

Caught in Translation Power Relations

The Curious Case of Sister Maria do Céu (1658-1753)

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Abstract Sister Maria do Céu, one of the most outstanding Portuguese writers of the Baroque period, left behind a voluminous bilingual œuvre which circulated in Portugal, but throughout the eighteenth century three anthologies also got published in Madrid. In this essay I will focus on the underlying translation power relations at various levels: (1) the Iberian networks that have led to the translations of Sister Maria do Céu's works; (2) the paratexts written by the translators and censors which contain interesting clues on translation, linguistic prestige, and the status quo of women; (3) the literary and linguistic patterns used by the translators.

Keywords Sister Maria do Céu. Baroque literature. Translation. Censorship. Gender.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Literary bilingualism and Iberian translation networks. – 3 Paratextual analysis and comments on the translation. – 4 Linguistic and literary patterns. – 5 Conclusions.



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1 Introduction

Sister Maria do Céu is considered one of the most outstanding Portuguese writers of the Baroque period, and one of the last representatives of the Portuguese-Spanish literary bilingualism that flourished during the Iberian Union (1580-1640).¹ She lived most of her life in the Our Lady of Hope convent in Lisbon, but her poems, plays, fictions, and devotional texts crossed the convent's walls, as well as literary genres, and linguistic spaces. She left behind a voluminous bilingual œuvre which circulated in Portugal. Throughout the eighteenth century, three anthologies were also published in Madrid: *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo* (Various Admirable Works of Mother Maria do Ceo) (1744),² *El novelero discreto y piadoso* (The Discreet and Pious Novelist) (1765), *La preciosa. Alegoria moral* (The Precious. A Moral Allegory) (1791). Not only did the Spanish translators rearrange the texts in their translation from Portuguese, but they also corrected linguistic errors and amended the metrics in those texts which had originally been composed in Spanish. In the anthology *La preciosa. Alegoria moral*, the author's name was deleted from the cover page and replaced with a male name. Sister Maria do Céu is not an isolated case, since some women suffered similar marginalization in literary history. Many enriched the Iberian literatures with their works, a few of them wrote in a linguistic in-between, and were translated into the Spanish cultural context between 1700-1800.

I will analyze this curious case of a translation between Iberian literatures and focus on the underlying power relations which occur at various levels: 1) the Iberian networks that have led to the translations of Sister Maria do Céu's works; 2) the paratexts written by the translators and censors which influence the reader of literary texts and contain interesting clues on translation, censorship control, linguistic prestige and the status quo of women in the literary field; 3) the literary and linguistic patterns used by the translators. Hence, this essay combines the study of translation and reception with a socio-literary approach. This approach promises more insights than a purely philological one, which mainly focuses on the comparison between the source and target texts.³

1 For the importance of women's authorship in the Early Modern Period in Portugal: cf. Anastácio 2013; Augusto 2010; Ebenhoch 2023; Moreira 2006; Morujão 2013.

2 All English translations have been carried out by the author of this article.

3 For the relationship between reception and translation, cf. Brems, Pinto 2013.

2 Literary Bilingualism and Iberian Translation Networks

Born in 1658, Maria Deça e Távora descends from a highly aristocratic Portuguese family, having professed her vows at the age of seventeen in the noble convent Our Lady of Hope in Lisbon's Estrela district. She stayed at this convent, which belonged to the Order of Saint Clare and where she held important offices such as abbess and novice mistress, until her death in 1753. She left behind a voluminous bilingual oeuvre, including religious pragmatic texts, hagiographies, allegorical narratives, pastoral novels, a rich production of poetry, and so-called *autos*, i.e. plays with biblical or dogmatic themes, which were performed on church holidays. The first printed works appeared under the pseudonym "Marina Clemência, Religiosa Franciscana da Ilha de São Miguel" (Marina Clemency, Franciscan nun of São Miguel Island) and from 1733 her religious name "Sóror Maria do Céu" (Sister Mary of Heaven)⁴ was used for the publications. As will be discussed in the following sections, contemporary reception brimmed over with praise for the author and her oeuvre. Its originality, elegant style, entertainment value, fruitful ideas, and moral-religious message were highlighted several times. Maria do Céu has been compared to, among others, the ancient poet Sappho, or the Mexican Baroque writer Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz, emphasizing her literary prominence. Much of her literary production was published during her lifetime; however, some of her works remain only in manuscript versions (Ares Montes 1983; Augusto 2010, 330-45, 400-42; Ebenhoch 2023, 117-78; Hatherly 1990; Moreira 2006; Morujão 2013).

Maria do Céu's work must be analyzed in the context of Portuguese-Spanish literary bilingualism. This phenomenon began at the end of the fifteenth century, reached its peak during the Iberian Union, and then ebbed significantly in the eighteenth century. According to Ivo Castro, the number of Portuguese authors who wrote at least part of their oeuvre in Spanish rose from 30 in the fifteenth century to 170 in the sixteenth century, 244 in the seventeenth century, and finally 32 in the eighteenth century (Castro 2002, 7-8). These include countless writers who are now less known, but also canonical authors such as Gil Vicente, Francisco de Sá de Miranda, Luís de Camões, Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, and Francisco Manuel de Melo. The texts are as divergent as the authors and their motivations for choosing Spanish as a literary language. They range from aesthetic fashions, genre-specific trends, higher prestige, and identity markers to commercial strategies in order to gain more international recognition (Brandenberger 2010; Buescu 2004; Castro 2002; Dios 2010; García Martín 2008; Hafner 2009; Vázquez Cuesta 1981; Vázquez Cuesta 1986; Wade 2022).

⁴ In old spelling: Soror Maria do Ceo.

Portuguese-Spanish literary bilingualism characterizes Maria do Céu's output as a whole, although clear genre-specific preferences can be discerned. She wrote all her plays in metrically bound form in Spanish, while the fictional prose is consistent in Portuguese. Her poetry production is bilingual, which applies both to the poems inserted in the prose texts, as well as to those published in anthologies or found in her letter correspondence.

One of her correspondents was Teresa de Moncada (1707-1756), a significant aristocrat, holder of numerous noble titles including Duchess of Medinaceli and closely linked with the Spanish royal court. Teresa de Moncada heard about the famed Portuguese nun, visited Sister Maria do Céu in Lisbon, and thereafter, the two kept in contact by letter, at least between 1738 and 1745 (Ferreira 2012, 23). María Carmen Marín Pina compares the relationship between Sister Maria do Céu and the Duchess of Medinaceli with the better-known relationship between Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz and Luisa Manrique, the Countess of Paredes, and assumes that Teresa de Moncada had a hand in the first Spanish publication of Sister Maria do Céu's work (Marín Pina 2018). An indication of this Iberian translation network based on personal friendship is the dedication to the "excelentissima señora Duquesa de Medina-Coeli" (most excellent lady Duchess of Medinaceli) as stated on the title page of *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*. The texts of this Spanish anthology were translated and edited by Enrique Flórez (1702-1773), who used in this and in other cases his second name Fernando and his second paternal surname Setién Calderón de la Barca. Flórez, an eminent historian and theologian, is a prototypical translator in eighteenth century Spain. Like José Miguel Alea, José Francisco de Isla, and Pedro Montegón, Flórez was a Catholic clergy, leaving an impressive work on a vast variety of topics, including translated literary and religious texts from more than one language into Spanish (in his case French and Portuguese).⁵ Between 1700 and 1810, French was the main source language for translations into Spanish, while Portuguese just played a minor role.⁶ Posthumously, two other works by Maria do Céu were published in Madrid: in 1765 *El novelero discreto y piadoso*, translated by Antonio Ruiz Miñondo, a pseudonym of the famous journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho; and in 1791 *La preciosa. Alegoría moral*, translated by Narciso Varela de Castro, but the authorship was attributed to Teodoro de Almeida [tabs 2-3].

⁵ For the relationship between clergy and translation, cf. Lafarga 2004.

⁶ Jean-Marc Buiguès (2002, 107) offers the following numbers: between 1700 and 1810, a total of 2513 translations into Spanish were published, in 2123 cases the source language could be identified. French (1138 titles, 54%) had a predominant role, followed by Italian (467 titles, 22%), Latin (302 titles, 14%), English (87 titles, 4%), Portuguese (51 titles, 2%), Catalan (26 titles, 1%), Greek (22 titles, 1%), German (16 titles, >1%), Arabic (7 titles, >1%), Dutch (5 titles, >1%), Hebrew (1 titles, >1%), and Turkish (1 titles, >1%).

Table 1 Comparison between the title pages of the Portuguese and Spanish editions (Céu 1741; 1744)

Portuguese edition 1741	Spanish edition 1744
<p>ENGANOS DO BOSQUE, DESEÑANOS DO RIO <i>Primera, e Segunda Parte.</i> AUTORA A M.R. MADRE MARIA DO CEO <i>RELIGIOSA, E DUAS VEZES ABADESSA DO</i> <i>Religiosissimo Mosteiro das Senhoras da Esperança da Provincia de Portugal.</i> OITAVO TOMO <i>OFFERECIDO</i> AO M.R. PADRE MESTRE Fr. LOURENÇO De Lancastro, etc. Pela costumada diligencia, e grande zelo do P. FRANCISCO DA COSTA Do Habito de S. Pedro, e qual já tem dado ao Prelo varios Tomos das obras da mesma Autora, e todos à sua custa. LISBOA OCCIDENTAL: Na Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, <i>Com todas as Licenças necessarias.</i> Anno 1741.</p>	<p>OBRAS VARIAS, Y ADMIRABLES DE LA MADRE MARIA DO CEO, RELIGIOSA FRANCISCA, y Abadesa del Convento de la Esperanza de Lisboa: Corregidas de los muchos defectos de la edicion Portuguesa, è ilustradas con breves Notas POR El Doct. D. Fernando de Settièn Calderon de la Barca: Y DEDICAS <i>A LA EXCELENTISSIMA SEÑORA</i> <i>Duquesa de Medina-Cœli, etc.</i> TOMO I. En Madrid: Por ANTONIO MARIN, año de 1744.</p>

Table 2 Comparison between the title pages of the Portuguese and Spanish editions (Céu 1733; 1765)

Portuguese edition 1733	Spanish edition 1765
<p>A PRECIOSA. OBRAS DE MISERICORDIA, Em primorosos, e mysticos Dialogos expostas: ELOGIOS DE SANTOS, Em varios Cantos Poeticos, e Historicos: Expendidos por MARINA CLEMENCIA, <i>Religiosa de S. Francisco no Convento da Ilha de S. Miguel;</i> Mandados à impressaõ, e offerecidos à Máý Santissima do Carmo MARIA SENHORA NOSSA, Por SYLVANO DAS ONDAS SEGUNDA PARTE. LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, Na Officina da MUSICA. M. DCC. XXXIII. <i>Com todas as licenças necessarias.</i> Vende-se na mesma Officina.</p>	<p>EL NOVELERO DISCRETO, Y PIADOSO PARA HACER HONESTOS LOS Estrados, y christianas las Tertulias, refiriendo dos pequenas Novelas sobre cada una de las Obras de Misericordia. COMPUESTAS EN PORTUGUES POR LA MADRE SOR MARINA <i>Clemencia,</i> Por otro nombre SOR MARIA DEL CIELO, TRADUCIDAS EN CASTELLANO <i>POR DON ANTONIO RUIZ MIÑONDO.</i> CON LICENCIA: <i>En Madrid: En la Imprenta de D. Gabriel Ramirez. Año de 1765.</i> <i>Se hallarà en el Real Almacen de Cristales, frente de S. Phelipe el Real.</i></p>

Table 3 Comparison between the title pages of the Portuguese and Spanish editions (Céu 1731; 1791)

Portuguese edition 1731	Spanish edition 1791
A PRECIOSA, ALLEGORIA MORAL, OFFERECIDA A EXCELLENTISSIMA SENHORA D. MARIA ANNA DAS ESTRELLAS, Religiosa no Mosteiro da Esperança de Lisboa, <i>e publicada por</i> D. JAYME DE LA TE E SAGAU, Cavalheiro da Ordem de São Tiago. SUA AUTHORA A MADRE MARINA CLEMENCIA, Religiosa de São Francisco no Mosteiro da Ilha de Saõ Miguel. LISBOA OCCIDENTAL, Na Officina da MUSICA. Anno de M. DCC. XXXI. <i>Com todas as licenças necessarias.</i> Vende-se na mesma Officina.	LA PRECIOSA ALEGORIA MORAL ATRIBUIDA AL P. D. TEODORO DE ALMEYDA, DEL ORATORIO Y CONGREGACION DE SAN FELIPE NERI. QUE DEL IDIOMA PORTUGUES TRADUXO AL CASTELLANO, PARA COMUN UTILIDAD, Y RECREO ESPIRITUAL DEL PUEBLO CRISTIANO DON NARCISO VARELA DE CASTRO. PUBLICALA DON ANTONIO ULLOA, YA SU COSTA. CON LICENCIA: EN MADRID. AÑO DE 1791. EN LA IMPRENTA, Y LIBRERÍA DEL DICH0 D. ANTONIO ULLOA, DONDE SE HALLARA, CALLE DE LA CONCEPCION GERONYMA.

The information included on the title pages of these last two translations [tabs 2-3] already indicates the social function of the books: “para hacer honestos los Estrados, y christianas las Tertulias” (to make the reception hall honest, and the gathering Christian), respectively “para común utilidad, y recreo espiritual del pueblo christiano” (for the common use and spiritual recreation of the Christian people). With the works of the Portuguese nun, the translators and editors evidently tried to instruct the Spanish public, leading them on a path toward Christianity. Such paratextual guidelines are also present within the books (dedications, forewords, censorship reports, footnotes, etc.) and offer us fascinating glimpses into the aesthetic, moral, and translational values, as well into the role of the censorship during the eighteenth century.

3 Paratextual Analysis and Comments on the Translation

In his seminal studies, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (1982) and *Seuils* (1987), Gérard Genette insists on the importance of all elements that surround and extend the text, “précisément pour le présenter, [...] pour le rendre présent, pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa ‘réception’ et sa consommation” (Genette 1987, 7; emphasis in original). Genette calls these elements ‘paratexts’ and

distinguishes between ‘peritexts’ and ‘epitexts’. Peritexts such as cover pages, titles, dedications, prefaces, or epilogues are attended to the text, while epitexts, such as press releases or interviews with the author, are external elements.⁷

Genette’s reflections on paratexts have been taken up by Translation Studies, where paratexts are mainly seen as a functional category that focuses on the mediatory aspect between the text and its context. Kathryn Batchelor, for example, applies the metaphor of “a consciously crafted threshold [...] which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received” (Batchelor 2018, 142). Paratexts accompanying translations cast aside the generally accepted invisibility of the translator. Allographic prefaces, for instance, often contain laudatory passages about the translator and their translation, and autographic paratexts usually have a high degree of self-reflexivity, sometimes expressing the translator’s aesthetic or ideological agenda (Batchelor 2018; Batchelor 2020; Hermans 2007; Pleijel, Podlevskikh Carlstrom 2022).

In the present section, I examine paratexts included in the book *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo* that explicitly comment on the translation. *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo* is largely based on the bilingual work *Enganos do bosque, desenganos do rio* (Enchantments of the Forest, Disenchantments of the River), which was published in Lisbon in 1736 and 1741. Several peritexts precede the literary texts of the Spanish anthology, namely: a cover page, a dedication letter to the Duchess of Medinaceli, two censorship reports, publication permits, an erratum, a price-fixing, and a foreword by the translator.

In the report for the Diocese of Madrid, the censor Manuel Martínez Pingarrón explains that both the author and the translator are unknown to him and that he can therefore judge the work presented impartially. He problematizes the question of literary genre, names Aesop and Francis of Assisi as literary models, and praises the sublime style of the manuscript. In keeping with the requirements of the textual genre of the censorship reports, the censor states that the work presented does not violate either ecclesiastical dogma or morality. Moreover, he adds that his opinion is in fact superfluous since the originals have already been approved several times. With great respect, he refers to the strict vigilance of the Portuguese Inquisition, explaining that this type of censorship was also practiced in Castile in the past and that many wish it to be practiced again. Addressing the translation, he states the following:

⁷ For a historical panorama about the use of paratexts in Spanish and Spanish-American literature of the Early Modern Period, cf. Pérez González 2022.

Se deben dar muchas gracias à Don Fernando por la traduccion, casi impossible de Obras, que tienen en la lengua original primores nativos, que no pueden trasladarse à otras; y ha hecho muy bien en despreciar la medida en algunos versos, à trueque de no pri-arnos de toda el alma de ellos; pero lo que mas se le debe agradecer, son las sabias notas, y advertencias que esparce, para quitar los tropiezos al escrúpulo. (Martínez Pingarrón 1744, n.p.)⁸

The second report was drawn up for the Royal Council of Castile, the primary censorship institution in Spain. It was from here that the censorship assignments were given. Apart from the Madrid Ordinariate, learned societies such as the Royal Spanish Academy and the Royal Academy of History set the tone in the second half of the eighteenth century. They dedicated a lot of space to aesthetic questions in their reports and evaluated the submitted manuscripts largely according to their didactic usefulness (Durán López 2016). In his judgment for the Royal Council of Castile, the censor Brother Juan Picazo praises the sweetness of the style, the usefulness of the doctrine and the quality of the literary concepts in *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*. He presents the following impression in regard to the translation:

No hallo cosa que me parezca censurable, pues la delicada atencion del Traductor previene oportunamente con sus Notas lo que pudiera detener à los indoctos. Cada Librito de estos es un abultado thesoro, con que pueden enriquecerse los discretos; por tanto no debia estar oculto en estos Reynos, y se debe agradecer la solicitud de quien le saca à la luz para assombro del sexo femenino, para envidia del masculino, para admiracion de ambos, para credito de mi Religion Serafica, y utilidad de todos. (Picazo 1744, n.p.)⁹

The question of the aesthetic quality of woman's writing in the context of patriarchal ideas, which is alluded to in the quoted passage,

8 "Many thanks are due to Don Fernando for the almost impossible translation of Works, which have in the original language native excellence, that cannot be transferred to others; and he has done very well in disregarding the metrics in some verses, in return for not depriving us of the whole soul of them; but what is most to be appreciated, are the wise notes, and warnings which he scatters, to remove the stumbling blocks to scrupulosity" (capital letter in the original).

9 "I find nothing to censure, for the Translator's delicate attention forewarns in due time with his Notes what might detain the unlearned. Every little Book of these is a great treasure, with which the discreet can enrich themselves; therefore, it should not be hidden in these Kingdoms, and the solicitude of those who bring it to light should be appreciated, to the astonishment of the feminine sex, to the envy of the masculine, to the admiration of both, to the credit of my Seraphic Religion, and to the use of all" (capital letters in the original).

is also addressed in the translator's foreword. The quality of Sister Maria do Céu's work, and, above all, the erudition displayed made him doubt whether the texts were really written by a woman:

Pareciòme al principio, que eran muchas flores para una Religiosa, y; demasiadas perlas para quien está vestida de sayal [...] Recelème tambien, si andaria por medio la mano de algun hombre, que [...] se valiesse del nombre de muger. Assi lo prometía la altura de la Obra, que sobre la delicadeza de talentos, de que es capaz una muger discreta, incluye una instruccion, que no es comun en muchos, que han cursado las Escuelas: apoyaba el recelo la experiencia de algunos, que han hecho ya estos robos; pero por otro lado juzgaba mi soberbia, que era mucha humildad el ocultar el nombre de quien podia coronarse con el lauro de Autor de tales obras. Estas dudas en mi han sido causa de que otro no las tenga; pues he averiguado con certeza, que la Madre Maria do Ceo es legitima madre de estos intelectuales partos [...]. (Setièn Calderón de la Barca 1744, n.p.)¹⁰

Given such arguments, it is not surprising that Maria do Céu's novel *La preciosa. Alegoria moral* in the Spanish translation was attributed to the famous Portuguese philosopher Teodoro de Almeida [tab. 3]. The Spanish version of 1791 contains no commentary on this attribution that is a de facto usurpation, "borrando toda huella de la autoría" (erasing all traces of the authorship) (Marín Pina 2018, 233) of Sister Maria do Céu. I suspect that behind this editorial decision was the hope of converting the 'symbolic capital' of Almeida's name into economic capital as his books were real bestsellers in Spain.¹¹ This was not an isolated case. Other literary texts of Sister Maria do Céu were attributed to a male author (Morujão 2003), and other women's names were replaced with men's names during the eighteenth century. Teresa Margarida da Silva e Orta (1712-1792) is an illustrative example. In 1752 she published *Aventuras de Diófanes*

10 "It seemed to me at first that they were too many flowers for a nun and too many pearls for one who is dressed in sackcloth [...] I also feared that the hand of some man might be involved, who [...] would make use of the name of a woman. This was promised by the greatness of the Work, which beside the refinement of talents, of which a discreet woman is capable, includes an instruction, which is not common in many who have studied in the Schools: the experience of some who have already committed these robberies strengthened my suspicion; but on the other hand, my pride judged that it was too much humility to hide the name of one who could be crowned with the laurel of the Author of such works. These doubts in me have been the cause of another not having them; for I have found out with certainty, that Mother Maria do Ceo is the legitimate mother of these intellectual fruits [...]" (capital letters in the original).

11 For the Spanish translations of the works of Teodoro de Almeida, cf. Piwnik 1992; Santos 2007.

(The Adventures of Diófanes) under the pen name Dorotéia Engrásia Taveda Dalmira. This adventure novel with clear feminist positions turned to be a bestseller in Portugal and Brazil, but the 1790 edition features Alexandre de Gusmão, an enlightened diplomat and statesman in the service of Portuguese King John V, as the ‘real author’. It was not until the twentieth century that the correct author’s name was printed on Silva e Orta’s book (Abreu 2003; Flores 2006, 111-65; Martins 2013; Santa-Cruz 2002).

4 Linguistic and Literary Patterns

Let us return to *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*. The original Portuguese version consists of two volumes in octavo format and a total of 700 pages. The allegorical novel *Enganos do bosque, desenganos do rio*, which provides the entire edition with its title, is accompanied by four plays, two cycles of poems on biblical themes, three cycles of allegorical compositions on flowers, fruits, and herbs, a cycle of *adagios*, *villancicos*, *coplas*, circumstantial poems, a novena, and a eulogy to saint Alexius. Most of the texts that accompany the novel are written in Spanish.

The book *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*, found only in Spanish and published as well in two volumes in octavo format, consists of 640 pages and mainly follows the structure of the Portuguese edition. Fernando de Setién Calderón de la Barca, the editor and translator, did not only translate from Portuguese, but also corrected some linguistic errors and amended the metrics in those texts that were originally written in Spanish. Regarding the choice of the cycles of allegorical compositions and miscellaneous poetry, Setién Calderón de la Barca took advantage of his freedom and added some works by the Portuguese nun that do not appear in the original version, while eliminating others (Hatherly 1990, 328-37, 342-4; Marín Pina 2018, 230-2). In his preface for the second volume, he gives the following explanation: “Los tratados [...] no salieron con la misma distribución en la edición de Lisboa, à causa de que allà los iban imprimiendo, no según pedia la coordinación de las materias, sino según se los arrancaban à la Autora” (The treatises [...] did not come out with the same distribution in the Lisbon edition, because they were printed there not according to the subject matters, but according to the way they were taken away from the author) (Setién Calderón de la Barca 1744, n.p.). According to Francisco da Costa, the editor of the Portuguese edition, some sisters of the congregation stole Maria do Céu’s manuscripts because she did not want them to leave the walls of the Our Lady of Hope convent. Later she gave her consent for her works to be printed (Costa 1741, n.p.).

In general terms, Setién Calderón de la Barca praises Maria do Céu's texts, especially the religious message and emotional impact. He states that he introduced explanatory notes regarding some unusual words, biblical allusions, and ambiguous contents. In fact, he adds 36 footnotes and 18 glosses to his Spanish translation. These paratexts include 20 references to biblical texts, 19 interpretations of allegorical passages, and 13 lexical explanations, mainly concerning ancient mythological figures and terms. But we must note here that the translator refrained from translating a total of 25 glosses of allegorical nature from the original Portuguese version.

Setién Calderón de la Barca acknowledges the author's commendable knowledge of Spanish; however, he explains that he amended some "lunares, que si en la Corte de Lisboa no pueden afeár, en la de acá desdicen de la moda" (spots, which, if in the Court of Lisbon they cannot disfigure, in this Court they fall out of fashion) (Setién Calderón de la Barca 1744, n.p.). On the book's title page, he is less diplomatic: "Corregidas de los muchos defectos de la edicion Portuguesa" (Corrected from the many defects of the Portuguese edition) [tab. 1]. The pejorative wording ('spots', 'defects') and the semantic antithesis within its syntactic parallelism (acceptable in Lisboa vs. unacceptable in Madrid), on one hand, suggest that the Spanish still used by Portuguese writers was considered old fashioned by contemporary Spanish speakers. Simultaneously, it implied a superior position of the Spanish editor towards the Portuguese author, considering her inferior for an inability to perfectly write in Spanish.

In what follows, I give an example of the translator's amendments: "Querido pastor mío" (My dear Shepherd), a poem included in the allegorical novel *Enganos do bosque, desenganos do rio*. This prose novel contains a total of 37 poems, of which eleven poems are in Portuguese and 26 in Spanish, i.e., Spanish as a poetic language predominates because it comprises 70% of the texts in verse.

"Querido pastor mío" is a *canción alirada* with a refrain in the last two lines of each stanza. Because of its metrical form and its bucolic and Petrarchan motifs, the poem can be situated in the lyric tradition inaugurated in the Iberian Peninsula by Garcilaso de la Vega and later cultivated by Brother Luis de León, two of Sister Maria do Céu's great poetic models. [Tab. 4] is the original version of the Portuguese edition on the left-hand side (Céu 1741, 149-51), and on the right are the changes made by the translator and editor in the Spanish edition (Céu 1744, 172-3). I have classified the modifications in square brackets according to their linguistic and literary modalities.

Table 4 Comparison between the Spanish and Portuguese editions of the poem “Querido pastor mío”

Vers	Portuguese edition (1741)	Spanish edition (1744)
1	Querido Pastor mio, que en esta soledad te doy un Sur de perlas, de lágrimas un mar:	Mar [capital letter]
5	adonde estàs, que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar? Con gemidos te busco, y en tanta sequedad si te llama el suspiro,	A donde [orthography] estàs? [punctuation] busco [style], hallar. [punctuation] sequedad, [punctuation]
10	solo responde el ay; adonde estàs, que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar?	ay: [italics, punctuation]
15	Las peñas enternesco, y tu por mas afán quedas a resistir, y la peña a quebrar adonde estàs, que te procuro y no te puedo hallar?	enternezco [orthography] afan, [punctuation] à [diacritic] La peña à quebrantar: [style, diacritic, punct.]
20	A mis ojos te escondes, sí me quieres matar, mátame con tu amor, y no con tu crueldad adonde estàs, que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar?	escondes: [punctuation] crueldad: [punctuation]
25	En esta amarga auzencia, que a mi pecho es puñal, ni puedo sentir menos, ni puedo sentir mas: adonde estàs,	ausencia [orthography] à [diacritic]
30	que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar? Porque di te pergunto, respondeme ya muero de tu desvio se vivo en tu beldad.	Por què, di, te pregunto [orthography, punct.] (y respondeme ya) [metrics, punctuation] desvío, [diacritic, punctuation] si [orthography], beldad? [punctuation]
35	adonde estàs, que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar? De un coraçon que llevas te pido la mitad, una quede a sentir,	corazon [orthography] à [diacritic]
40	otra se parta a amar. adonde estàs, que te procuro, y no te puedo hallar ¹⁶	aparta à amar [content, diacritic]

I would like to highlight the following aspects concerning the modifications: counting the alterations in the refrain only once, in the 42 verses of the poem there are 13 changes with respect to punctuation marks, six changes in diacritical marks, and six changes in spelling that partly update the archaic orthography and in two cases correct lusisms¹³ from the original text (verse 31 'pregunto' instead of 'pergunto', and line 34 'si' instead of 'se'). In verses 6, 16, and 40 the translator substitutes words, most probably due to stylistic preferences. In verse 32 he amends the metrics since the Portuguese version lacks a syllable to achieve an isosyllabism. These kinds of linguistic and metrical corrections as well as the stylistic changes appear frequently in the 26 poems that were originally written in Spanish.¹⁴

5 Conclusions

Based on the intra-Iberian translations of Sister Maria do Céu's works, I would like to formulate three final theses with which I aim to enrich the historical picture of the relationship between women's literature and translation within the 'contact zone' (Pratt 1995) or 'translation zone' (Apter 2006; Gimeno Ugalde 2021b; Gimeno Ugalde 2023) of the 'Iberian polysystem' (Gimeno Ugalde, Pacheco Pinto, Fernandes 2021).

First thesis: the eighteenth century translator does much more than transfer a text from one language to another, showing that translation is always a form of rewriting that implies a certain degree of creativity (Flynn 2013), a sort of 'refraction' when a literary work is adapted to a different audience (Lefevere 1982; 1992, 234-5). In the case of *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*,

12 "My dear Shepherd, | in this solitude | I give you a South of pearls, | of tears a sea: where are you, | I seek you, and I cannot find you? || With groans I seek you, | and in so much dryness | if the sigh calls you, | only the ay answers; | where are you, | I seek you, and I cannot find you? || The rocks I weaken, | and you by more eagerness | remain to resist, | and the rock to break | where are you, | I seek you and I cannot find you? || In my eyes you hide, | if you want to kill me, | kill me with your love, | and not with your cruelty | where are you, | I seek you and I cannot find you? || In this bitter absence, | that is a dagger in my breast, | I cannot feel less, | nor can I feel more: | where are you, | I seek you and cannot find you? || Because say, I ask you, | answer me now | I die of your deviation | I live in your beauty. | Where are you, | I seek you and cannot find you? || Of a heart that you carry | I beg you for half, | one half stays to feel, | the other half leaves to love. | Where are you, | I seek you and cannot find you?" (capital letter in the original).

13 Under the concept 'lusism', linguists usually subsume interference, faulty analogies, and hypercorrections that native speakers of Portuguese might employ when using Spanish.

14 Concerning the changes made to the poems of the novel *Enganos do bosque, desenganos do rio*, cf. Zimmermann 2020.

the translator is explicitly present because he adds explanatory and interpretative notes in the form of glosses and footnotes. In the specific case of those texts which were originally written in Spanish, the translator acts as a proofreader and editor, because he amends linguistic and metrical defects, updates the Spanish, and partly changes words which can also influence the content. The translator wants to adapt the translated texts to the taste of the Spanish readership.

Second thesis: the translator enjoys many freedoms. However, his production is inserted in the contemporary cultural framework and follows hegemonic patterns. Regarding *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*, the editor and translator took advantage of his position, on the one hand, by making several changes within the translated or adapted texts and adjusting them to Spanish taste; on the other hand, by choosing the texts that make up the Spanish anthology. In the paratexts, the hegemonic discourse is clearly manifested. This can be perceived in the misogynistic passages or the functional attribution of the translations. The function of the books, as shown on the title pages of the Spanish editions [tabs 2-3], is explicitly mentioned: the translated texts attempt to guide the readers towards a profoundly Christian culture.

Third thesis: each translation gives more visibility to the work because it significantly expands its potential readership, but at the same time it can obscure certain aspects of the original version.¹⁵ Again, we touch on the question of power relations in translation processes. In her study on the translation of contemporary novels from Catalan into Portuguese, Esther Gimeno Ugalde (2021a) has detected that some Portuguese editions do not mention that the novels were originally written in Catalan, since they only indicate the Spanish cultural context. The same is valid for *Obras varias y admirables de la Madre Maria do Ceo*, as the title page does not explicitly state that it is a translation, but only mentions the previous Portuguese edition. In contrast, the title pages of *El novelero discreto y piadoso* and *La Preciosa. Alegoria moral* show that we are dealing with translations into Castilian and mention the names of the translators. In the Spanish version of *La Preciosa. Alegoria moral* we can observe another kind of invisibility. The attribution of Maria do Céu's work to Teodoro de Almeida obliterates an important woman author's name and obscures the contribution of women to eighteenth century culture. Here we are not only confronted with linguistic-cultural power relations, but also with gendered power relations in the context of translated books. Unfortunately, the case of Maria do Céu is not the only curious case, but one of many examples of asymmetries between men and women in the publishing world.

¹⁵ For the visibility and invisibility of translations, cf. Emmerich 2013.

During the eighteenth century, it was common to find the work of Iberian nuns in a bi- or multilingual framework. Sometimes these women apologized in their texts for taking up the pen to compose literature. The works of Portuguese or Catalan¹⁶ nuns were rarely translated into Spanish, a language which traditionally had a predominant role on the Iberian Peninsula. In the case of Sister Maria do Céu, various factors influenced her status as an author: her gender, her decision to write literature (and not merely genuine religious texts), and her linguistic preference for the Portuguese-Spanish literary bilingualism. Once her works were translated and adapted to the Spanish cultural context, the translation power relations had deep impacts. As we discussed in this essay, the title pages, paratexts, translated works, and the reception of Sister Maria do Céu's œuvre oscillated between visibility and invisibility, originality and appropriation, orientation and manipulation.

¹⁶ For the Catalan context, cf. Zaragoza Gómez 2015.

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