

## Changing Geography through Translation, Quotation and Periodicals: The Viscount of Santarém and the Question of Casamance (1836–1843)

**Rita Bueno Maia**

Universidade Católica Portuguesa

rbuenaia@ucp.pt

ORCID: 0000-0002-9984-1381

### ABSTRACT:

The present article aims to explore a historical episode in which an act of translation managed to change the map of Portugal's colonial possessions in Africa. It discusses the strategies employed by the Portuguese Viscount of Santarém to help the Portuguese government reclaim its rights to territories in Guinea in the 1840s, while conceiving translation as a purposeful act (Vermeer, 1989) composed of three moments: pre-translation, translation, and post-translation (Gentzler, 2017). By shedding light on the Viscount's actions, which can be traced through his letters (Santarém, 1919), the article will demonstrate the key role played by rewrites and their citation in scientific and political journals in Portugal's victory over France in the "Question of the Casamance". To be more precise, the translation action involved: the publication of an intralingual translation of a manuscript that was believed to prove that Portuguese explorers were the first to arrive in Guinea; the writing of a scholarly work that served as a Portuguese-language epitext to the translation; the self-translation of the epitext into the academic lingua franca; and the use of

influence and money to get periodicals to quote, publish, and discuss excerpts from the three rewritings.

### **RESUMO:**

O presente artigo discute um episódio histórico em que um projeto de tradução terá conseguido alterar o mapa das possessões coloniais portuguesas em África. Discutem-se as estratégias utilizadas pelo Visconde de Santarém para ajudar o governo português a reclamar os seus direitos sobre territórios na Guiné na década de 1840, concebendo a tradução como uma ação movida por objetivos (Vermeer) e composta por três momentos: pré-tradução, tradução e pós-tradução (Gentzler, 2017). Ao lançar luz sobre as ações do Visconde, que podem ser reconstruídas a partir das suas cartas (Santarém, 1919), o artigo demonstrará o papel fundamental desempenhado pela publicação de reescritas e pela citação dessas mesmas reescritas em jornais científicos e políticos na vitória de Portugal sobre a França na “Questão da Casamansa”. Mais precisamente, o projeto de tradução envolveu: a publicação de uma tradução intralingual de um manuscrito que provava que os exploradores portugueses tinham sido os primeiros a chegar à Guiné; a redação de um trabalho académico que serviu de epitexto em língua portuguesa à tradução; a autotradução do epitexto para a língua franca académica (o francês); e, por último, o uso de influência e dinheiro para conseguir que os periódicos citassem, publicassem e discutissem excertos das três reescritas.

### **KEYWORDS:**

colonial possessions; geography; quotations; periodicals; post-translation

### **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:**

domínios coloniais; geografia; citações; periódicos; pós-tradução

Date of submission: 30/07/2023

Date of acceptance: 06/10/2023

## Introduction

*Translation and Geography* by Federico Italiano argues for the emergence of a “spatial turn” within the humanities. Italiano contends that this spatial turn has been primarily explored in postcolonial and ethnographic studies on translation, which aim to examine the power of translation in creating new and hybrid spaces, as well as critically assess the question of where translation takes place. In his book, Italiano explores how geographical accounts and cartography rely on translation procedures to construct and solidify “imaginative constructions of the world we live in” (Italiano, 2016: 18).

This article aims to delve into a historical case that exemplifies the intersection of translation, geography, and the news, more specifically translation’s citation in periodicals, in serving the colonial aspirations of the Portuguese state. Specifically, the focus will be on the “Question of Casamance” that transpired between 1836 and 1839. Throughout the nineteenth century, France and Portugal engaged in diplomatic disputes over their colonial possessions in Africa and Asia. In 1836, France laid claim to Casamance, a region located between Guinea Bissau and Senegal, arguing that it had been discovered by explorers from Normandy, France, rather than the Portuguese (Cattaneo, 2011).

To resolve this dispute and regain administrative control over Casamance, the Portuguese State sought the assistance of Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa da Mesquita Leitão e Carvalhosa, the Second Viscount of Santarém (Lisbon, 1791 — Paris, 1856, henceforth Viscount of Santarém), a researcher specializing in Geography, Cartography, and the History of Diplomatic Relations. To this day, the portrait of the Viscount of Santarém can be found in the main entrance hall of the Lisbon Geographical Society. The Viscount successfully unearthed and reinterpreted archival evidence supporting the Portuguese settlers’ status as the first arrivals in Casamance. Consequently, the French government withdrew its presence from the region in the 1840s. In his biography of the Viscount of Santarém, Daniel Protásio (2018) enumerates the three publications that informed and bolstered Portugal’s claim to the Casamance region.

Firstly, in 1841, the Viscount of Santarém, in collaboration with the Portuguese ambassador, Visconde da Carreira (Luís António de Abreu e Lima (1787–1871) in Paris, published a Portuguese–Portuguese translation of a fifteenth-century manuscript by Gomes de Azurara, the chief chronicler of the Portuguese kingdom during the 1400s. The translation bears the title: *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné escrita por mandado de Elrei Dom Affonso V, sob direcção científica, e segundo as instrucções do illustre infante D. Henrique pelo chronista Gomes Eannes de Azurara; fielmente trasladada do manuscrito original contemporaneo, que se conserva na Bibliotheca Real de Paris...* [Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, written at the behest of King Afonso V, under the scientific coordination and as per the instructions of the illustrious prince Henry by the chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara, faithfully translated from the original fifteenth-century manuscript, kept at the Royal Library in Paris..., henceforth *Chronicle*].

This translation was then analysed and supplemented by the Viscount's scholarly monograph, titled *Memoria sobre a prioridade dos descobrimentos portugueses na costa d'África Occidental para servir de illustração á Chronica da Conquista de Guiné por Azurara* [Memoir on the Priority of the Portuguese Discoveries on the Coast of West Africa, which served as an illustration to Azurara's "Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea"]. Both the monograph and the chronicle were published in the same year, followed by a French-language version of the former in 1842: *Recherches sur la priorité de la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique au delà du Cap Bojador*. The aim of these publications was to assert to an international audience that the Portuguese were the first to arrive in Guinea and, consequently, in Casamance.

While Portuguese historians have extensively documented and described this diplomatic episode, little attention has been given to the role of translation, particularly translations in periodicals and news translations, in Santarém's undertaking. However, mentions of translation and the necessity of rewriting translations in scientific and political periodicals pervade the Viscount's letters.

This article aims to reconstruct the role played by translated quotations in news articles and translated news articles in the development of the Question of Casamance, thereby highlighting the significance of translation in nineteenth-century diplomatic and scientific debates. Through an examination of the letters written by the Viscount of Santarém, it became evident that, in addition to publishing the volumes mentioned earlier, the Viscount strategically utilized citations from contemporary scholarly periodicals. His aim was to achieve specific post-translation effects. These effects entailed having excerpts from the *Chronicle* and the primary arguments of the *Memoir* translated into French and subsequently quoted in influential scholarly journals. This strategy was designed to engage in international scholarly debates, ultimately influencing the shaping of the colonial map.

## 1. Theoretical and methodological framework

As amply demonstrated by previous studies (e.g., Cattaneo, 2011; Protásio [2017] and 2018), and mentioned above, the Viscount of Santarém was appointed by the Portuguese government to take action in the Question of Casamance. This historical episode sheds light on the different aims attainable through translation, which goes beyond a faithful rendering of a source text. It was this premise that prompted Edwin Gentzler to defend a new method for translation history, one that goes beyond the textual comparison between source and target. Instead, Gentzler urges translation historians to analyse the preconditions for translation and, more importantly, the post-translation repercussions of target texts. One of the historical examples commented on by Gentzler may be enlightening to understand the relevance of post-translation studies:

The revolutionary war leaders of the Americas were not translating Locke, Rousseau or Montaigne because they wanted scholars at Harvard to review favorably their translations in learned journals, no, they wanted to introduce new ideas regarding

democratic systems and human rights into their cultures that were not free and were still governed by European powers. [...] The purpose was not to better represent European texts but to *change* the receiving culture, to alter the way people think about politics, liberty, individual freedom, and their relationship to the absent monarchy. Which comes first, the pen or the sword? (Gentzler, 2017: 2; italics in the original)

Hence, post-translation studies analyse translation and rewriting as products shaped by agents moved by specific purposes (whether aesthetic, ideological, cultural, religious, revolutionary, etc.), aiming, namely, at change. In essence, whether likened to a pen or a sword, translation often involves taking action with a particular purpose or scope.

Already in 1989, Vermeer sketched a summary of the *Skopos* theory, introducing it with the following principles:

The skopos theory is part of a theory of translational action. [...] Translation is seen as the particular variety of translational action which is based on a source text. [...] Any action has an aim, a purpose [...]. The word *skopos*, then, is the technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation. [...] Translational action leads to a “target text” (not necessarily a verbal one); translation leads to a *translatum* (i.e., the resulting translated text), as a particular variety of a target text. (Vermeer, 2000: 221)

The present article aims to explore the ways the Viscount constructed a *translatum* out of the *Chronicle* that ultimately enabled him to achieve the purpose for which he was commissioned. Through an examination of the letters by the Viscount, it is possible to partially retrace the translation history of the two aforementioned target texts: the intralingual translation of the fifteenth-century manuscript and the Portuguese–French translation of the monograph that followed. These rewritings comprise different translation procedures, and the internal history of these translations is surely relevant.

For the sake of the present article, a word is needed on the power of a particular type of knowledge, produced and disseminated by scholarly translations as well as voyages, the aim of which is representing places: Geography. Federico Italiano contends that different processes of translation take part in the construction of geographic knowledge. First, “geography produces spaces by naming them” (Italiano, 2016: 18), which is to say, it creates verbal equivalents to represent more or less distant places in domestic terms. Second, moving from toponymy to topography, “geography is not only the *translandum* but is translation per se, the process of translation in which the imagined (and imaginative) earth [...] becomes textual, the process by which we fix our ‘imaginative’ constructions of the world we live in” (19). Third and moving towards cartography, a transmediation process occurs whenever “the alphabetic, language-based” knowledge is translated “into the cartographic code system” (82).

Furthermore, this power should be considered in relation to the various negative aspects that translation has assumed throughout history. Naming lands, defining imaginative or idealized spaces, and mapping them can all be seen as potentially violent acts, especially if we agree with André Lefevere (1992) that translation, like all forms of rewriting, is influenced by patrons and their ideologies. As Federico Italiano astutely points out in *The Dark Side of Translation*, through

covert, silent, and imperceptible means, translation has been implicated in nefarious endeavors such as colonialism and war. This article primarily focuses on the invisible methods employed by the Viscount to ensure that his scholarly works and the geographic knowledge they conveyed influenced international opinion regarding the rights to Casamance. The aim was to influence diplomats and scholars so that the Portuguese State could reclaim colonial control over that African territory.

As will become clear in the results discussed ahead, the Viscount strove to get the *Chronicle* and its epitexts quoted (*verbatim* or in translation) and, hence, recontextualized or rewritten in scientific and political journals. One fact that should be borne in mind while reading the results is that translation was, in the nineteenth century and still is nowadays, invisible in journals, even though much of news writing actually derives from translation procedures. Indeed, one of the reasons journalists do not define their work as translators is the fact that news translation is a highly creative and transformative act. María José Hernández Guerrero (2006: 129) states that whenever a news story is translated and published in a new venue, it undergoes a series of transformations so that the target text complies with the new spatio-temporal framework, new audience, and possibly new function. Christina Schaffner and Susan Bassnett (2009) argue that all news stories are “recontextualized” every time they are translated across languages, territories, and media outlets. Recontextualization strategies include, according to these authors: selection (of material to translate, according to readers’ interests), addition (information may need to be backgrounded for new readers), deletion (some information that was not of general knowledge for one group of readers may be familiar to others), rearrangement (the text will follow the hierarchization of content done by the journalist), substitution (e.g., from one genre into another), reformulation (rewriting to comply, for example, with the editorial and/or ideological line of a newspaper). As for quotations, such as direct quotes with or without quotation marks, they undergo similar recontextualization procedures; every quotation moves away from its first venue to be (re)framed by a new context, a new story, a new thesis, a new argument.

The present research examines the letters by the Viscount dated from 1836 (the year when the Question of Casamance was initiated) and 1845 with the aim of locating explicit mentions of translation and rewritings. The argument will be that for the desired post-translation repercussions to be attained, the Viscount of Santarém sought to get the *Chronicle* and its epitexts quoted in periodicals with a twofold aim. On the one hand, these target texts would have an impact by being read, known, rewritten, and quoted. On the other hand, by closely monitoring the different recontextualizations undergone by the quoted material, the Viscount of Santarém tried to bring forward a particular *translatum*, the one judged more suitable for the Portuguese aspirations.

Quite surprisingly, the search yielded more results than anticipated: mentions of translation and rewritings appeared in over one hundred letters from the Viscount, as examined in the collection (Santarém, 1919). Moreover, these letters shed light on collaborations among various translation agents involved in the Casamance issue, revealing processes that can be situated, following Gentzler’s terminology, into distinct phases. These phases encompass the pre-translation stage,

notably involving efforts to secure funding for the translation; the translation stage, which, based on data, appears to involve multiple translatorship; and the post-translation stage, focusing on the strategies implemented to ensure the translation's impact and evaluating the success of these strategies.

## 2. Translation and citation: impact on journals

The letters analysed were exchanged among three agents: the Viscount of Santarém — the translator and the appointed expert to resolve a diplomatic and scientific dispute — the Minister of the Kingdom and Foreign Affairs until 1841, Rodrigo Fonseca Magalhães (1787–1858), and his successor Duque da Terceira (1781–1850). This translation project was, then, first and foremost, a diplomatic affair, and the Viscount of Santarém was the expert appointed to carry it out. The reasons for commissioning this project to the Viscount of Santarém undoubtedly had to do with his (by the 1840s already) long and respectable career as an archivist and historian. As Protásio (2018) informs, the Viscount of Santarém had begun his scholarly work in Brazil, where he resided after moving to Rio de Janeiro along with the Royal family at the beginning of the Peninsular Wars (1807). Back in Portugal, he aligned with King D. Miguel I and the Absolutist party, who were defeated in the Portuguese Civil War (1832–1834). As a consequence, he went into exile in Paris, where he pursued his research work, capitalizing on the richness of the Parisian archives.

It seems fair to suggest that the fact that the Viscount of Santarém was in Paris also played a role in his appointment for the diplomatic and scientific dispute over the discovery of Guinea. By the mid-nineteenth century, there was already a general consensus that the French Royal Library in Paris held valuable sources on Portuguese History. Some of these sources — many of which were in manuscript form — were believed to be lost forever. This was the case of the *Chronicle* before the manuscript was rediscovered in Paris by the French intellectual and archivist Ferdinand Denis (1798–1890) and published by the Viscount of Santarém and the Viscount of Carreira. From the sixteenth century until the issuing of the intralingual translation in 1841, the *Chronicle* only lived through quotations and citations: “Durante quase três séculos havia-se perdido traço da Crónica dos feitos da Guiné. Citada e amplamente utilizada por João de Barros em meados de Quinhentos, poucos anos volvidos, Damião de Gois julgava-a já perdida” [For almost three centuries, traces of the *Chronicle* of the deeds of Guinea had been lost. Cited and widely used by João de Barros in the mid-1500s, a few years later Damião de Gois thought it had already been lost] (Cattaneo, 2011: 56).

The introduction to the *Chronicle* clearly informs that the aim of this target text was to change the international consensus about the History of the discoveries of West Africa and, ultimately, change the map of colonial possessions in the area of Guinea:

É pois a esta singular e gloriosa excepção que devemos o precioso monumento que vamos dar pela primeira vez ao publico: a *Chronica da Conquista de Guiné* por Gomes de Eannes d'Azurara, escripto que é incontestavelmente não só um dos monumentos

mais preciosos da gloria portugueza, mas também o primeiro livro escripto por autor europeu sobre os paizes situados na costa occidental d'África além do *Cabo Bojador* [...]. Com effeito tendo sido os Portuguezes os primeiros descobridores dos paizes situados além do Cabo Bojador (1), a honrosa missão de primeiro recontar estes descobrimentos competia a um portuguez. (Zurara, 1841: vii–viii; italics in the original)

[It is, therefore, to this singular and glorious exception that we owe the precious monument that we are about to present to the public for the first time: the *Chronica da Conquista de Guiné* by *Gomes de Eannes d'Azurara*. This script is undeniably not only one of the most valuable monuments of Portuguese glory but also the first book written by a European author about the countries situated on the west coast of Africa beyond Cape Bojador [...]. As the Portuguese were the first discoverers of the countries beyond Cape Bojador (1), the honorable mission of recording these discoveries fell to a Portuguese.]

The success of the enterprise was not only shedding light on this historical source by “faithfully translating it” (as this target text’s title informs) but also rewriting it in such a manner as to frame it as the ultimate proof of the Portuguese’s rights to the region of Casamance. Consequently, the introduction refers to the Portuguese-language epitext throughout. The footnote (1) referred to in the quotation above reads: “(1) Vide a nossa Memória sobre a prioridade dos descobrimentos portuguezes na costa d’Africa occidental. Paris, 1841” [See our Memoir on the priority of the Portuguese discoveries on the West African coast, Paris, 1841]. That is to say, the *translatum* depended not only on the source text but on two framing<sup>1</sup> devices: the introduction and the *Memoir*.

Moving to the letters by the Viscount of Santarém, on November 16, 1840 (in the pre-translation phase, before the target texts were issued), the Viscount informed that the sum the Government planned to dedicate to the translation project would not be sufficient. The letter reads:

Na conformidade do que V. Ex.a teve a bondade de me escrever nas suas cartas de 2, e 23 d’Outubro e do 1.º do corrente na previsão de que a somma posta á minha disposição para a publicação da Memoria sobre as nossas possessões na Costa d’Africa, não seria sufficiente, terei em consequencia a honra de submetter nesta carta á consideração de V. Ex.a alguns detalhes acerca da parte pratica e financeira concernente á publicação da dita Memoria, e seus documentos, e addições, bem como da traducção Franceza, e publicação d’extractos nos Jornaes, analyses &.a (135)

[In conformity with what Your Excellency had kindly communicated to me in your letters dated October 2nd, October 23rd, and the 1st of this month, I acknowledge that the sum allocated for the publication of the Memoir on our possessions on the Coast of Africa might be insufficient. Therefore, I take the liberty of presenting in this letter some pertinent details regarding the practical and financial aspects of publishing the Memoir, along with its accompanying documents and supplementary materials. I hereby submit for Your Excellency’s consideration the specific details concerning the practical and financial aspects of publishing the aforementioned Memoir, along with its documents and additions. Additionally, I would like to propose the translation of

---

<sup>1</sup> This analysis of the functioning of paratexts as (re)framing devices is informed by Pinto’s 2020 case study on (pseudo)Japanese literature translated into Portuguese: “With this corpus of analysis in mind, the purpose of the present article is to examine paratexts as reframing devices that tell different stories about a same author figure (Yoritomo-Tashi) and the books he is purported to have written, ultimately framing the literary and cultural system to which he belongs” (211).



the Memoir into French, as well as the publication of selected excerpts in relevant Journals and analyses, etc.]

Interestingly, the translation project entailed, at its very beginning, the need to budget not only the translation and the printing of the target texts but also their quotations and rewrites in periodicals. The Viscount explains later in the same letter:

A inserção dos extractos nos Jornaes politicos, é igualmente muito dispendiosa, visto que de dois arbitrios que a este respeito se podem tomar, ambos são custosos como V. Ex.a mui bem previo. Se os extractos são simplicies, cada linha custará mais de 1 franco, e se para se poupar despeza, estes se encurtão, a força dos argumentos, e das provas, sendo mutiladas, o effeito que necessitamos que elles produzão diminue, e por tanto só podem ser os ditos extractos publicados em artigos feitos pelos redactores da parte litteraria, e scientifica dos mesmos Jornaes, mas aqui neste paiz no qual o espirito de ganho domina tudo, estes senhores fazem-se pagar mesmo pelos seus maiores amigos. (Santarém, 1919: 137)

[The inclusion of excerpts in political journals is also highly expensive. When it comes to the two available options, both incur significant costs. If the excerpts are kept simple, each line will cost more than one franc. If we attempt to reduce costs by shortening them, the strength of the arguments and evidence will be compromised, thereby diminishing the desired impact. It is logical to state that these extracts can only be published in articles authored by the editors of the literary and scientific sections of the same journals. However, in this country where the pursuit of profit prevails, these individuals even demand payment from their closest friends.]

This excerpt is telling. The effect we — i.e., the translator/scholar and the Minister of the Kingdom and Foreign Affairs — are seeking depends on quotes, reviews, and other rewrites in political periodicals. However, impact is paid and thus asks for a specific budget. Of course, the question of Casamance being also scientific, impact on scientific journals and academia was also sought. In the same letter, we read:

Quanto a alguns dos jornaes scientificos principaes, com esses mui pouco haverá a dispender, e menos ainda com aquelles de que eu sou collaborador como tive a honra de informar a V. Ex.a pelo correio passado, visto que os artigos alli serão publicados em virtude de arranjos que farei com a direcção dos mesmos jornaes. (138)

[Regarding certain prominent scientific journals, there will be minimal expenses allocated to them, and even less for those with which I am affiliated, as I had the privilege of mentioning in my previous correspondence. This is due to the fact that the articles will be published through arrangements that I will establish with the editorial board of those journals.]

Hence, Santarém's situation in Paris and being a member of different scientific associations was also beneficial. It is indeed important where translation takes place.

As for the translation phase, the letter dated April 26, 1841, informs that the Viscount was “tratando da traducção Franceza [da *Memoria*], e trabalho para que algumas analyses sejam feitas pelos Jornaes Litterarios e Scientificos sobre o mesmo texto Portuguez” [managing the French translation [of the *Memoir*], and working so

that some analyses may be made by the Literary and Scientific Journals on the same Portuguese text] (178). Even though it is not very clear who was actually translating, it seems probable that the Viscount was supervising and correcting the Portuguese–French translation of his scholarly work. More importantly, the Viscount asked for copies of several documents from the Portuguese National Archives to include in the French translation of his work. Consequently, as early as April 19, the Viscount contended that the French translation of the *Memoir* was intended to be the version most widely read in Europe and the one that should preferably be distributed to diplomats (169). And this is due not only to the fact that French was the *lingua franca* but also because the scholar/translator improved the research work in the translation. The Viscount goes as far as to suggest that the Portuguese Official Gazette should quote the French *Memoir*, translating it back to Portuguese:

Não posso tão-bem deixar de considerar como idea de V. Ex.a a outra publicação que acabo de vêr no Diario do Gov.º de 25 de Fev.o isto é, a de se publicar a m.a Memoria integramente. A este respeito devo dizer a V. Ex.a que me parecia opportuno que o 8.º vii.º que trata da Casamansa fosse substituido pelo da obra Franceza que envio incluso e que é mais completo e concludente. Devendo traduzir-se no caso que V. Ex.a adopte este arbitrio. A Memoria Portugueza como V. Ex.a, verá, foi toda refundida e acrescentada quasi com o dobro na edição Franceza; mudei-lhe até a ordem dos cap.os e hoje julgo a Portugueza mui diminuta principalm'te na parte scientifica. (225–226)

[I cannot disregard the idea you presented in the publication I recently came across in the *Diario do Governo* on February 25th, which suggests publishing my *Memoir* in its entirety. In this regard, I must inform Your Excellency that it appears advantageous to me to replace Part 8 vii, which pertains to the Casamance, with the enclosed French work, as it is more comprehensive and conclusive. Should Your Excellency approve this proposition, the French work should be translated. The Portuguese *Memoir*, as you will observe, underwent substantial revisions and nearly doubled in length in the French edition. I even rearranged the order of the chapters, and I currently find the Portuguese version to be rather limited, particularly in its scientific section.]

Finally, as for creating impact and assessing it, a letter stamped confidential to the Duke of Terceira, who tellingly moved from the Ministry of War to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Viscount makes the following retrospective:

Foi-me, pois, necessario conduzir este negocio com summa delicadeza e cautela, preparando pouco a pouco a opinião a nosso favor por meio de acção das Sociedades Scientificas, e das authoridades mais importantes, e isto de modo que antes mesmo de se ter publicado a obra, que envio a V. Ex.a, já a nossa questão se tinha ganho pelo juizo que as mesmas authoridades competentes tinham feito á face da Europa.

Em primeiro logar consegui que o Comité do Journal des Savants, jornal que exerce uma influencia scientifica immensa, não só aqui mas em toda a Europa, publicasse 2 grandes artigos sobre a Chronica da Conquista da Guiné (N.95 de Junho, e Dezembro do anno proximo passado) e nos quaes tratando-se, e analysando-se as minhas Notas e Memorias Portuguezas se reconheceo a prioridade dos nossos descobrimentos africanos, emquanto por outra parte consegui que no Bolletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Paris do mez de outubro do dito anno se inserissem os Capitulos X, XI e XII do texto Francez que respeitava á parte da historia das cartas historicas e geographicas, capitulos que só per si destruiam sem replica as pretenções dos escriptores francezes, e estabelecimento para sempre scientifica e documentalmente os nossos direitos. Pelo mesmo tempo comecei a distribuir o Atlas tanto no Instituto Real de França, como na Sociedade Geographica e a alguns dos Ministros. As conclusões

sobre este assumpto forão publicadas nas transacções da Sociedade e traduzidas no Diario do Governo ao qual me remetto. (270–271)

[Therefore, it was imperative for me to handle this matter with the utmost delicacy and caution, gradually shaping a favorable opinion through the involvement of Scientific Societies and esteemed authorities. This approach aimed to ensure that even before the publication of the work, which I am currently sending to you, our cause had already garnered support through the judgments rendered by these competent authorities in the eyes of Europe. Primarily, I succeeded in persuading the Committee of the *Journal des Savants*, a newspaper renowned for its significant scientific influence not only locally but throughout Europe, to publish two substantial articles on the *Chronicle* of the Conquest of Guinea (N.95 of June and December of last year), in this publication, while dealing with and analysing my Portuguese Notes and Memoirs, the priority of our African discoveries was recognized. Additionally, I managed to have Chapters X, XI, and XII of the French text inserted in the Bulletin of the Paris Geographical Society in October of that year. These chapters, which concern the history of historical and geographical charts, alone debunked the claims of the French writers without any possible refutation, thereby firmly establishing our rights, both scientifically and documentally, for perpetuity. Concurrently, I initiated the distribution of the Atlas to the Royal Institute of France, the Geographical Society, and some of the Ministers. The conclusions regarding this matter have been published in the Society's transactions and were translated in the Government Gazette to which I refer.]

In conclusion, even before the French translation of the scholarly work that, by rewriting and supplementing the *Chronicle*, demonstrated the priority of the Portuguese Discoveries and Settlement in Guinea, the Viscount had already prepared the terrain for impact. Secondly, the rewriting of the intralingual translation of the *Chronicle* by two major articles of the *Journal de Savants* was also key to “the business”. Finally, the impact was assessed in the year of 1843 by the collection of the different articles on the *Chronicle* and the *Memoir* and excerpts published in scientific and political newspapers and the translation of this clipping into Portuguese and their publication in *Diario do Governo*, i.e., the Portuguese Official Gazette.

### **Concluding remarks**

The Portuguese Official Gazette should surely be a good source to complement the present investigation. One limitation of the data collected is the fact that it is based solely on the correspondence authored by the Viscount of Santarém. Nevertheless, the letters discussed here shed light on the Viscount of Santarém's agency in the Question of Casamance. Particularly, it uncovered the Viscount's strategy of ensuring international recognition of his arguments and, ultimately, reinforcing Portugal's colonial power over Casamance. A strategy that relied not only on the translation of relevant documents and their rewriting in scholarly works but also on one of the most invisible forms of power: translation and quotation in periodicals. Furthermore, the analysis sheds light on the multi-agent translation reality involved in the “translation story”. The collaboration between the Viscount of Santarém, the Viscount of Carreira, the Minister of the Kingdom and Foreign Affairs, and various scientific and political journals demonstrates how multiple translatorship played a role in achieving the desired impact.

Having situated the present research within the spatial turn in the humanities, the data discussed have the merit of pointing out the role of translation and translators in changing the geography of the world we live in. Additionally, this exploratory study on the role of translation and quotation in the Question of Casamance adopted an ethnographic approach informed by actor–network theory.

Future works on the same topic could be approached within genetic translation studies (Nunes, Moura, and Pinto, 2021) and discuss the notions of life, survival, and afterlives of translation. Similarly, to so many studies within genetic translation studies (as indicated by Nunes, Moura and Pinto, 2021: 10), the genetic dossier by the Viscount of Santarém also denounced the improvement of a source text by means of its (self-)translation. On the one hand, the French version of the *Memoir* not only extended the life of its Portuguese-language source text by making the content available to an international readership but also allowed the (self-)translation of the *Memoir* into French as a way of rewriting, revising, and supplementing this scholarly work so that it not only lived beyond its original life but lived better.

Finally, the notion of survival could have elucidated further links between translation and citation in the story of the *Chronicle*. In the moment prior to the translation, the *Chronicle* led a half-spectral life, escaping oblivion through citations and quotations. After being resurrected by the 1841 intralingual translation, the *Chronicle* outlived through its *translatum* performed in and by various quotations that were inserted, commissioned, bought, and translated by the Viscount in periodicals.

## Works Cited

- BIELSA, Esperança, and Susan BASSNETT (2009). *Translation in Global News*. Routledge.
- CATTANEO, Angelo (2011). “A construção e difusão internacional da memória historiográfica do Infante Dom Henrique pelo 2.º Visconde de Santarém.” *A herança do Infante*, edited by Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa. Câmara Municipal de Lagos/CEPCEP/CHAM, pp. 49–66.
- DASILVA, Xosé Manuel (2016). “En torno al concepto de semiautotraducción.” *Quaderns*, vol. 23, pp. 15–35.
- GENTZLER, Edwin (2017). *Translation and Rewriting in the Age of Post-translation Studies*. Routledge.
- HERNÁNDEZ GUERRERO, María José (2006). “Técnicas específicas de la traducción periodística.” *Quaderns*, vol. 13, pp. 125–139.
- ITALIANO, Federico (2016). *Translation and Geography*. Routledge.
- ITALIANO, Federico (2020). “The Dark Side: An Introduction.” *The Dark Side of Translation*, edited by Federico Italiano. Routledge, pp. 1–15.
- LEFEVERE, André (1992). *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. Routledge.

- MILTON, John, and Paul BANDIA (2011). “Introduction: Agents of Translation and Translation Studies.” *Agents of Translation*, edited by John Milton and Paul Bandia. John Benjamins, pp. 1–18.
- NUNES, Ariadne, Joana MOURA, and Marta Pacheco PINTO (2021). “What Is Genetic Translation Studies Good for?” *Genetic Translation Studies: Conflict and Collaboration in Liminal Spaces*, edited by Ariadne Nunes, Joana Moura, and Marta Pacheco Pinto. Bloomsbury, pp. 1–23.
- PINTO, Marta Pacheco (2020). “Who Framed Yoritomo-Tashi? To Be or Not to Be.” *Diacrítica*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 207–221.
- PROTÁSIO, Daniel Estudante [2017]. “SANTARÉM, 2.º Visconde de (Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa da Mesquita de Macedo de Leitão e Carvalhosa) (18/11/1791 — 17/1/1856).” *Dicionário de historiadores portugueses da Academia Real das Ciências ao final do Estado Novo*, coordinated by Sérgio Campos Matos. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, <https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/> (accessed 01/09/2022).
- PROTÁSIO, Daniel Estudante (2018). *2º Visconde de Santarém (1791–1856): Uma biografia intelectual e política*. Chiado Books.
- SANTARÉM, Visconde de (1842). *Recherches sur la priorité de la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale d’Afrique... et sur les progrès de la science géographique, après les navigations des Portugais, au XVe siècle*. [Paris:] Vve Dondey-Dupré.
- SANTARÉM, 2.º Visconde de (1919). *Correspondencia do 2.º Visconde de Santarém*, compiled, coordinated, and annotated by Rocha Martins and published by the 3rd Viscount of Santarém, volume VI. Alfredo Lamas Motta & C.ª Lda.
- SCHAFFNER, Christina, and Susan BASSNETT (2009). “Introduction: Politics, Media and Translation — Exploring Synergies.” *Political Discourse, Media and Translation*, edited by Christina Schaffner and Susan Bassnett. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 1–29.
- VERMEER, Hans J. (2000 [1989]). “Skopos and Commission in Translational Action.” *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, translated by Andrew Chesterman. Routledge, pp. 221–232.
- ZURARA, Gomes Eanes de (1841). *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné [...]*. [Paris:] J.-P. Aillaud.

**Rita Bueno Maia** is an Assistant Professor of Translation Studies in the School of Human Sciences at Universidade Católica Portuguesa and a member of the research group “Cognition and Translatability” at the Research Center for Communication and Culture. She has recently co-authored *Indirect Translation Explained* (Routledge, 2022). She is co-coordinator of the international research network IndirecTrans and has worked as a literary translator for the theater. Her research interests include translation and exile, pseudotranslation, news translation, and indirect translation.