considered 'creative', such as writing texts or music, did not fit women, since they were merely capable of reproducing works that already existed or engaging in guided activity: "*she would spend whole hours rough sketching, finding the notes of a song by ear on a piano, writing a French lesson*".

Excerpt 2, from Alencar's *Senhora*, continues to reinforce the patriarchal ideology governing translation carried out by women. However, in this case, there is much more contempt, since the female character shows interest in Byron, but to better understand the English writer, she expresses her wish for a translation. Instead of attempting to translate the original herself, she asks a man to fulfill the task.

### **Excerpt 2 – *Senhora: Profile of a Woman* (1875)**

*Seixas was at that moment describing to Dona Firmina the beautiful poem of Byron, "Parisina". The theme arose from a passage of the opera that Aurelia had played before she came outside to sit on the walkway.*

*After the poem, Fernando turned to the poet. He missed those bright fantasies that had once cradled the most cherished dreams of his youth. Jus as a butterfly numbed by the cold unfurls her wings to the sun's first ray, imagination he first ray of the sun, imagination reveled about those flowers of soul.*

*He was not addressing Dona Firmina, who perhaps did not understand him, nor to Aurelia, who certainly was not listening to him. It was for*

---

<sup>19</sup>Translated by the authors. Source text: Muitas vezes achava Lúcia cosendo e cantando à meia voz alguma monótona modinha brasileira, que só a graça de uma bonita boca, e a melodia de uma voz fresca, pode tornar agradável. Outras vezes passava horas inteiras esboçando um desenho, tirando uma música ao piano, escrevendo uma lição de francês, língua que aliás traduzia sofrivelmente; ou enfim bordando ao bastidor algum presente que me destinava.



*himself that he unfolded the riches of his spirit; the audience was merely an excuse for this monologue.*

*Sometimes he would repeat the translations he had made of the English bard's black verse, those literary gems exquisitely attired, enhanced even more by the sweet language of Rio and by coming from the lips of Seixas, who recited them like a troubadour<sup>20</sup>. [...]*

*"You must translate this poem, sir. It's so beautiful!", said D. Firmina. "I do not have the time," answered Seixas; nor do I like it. I am a public employee and nothing else.*

*"You do not need the job now; you are rich.*

*- Not as much as you think.*

*Aurelia rose abruptly, seemingly flinging away her husband's arm, upon which she had been resting.*

*- You are right; Do not translate Byron. The poet of doubt and skepticism can only be understood by those who suffer from this cruel illness, a true marasmus of the heart. For us, the joyous ones, he is an insipid visionary. (ALENCAR, 1994, p. 127)*

As we can see, the male character does not meet the request. Metaphorically, this passage suggests that a woman's desire for translation could only be attained in the nineteenth-century with the permission or through the knowledge of a man. The passage blatantly underestimates women as readers – and as translators. Interestingly though, it is the narrator himself who doubts the female characters' ability to translate, not the characters.

Having examined the imaginary around women translators in Alencar's works, we will now look at the Excerpt 3 from the novel *Flesh* by Júlio Ribeiro.

### **Excerpt 3 – Flesh (1888)**

Once Lenita's scientific curiosity about electricity – which she had previously only learnt in theory – had been satisfied by experimental studies, they passed on to chemistry and physiology. Then they went on to linguistics and

---

<sup>20</sup> *Seixas descrevia naquele momento a D. Firmina o lindo poema de Byron, Parisina. O tema da conversa fora trazido por um trecho da ópera que Aurélia tocara antes de vir sentar-se na calçada.*

*Depois do poema ocupou-se Fernando com o poeta. Ele tinha saudade dessas brilhantes fantasias, que outrora haviam embalado os sonhos mais queridos de sua juventude. A imaginação, como a borboleta que o frio entorpeceu e desfralda as asas ao primeiro raio do sol, doudejava por essas flores d'alma.*

*Não falava para D. Firmina, que talvez não o compreendia, nem para Aurélia que certamente não o escutava. Era para si mesmo que expandia as abundâncias do espírito; o ouvinte não passava de um pretexto para esse monólogo.*

*Às vezes repetia as traduções que havia feito das poesias soltas do bardo inglês; essas jóias literárias, vestidas com esmero, tomavam maior realce na doce língua fluminense, e nos lábios de Seixas que as recitava como um trovador. [...] - O senhor deve traduzir este poema. É tão bonito! disse D. Firmina.*

*- Já não tenho tempo, respondeu Seixas; nem gosto. Sou empregado público e nada mais.*

*- Agora não precisa do emprego; está rico.*

*- Nem tanto como pensa.*

*Aurélia levantou-se tão arrebatadamente, que pareceu repelir o braço do marido, no qual pouco antes se apoiava.*

*- Tem razão; não traduza Byron, não. O poeta da dúvida e do cepticismo, só o podem compreender aqueles que sofrem dessa enfermidade cruel, verdadeiro marasmo do coração. Para nós, os felizes, é um insípido visionário.*

languages, especially Greek and Latin. They translated from Epicurus's fragments or from Lucretius's De Natura Rerum.

[...]

'I don't know what this is,' he thought. Admiration for real talent in a girl, for unequalled superiority of abilities in a woman? Possibly. But in Paris he had worked long with Mme. Brunet, the extremely learned translator of Huxley; with her he had carried out hundreds of anatomical dissections and gone deeply into embryology. He respected her, admired her, but he had never felt with her what he felt for Lenita. And it was not that Mme. Brunet was ugly, quite the reverse<sup>21</sup> (RIBEIRO, 2011, p. 44-45).

In *Flesh*, despite Ribeiro not representing women translators in stiff opposition to Alencar, his representation is not as deprecating. Lenita, the main character, is learned enough to translate a text from Latin, albeit together with a man: "*They translated from Epicurus's fragments or from Lucretius's De Natura Rerum*".

On the other hand, what stands out in Excerpt 3 is the fact that a woman receives the label of translator in the novel: "*Mme. Brunet, the extremely learned translator of Huxley*". By comparing Lenita to Mme. Brunet, the novel acknowledges through the surprised Manuel Barbosa that there are women of 'real talent' and '*unequalled superiority of abilities*'. Thus, also acknowledging that Brazilian women are capable of translating – albeit alongside men and never literary works, only the 'uncreative' hard sciences. Consequently, the imaginary around women translators conveyed by the Ribeiro's novel is that 'actual – and therefore literary – translators' are foreign.

By analyzing the excerpts above, we arrive at the essential elements that make up the imaginaries involving translations carried out by women among the readership of Brazilian novels and *feuilletons*: a pastime or an inferior non-literary kind of work, which was performed poorly by Brazilian women, who required the collaboration of men.

Since the three novels circulated widely and were all written by men, and considering there are no records of novels written by nineteenth-century women that mention women translators as characters, it may be inferred that for a long time the imaginary looming over women translators was marked by prejudice, patriarchal ideologies, and a bitter representation of women who translated professionally. A very limiting view of the profession, which was likely to have been the dominant. The statement leads us to the next section of this paper, which addresses the representation of women in nineteenth-century news vehicles.

### **Women Translators in a nineteenth century news corpus**

In this section, we set out to describe how women translators appeared in nineteenth-century news. Secondly, we compare our findings to the imaginaries of women translators in the literary novels above. This part of the study began with a search of the online newspaper database available at the *Biblioteca Nacional* [National Library], in the Newspaper and

---

<sup>21</sup> Source text: Satisfeita a curiosidade científica de Lenita quanto ao estudo experimental da eletrologia, que ela dantes só aprendera teoricamente, passaram à química e à fisiologia. Depois foram à glótica, estudaram línguas, grego e latim com especialidade: traduziram os fragmentos de Epicuro, o De Natura Rerum de Lucrécio. [...] Que não sabia o que aquilo era, pensava. Admiração por talento real em uma moça, por faculdades inegavelmente superiores em uma mulher Possível. Mas em Paris trabalhara ele muito tempo com madame Brunet, a tradutora sapientíssima de Huxley; com ela fizera centenas de dissecações anatômicas, com ela aprofundara estudos de embriogenia; respeitava-a, admirava-a; e nunca sentia junto dela o que sentia junto de Lenita. E, todavia, madame Brunet não era feia, bem ao contrário.

Magazine section of the website<sup>22</sup> and the *Biblioteca São Clemente Digital* at the Fundação Casa Rui Barbosa<sup>23</sup>.

Just as novels convey the imaginaries looming over certain historical periods, newspapers are equally valuable historical sources. According to Brazilian historian Tania Regina de Luca:

[...] in the light of the epistemological course of [History] and without this corresponding to any kind of limitation or obstacle to using newspapers and periodicals [as sources], [...] the press selects, orders, structures, and narrates, in a certain way, what is deemed worthy of reaching the public.<sup>24</sup> (LUCA, 2015, 139).

In other words, no item in a newspaper or magazine is published without precise expectations in terms of readership: who are the readers, where, why, and how readers read are all determined in advance. This also means that form and content of a particular publication are always means to a particular end. Moreover, the materiality of the publication (size and type of paper, typography, section of newspaper or magazine, etc.) has unique meaning in terms of conveying ideologies (LUCA, 2015).

With this in mind, and in order to compare nineteenth-century women translators in fiction to women in the news, our search of the *Biblioteca Nacional's* Newspaper and Magazine Collection and the *Biblioteca São Clemente Digital* at the *Fundação casa Rui Barbosa* began with the terms 'tradutora' and 'traductora'<sup>25</sup>.

The search produced 22 results in twenty-one newspapers.<sup>26</sup> Only one, *Mai de Família*, was targeted specifically to a female audience, albeit run by men (DUARTE, 2017). Editorial lines varied across newspapers. The target audience also differed. There were both regional and national publications in the results, as well as religious publications<sup>27</sup>. Information on translators usually appeared on pages one or two, or under the Classified ads.

After reading all the pieces and providing the above overview, the news corpus was explored with language processing software AntConc (Anthony, 2018), a freeware for corpus analysis. AntConc provides a toolkit for concordancing and text processing. By approaching language from a corpus linguistics perspective, it is possible to read natural language through computer programs that render high-quality information derived from word patterns and statistics. Historians have turned to corpus linguistics to, among other things, explore datasets, trace discourses, and investigate how groups have been constructed over time (ATKINSON, GREGORY, 2017; McENERY, BAKER, 2016).

---

<sup>22</sup> <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.casaruibarbosa.gov.br/interna.php?ID\\_S=3](http://www.casaruibarbosa.gov.br/interna.php?ID_S=3)

<sup>24</sup> Pode-se admitir, à luz do percurso epistemológico da disciplina [História] e sem implicar a interposição de qualquer limite ou óbice ao uso de jornais e revistas, que a imprensa periódica seleciona, ordena, estrutura e narra, de um determinado forma, aquilo que se elegeu como digno de chegar até o público

<sup>25</sup> The spelling adopted by newspapers is inconsistent in the nineteenth century. Other examples: brasileira/brasileira, lingoas/linguas.

<sup>26</sup> The newspapers in the search: *A mai de Família, A patria, A república, A semana, O binoculo, A Vida Fluminense, Monitor Campista, Cearense, Correio da Tarde, Correio Mercantil, Gazeta Suburbana, Ilustração Basileira, Noticiador de Minas, O Apostolo, O despertador, O Fluminense, O Mercantil, Revista Ilustrada, O democrata, Gazeta de Noticias* and *A Estação*.

<sup>27</sup> There were also foreign newspapers circulating in Brazil, which were likely to have reported on women translators and translations by women. Our search, however, was limited to Brazilian newspapers and relied on the current technology for optimal character reading. Since the digitalization of the sources is not one-hundred percent accurate, we have reasons to believe there are more occurrences of tradutora/traductora in the digital collections queried.

AntConc showed that the most frequent words in the corpus were: *atriz e nome*. Based on these two words, concordance lines were produced revealing that women translators were constructed as: actress and artist, the prolific woman translator as wife, the woman translator as one who chooses what to translate, the woman translator as careful and studious, the translator as published author, translation by women as fraud or inferior, the woman translator as unnamed but respectable and modest, and the woman translator as educator. To build on our analysis, and offer more context to these constructions, below we provide some of the pieces of news in the corpus, and compare them to the imaginaries in the novels.

The following piece on D. Almerinda Mourão Pereira de Carvalho is the only item in the corpus that matches imaginaries in the novels:

Consta-se que se acha no prélo o romance de Manoel de Poitevin *A herança de Tântalo*, que faz parte da interessante bibliotheca da Mai de família, e é traduzido pela nossa conterranea D. Almerinda Mourão Pereira de Carvalho, filha do nosso amigo. Sr. professor Felisberto de Carvalho. É um verdadeiro mimo que a traductora oferece ás suas jovens patricias, a quem por essa forma proporciona um tão agradável quão innocente e util passatempo. (O Fluminense, Anno X. N. 1470. Nictheroy, Domingo, 30 de outubro de 1887)

According to the above piece, women read translations as a pastime – ‘an innocent and useful one’. The translation is carried out by a refined wife and mother as a ‘little gift’ (*mimo*), therefore almost insignificant, to other women. The translation published in book form is part of the *Mai de família* collection, and being ‘innocent and useful’ speaks volumes of its readership. Under the categorization of acts of translation presented above, Carvalho’s translation of *A herança de Tântalo*, can be considered a female translation, that is, a translation by a woman of a text that is a product of patriarchal ideology and penned by a man.

The next three pieces have been chosen to guide our analysis because they refer to the same translator, Maria Velluti, who, draws together the vast majority of the above-mentioned constructions revealed with the statistics and concordance lines produced with AntConc (Anthony, 2018).

The first piece below calls attention to two new plays translated Velluti. Theater translation in the nineteenth-century was considered as an inferior genre when compared to the literary novels by the great male writers. As such, they may have been considered more suitable to be translated by women.

Ao publico.

A Sra. D. Maria Velluti, insigne actriz do theatro Gymnasio, eximia e fecunda traductora de muitas peças que alli, e n’outros theatros de côrte, se teem representado com subido applause, vai publicar duas das suas escolhidas producções.

A 1ª é a famosa composição que tem por título:

**A VIDA DE UMA ACTRIZ**

Drama em 5 actos e 8 quadros,

Dedicado

**A Sra. D. Luduvina Soares da Costa.**

E ACOMPANHADO DO RETRATO D’ESTA INSGNE TRAGICA PORTUGUEZA.

A 2ª é a engraçada e espirituosa comedia intitulada:

**A VIUVA DAS CAMELLIAS**

Á qual uniremos o retrato da illustre traductora, ainda que a sua modestia o não consinta e; asseveramol-o, porque ella não póde, (e se póde

não deve) contrariar os desejos tão justos como respeitosos, dos sinceros apologistas do seu reconhecido merito.

Para estas duas obras, que se estão imprimindo, e brevemente sahirão á luz, aceitam-se assignaturas na livraria de B. X. Pinto de Souza, rua dos Ciganos n. 43, a 4000 por ambos os volumes em brochura, pagos ao recebimento d'elles; ou encadernados, pagando-se no acto da subscrição.

A livraria faz aos senhores assignantes as concessões que offerece aos compradores de livros, na forma de annuncios publicados<sup>28</sup>.

Another interesting element of the piece above is the 'retrato' or portrait/picture of Velluti that will be included in the published translation. The portrait as a symbol of her presence, but also as a possession of an object/person that was previously inaccessible. Hence, the artist/translator is made accessible not only through the published book but also via her portrait (PAVAN, 1991).

To have one's picture wanted and desired, means to be admired. This leads us to the second piece on Velluti, which is a Sonet by D. Beatriz Francisca de Assiz Brandão.

#### SONETO

Á Illma. Sra. D. Maria Velluti, distincta actriz e eximia traductora do theatro Gymnasio, em 16 de setembro de 1859, dia de seu beneficio.

Afouta pisa o palco magestoso,  
Primogenita illustre de Thalia ;  
Do vicio hediondo a mascara desvia,  
Dá ao riso o ridículo orgulhoso.

Da virtude o semblante radioso  
Se ostente sobre os gozos da alegria,  
Teus talentos gentis, tua magia  
Adoça o cálix acido e amargoso.

A sciencia, que o palco glorifica,  
Brilha em teus actos magestosa e amena,  
E duplicada c'róa te dedica.

Tu, Velluti, triumphas sobre a scena,  
E com phrase fiel, pomposa e rica,  
Empunhas de Molière a douta penna.

Por sua admiradora D. BEATRIZ FRANCISCA DE ASSIZ BRANDÃO<sup>29</sup>.

In the Sonet, Velluti is an artist, not an artisan, that is, she is capable of creative work – unlike the women translators in the novels. By being an artist, she does not merely copy or reproduce, she is unique and leaves her mark. Velluti plays/representes the text (translates) to a new context. She is acknowledge as a woman of the letters: '*pena na mão*' (feather in hand).

The next piece is not as flattering. It conveys the rivalry between Maria Velluti and João Caetano in the Brazilian nineteenth-century theater scene.

Gymnasio Dramatico.

<sup>28</sup> *Correio da Tarde*. Anno V. N. 71. Rio de Janeiro, sabbado, 26 de março de 1859. p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Correio Mercantil*. Anno XVI. B. 257. Rio de Janeiro, terça-feira, 20 de setembro de 1859.

O DR. TIL.

- Um artigo ha dias inserto no *Mercantil* plantou a convicção no coração dos duvidosos a respeito de ser ou não a Sra. Velluti uma actriz de mão cheia.

- O *Til* opine pela mão *vazia*.

- O pai do tal artigo póde é dizer o que quizer, que nem por isso eu deixarei de dizer o que penso.

- O que elle póde é dizer que eu sou estúpido.

- Mas eu posso responder-lhe que – eu sou, tu és e muita gente boa não deixa de ser.

- Mas o que em todo o caso também é certo, é que a actriz nada lucre com os elogios do tal elogiador.

- O communicante, annunciante, ou o que quizerem, aponta a Sra. Velutti como limada traductora; mas eu nego-lhe essa qualidade, porque sei de fonte limpa, que alguém lhe lima as obras, e até dizem, não eu, que é o Illm. Sr. S.H.J.

- A cada um o que é seu: si é certo o que o Sr. S. H. J. é quem aperfeiçoa as obras da Sra. Velutti, não seja a corôa de glória para a Sra. Velutti, e sim para o Sr. S. H. J.

- Mas é bem feito: si o Sr. S.H.J. se annunciasse como limador, já a Sra. Velutti não engordava com elogios que cabem a outros, menos ainda passaria aos olhos dos ignorantes por uma traductora eximia.

- Por hoje basta, que não está de maré o

*Dr. Til.*<sup>30</sup>

A contemporary and rival of João Caetano, despite the great popularity she enjoyed during part of her lifetime, Velluti's innovative role in Brazilian theater has been overcast by Caetano's classical preferences. Whereas João Caetano is commonly referred to as actor-manager, Velluti is labeled actress – despite having been a translator and original playwright. The popularity and shattering of Velluti's role in the Brazilian theater scene can both be constructed based on the corpus analysis of her work as a translator, and confirmed by current historiographical discourses. Velluti – and other women translators – have been categorically effaced by certain historiographical discourses in Translation Studies:

Translators were men – never women – active in the civil service, literature, journalism, politics and the theatre itself – such as actor-manager João Caetano, to whom the decisive step of freeing our stage from Portuguese rule is often attributed. (Wylter, 2001, p. 83)

On the other hand, the corpus reveals the wealth of the experience and variety of Velluti's work, in addition to providing information on the rivalry or misunderstandings between Velluti and João Caetano. This appeared under the Dr. TIL<sup>31</sup>, piece examined above. Therefore, our historiographical narrative suggests Velluti enjoyed a period of much popularity, when the *Teatro do Ginásio Dramático do Rio de Janeiro* fostered translations by other women such as Guiomar Torrezão<sup>32</sup>, who will be addressed in the following news piece. Velluti was then relentlessly attacked and downplayed by João Caetano supporters, such as Dr TIL, and fell into oblivion in terms of Translation History. A woman who in addition to acting, playwrighting, and directing, translated over forty five plays in at least three languages across thirty years (MONTEIRO, 2016). Our analysis shows however that even the work of a great and

<sup>30</sup> *Correio da Tarde*. Anno III. N. 287. Rio de Janeiro, quarta-feira, 16 de dezembro de 1857. p. 2

<sup>31</sup> *Correio da Tarde*. Anno III. N. 287. Rio de Janeiro, quarta-feira, 16 de dezembro de 1857. p. 2

<sup>32</sup> *Gazeta de Noticias*. Numero avulso 40 R. Anno II – N. 210. Rio de Janeiro, segunda-feira, 31 de julho de 1876. p. 2.

acknowledged translator such as Velluti was put in question, doubted, and attributed to a man: “A cada um o que é seu: si é certo o que o Sr. S. H. J. é quem aperfeiçoa as obras da Sra. Velutti, não seja a corôa de glória para a Sra. Velutti, e sim para o Sr. S. H. J.”. It is worth stressing that both Torrezão and Velluti were born in Portugal, and, therefore, we expect to find more Portuguese women that translated in Brazil in order to investigate whether they were constructed in the same – or in a more – positive manner than their Brazilian counterparts.

In terms of translators constructed as educators, a construction that has did not appear in the news on Velluti, we selected the piece that announces that D. Florinda d’Oliveira Fernandes, former translator of a number of newspapers, was opening a school in Rio de Janeiro.

Ao público

Abriu-se no dia 12 de janeiro ultimo, na côrte, rua das laranjeiras n. 95, um grande estabelecimento d’instrucção primaria e secundaria para o sexo feminino, dirigido pela exm.<sup>a</sup> snr.<sup>a</sup> D. Florinda d’Oliveira Fernandes, digna consorte do Illm.<sup>o</sup> Dr. Fernando Manoel Fernandes. A fecunda idea de propagar a instrucção na terra do seu nascimento, e d’est’arte contribuir para o bem da sociedade de que faz parte, forão os sentimentos que presidirão a fundação de tão patriotico estabelecimento.

O nome da exm.<sup>a</sup> directora, assaz conhecido na côrte do império, por sua illustração não vulgar, torna-se duplamente disctincto pelo assignado serviço que muito tempo presto ás redacções dos jornaes – CORREIO MERCANTIL, DIARIO DO RIO e DIARIO OFFICIAL, como traductora das lingoas franceza, ingleza e hespanhola. A elevado cadebal scientifico junta a exm.<sup>a</sup> directora os nobres dotes da mais rigida moral evangelica, e de profundo amor a nossa santa religião, o que autorisa crer-se que a ardua empresa que dirige terá da parte dos habitantes da heroica provincia de Minas, e especialmente dos responsáveis srs. chefes de familia, o mais benevolo acolhimento. Acresce que o pessoal das professôras foi com esmero escolhido por e. exc. Entre senhoras nacionaes e estrangeiras, que a devem coadjuvar efficazmente, e á sua exm.<sup>a</sup> filha, que occupa o lugar de vice-directora do collegio. O local é um dos mais acreditador pela amenidade do seu clima. O edificio vasto, asseiado, e de immensos recursos, é collocado n’uma magnifica chacara que reúne todas as condições hygienicas, e d’uma vida aprasivel. O preço das pensões é modico e razoável, não excedente dos que se pagão nos principaes collegios da côrte.

As pessoas que desejarem maiores esclarecimentos podem dirigir-se n’esta capital ao sr. David Moretszohn.

A presente publicação é mandada fazer como meio de manifestar um tributo devido ao merecimento da exm.<sup>a</sup> D. Florinda, e d’animar a instrucção n’esta terra. (Noticiador de Minas – órgão conservador. Anno IV. N. 298. Terça-feira, 11 de abril de 1871. p. 3)

The news on D. Florinda d’Oliveira Fernandes is very revealing. Not only did she translate for more than one newspaper, she translated from French, English and Spanish, and opened a school. Additionally, this piece informs that D. Florinda appointed her daughter deputy head of the school, thus illustrating a generational transmission of knowledge, which may lead to social mobility. This seems like a pattern, since we have other examples such as Nísia Floresta and her daughter Lívia Augusta Rocha.

Finally, ‘modest’ women translators were also frequently ‘unnamed’, as shown below:

*Hygiene Geral*

O interessante trabalho que hoje começamos a publicar é tradução adaptada ao nosso clima e costumes, feita por uma distinta brasileira, parente da um clínico desta côrte, cuja nome é uma gloria nacional, privando-nos de mencionar o nome da distinta tradutora, sua exageradissima modestia [sic]. (*A mai de Familia* - Jornal Scientifico-Litterario. Nº 19. 7º Anno. 15 de outubro de 1885, p. 148)

The *Hygiene Geral* piece above, refers to a woman translator who, according to the text, due to her ‘extreme modesty’ will not have her name revealed. Moreover, there were also translators who hid behind other names. Paula Candida<sup>33</sup> and Zelia<sup>34</sup> are two pseudonyms found in the corpus, and the reason they do not use their real name is also attributed their modesty.

It is worth noting that nineteenth-century women were held by standards of modesty, defined as an attitude of propriety and decency. However, we also know that throughout the nineteenth-century many women writers used pseudonyms, male and female, for reasons that go from the freedom to write to being taken seriously by publishers and critics. Although we do acknowledge these reasons, the pieces in the corpus have led us to believe that the socially expected sense of modesty and concern with a woman’s reputation may well have weighed in significantly. Especially in the case of Zelia, who was a very young translator and probably unmarried. It may be, for instance, that she and her family were aware of the fact that having one’s name all over the papers could be interpreted as lack of propriety. The number of pseudonyms stand out, as shown in the Appendix. Therefore, apart from the social conventions of the time, it should not be ruled out that, in the context of newspapers, pseudonyms may also have been used so translators could hold on to more than one job in different vehicles.

## Conclusion

Before we address our main findings, it is worth mentioning this study has a number of limitations. The first is the size of the corpus, which resulted from the queries in the digital databases. As we mentioned above, optical character reading technology is not yet optimal, thus it is highly likely there are more occurrences of tradutora/traductora in the databases. Another limitation is the group of women represented herein. This study has touched upon white bourgeoisie women in Brazil who received the traditional bourgeoisie education in foreign languages and other ‘refinements’. It has left out Afro-Brazilian women, indigenous women, and other marginalized groups of women, such as European, African, and Asian immigrants,

---

<sup>33</sup> [...] Ao enfrentar com uma senhora elegantissima, formosa e lhana, que acceitou o encargo sob condição de jamais revelar-lhe o nome, elle exultou e deu parabens a si. Acceito o pacto, Paula Candida, muito illustrada, comquanto assás modesta, nem por sombras quer que saiba ella quem seja. Por essa razão, ainda que eu aprecie-lhe o talent, vejo-me na dura necessidade de occultar o verdadeiro nome da minha distinctissima college de collaboração a qual com a maxima pontualidade, quinzenalmente envia o trabalho, feito com a circumspecção e mimo que lhe conhece. No entretanto, não obstante a sua teimosia em guardar o incognito, do quale nem mesmo por amor á arte ousou erguer sequer o véu declinando nomes, peço venia á sympathica trabalhadora para dizer-lhe que aquelle que tem berço, educação e talent, pela mais simples palavra, fallada ou escripta, se revela. [...] (*A Estação*, XXIV. Anno N. 24. 31 d dezembro de 1895. P. 159.)

<sup>34</sup> [...] Temos a honra de conhecer a joven traductora e a nobre família á que pertence; temos também a felicidade de apreciar bem de perto a dedicação e esmero com que cura da educação litteratira e religiosa de seus filhos, o pai da joven Zelia, e respeitando sua vontade, e só por isso, nos limitandos a dar esta noticia sem declararmos o nome da e distincta litteratra e do seu digno pai. [...] (*O Apóstolo*. Anno VII. N. 12. Rio de Janeiro, Domingo, 24 de março de 1872).



who were all very likely to have knowledge of various languages, and may also have translated from and into languages. One last limitation to this study – and to the chart in the Appendix – is the common practice of women hiding their real names under pseudonyms, initials, or maybe even under male names, as women writers in the nineteenth century have been known to have done.

Regardless of its limitations, this study provides optimistic evidence that despite the effacement of women translation from Translation Studies, Translation History, and Translation Historiography, newspapers are invaluable sources that enable the (re)construction of the role played by women translators. The life and works of Maria Velluti is a good example, which we selected to guide our analysis. Even though newspaper discourse may not be an accurate account of reality, by exploring the corpus we were able to find strong data to support the significance of Velluti to Translation History, and therefore contribute to restore her to the position she clearly once held as probably the most renowned woman translators of her time. Maria Velluti and the scores of plays she translated deserve to be studied in depth, and we hope this paper operates as an encouragement for future research.

Because newspapers were numerous and ubiquitous and, in addition to being a genre that, unlike the so-called hard historical sources, recognized women as translators during or shortly after their life time<sup>35</sup>, using corpus linguistics and corpus-based histories to explore them is a promising approach to further investigations. Another advantage of natural language processing software is that there is no limit to the size of the corpus, that may go from a couple of hundred words to many millions, and therefore, a future corpus compiled to investigate the history of women translators could include not only newspapers, but also translation paratexts, diaries, travel writing, letters, almanaks, etc.

The main findings were that contrary to the imaginaries fostered by the novels examined as our first aim, and very much in line with the wealth of information found in the newspapers of the period, women in the news had more agency and were more diverse than in the novels. Moreover, the news corpus revealed there were many women involved in a large variety of translation acts in Brazil in the nineteenth century, and their translations were purposeful and meaningful, and intersected not only with their domestic (wife, mother) role, but also with an array of other professional activities (actress, director, educator, writer).

Other findings include the relationship between women translators across generations, such as Florinda d'Oliveira Fernandes, who appears in a piece together with her daughter, announcing the opening of their school. Many nineteenth-century women who translated also opened and ran schools. This is true for Nísia Floresta – whose daughter Lívia also translated. There are also European cases of mothers who translated and whose daughters ascended to the letters, as is the case of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Shelley. This generational aspect of translation and writing, and their connection to the education of women, could be an interesting topic for future studies under Women's Translation History. This paper has provided at least two names: Nísia Floresta Augusta and Florinda d'Oliveira Fernandes.

Moreover, let us stress the importance of largely unknown nineteenth-century women translators whose works were in one way or another read by the newspaper audiences, but whose names were kept from the readership, as in the *Hygiene Geral* piece and, to date, remain unknown. This situation also includes prolific and acknowledged translators who went by pseudonyms such as Paula Candida and the young Zélia.

---

<sup>35</sup> In addition to the case of Maria Velluti, there are others. The *Diário de Pernambuco* on December 4, 1919, p. 2 published an almost entire page on Nísia Floresta, and *A Estação*, on December 31, 1895, XXIV ANO, N. 24, p. 159, published the profile of Paula Candida (pseudonym) in the literary supplement, under the *Mulheres Ilustres do Brasil* section. The latter piece is part of the corpus compiled in this study.

Finally, it is worth noting that the nineteenth century was abundant with women of letters, some of which were full-fledged translators such as Maria Velluti, Paula Candida, and Florinda Fernandes – the first translated for the theater and the other two professionally for newspapers in Brazil. This paper therefore has sought to show there are scores of profiles<sup>36</sup> of women translators to be studied under Translation History and Historiography, and that there is room for a *Women's Translation History and Historiography*.

## REFERENCES

- ABREU, I. S.; STONE, M. E. (orgs). **Feminae – dicionário contemporâneo**. Lisboa: Condição para cidadania e a igualdade de gênero, 2013.
- ALENCAR, J.. **Lucíola**. Porto Alegre: L&PM, 2015.
- ALENCAR, J.. **Senhora**. Jaraguá do Sul: Avenida, 2012.
- ALENCAR, J.. **Senhora: profile of a woman**, trans. Catarina Feldmann Edinger, Austin: University of Texas, Austin, 1994)
- ALENCAR, M. E. S. **Tradutoras brasileiras dos séculos XIX e XX**. Dissertação de Mestrado em Estudos da Tradução. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos da Tradução. Florianópolis: PEGET, 2016.
- ANASTÁCIO. V. “Alcipe e o Brasil: notas para uma investigação”. In: FERREIRA, T. M. T. B. C.; SANTOS, G; ALVES, I.; PINTO, M. V.; HUE, S. (orgs). **D. João e o Oitocentismo**. Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa/Faperj, 2011.
- ANTHONY, L. Antcon. 3.5.1. Freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis. AntLab, 2018. Available at: <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antcon/>
- ASSIS, J. M. M.. **Obra Completa**. Vol. I (romances). Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1979.
- ATKINSON, P., GREGORY, I.N.. “Child Welfare in Victorian Newspapers: Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis”, In: *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2017 48:2, 159-186
- BERNARDES, M. T. C. C.. **Mulheres de Ontem? – Rio de Janeiro – Século XIX**. São Paulo: T.A. Queiroz, 1989.
- ASSIS, J. M. M.. **Helena**, trans. Helen Caldwell, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.
- CALINA, H.. “On the first woman translator of Dante’s ‘The Divine Comedy’ into Romanian”. In: BOLDEA, I. (org.) **The Proceedings of the International Conference Literature, Discourse and Multicultural Dialogue. Section: Language and Discourse, 1**. Tîrgu-Mureş: Arhipelag XXI Press, 2013.
- CÂNDIDO, A. **Formação da Literatura Brasileira**. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1981.
- CASCUDO, L. C.. **Literatura oral no Brasil**. São Paulo: Global, 2006.
- COSTA, C. De L. & ALVAREZ, S. E.. “A circulação das teorias feministas e os desafios da Tradução”. In: **Estudos Feministas**, 21(2):336, Florianópolis: UFSC, maio-agosto/2013
- DELISLE, J.; WORDSWORTH, J. (orgs). **Os tradutores na História**. Tradução Sérgio Bath. São Paulo: Ática, 1998.
- DUARTE, E. A.. **Literatura afro-brasileira: 100 autores do século XVIII ao XXI**. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas, 2014.
- DUARTE, C. L.. **Imprensa femina e feminista no Brasil – século XIX – dicionário Ilustrado**. São Paulo: Autêntica, 2017.

---

<sup>36</sup> Additionally to the list of names in the Appendix that includes women who were born or spent most of their lives in Brazil, there are also women from other countries who were in Brazil for a period of time, such as Maria Graham and Joana Manso.

- ESTEVEES, Lenita M. R.. “A tradução do romance-folhetim no século XIX brasileiro”. In: **Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada**. V. 42. Campinas: UNICAMP, 2003.
- FERREIRA, A. C.. : “A fonte fecunda” In: PINSKY, C. B.; LUCA, T. R. (orgs). **O historiador e suas fontes**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2013.
- JULIO, S. S.. **Daminana da Cunha: uma índia entre a “sombra da cruz” e os caipós do sertão**. Dissertação de mestrado em História. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História. Niterói: UFF, 2015.
- LUCA, T. R.. “História dos, nos e por meio dos periódicos”. In: PINSKY, C. B. (org.). **Fontes Históricas**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2015.
- MATTHEWS, C. H.. *Gender, Race and Patriotism in the Works of Nisia Floresta*, Rochester: Tamesis Books, 2012
- McEnery, A.M., Baker, H.S. *Corpus linguistics and 17<sup>th</sup>-century prostitution: computational linguistics and history* Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. 271 p.
- MENDES, A. M.. **A escrita de Maria Firmina dos Reis na literatura afrodescendente brasileira: revisitando o cânone**. Lisboa: Chiado, 2016.
- METCALF, A. C.. **Go-betweens and the colonization of Brazil (1500-1600)**. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- MEYER, Marlyse. **Folhetim: uma história**. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.
- MONTEIRO, B. F. Tradutora e atriz: Maria Velluti além dos palcos. In: Caderno de resumos do 8º Colóquio do Polo de Pesquisas Luso-Brasileiras. Rio de Janeiro, Real Gabinete Português de Leitura, 2016.**
- MUZART, Z. L. (org.). **Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX vol. II**. Florianópolis/Santa Cruz do Sul: Mulheres/ UNIDESC, 2004.
- MUZART, Z. L. (org.). **Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX**. Florianópolis: Mulheres, 2000.
- PALLARES-BURKE, M. L.. **Nísia Floresta, O Carapuceiro e outros ensaios de tradução cultural**. São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1996.
- PAVAN, M.. “Fotomontagem e Pintura Prérafaelista”. In: FABRIS, A. (org.) *Fotografia: usos e funções no século XIX*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 1991.
- PINSKY, C. B.; PEDRO, J. M. (orgs.) **.Nova História da Mulheres**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2016.
- PRIORI, M. (org.). **História das mulheres no Brasil**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2013.
- REIS, C. V.. **Traduções indiretas vs. Traduções diretas: o caso de obras russas em português**. Dissertação de Mestrado em Letras. Pós-graduação em Letras. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-RIO, 2010.
- RIBEIRO, J. **A carne**. Rio de Janeiro: Escala, s/d.
- RIBEIRO, J. *Flesh*, trans. William Barne, London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011.
- SOUTO-MAIOR, V. A.. “Josefina Álvarez de Azavedo”. In: MUZART, Z. L. (org.). **Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX**. Florianópolis: Mulheres, 2000.
- TELES, M. A. A. **Breve história do feminismo no Brasil**. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1999.
- TELLES, N.. “Escritoras, escritas, escrituras”. In: PRIORI, M. (org.). **História das mulheres no Brasil**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2013.
- WYLER, L. *Theatre, Translation and Colonization*. **Crop**, v.6, Número especial: Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil. Org. John Milton, p.75-90, São Paulo: FFLCH, 2001.
- YERBRA, V. G.. **Traducción: História Y Teoría**. Madrid: Gredos, 1994.

## APPENDIX

### Women Translators in Nineteenth-Century Brazil.

To assign long overdue visibility to the over fifty women who translated in Brazil in the 1800s, we have begun compiling information from multiple sources in a chart that uncovers their names and/or pseudonyms, as well as dates of birth/death. We intend this chart to be an ongoing project, updated periodically, with even more detail on each translator. By unveiling the presence of women in the history of translation and assigning visibility to their names and works, we hope to counter the underplay of women's roles in Translation Studies, Translation History, and Translation Historiography. If you would like to contribute to this effort, please contact the authors.

Name	Pen name or other names	Born/Died	Place of birth
1 Adelina Amélia Lopes Vieira	Adelina Vieira	1850-1922	Rio de Janeiro
2 Albertina Diniz	-	-	-
3 Almerinda Mourão Pereira de Carvalho	-	-	Rio de Janeiro
4 Amália dos Passos Figueiroa	-	1845 -1878	Rio Grande do Sul
5 Amélia Augusta do Sacramento Rodrigues	Amélia Rodrigues	1861-1926	Bahia
6 Amélia Carolina de Freitas Beviláqua	Amélia Beviláqua	1860 – 1946	Piauí
7 Ana Amélia Queiroz Carneiro de Mendonça	-	1896-1971	Rio de Janeiro
8 Ana Barbosa de Lossio e Seiblit	-	1830-1877	Rio de Janeiro
9 Ana Euquéria Lopes de Cadaval	-	-	Rio Grande do Sul
10 Ana Nogueira Batista	-	1870 – 1970	Ceará
11 Anna Chaves Guimarães	-	-	-
12 Beatriz Francisca Assis Brandão	-	1779 - 1868	Minas Gerais
13 Berenice Calmasini	Lucínia de Hasané	1895 - ?	São Paulo
14 Carmen Freire	<i>Baronesa de Mamanguape</i>	1855-1891	Rio de Janeiro
15 Carolina Josefa Leopoldina Francisca Fernanda de Habsburgo-Lorena	Maria Leopoldina de Áustria	1797-1826	Áustria/ Rio de Janeiro
16 Carolina Von Kozeritz	Walcheria Cestony Consuelo Alva Lúcia Área Estela	1866 – 1922	Rio Grande do Sul
17 Corina Vivaldi Coaracy	-	1858 – 1982	EUA/ Rio de Janeiro
18 -	D. Castillo	-	-
19 Dionísia Gonçalves Pinto	Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta	1810 – 1885	Rio Grande do Norte/ França
20 Emília Augusta Gomide Penido	-	1840 – 1886	Minas Gerais
21 Esmeraldina Espiuca	-	1862 a 7/2/1891	
22 Eugênia Infante da Câmara	-	1837 -1874/9	Lisboa/ Rio de Janeiro
23 -	Flor de Aliza	-	-
24 Florinda d'Oliveira Fernandes	-	-	-
25 Francisca Izidora Gonçalves da Rocha	-	1855-1918	Pernambuco
26 Francisca Júlia da Silva Munster	-	1871 – 1920	São Paulo

27	Francisca Maranhão Cavalcanti Albuquerque	-	1844 - ?	Alagoas
28	Gabriela Frederica de Andrada Dias Mesquita	Gabriela de Andrada	1852 – 1922	São Paulo
29	Guilhermina Barros Moreira	-		Bahia
30	Guilhermina Santos	-		-
31	Inácia de Matos Dias	-	-	Ceará
32	Josefina Álvares de Azevedo	-	1851- ?	Pernambuco/ Rio de Janeiro
33	Júlia Lopes de Almeida	-	1862 – 1934	Rio de Janeiro
34	Júlia Cortines		1868-1948	Rio de Janeiro
35	Lívia Augusta de Faria Rocha	Lívia Augusta Gade	1832 - ?	Pernambuco
36	Maria Eugênia Celso Carneiro de Mendonça	Maria Eugênia Celso	1886 – 1963	Minas Gerais
37	Maria Firmina dos Reis	M. F. Reis M. F. R.	(1880 -1871)	Maranhão
38	Maria Francisca Pedreira Ferreira	Uma jovem fluminense	1858 - ?	Rio de Janeiro
39	Maria José de Andrade	Leucata Olímpia	1835 - ?	-
40	Maria Luísa de Oliveira Arruda	-	1864 - ?	Rio de Janeiro
41	Maria Zalina Rolim Xavier de Toledo	Zalina Rolim	1869 – 1961	São Paulo
42	Maria da Conceição Singer Velluti de Souza	Maria Velluti	10/12/1827 Lisboa 15/7/1891 Rio de Janeiro	1847 Brasil
43	Narcisa Amália de Campos	Narcisa Amália	1852 – 1924	Rio de Janeiro
44	-	Paula Candida	-	Rio de Janeiro/ França
45	-	Paulina Philadelphia	-	-
46	Revocata Heloisa de Melo	Sibila Hermengarda	1858 – 1945	Rio Grande do Sul
47	Rita de Cintra Costa	-	-	Ceará
48	Rosa Kornman	-	-	Rússia/ Pará/ Amazonas
49	<i>Rosina Nogueira Soares</i>	-	-	São Paulo
50	Sílvia Mendes Cajado	-	1889 – 1953	São Paulo
51	Sofia Sá de Sousa	-	-	Maranhão
52	Teresa Couto Rodrigues	-	-	São Paulo
53	Vicentina Mesquita Vicente de Carvalho	Vicentina de Carvalho	1890 – 1954	São Paulo
54		Victória Colonna	-	Rio de Janeiro
55	Violante Atabalipa Ximenes de Bivar e Valasco		1817 – 1875	Bahia
56	Virgínia Gasparini Tamanini	Virgínia Tamanini	1897 – 1990	Espírito Santo
57	-	Zélia	1858 - ?	-
58		Madame do Rêgo		Recife

The above chart was compiled based on the sources below.

## REFERENCES

### Books and Chapters

- ABREU, I. S.; STONE, M. E. (orgs). *Feminae – dicionário contemporâneo*. Lisboa: Condição para cidadania e a igualdade de gênero, 2013.
- AZEVEDO, E.R. *Um palco sob as Arcadas: o teatro dos estudantes de direito do Largo de São Francisco em São Paulo, no século XIX*. São Paulo: Fapesp/Ana Blume, 2000.
- BERNARDES, M. T. C. C. *Mulheres de Ontem? – Rio de Janeiro – Século XIX*. São Paulo: T.A. Queiroz, 1989.
- BONFIM, E. A.; SILVA, E. Q. R. *Dicionário mulheres de Alagoas ontem e hoje*. Maceió: EDFAL, 2007.
- CATÁLOGO de livros da Biblioteca Fluminense. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Thevenet /7 C. Rua d’Ajuda, 1866.
- COELHO, N. N. *Dicionário Crítico de Escritoras Brasileiras: 1711 – 2001*. São Paulo: Escrituras Editora, 2002.
- HELLER, R. J. *Judeus do Eldorado: reinventando uma identidade em plena Amazônia*. Rio de Janeiro: E-papers, 2010.
- MUZART, Z. L. (org.). *Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX – Vol. II*. Florianópolis/Santa Cruz do Sul: Mulheres/ UNIDESC, 2004.
- MUZART, Z. L. (org.). *Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX*. Florianópolis: Mulheres, 2000.
- SALGADO, M. R.. “A outra voz: apontamentos sobre tradução de poesia realidade por mulheres no século XIX”. In: SILVA, N. C.; CRUZ, L. G.; TATIM, J.; PEREIRA, M. P. T. (orgs). *Mulheres e Literatura Brasileira*. Macapá: UNIFAP, 2017.
- SANTOS, C. C. S.. “A poesia de Zalina Rolim: redescobrimos os caminhos da infância”. In: TORREMOCHA, P. C. C.; TORRIJOS, C. C.; ORTIZ, C. S. (orgs.). *Literatura Infantil: nuevas lecturas y nuevos lectores – actas del V Seminario Internacional de “Lectura y Patrimonio”*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla- La Mancha, 2007.
- SCHUMAHER, S.; BRAZIL, E. V. (orgs.). *Dicionário Mulheres do Brasil: de 1500 até a atualidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2000.
- SCHUMAHER, S.; BRAZIL, E. V. (orgs.). *Um rio de mulheres: a participação das fluminenses na história do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: REDEH, 2003.
- SILVA, A. D. *Collecção Official da Legislação Portuguesa – Anno 1846*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1846.

### Papers, Presentations, Thesis, and Dissertations

- ALENCAR, M. E. S. *Tradutoras brasileiras dos séculos XIX e XX*. Dissertação de Mestrado em Estudos da Tradução. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos da Tradução. Florianópolis: PEGET, 2016.
- AMED, J. P. *Escrita e experiência na obra de Júlia Lopes de Almeida (1862-1934)*. Tese em História Social. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social. São Paulo: USP, 2010.
- CASTRO, A. M. A; ALBERTON, M.; EGGERT, E.. “Nísia Floresta a mulher que ousou desafiar sua época: Feminismo e Educação”. In: CONGRESSO IBEROAMERICANO DE

CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E GÊNERO. 4., 2010, Paraná. *Anais do VIII Congresso Iberoamericano de ciência, tecnologia e gênero*. Paraná: UTFPR, 2010. p. 1-8.

LIMA, M. R. S. *Aos encantos do lar: amor e companheirismo entre Amélia Bevilaqua e Clóvis Bevilaqua*. Dissertação de mestrado em História do Brasil. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História do Brasil. Teresina: UESPI, 2016.

MONTEIRO, B. F. Tradutora e atriz: Maria Velluti além dos palcos. In: CADERNO de resumos do 8º Colóquio do Polo de Pesquisas Luso-Brasileiras. Rio de Janeiro, Real Gabinete Português de Leitura, 2016.

PINHEIRO, A. S.. “O jornal das Família (1863-1878) e as leitoras do século XIX”. In: *Revista Faz Ciência*. Francisco Beltrão –PR: UNIOESTE, 2004.

SILVEIRA, D. M. “O trabalho feminino no espaço doméstico: gênero e classe no Jornal das Famílias”. In: *Topoi (Rio J.)*. vol.16 n.31. Rio de Janeiro, 2015.

### **Newspapers and magazines from the digital collections of the *Biblioteca Nacional* and *Fundação Casa Rui Barbosa***

A Estação  
A mai de Família  
A patria  
A república  
A semana  
A Vida Fluminense  
Cearense  
Correio da Tarde  
Correio Mercantil  
Gazeta de Noticias  
Gazeta Suburbana  
Ilustração Basileira  
Jornal da Família  
Jornal das Senhoras  
Monitor Campista  
Noticiador de Minas  
O Apostolo  
O binoculo  
O democrata  
O despertador  
O Fluminense  
O Mercantil  
Revista Ilustrada

### **Websites**

<http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/dossies/periodicos-literatura/>

<http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>

<http://portal.ceara.pro.br>

<http://www.antoniomiranda.com.br/>

<http://www.crmariocovas.sp.gov.br/obja.php?t=pedagogicas01>

<http://www.docvirt.com/docreader.net/docreader.aspx?bib=FCRBPeriodRaros>

<http://www.mulher500.org.br>

Submetido em 10/05/2018

Aceito em 31/08/2018