

ETHNO-HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATION: THE CASE OF BLACK POPULATIONS IN BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

Historiographical studies of translation are a rapidly growing research area, but there are still many histories that need to be told and many sources yet to be found – in particular, those pertaining to specific groups such as black populations. This paper will discuss a new domain in the historiography of translation: ethno-historiography. It will outline key theoretical concepts and illustrate historiographical biases in Brazil, focusing in particular on oral and written translations for the black populations. The aim is to revisit the history of translation in Brazil using an intersectional, feminist and anti-racist approach, presenting sources, facts, people and events that are of importance to the national Black population.

KEYWORDS: Translation History. Black Population, Etic, Emic, Brazil.

RESUMO

Os estudos historiográficos da tradução são uma área de pesquisa em ascensão, mas ainda há muitas histórias a serem contadas e muitas fontes a serem encontradas – em particular aquelas pertencentes a grupos específicos, como as populações negras. Este artigo discutirá um novo domínio na historiografia da tradução: a etno-historiografia. Ao longo do texto, conceitos teóricos fundamentais serão delineados e vieses historiográficos no Brasil serão ilustrados, focalizando, particularmente, traduções orais e escritas para as populações negras. O objetivo é revisitar a história da tradução no Brasil a partir de uma abordagem interseccional, feminista e antirracista, apresentando fontes, fatos, pessoas e acontecimentos importantes para a população negra brasileira.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: História da Tradução. População Negra. Ética. Êmica. Brasil.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The field of ‘translation history’ is one that has been intensely explored in recent years in Translation Studies. There has been an increase in the number of publications on historiographical methods, national translation histories, or case studies of the circulation, publication and reception of translated texts. It is important to note that the term ‘translation history’ includes both oral and written translation. However, national histories of translation tend to pay far less attention to oral translation (‘interpreting’).

In Brazil, ‘translation history’ took off as a research domain thanks to the pioneering work of Lia Wyler, whose 1995 Master’s thesis (‘Translation in Brazil: the profession of incorporating the other’) was popularised in a book in 2003 (*Languages, Poets and Licensees – a chronicle of translation in Brazil*). This research made visible for the first time the hidden history of translators and interpreters in Brazil, as well as the translation of well-known texts translated into Brazilian Portuguese, and covered four centuries of Brazilian history. The research is more remarkable for having been done at a time when ‘digital databases and easy-access internet in homes and universities’ did not yet exist in Brazil, as information processing and access to information networks was still in the early stages in the country.

As we know, Brazil’s population and constitution came about and is still coming about through processes of immigration, migration and cultural appropriation, with many different populations coming into contact with each other – in particular, indigenous peoples, Europeans, Africans and Asians. Lia Wyler’s research established a first cartography of these processes in relation to translation, creating through the historical narrative a historiographical metalanguage specific to translation history situations in Brazil: for example, ‘O *Língua*’ (with the definite article in the masculine form, instead of the pattern of Portuguese language) – the first interpreters in colonial Brazil; the *Golden Age of translation* – a period during which a small group of men from the south of Brazil was hired by a publishing house to translate canonical works into Brazilian Portuguese.

On the one hand, Wyler’s research played a very important role in ‘paving the way’ for those constructing a history of translation in Brazil; on the other, her contribution, like those that followed the panoramic method of translation history, homogenised translation history in Brazil². As a result,

² An example of the application of the panoramic method is found in the breath-taking work of Irene Hirsch, *Versão Brasileira: traduções de autores de ficção em prosa norte-americana do século XIX / Brazilian Version: translations of 19th century American prose fiction authors* (2006), which analyzes American prose in the 19th century translated in Brazil. This survey focusses exclusively on translations by translators and editors based in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and makes no mention of other

there is 1) an over-emphasis on the role played by male translators, principally elite white men; 2) stereotyping of the profession of the interpreter, depicting it as a role fulfilled by indigenous people and the Portuguese in colonial Brazil or, in the 20th century, by white people working as conference interpreters; 3) officialization of a history of translation that is geographically hegemonic, in which the north (seven states, i.e. Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins), the central-west (three states, i.e. Goiás, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, and the Federal District) do not participate and are not mentioned; and in which the south-east (four states, i.e. São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo) and the south (three states, i.e. Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná) are responsible for translation and its history throughout the whole country.

To a certain extent, this panoramic, homogenising and elitist Brazilian history of translation is being made today, with a number of current researchers continuing in this direction³. This is in part because the history of translation in Brazil is almost entirely a history of literary translation⁴. Other kinds of translation such as audiovisual translation, journalistic translation and medical translation have rarely been explored. This can be explained in part by the fact that historiographical studies of translation have mainly been carried out by researchers and literary critics working in departments of literature in Brazilian universities (GUERINI; TORRES; COSTA, 2013). It is also important to note that the methodological approach known as ‘micro-history’, which aims, very roughly, to examine a particular translation phenomenon in detail, has confirmed and continues to confirm the historiographical parameters used by Lia Wyler and still widely used today. Therefore, I am proposing a ‘new historiographical path’ (but not that new!) called *ethno-historiography of translation*.

2. ETHNO-HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATION

Ethno-historiography is derived from *ethno-history*, which, according to the American anthropologist Robert Carmack (1979, p.31) is ‘the history of ethnic groups or cultures’. We should note that the term, method and discipline to which the word ethno-history can refer have long trajectories and many different meanings depending on the perspective or the discipline that is adopted (CAVALCANTE, 2011). In general, however, the term has for a long time been used to designate the history of nonliterate peoples of non-Western cultures, and as a discipline has been concerned with

regions, such as the northern region of the country. This leads us to wonder whether there were no translations of American prose made/published in Northern Brazil during this period.

³ Examples can be found in the collection on Translation Studies, *Engrenagens*, published by Editora Pontes.

⁴ For further details, see PINILLA, 2019.

systematising the history of indigenous peoples. As a method, ethno-history is concerned with the history of peoples ‘without history’ and for that reason is interested in many different kinds of sources in addition to written ones, such as archaeological, audiovisual or visual sources. For the avoidance of doubt, in our work, *ethno-historiography* can be defined as the construction of a historical narrative of groups or peoples hitherto excluded or hidden from official, homogenising, versions of history. It is a narrative that is elaborated and interpreted based on a wide range of types of sources, in addition to written ones.

As a method, like ethno-history, it takes account of the researcher and of his or her perspective in the narrative that it constructs. It follows that *ethno-historiography of translation* can be ‘emic’ or ‘etic’. An emic ethno-historiography of translation is produced by researchers who form part of the population that is the focus of the research, i.e. those who translated the texts or received them. An etic ethno-historiography of translation is one that is produced by researchers external to the population who translated or received the texts. We could thus view a history of female translators that is produced by female researchers to be an example of emic ethno-historiography because they are produced by female researchers who form part of the group of women translators. This doesn’t mean that a history of female translators can’t be produced by a male researcher, but his perspective will be external to the group of belonging that carried out the translations or received them. Of course, an emic narrative doesn’t mean that all women are experts in feminine or feminist cultures; neither does it mean that the narrative constructed by the female researcher is ‘truer’ than the narrative constructed by the male researcher. However, we do need to acknowledge that narratives produced by members of the group of belonging appear to bring a fresh and important perspective to debates, a ‘situated and localised perspective’ in the words of Patricia Collins (1997) and Donna Haraway (2009).

For the ethno-historiography of translation, source criticism techniques⁵ that can somehow de-ideologize the sources are fundamental (MELIÀ, 1997), in order not to regard all acts of translation for the researched peoples as something eternal, fossilized and static. This type of research must be alert to dimensions of change, without forgetting, equally, dimensions of permanence. Both dimensions determine the historicity – and sometimes the temporalities – of the cultures and peoples

⁵ In brief terms, there are three moments that are relevant to this type of criticism: Heuristics – the moment in which the hypothesis of historical research is proposed; Criticism – the moment when the historical question is applied to the extraction of sources and data; and Interpretation – the moment in which the answer to the historical question is formulated. For further details, see RÜSEN, 2007.

studied, that is, their basic translational behaviours: production, dissemination and reception of translations.

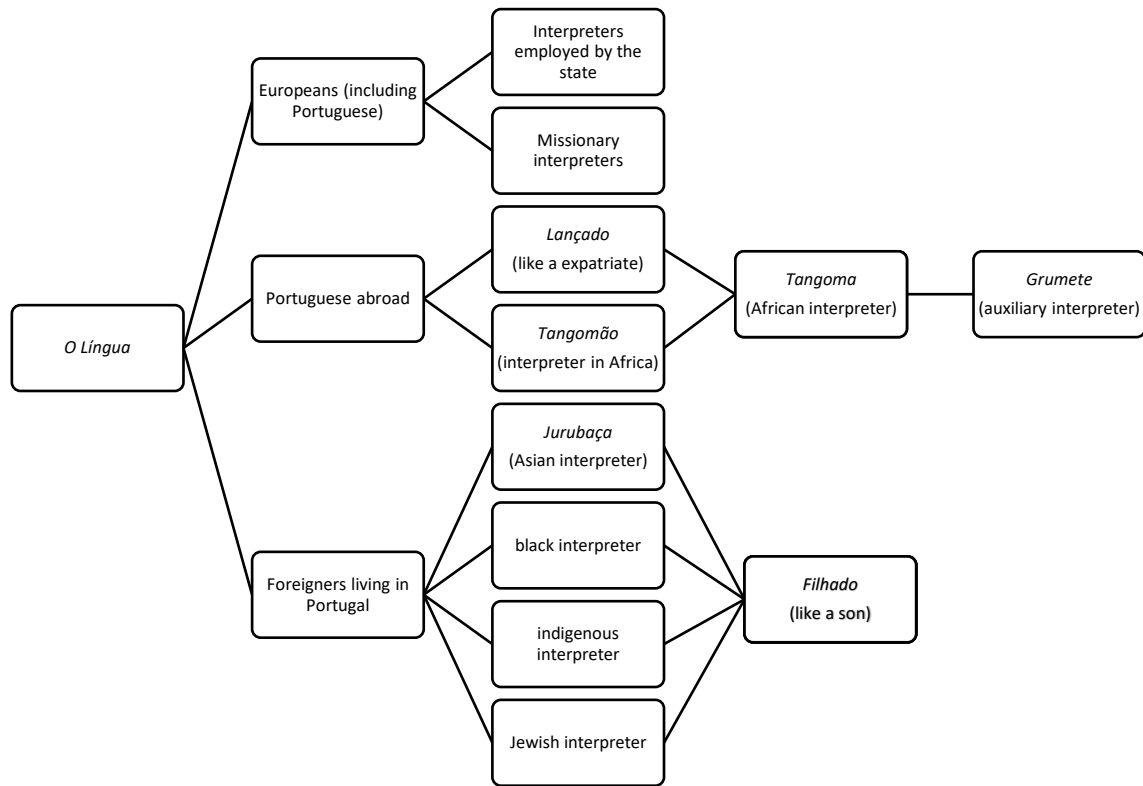
As an example of etic ethno-historiography of translation, I bring the case of black populations in Brazil. I am not black. However, as a researcher of the historiography of translation in Brazil, I am aware of the gap that the official historiography of translation has in relation to this population, not only in Brazil but also on other continents.

It is important to note that what determines a black population in Brazil is the skin phenotype: anyone with a skin colour that is not white is seen as belonging to the black population. For this reason, we did not consider the questions of colourism in our study, as would be necessary for studies of countries like Haiti, where black skin tones are also criteria for social, cultural and political stratification. In Brazil, the issue of *Being black* is a social construction (BARROS, 2014) that is deeply embedded in society. In recent times, the ideologies that are associated with it have increasingly been debated, particularly with regard to structural racism (ALMEIDA, 2018), recreational racism (MOREIRA, 2018), whiteness (MULLER, CARDOSO, 2017) and blackness (MUNANGA, 2009), among others.

3. HISTORY OF BLACK ORAL TRANSLATION IN BRAZIL⁶

In 2016, together with my colleague Marcos Bagno, an expert in linguistics, I published a first sketch of the history of interpreting in Brazil. In that paper, we sketch out four centuries of interpreting history, distinguishing between types of interpreters, modalities of interpretation and the advances and setbacks in the profession, up to the 19th century. When I re-read my own paper, I realised that the historiography that we described there follows the same lines as those that I was questioning in relation to the homogenisation and elitism of the main players in official historical narratives. After that, in 2018, I wrote a paper on black interpreters because I refused to believe that black translators/interpreters hadn't existed in Brazil. By researching many different documents (notably texts and images), and with the help of many historians with whom I exchanged emails and who kindly answered my questions, I was able to draw up a table of interpreting in colonial Brazil (15th – 19th centuries):

⁶ The discussions presented in this section are mainly drawn from more detailed previous work on black interpreters (SILVA-REIS, 2018).



Types of interpreters in the Portuguese empire (15th to 19th centuries)
Source: SILVA-REIS, 2018, p. 13.

I noted that the population of black interpreters had a specific place within the interpreting and translation profession: they did not practise this profession in an elite manner. In many cases, they were adapting to the mercantilism of the era and to the imperialist, Eurocentric culture of oral translation that characterised the Lusophone colonial space of Brazil-Portugal-Africa. One of the most interesting cases that I discovered during this research is perhaps that of the black man Francisco Félix de Souza (1754-1849), known as Chachá the First. He was born in Bahia, Brazil, and lived in Ouidah, Benin. ‘Son or grandson of a Portuguese man and an Amazon Indian woman, who may have been a métis. Some say he is white or consider him to be a mulatto descended from slaves. Light-skinned mulatto. Or métis of undefined origin, [...] very probably’ (SILVA, 2004, p.12). This Bahian slave trader found it easy to learn languages, and although there are no records to indicate in which language the negotiations took place, it is more than likely that they took place in English, French, or even Portuguese. According to Alberto da Costa e Silva (2004, p. 33), his Brazilian biographer:

When he arrived in Africa, Francisco Felix was only able to communicate in Portuguese, but, as this was the vehicular language of commerce on this part of the Coast, he soon became an excellent commercial intermediary, having learnt one or more languages from the Gbe family of languages, serving local sellers and ships coming from Brazil or Europe. It is also possible that he rapidly became known and appreciated for the ‘uncompromising and incontestable integrity’ with which he ‘directed all the commercial operations’ of which he was in charge.

Chachá the First was married to the daughter of a *dadá* (name given to a Dahomean king). This *dadá* was keen to invest in the slave trade, a precious commodity in Ouidah (SILVA, 2004). To this end, he made use of his son-in-law, who not only spoke the languages but also had considerable experience of the trade in captive human beings. Francisco Félix de Souza also had two nationalities (Brazilian and Portuguese) and used this advantage whenever necessary and appropriate. Interpreter, intermediary and trader: these were the attributes that summed up his profile. However, what makes de Souza more memorable than all the other slave traders of the period is the protection that he offered to former Brazilian slaves who had returned to Benin, the *agoudas*.

Another interesting case that I discovered during my research dates back further, to the 17th century, and concerns the soldiers of the Terço de Henrique Dias (Third of Henrique Dias) or Terço de Gente Preta (Third of Black People) – *the Henriques* – blacks who served as interpreters during battles (LARA, 2008). It was the Henriques who took the letters from the governor of Pernambuco, one of the states of Brazil, and had the capacity to explain and translate them orally in the *Quilombo* of Palmares, the place in Brazil where escaped slaves lived. It is interesting to note that these black soldier-interpreters were ‘paid’ (received certain advantages) and ‘free’ (a conditional and limited freedom) when they decided to join the Tiers de Henrique. Between the 17th and 18th centuries, some members of the male black population participated in military colonial activities to obtain higher positions in the social hierarchy (MATTOS, 2007). If, on the one hand, the Henriques were seen as ‘official soldiers serving under the Portuguese crown’, on the other, they were seen as former slaves who were protected and useful, or stratified blacks within the colonial social pyramid.

After completing this study in 2018, I realised that my research had been concerned exclusively with male interpreters, and began to wonder whether there had also been black female interpreters. Starting from this gap, I am now following the traces of a number of black female warriors and heads of communities during the colonial period who might also have been interpreters: in the 17th century, Aqualtune and Dandara; in the 18th, Felipa Maria Aranha, Maria Luiza Piriá, Maria Juvita and Teresa de Quariterê (also known as Teresa de Benguela); and, in the 19th century, Zeferina, Maria Filipa de Oliveira, Zacimba Gaba and Mariana Crioula.

4. HISTORY OF BLACK WRITTEN TRANSLATION IN BRAZIL

With regard to written translation, the colonial past and the long history of slavery in Brazil mean that the black population did not have access to writing or to the writing professions until the 19th century. In addition, for a long time, national historiography perpetuated the myth that all the Blacks of the 19th century were illiterate. This view persisted until the middle of the 20th century, when research into literate Blacks and the black press started to emerge in universities, primarily via ethno-research, i.e. by black researchers carrying out research into black history⁷. At the present time, there are several research projects focussing on Blacks in the 19th century and their contribution to the development of the nation of Brazil across a range of different domains: anthropology, history, philosophy, medicine, engineering, geography, etc. In literary studies, there are famous 19th century black authors who have been widely studied and disseminated⁸ – including in the media. These authors also contributed to literary writing in Portuguese in Lusophone countries. However, there are still others who have been largely forgotten or not ever studied (SILVA-REIS, AMORIM, 2016).

In Translation Studies, the question of race is rarely addressed, particularly when what is under study is a profession that was principally exercised by Whites during the 19th century. Nonetheless, there were black translators in the 19th century, all of whom were important figures in the ethno-racial relations of the period, exerting literary and ideological influence in both Brazil and Portugal. These individuals also opened up new horizons for thinking and making national literature, politics and society; in this respect, translation was just one of the channels that they used to achieve their objectives. While there is not space to elaborate on these translators one by one, we can nevertheless note the basic biographical details here: Caetano Lopes de Moura (1780-1860), Francisco de Paula Brito (1809-1861), Antônio Candido Gonçalves Crespo (1846-1883), Tobias Barreto de Menezes (1839-1889), Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908), José Ferreira de Menezes (1842-1881) and José do Patrocínio (1853-1905)⁹.

⁷ For example, the studies by Ana Flávia Magalhães Pinto, entitled *De pele escura e tinta preta: a imprensa negra do século XIX (1833-1899)* / *Dark skinned and black ink: the black press of the 19th century (1833-1899)* (2006) and *Fortes laços em linhas rotas: literatos negros, racismo e cidadania na segunda metade do século XIX* / *Strong ties in broken lines: literati blacks, racism and citizenship in the second half of the 19th century* (2014), bring to light many literate blacks ‘forgotten’ by Brazilian historiography.

⁸ The work *Literatura e Afrodescendência no Brasil: antologia crítica*. / *Literature and Afrodescendence in Brazil: critical anthology* Volume 1 – Precursores (2014), edited by Eduardo de Assis Duarte, is one of the most relevant research projects in this context.

⁹ I discuss these translators and their ethno-racial relations in the Brazilian historiography of translation in the 19th century in Silva-Reis (in press).

Just two of these people worked as professional translators (Machado de Assis and Lopes de Moura), and tended to translate in order to improve their knowledge of literature and write their own texts. We should note that not all of these translators looked to translate subversive texts or texts that would alter the symbolic and cultural reality of black populations. This can be explained in part by the fact that the literary sphere of the 19th century was white and racist. Texts on ‘controversial racial topics’ were not considered to be good literature as they contravened the customary thinking of the era. Despite this, we see that Alexander Dumas – a black author – was translated as if he were a white canonical author. This symbolic and cultural whitening was typical of the age and also affected Machado de Assis as a Brazilian author. Although we know that Machado de Assis was black, the photographs of him and his style of writing and translating seemed to express a ‘white fabrication of writing and translating’.

Another important point in relation to the translators of the 19th century is the question, raised previously, about black women not having been translators. Undoubtedly, they were, but the historical sources about these women are extremely rare and dispersed and require further and more extensive research. One example among others is that of Maria Firmina dos Reis (1822-1917), an abolitionist writer from the Brazilian state of Maranhão. There are a number of indications to suggest that she was a translator because she had a very good command of French and taught in schools for girls (TELLES, 2013). However, we are yet to find any translations or translation criticism in her name or in the archives. Some think that this idea that she was a translator is a myth; others, like me, are searching for her lost translations.

5. CONCLUSION

With this brief overview, we see that ethno-historiographic research into male and female translators, written and oral, belonging to the black population, has the potential to uncover many stories that are yet to be researched and recorded. With the exception of Machado de Assis, very little research has been done into the translation activities of the individuals mentioned in this text – and these are amongst the more well-known figures. We can only imagine what therefore remains to be done and discovered. Writing the History of translation from the perspective of black populations is in fact an act of courage and resistance, given the white, patriarchal nature of current historiographies of translation.

The ethno-historiographical method of translation presented here can also serve to open up insights into the historiographical microstructures of the populations and peoples that make up many other nations. Within Brazil, there is a growing interest (albeit slow) in the Jewish, Japanese and European (particularly Italian and German) communities – people who settled in Brazil and have their own community histories, including those of translation and interpreting. Ethno-historiography can and should also lead us to consider international communities like the LGBTQI+ community and the community of women – two historiographical movements that are becoming more and more important in the history and theory of translation.

This sketch of an ethno-historiographical methodology for translation research is still a work in progress; nevertheless, it is part of a historiographical praxis whereby the (male or female) translation historian can evaluate his or her own narratives and reanalyse his/her sources – as well as expanding them – in order to write new, anti-hegemonic historiographies. Events, facts, actions and historical sources exist only in dispersed fashion; it is the (male or female) translation historian who decides how to unite them.

Finally, I believe that the praxis of ethno-historiography can add new value to research projects developed in the field of Translation Studies, since it brings out the epistemological perspective of the subject-researcher and aligns the work with what is termed ‘ethnoscience’, in which situated and localized knowledge is one of the bases for the constitutions of knowledge production and sharing. In other words, the ethno-historiographic approach serves to decolonize the canons of historiographical models of historical research.

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