*SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation*, 2025; 18(1): 29–49
doi: 10.33542/JTI2025-1-04

# Translating and Retranslating Sarmiento's *Facundo*

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***Abstract***
*This study seeks to contribute to a gap in our understanding of retranslations through a case study, specifically one that focuses on Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's* Facundo*. This book, widely held to be a Latin American literary classic and cultural touchstone, took shape in the late nineteenth century. It was translated from the Spanish into English by Mary Peabody Mann in 1868 and Kathleen Ross in 2003, providing a rare instance of a retranslated work of Latin American thought. The present study will specifically focus on two aspects of retranslation: production and reception. It will consider production by focusing on the why and the how of* Facundo*'s translation and retranslation. The study will additionally consider reception by surveying the inclusion of the translation and retranslation in book reviews and collected volumes, such as anthologies.*

***Keywords****: translation; retranslation;* Facundo*; Juan Domingo Sarmiento; Mary Peabody Mann; Kathleen Ross*

## 1. Introduction

Latin America has a proud tradition of *pensadores*, or philosophers who reflect on the experiences of their own societies in a way that addresses fundamental questions about life and the human condition. Indeed, people in Latin America have been thinking about their reality and philosophizing from it since at least colonial times, long before there was something there to call Latin America (see Stehn 2014). From colonial times to the dawn of the twenty-first century, Latin American thought has been and continues to be vibrant, at times heatedly so, but outside of the region, very little of it is known. This is in part due to the unequal transit of ideas between the global north and the global south, with ideas flowing mostly from north to south (González Núñez 2022: 840–842). When ideas do flow northward, these generally make the journey through translation. But book translation, including literary translation, between English and Spanish occurs mostly out of English and into Spanish. This is evidenced in the estimate that only about 3% of all books published in the United States are translations, i.e. not originally written in English (see Rutherford et al. 2024: 4). While the exact number of translated books is hard to determine with precision, the data suggests that "translation rates remain depressingly but unsurprisingly low" (Rutherford et al. 2024: 4).

It is not surprising then that most works of Latin American thought never get translated into English, as is the case of José Enrique Rodó's *El mirador de Próspero*. A few, however, get translated, even if only once, as with José Carlos Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*. And there are a few that get translated once and then retranslated. Such is the case with Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo*. A foundational work of Latin American thought and culture, *Facundo* was fully translated into English in 1868 and then in 2003. These works of Latin American thought that are translated into English more than once are the exception rather than the rule (i.e. non-translation).

Writings that are translated more than once, i.e. retranslated, provide an opportunity to explore several questions. The first question that is usually asked is why a particular work would be translated more than once. Another interesting question is how a retranslated work is produced and inserted into the receiving culture. Such questions will be explored in this study. To begin such explorations, this paper will first provide a brief theoretical basis for its approach to retranslation. Then, it will provide some practical background on Sarmiento's life and on *Facundo*, the most famous book he authored. Such information on the author's life and his work was obtained from several scholarly sources. Several nineteenth-century editions of *Facundo* will be referenced, all of which were individually examined by the author, either through scanned copies obtained online or physical copies obtained through different university libraries. Next, the paper will describe the translation and retranslation of *Facundo* into English, focusing on their respective translators and translating processes. Information on the initial translation and its translator was gathered from scholarly sources, while information on the retranslation and retranslator was gathered from a personal interview with the retranslator. To gauge how each of these English-language translations were received in the target culture, the paper will consider how they were reviewed and to what extent they have been anthologized. Information on these reviews was gathered through bibliographical research. Once the reviews were identified, digital copies of the reviews were obtained for analysis. A similar process was followed for the anthologies (in this case: bibliographical identification followed by obtaining hardcopies). The paper will then close with the drawing of some final conclusions.

## 2. Theoretical background

There is a great deal of scholarship on retranslation (e.g. Zaro Vera & Ruiz Noguera 2007). A starting point in reviewing such scholarship would be seeking to understand the concept. In a seminal essay on retranslation, Antoine Berman (1990: 1) defined retranslation as "[t]oute traduction faite après la première traduction d'une oeuvre". This definition is broad enough to be problematic, posing questions such as whether it includes revisions and indirect or relay translations (Zaro Vera 2007: 21). On this, Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen (2010: 47) suggest that revision and retranslation might be thought of as part "continuum where different versions seamlessly slide together or even coalesce". This makes it difficult to separate revision from retranslation. In turn, regarding indirect translations, Koskinen and Paloposki (2010: 294) suggest that considering "indirect or relay translations in the framework of retranslation" is probably "more misleading than useful," so it may be helpful to dispense with them. Perhaps because of these difficulties, scholars tend to work with the understanding that retranslations are "new translations, in the same language, of a text already translated" (Peeters & Van Poucke 2023: 4). The present paper will adopt this definition of retranslation, categorizing the 2003 translation of *Facundo* as a retranslation.

Much of the scholarship on this topic has focused on what has been dubbed the Retranslation Hypothesis (Paloposki & Koskinen 2010: 33). This idea—that "first translations of foreign works tend to stick more closely to domestic genre expectations than subsequent renderings" (Hermans 1999: 139–140)—has been increasingly questioned (see Deane-Cox 2014: 4–5; Peeters & Van Poucke 2023: 4–8). On this point, Sharon Deane-Cox (2014) points to some alternative scholarly understandings of retranslation. One alternative to the "history-as-progress" model implied in the Retranslation Hypothesis comes from authors (e.g. Susam-

Sarajeva 2003) who point out that retranslation is "contingent on the conditions of the receiving system in which it circulates" (Deane-Cox 2014: 11–12). Another model is found in authors (e.g. Pym 1998) that view retranslation as the result of a degree of "rivalry and differentiation" between translators (Deane-Cox 2014: 14). Other authors (e.g. Chevrel 2010) see retranslation as a dialogue between the source text and previous translations, a dialogue that can be "antagonistic, revelatory or reverential" (Deane-Cox 2014: 17). All these models call into question the validity of the Retranslation Hypothesis.

It is not surprising, therefore, that on their overview of the current state of the art regarding retranslation, Kris Peeters and Piet van Poucke (2023: 11) unequivocally conclude: "the retranslation hypothesis does not work, for a number of reasons, and should be dismissed as a whole". Thus, while it is tempting to think of the 2003 translation of *Facundo* in terms of how much it, as retranslations have been claimed to do, "ne cherche plus à atténuer la distance entre les deux cultures" (Bensimon 1990: ix), this paper will not dwell on such considerations.

A perhaps more interesting question is why something is retranslated. On this, there is plentiful scholarship as well (see Koskinen & Paloposki 2010: 294; Peeters & Van Poucke 2023: 12–13). While a number of reasons have been observed (e.g. Brisset 2004; Venuti 2004), a common theme in previous studies is that retranslations are at times created because of some perceived deficiency in the earlier translations (Tahir Gürçağlar 2019: 487–488). While this paper cannot help but address the question of why *Facundo*'s 2003 retranslation exists, because so much scholarship is available on the question of why people retranslate, the paper's main focus will be placed elsewhere.

What this study is more concerned with is how retranslations make a place for themselves in the receiving culture. That they should do so is not a given, particularly if one considers that in the target culture a translation already exists, one which may have gained some status in its own right. Thus, the existence of a retranslation itself needs to be justified, and perhaps for this reason many of the studies on retranslation focus precisely on the question of why. Naturally, when considering the function of a retranslation, its justification for existing must be considered. Yet, understanding the reasons prompting the retranslation may not be enough to understand the function the new translation in actuality ends up playing in the receiving culture. In other words, this study assumes that the fact that a retranslation is deemed necessary may not be enough to ensure that it will be successful or that it will become anything more than peripheral in the receiving system. Hence, the why matters but so does the how—how a retranslation is inserted into the receiving culture as compared to the first translation.

By approaching that question, this study seeks to contribute to a gap in our understanding of retranslations. In their introduction to a special issue of *Parallèles* on retranslation, Peeters and Van Poucke (2023: 13) indicate that there are several pending issues regarding this topic, including the need for "a solid and comprehensive theoretical or conceptual model for retranslation". They also point out that certain areas in the study of retranslation require further development, both on the reception and production sides. This includes a greater focus on how retranslations are received and additional data "on the retranslators' professional and personal profiles" (Peeters & Van Poucke 2023: 14). The present study will focus on these two aspects of retranslation: production and reception. It will consider production by focusing on how the translation and retranslation of *Facundo* were created. It will consider reception by surveying the impact of the translation and retranslation. The first step to achieving such things, however, is to gain an understanding of Sarmiento, *Facundo*'s author, and the book's various editions. This will be explored in the next section.

## 3. Original work in Spanish

### *3.1. Sarmiento, the author of* Facundo

The scholarship on Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811–1888) and his work is extensive (e.g. Botana 1996; Bunkley 1952; Verdevoye 1963), so for purposes of this paper only the facts about his life that are pertinent to *Facundo* will be rehearsed. Sarmiento was a renowned Argentine writer and political figure who fled to Chile during the political turmoil of Argentina's fratricidal transition from a confederation of provinces to a single state (Gálvez 1945: 70–71, 98). In *El Progreso*, a newspaper he founded (Rockland 1970: 10), he published a series of supplements attacking Federalist governors Facundo Quiroga and Juan Manuel de Rosas (Fernández 2018: 110). The supplements were partially reprinted in Montevideo's *El Nacional* newspaper, during Sarmiento's brief stay in that city in late 1845 and early 1846 (Palcos 1945: 47). More importantly, in 1845 Sarmiento published the supplements in Chile for the first time as a book under the title *Civilización y barbarie. Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga y aspecto físico, costumbres y hábitos de la República Argentina*[1] (Bella & Estrada 1986: xxv). This study will focus on that work, commonly known simply as *Facundo*. From 1845 to 1848, the Argentine government sent Sarmiento on a trip to Europe, Africa, and North America to study educational systems (Gálvez 1945: 163–193). In 1865, he visited the United States once again, this time as minister from the Argentine government (Luiggi 1965: 10). While in the United States, he made important connections, including with Mary Peabody Mann, who managed to translate and publish in 1868 his *Facundo* under the title *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants, or Civilization and Barbarism*. That same year, Sarmiento returned to Argentina as president elect (Rockland 1970: 65–67).

Among Sarmiento's many writings, *Facundo* stands out as having particular longevity. In fact, it has come to be regarded as a classic of Latin American literature (Kristal 2016: 64–66) due to both its undoubted literary quality and its importance in enunciating a dichotomy for interpreting Latin America. In *Facundo*, Sarmiento argues that Spanish America is a place profoundly divided between the "civilized," Europeanized cities and the "barbaric," un-European countryside. His dichotomous view of the nascent Spanish American republics would nowadays be considered highly racist and therefore problematic, but at the time he articulated a view of the world that many of the elites held. They agreed with his conclusions that the less European—and therefore more barbaric—elements of society were undesirable and had to be defeated. The book's influence was lasting. Not surprisingly, much scholarship surrounds the book (e.g. Goodrich 1996; Brizuela Aybar 2000). What is of interest in terms of the present paper is not so much its richly crafted and undoubtedly controversial content but rather its publication history, particularly in terms of its translation into English. Therefore, some background knowledge of the relevant editions and translations of *Facundo* is necessary, and that will be presented next.

### *3.2. Editions of* Facundo

In terms of the Spanish-language editions of the work in question, there was no fixed text until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. As stated above, the work appeared as newspaper supplements in Santiago and then Montevideo, and it would take shape as a book between 1845 and 1874. This period saw the publication of four editions, each with distinctive features, as follows[2]:

- 1845. This first edition was published in Chile and titled *Civilización y barbarie. Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga y aspecto físico, costumbres y hábitos de la República Argentina*. This is in essence a reprint of the newspaper supplements with an added introduction (Palcos 1945: 89–91).
- 1851. This second edition was also published in Chile, with the modified title *Vida de Facundo Quiroga y aspecto físico, costumbres y hábitos de la República Argentina, seguida de apuntes biográficos sobre el general fray Félix Aldao*. This edition removes the introduction and the last two chapters. In turn, it adds a prologue (a letter from Sarmiento to Valentín Alsina), an appendix (certain proclamations by Quiroga), and a biography of José Félix Aldao, an Argentine friar-turned-general, which Sarmiento had originally published in 1845 in *El Progreso*. This edition also includes a translation into Spanish titled "Civilización y barbarie", an 1846 article about *Facundo* originally published by Charles de Mazade in *La Revue des Deux Mondes*.
- 1868. This third edition was published in New York, under the shorter title *Facundo, o civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas*. This edition is similar to the 1851 edition, except that it omits the prologue letter to Alsina and the article by De Mazade. In turn, it adds a text about Argentine military leader Ángel Vicente Peñaloza (Fernández 2013: 121). It also includes a partial translation—termed an "adaptation" by Barry Velleman (2001: 223)—of the English preface written by Mann for her 1868 English version of the book. Oddly enough, the title page to this 1868 Spanish edition reads "cuarta edición en castellano"[3]. At first glance, this seems to be an error, but according to Raúl Moglia (1955: xiii), this was a deliberate choice by Sarmiento who was also counting the French 1853 translation as an edition of the book. Whatever the case may be, the 1868 Spanish-language edition is the third in that language.
- 1874. This fourth edition was published in Paris. Titled also *Facundo, o civilización y barbarie en las pampas argentinas*, it was the last edition published during Sarmiento's lifetime. This edition brought together all previous material from the preceding Spanish editions and can be considered his definitive edition (Palcos 1945: 45).

The nineteenth century would see at least two more editions, an 1888–1889 edition out of Montevideo and an 1889 edition out of Buenos Aires (Ara 1958: 388–390). The twentieth century, in turn, would see a flood of publications in Spanish—at least 19 editions were published between 1915 and 1997 (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes n.d.). Of these, Alberto Palco's 1938 edition became the definitive edition, the fixed text on which publishers and scholars would rely going forward (Fernández 2018: 119–120). Knowledge of the fact that there are several editions of *Facundo*, and that the text did not become fixed into a definitive form until the twentieth century, is helpful in understanding how the book has been translated and retranslated. (See the Appendix for a listing and description of all full editions described in this paper.) The translations will be explored next.

## 4. Production: Translations and retranslations of *Facundo*

### *4.1. Nineteenth-century translations of* Facundo

Several translations of *Facundo* came into existence during Sarmiento's lifetime. The first was carried out into French. In 1846 and then in 1852, De Mazade translated some fragments and commented on the book in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* (Dottori & Zanetti 1977: liv). Additionally, in 1850 and 1851, a few chapters were translated in *L'Investigateur, journal de l'lnstitut Historique* (Dottori & Zanetti 1977: liv). A full translation would eventually be published in 1853 in Paris. The translator is listed as A. Giraud. We can identify him as Agustin Giraud (1827–1884), then an ensign in the French Navy who lived in Charente-Maritime (Rochefort-sur-Mer)[4]. He titled his translation *Civilisation et Barbarie. Moeurs, Coutumes, Caracteres des Peuples Argentins. Facundo Quiroga et Aldao*. It includes the added material from the second edition—namely, the letter to Alsina, the proclamations, the biography of Aldao—and omits the first-edition introduction and the last two chapters. As should be evident by such inclusions and exclusions, this French-language translation was created from the 1851 edition of *Facundo*[5]. In addition, this translation includes a great deal of paratextual materials by the translator, who is credited with a preface and a series of endnotes and who possibly also wrote its lengthy geographic and historical introduction.

Sarmiento also saw his *Facundo* translated into English. The earliest translation, or partial translation, of *Facundo* was published in 1858, as an anonymous piece titled "The Gaucho", which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Haberly 2005: 211). It was in part a summary and in part a translation. The piece "endeavored to restructure *Facundo*, retaining its passion and vivid language […] while translating or paraphrasing selected sections of the original" (Haberly 2005: 214). The restructuring of the text included making it considerably shorter, which was done in part by eliminating the final two chapters of the 1845 edition[6] and many of Sarmiento's generalizations, doing away with Sarmiento's philosophical framework (including some of his racial commentary), downplaying the role and importance of Juan Manuel de Rosas (a key figure in the book), and omitting some parts of the titular Facundo Quiroga's life (Haberly 2005: 214). David Haberly (2005: 212) suggests that the author "can be firmly identified as William S. Frederick Mayers [1831–1878]". It is unclear how Mayers would have obtained a copy of *Facundo* to translate and summarize, but Haberly believes that one Nathaniel Bishop gave a copy to Mayers (Haberly 2005: 213). What is clear is that "The Gaucho" did not have much of an impact, and there is no evidence that Sarmiento himself knew of this early translation. It was promptly forgotten, and it seems modern scholars only know about it thanks to Haberly's bringing it out of oblivion.

The more impactful rendering came a decade later, in 1868, when a translation by Mary Peabody Mann was published in the United States. This translation was different in that it was not intended to be an abbreviated version of the source text but rather a full translation. It was also different because it was commissioned by Sarmiento himself. Sarmiento had met famed US educator Horace Mann and his wife Mary Peabody Mann (1806–1887) during his 1847 trip to the United States (Jaksić 2007: 114). In 1865, during Sarmiento's subsequent visit to said country, he again came into contact with Mary Mann, "a New England reformer" in her own right who believed in "the abolition of slavery and adoption of universal compulsory education" (Zumaglini 2021: 272). Sarmiento provided Mann with a copy of *Facundo* and asked if she would translate it into English (Goodrich 1992: 449–450). Mann knew some

Spanish, having spent time in Cuba three decades earlier, and she agreed to take on the project (see Jaksić 2007: 109–110).

For Mann, translating the book was "a work of love" (Goodrich 1992: 450). Early on, when Sarmiento informed her that one William Mason Turner had offered to translate *Facundo* into English, she convinced Sarmiento to give the project to her by arguing that she was already working on it and that Turner would seek some monetary compensation but that she would do it "all in friendship & good will" (Velleman 2001: 76). Mann's motivations were very personal. She "saw Sarmiento as carrying forward her [late] husband's work" (Rockland 1970: 36). In addition, a powerful friendship developed between the two of them (Rockland 1970: 36–37). Goodrich (1992: 449) interprets Mann's taking on the translation as "a friendly barter of status" in the sense that "while Sarmiento translated Mary Mann's biography of her husband into Spanish, she in turn translated Sarmiento's biography of Facundo into English". There was certainly an element of friendship in Mann's translation work for Sarmiento, which included not only *Facundo* but also one of his speeches as minister (Rockland 1970: 42). Beyond Mann's personal longing to honor her husband's memory and to help her newfound friend, she may have been motivated politically. According to Carolina Zumaglini (2021: 284), Mann saw in *Facundo* a book for US audiences that mirrored the United States' own struggle between the South's barbarism and the North's civilization.

Translating the book was a collaborative process for Mann. In part this may have been due to her own limited Spanish (Jaksić 2007: 115–116). In her letters to Sarmiento, she indicated that she would enlist the help of her sons for translating (Velleman 2001: 45, 76). She also sought the help of others, including a young astronomer named Arthur Searley (Velleman 2001: 82, 156, 159) and "a skilful lady who has lived in S. America and understands Spanish colloquially" (Velleman 2001: 156, 159). Both of them went on to translate parts of *Facundo* for Mann[7]. Others may have been involved in translating and editing too[8]. Sarmiento himself was involved in the process, taking an active part in the editing of the translation and in discussing how to best publish the book (Zumaglini 2021: 275, 281).

The translation was eventually published in 1868 under the title *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants, or Civilization and Barbarism* (Zumaglini 2021: 279–280, 283). This translation excludes the introduction and the last two chapters from the first edition as well as the prologue and appendix from the second edition. From the second edition, it retains the biography of Aldao, added as an additional chapter.

The translator also produces some paratextual work of her own. First, she adds a twenty-five-page preface. In it, she lauds Sarmiento as an admirable patriot fully committed to the cause of education, one who has now been elected as Argentina's president and is determined to "civilize" his country. The preface also lauds *Facundo* and includes a translated excerpt from *La Revue des Deux Mondes* in which the book is praised. The preface also provides a historical sketch of Argentina that clearly suggests Sarmiento is the best hope for civilization in that troubled republic. Mann also includes paratextual materials at the end of the book. Specifically, she includes a 119-page biographical sketch of Sarmiento. The biography is, of course, highly favorable, and it is built in part through translation. Specifically, roughly 57 pages in the biography are translations of excerpts from Sarmiento's *Recuerdos de provincia*, his 1850 autobiography. In addition, excerpts from Sarmiento's other works are included in translation (e.g. roughly three pages from *Viajes por Europa, África y América*, an 1849 autobiographical recounting of some of his travels). Mann threads these translated excerpts together with her own summaries of parts of those works as well as commentary, both hers and from other authors. By way of appendix, Mann includes a letter from Sarmiento to senator Charles

Sumner. The letter praises US schooling in the Northern states and explicitly compares the Southern states to South America in terms of education. This extensive paratextual work is evidence of Mann's proactive efforts to increase the translation's chances of a positive reception. The peritexts help contextualize Sarmiento's *Facundo* for a new audience and seek to increase the probability that the translation will be read.

Some believe that *Life in the Argentine Republic…* was an indirect translation, i.e. not from the Spanish but from the French (Zumaglini 2021: 275); however, this may be a hasty conclusion. If one considers both what is included and what is omitted in the 1868 translation, it seems just as likely that the book was translated from the second Spanish edition. Both the 1851 Spanish edition and the 1853 French translation are similar in structure and predate Sarmiento's 1865 arrival to the United States (see Table 1). In addition, it seems from Mann's correspondence that the translators she enlisted to help her were working from the Spanish, which would strengthen the case for this being a translation from the Spanish. Absent additional evidence, it cannot be stated with certainty that the French rendering was the source of Mann's translation, especially since there is a stronger case for the 1851 Spanish edition being the source text.

Table 1: The second Spanish edition, French translation, and Mann's English translation compared

| **1851 (Second Spanish Edition)** | **1853 (Giraud's French Translation)** | **1868 (Mann's English Translation)** |
|---|---|---|
| VIDA DE FACUNDO QUIROGA I ASPECTO FISICO, COSTUMBRES I HÁBITOS DE LA REPÚBLICA ARJENTINA, SEGUIDA DE APUNTES BIOGRÁFICOS SOBRE EL JENERAL FRAI FELIX ALDAO | CIVILISATION ET BARBARIE. MOEURS, COUTUMES, CARACTÈRES DES PEUPLES ARGENTINS. FACUNDO QUIROGA ET ALDAO. | LIFE IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC IN THE DAYS OF THE TYRANTS; OR, CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM. |
| | Préface du traducteur | |
| | | Preface |
| | Introduction | |
| Prólogo | Prologue | |
| Sr. Don Valentin Alsina | Señor D. Valentin Alsina | |
| Capitulos I – XIV [sic. It is actually I – XIII] | Chapitres I – XIII | Chapters I – XIII |
| Apéndice [Quiroga's proclamations] | Appendice [Quiroga's proclamations] | |
| El jeneral D. Frai Felix Aldao. Apuntes biograficos. | Frai José Felix Aldado, brigadier-général et gouverneur | Chapter XIV – Friar José Felix Aldao, Brigadier-General and Governor |
| Civilizacion i barbarie | | |
| | | Biographical Sketch |
| | | Appendix [Letter from Sarmiento] |
| | Notes | |

For Mann, what mattered was not only that the translation existed but that it had an impact in the post-Civil War United States. She exercised her own agency to increase the likelihood that the book was read widely. The peritexts she created were intended to do just that, as many peritexts are, but she went further and took an active part in the book's promotion. For example, she went about creating interest in the book by generating goodwill toward Sarmiento. To that end, she disseminated a version of him as "an educator and […] the heir to Horace Mann's legacy," a man of "idealized New England values" (Haberly 2005: 222). She also distributed the manuscript translation among the New England elites, including Henry Longfellow and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and she sent copies of the translated book to prominent journals and magazines, such as the *New York Times*, in order to have it reviewed (Zumaglini 2021: 280). Thus, Mann took on a role not only as a translator but also as a promoter.

### *4.2.* Facundo *retranslated in the twenty-first century*

Importantly for this paper, there is an additional translation into English. It was published after Sarmiento's lifetime, nearly a century and a half after Mann's translation, in 2003. This translation was carried out by Kathleen Ross, then Professor of Spanish at New York University (NYU). By the time we reached out to her for this study[9], she had stepped away from academia. Starting in 2009, she pivoted to becoming a clinical social worker and psychoanalyst in Philadelphia. Before walking away from academia, Ross was active both in teaching, including teaching Translation, and in publishing, including translated prose (e.g. *The Initials of the Earth* by Jesús Díaz) and poetry (e.g. *The Black Heralds* by César Vallejo, with Richard Schaaf). During that period of her life, she was approached by Roberto González Echevarría. He was a leading scholar on Latin American literature and the general editor of a book series by the University of California Press focused on Latin American literature and culture. González Echevarría had previously worked with Ross as her advisor when she did her dissertation under him at Yale. He asked her whether she would be willing to retranslate *Facundo* for the series. Ross was a good candidate to translate this text. She was a scholar and translator of Latin American literature, and she was also married to an Argentine with whom she traveled frequently to Argentina. Ross found the project professionally appealing and took it on. In addition, because of her connection to Argentina and its people, the project acquired "more of a personal interest". Thus, her motivations were both professional and personal.

Over the next decade, she worked on the translation. At the start of the project, Ross read Mann's translation, but she did not rely on Mann. In this sense, the retranslation was not a revised version of Mann but a wholly new translation which sought to take a different approach. Translating the book included an important collaborative element. As Ross acknowledges in her Translator's Introduction, she was assisted in her research by Arianda García and Matthew W. Stevens (Ross 2003: 24). In addition, her chair at NYU was Sylvia Molloy, a writer and critic with expertise in Argentina. Molloy, a colleague and friend to Ross, provided feedback. In turn, prolific translator and Kent State University professor Carol Maier, also a friend to Ross, provided feedback throughout many conversations. González Echevarría himself was also involved in the process, reading Ross' drafts as she created them. The two had lengthy discussions, including disagreements about the best way to render certain elements, like the word *patria*.

Ross titled her translation *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism*. This translation is different from the 1868 translation, among other things, in that it includes the introduction and the last two chapters from the first edition of *Facundo*. However, it omits the biography of

Aldao. The retranslation is rather different in terms of paratextual apparatus too. All the peritexts added by Mann, including Sarmiento's letter to Senator Sumner, have disappeared.

The new peritexts include an introduction by González Echevarría that contextualizes both *Facundo* and Sarmiento in their time and lauds the author and the book for their place in Latin American letters and culture. Ross then provides a set of texts to surround the translation, including her own Translator's Introduction, a Glossary of Historical Names, and a series of translator endnotes. Ross's introduction describes the origins of *Facundo* and provides a brief history of the 1868 Mann translation. Ross takes this opportunity to address perceived faults in Mann's translation, particularly her flattening of Sarmiento's rich language and her elimination of many of his metaphors. Then Ross goes on to justify her own 2003 translation of *Facundo* as one that gives English-language readers a fuller, more nuanced version of the text. The introduction also contains acknowledgments, including to research assistant Matthew Stevens for gathering the information for the glossary.

The peritexts clearly signal that this is not a revision of Mann's translation—from which Ross distances herself in the introduction—but a new translation. The point is stressed by the cover page, which dubs this "The First Complete English Translation" of *Facundo*. This claim, however, should be considered critically. Claims of greater "adequacy, completeness, or accuracy" tend to be common in retranslations, because they provide a basis for comparison grounded on "a competing interpretation" which judges the previous translation as inadequate (Venuti 2004, 26). As to the matter of completeness, it seems Mann was working from the second edition, which was not incomplete but simply different, as described above[10]. Thus, Mann was working with the most current edition at a time when the text was still malleable. Ross, in turn, based her translation on three different twentieth-century editions—Palcos (1938), Jitrik (1997), and Yahni (1997) (Ross 2003: 23–24)—at a time when the text had been fixed.

Once the retranslation was published in 2003, much of the promotional work was carried out by the publisher in the standard fashion that academic publishers do in the early twenty-first century. The retranslation has been successful in that two decades after its publication, *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* has never been out of print and continues to sell. Based on this, one can claim that in their relative success, the 1868 and 2003 translations are similar. Such observation begs the question of how the two texts have been received. That question will be explored in the next section.

## 5. Reception: Reviews and anthologies

### *5.1. Reviews of* Facundo *in translation*

There are many parameters which may be used to attempt to measure how a book in translation is received by its target culture, ranging from the purely quantitative (e.g. sales figures) to the highly qualitative (e.g. an estimation of how engrained the book becomes in popular culture). This paper will not attempt an exhaustive analysis of such quantitative and qualitative measures but instead will explore the issue by focusing on two available types of information: reviews and anthologies. Because reviews of books such as *Facundo* have historically tended to appear in periodicals with a certain prestige, they offer an interesting gauge of how some intellectuals and critical readers received a translated book. For this reason, we sought out book reviews of both the 1868 and 2003 translations. The reviews were digitally retrieved and then analyzed.

All reviews were examined specifically for commentary regarding the translated nature of the work in question, including whether mention was made that the work was a translation, whether the translator was identified, and whether any evaluations were provided regarding the translation's quality.

The most extensively reviewed of the two books was the 1868 translation (see Table 2). We were able to retrieve eight reviews from contemporary periodicals, seven in the United States and one in the United Kingdom. All these reviews identify the text as a translation by Mann in their bibliographical entry for the book. Additionally, five of them comment on the quality of the translation, and the comments tend to be favorable. *The Nation* (1886: 397) signals that "[t]he translator leaves little to be desired in the performance of her special work," and the *Christian Examiner* (1886: 185) begins its review with these words of praise: "Mrs. Mann has rendered a valuable service by the skill, fidelity, and patient zeal with which she has brought before the public this very interesting picture of a life so foreign and strange to us…". One is left to wonder how these reviewers were able to come to such favorable conclusions if they did not compare the translation to its source text. The *New York Times* (1886: 2) at least provides a rationale for its approving words: "Mrs. Mann has done her part well and faithfully, if we may judge by the closeness with which she evidently follows the original, and which sometimes gives her *lexis* a Spanish cast or countenance". In other words, the translation comes across as faithful because it sounds like a text translated from the Spanish. Other reviews are more reserved in terms of how they evaluate the translator's performance. London's *The Spectator* (1886: 1051) comments: "To judge from the spelling, we should say that Mrs. Horace Mann has naturalized an American version". In turn, *The Atlantic Monthly* (1886: 374–375) is content to blandly state that "Mrs. Mann transfers and compiles" Sarmiento's story. In addition to commenting on the translation, all reviewers except those from the *New York Times* and *The Spectator* mention Mann's peritexts. Such mentions range from the matter-of-fact to the very enthusiastic. What all these reviews taken together signal is that the book was well received by a certain discriminating audience. There was a clear understanding that the text was a translation, and the general attitude was one of approval toward the translator's work.

Table 2: Reviews of *Facundo* in English translation.

| **1868 Reviews of *Life in the Argentine Republic in the days of the tyrants*** |
|---|
| "Article II. – Life in the Argentine Republic in the days of the tyrants; or civilization and barbarism", *New Englander*. |
| "Article VI. – Civilization and barbarism in South America", *Christian Examiner*. |
| "Life in the Argentine Republic", *New York Times*. |
| "Life in the Argentine Republic", *The Athenaeum*. |
| "Life in the Argentine Republic", *The Nation*. |
| "Life in the Argentine Republic", *The Spectator*. |
| "Reviews and Literary Notices", *The Atlantic Monthly*. |
| Virginia Vaughan, "Life in the Argentine Republic", *Putnam's Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, and National Interests*. |
| **2003 review of *Facundo*** |
| Barbara Celarent, "Facundo", *The American Journal of Sociology*. |

Moving forward in time over a century, surprisingly one can only find a single review in prestigious periodicals of the 2003 translation of *Facundo*. The review is rather unusual. It is signed by one Barbara Celarent, supposedly a professor of sociology at the University of Atlantis who will be reviewing books in the mid-twenty-first century. In reality, the reviewer was sociologist Andrew Abbott, who reviewed *Facundo* as part of his series of reviews of books of historical importance to the field of sociology (Sica 2011). The bibliographical information provided in the review identifies Ross as the translator, which generates the expectation that something will be said about the book being a retranslation. Nonetheless, the body of the review itself makes no mention of Ross; ironically, it does mention the Mann translation, even if only in passing. Thus, the reader is left to wonder whether Abbott was reviewing Ross or Mann. Or perhaps neither, a possibility that arises from Abbott's claims on his CV that he reads Spanish well (see https://home.uchicago.edu/~aabbott/Papers/sv.pdf). Be that as it may, the fact that only one review seems to have been published of the 2003 translation signals that among a certain audience, the arrival of Ross' retranslation did not receive the kind of cheerful notice that Mann's translation did over a century before.

### *5.2. Anthologizing* Facundo *in English*

The amount of book reviews and their contents do not provide sufficient data to draw unequivocal conclusions about how the two translations were received. While these reviews do provide insights into the immediate reception by prestigious publications that make it a point to evaluate books, the reception of a translation may be weighed by other means. For example, a good gauge may be the extent to which a translation or retranslation becomes the standard form of that book in the receiving culture. In other words, one might consider whether a translation becomes canonical. In the present case, one way to examine this issue is to consider the extent to which *Facundo* is anthologized in English via either Mann or Ross.

It should go without saying that when anthologies reproduced fragments of *Facundo* in translation before 2003, they generally relied on Mann's translation. For example, these influential twentieth-century anthologies of Latin American literature or culture both reproduce fragments of *Facundo* as rendered by Mann: Benjamin Keen's (1974: 10–18) *Latin American Civilization* and Emir Rodríguez Monegal's (1977: 225–228) *The Borzoi Anthology of Latin American Literature*. Further, Gabriela Nouzeilles and Graciela Montaldo's (2002: 81–90) Argentine-specific anthology *The Argentina Reader: History, Culture, Politics* also uses Mann's translation for its sample of *Facundo*. The ready anthologizing of Mann's translation before 2003 is a signal that despite the criticisms leveled at it, this translation successfully became part of the receiving culture. Iván Jaksić (2007: 118; italics in the original) states it in simple terms: "Mary Mann's translation did full justice to the work, even if she missed some of the nuance of Sarmiento's writing. The book became a classic *English* language text as well, dominating the field until a new translation appeared 135 years later, in 2003".

As Jaksić indicates above, Ross' retranslation is now an option that stands alongside Mann's translation. Thus, when a new edition is prepared for an older anthology, editors can now choose whether they will replace Mann's translation with Ross' retranslation. Even so, we have not found evidence that newer editions of older anthologies are letting go of the original translation in favor of the retranslation. Take for example *Keen's Latin American Civilization*, now on its tenth edition. The selection of *Facundo* found in its pages continues to be Mann's (Buffington & Caimari 2016: 51–64). Something similar is observed in *The Norton Anthology of World Literature*, now on its third edition, which continues to reproduce Mann's translation

(Puchner et al. 2012: 212–230). Other post-2003 anthologies that include fragments of *Facundo* have opted to provide their own translations. This can be seen in books like *Nineteenth-century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition*, which includes a translation carried out by the two editors Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (2007: 126–147), and *Liberal Thought in Argentina, 1837–1940*, which includes a translation by Ian Barnett (2013: 48–57). It is interesting that, having the availability of a public domain translation, the editors of these two volumes would choose to carry out or commission new translations. Finally, at least one anthology has decided to reproduce Ross' retranslation, namely the *Anthology of Spanish American Thought and Culture* (2017: 225–228). This additional set of options that becomes apparent—Mann's translation, Ross' retranslation, a newly commissioned retranslation—indicates that the original translation's canonical status begins to be challenged.

## 6. Conclusions

This understanding of Sarmiento's *Facundo* in translation—from the book's nineteenth century origins to how it was translated, retranslated, and received in English—leads to some conclusions that look beyond the Retranslation Hypothesis and other common-place considerations. In fact, this paper makes no valuation as regards the quality of Mann's translation or Ross' retranslation. There is no concern here about which is better, whichever way "better" might be defined. There is, nonetheless, one common-place issue that does come up in this survey of *Facundo's* English-language versions. Specifically, the matter of why the text was retranslated is raised. It is very difficult to not address the why when trying to consider the who and the how. So, to provide a succinct answer, *Facundo* was retranslated because, indeed, the translation that existed at the time was deemed deficient. As stated above, this is a common way to justify the existence of retranslations (e.g. Vanderschelden 2000: 4). In the present case, Mann's translation was often criticized as lacking the nuance, texture, and depth of Sarmiento's original prose. Such criticism is leveled directly by the retranslator when she states that Mann's translation "often destroys or omits" Sarmiento's "drive, poetry, and passion" (Ross 2003: 21). The why is clear, but the how is perhaps a more interesting question.

And the how is strikingly similar. Indeed, it should become evident in the foregoing pages that the 1868 and 2003 translations are alike, mutatis mutandis, in the way the texts were produced. Both translations began with a commission, by Sarmiento and González Echevarría respectively, and both were carried out by translators who were highly educated and were connected to a certain segment of the intellectual elite. In addition, both translators relied on their personal network for translation support, thus making the processes, to some degree, collaborative. This suggests that, despite all the technological developments in the 135 years between the first translation and its retranslation—the invention of AC current, the light bulb, the telephone, the computer, and the internet—the task of a literary translator remained, essentially, the same[11].

Even so, the strategies employed to insert *Facundo*'s translation and retranslation into the receiving culture were different. Mann was deeply involved in promoting the translation among her elite network, actively sought out a publisher, and contacted several periodicals to obtain positive reviews for her translation. Ross, in turn, played nearly no role in the publication and promotion of her retranslation. To some extent, this reflects the fact that by the early twenty-first century the world of academic publishing had become highly professionalized. In

that world, Ross was commissioned to translate with a publisher already lined up, and the publisher, in turn, had its own promotion mechanisms and distribution channels. In essence, Ross was translating within a very different publishing world and the role she was expected to play in terms of dissemination and reception was different than it would have been had she carried out her work a century earlier.

The preceding paragraph should not be read to suggest that Ross did nothing to increase the chances of her retranslation being accepted in the receiving culture. Specifically, as mentioned above, she provided a peritext in which she explained that her rendering was "restoring metaphoric, rhythmic language" in order to "present a range of metaphorical possibilities" that would help readers "grasp the richness of his [Sarmiento's] language" (Ross 2003: 22). In pointing this out, one would not wish to give the impression that Ross is excessively critical or dismissive of Mann. In a way, this is how retranslations stake their claims. Ross must evaluate Mann's translation—not Mann the person—in order to distinguish her own translation from her predecessor's.

Bearing in mind those differences in production approaches, the way both translation and retranslation were received can be considered. The 1868 translation was enthusiastically reviewed by several high-profile publications, and this was connected to Mann's personal efforts. The 2003 retranslation was hardly reviewed, which suggests that whatever mechanism the publisher had in place to ensure reviews, if any, it was not very successful. The greater success of the translation compared to the retranslation in terms of reviews may be explained in part by broader cultural factors. The world was quite different in 2003 compared to 1868. As stated above, the editorial world was different, but so were the target audiences. In 1868 information about the South American nation was very scant, as evidenced by Mann's admitted difficulties in contextualizing her translation. By 2003, countless books and articles had been published about Argentina and about Sarmiento, particularly in elite and academic circles, where the retranslation would most likely have its impact. In this abundance of information, the retranslation would become part of a larger, more crowded landscape. It did not have the luxury of providing a foundation to the landscape, which is what the earlier translation did. In essence, the earlier translation provided a novelty to its target audience specifically and to the receiving culture generally by opening a window into a mostly unknown world. The retranslation lacked such novelty and came into a receiving culture where information about Argentina and Sarmiento was readily accessible to those who wished to find it. This too, in addition to the changed publishing landscape, may help account for why the retranslation did not initially get as much notice as the earlier translation.

The differences wrought chronologically in the publishing world and in the receiving culture may not help account, however, for the differential treatment between Mann's translation and Ross' retranslation in anthologies. By the second half of the twentieth century, when collected volumes—be these called anthologies, readers, or something else—sought to include selections from *Facundo*, they usually relied on Mann's translation. This was a logical decision, as only Mann's translation was available. Her translation in turn offered the practicality that it was free and clear of copyright restrictions because it had long entered the public domain. The fact that it had become a classic translation made the choice even more straightforward. In 2003, Ross' retranslation entered the system. From that point on, several practices can be observed, which range from retaining Mann's translation to adopting Ross' retranslation. There are several incentives for using Mann, including that it is in the public domain and has been well known for over a century. Ross's retranslation is protected by

copyright and being rather recent, is not as widely known. Even so, the choice of anthologizing Ross' translation over Mann's begins to be observed.

Because of the relatively short existence of Ross's retranslation, the place it will hold in the receiving culture over time cannot currently be asserted. The paragraphs above suggest that the retranslation begins to compete with the first translation in terms of its place in the receiving culture. Of course, it may be that the two translations will coexist on more or less equal footing. It may also be, in due time, that Ross could displace Mann as the authoritative translation. For that to happen, the receiving culture must find enough additional value in the retranslation to justify moving away from a known commodity (see Venuti 2004). One can provide educated guesses as to what should happen for the retranslation to displace the translation. Proactive strategies to point out the value of foregoing the previous translation may be necessary. For example, in this case no evidence was observed of strategies that would convince enough reviewers to take the time to review a retranslation despite there already existing an earlier translation of the same work. Additionally, there is no evidence of strategies to try to convince creators of anthologies to forego the well-known, cost-free option in favor of a less-known, more-costly option. Whatever the case may be in the future, Mann's translation currently retains its largely canonical, even if not undisturbed, place. The obvious implication is that something needs to happen beyond presenting a new translation and claiming it is better than the previous one. What exactly those things may be remains an open question for further scholarship.

## Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank UTRGV librarians Gloria Quintanilla and John Ferris, graduate research assistants Elisa Covarrubias and Kathy Gómez, and, of course, Kathleen Ross.

## Notes

1 With this and other book titles, the spelling and punctuation have been updated for ease of reading.
2 The brief description of the 1845, 1851, 1868, and 1874 editions presented in this paper is meant to be enumerative in character. For detailed textual comparisons between the editions, including Sarmiento's likely reasoning in making specific changes, see Ara (1958), Fernández (2018), Garrels (1988), and Palcos (1929, 1934).
3 "Fourth edition in Spanish". Our own translation.
4 A special thanks to research assistant Elisa Covarrubias, who spent hours confirming the information found in this statement.
5 Carolina Zumaglini claims that "*Facundo*'s third edition was the one translated into French" (2021: 275) but such cannot be the case because, as indicated above, the third edition was published in 1868 and the French translation in 1853.
6 The omission of the last two chapters could suggest that the translators were translating from the 1851 edition, which also omits those two chapters. However, the anonymous translator of "The Gaucho" identifies the 1845 edition as their source text.
7 The question of how much Searley and the "skilful lady" translated for Mann remains open. What is clear is that Mann was unhappy with Searley's portion of it, which she describes as being "not so graceful as I wished it to be," thus requiring "to be all remodelled & copied" before publication (Velleman 2001: 159).

8 In an October 1867 letter Mann bemoans not being able to publish the book by Christmas "unless we can find another good translator" (Velleman 2001: 161). Also, William Dean Howells, editor of The Atlantic Monthly, suggested retitling the book *The Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants, or Civilization and Barbarism*, which is very close to the name eventually given the translation.
9 Unless otherwise noted, all biographical information on Ross was obtained during an interview conducted by the author of this paper and research assistant Elisa Covarrubias. The interview was approved by UTRGV's Internal Review Board for Human Subjects Protection.
10 The counterpoint might be made that because Mann's translation lacks the introduction and the last two chapters from the first edition, her translation can be thought of as incomplete. However, Mann's translation also includes, as "Chapter XIV", the writings on Aldao, while Ross' translation does not. Both translations contain material penned by Sarmiento, which he himself at different points included in *Facundo*, that the other translation does not. This is the case because both translators were working from different texts. Mann was working from an edition provided to her by Sarmiento himself, and Ross was working from three editions based on the text largely fixed by Palcos in 1938. Both are complete translations, but of different source texts.
11 The technological development that has the potential to essentially transform the task of translation, literary and otherwise, is the advent of useful machine translation. This development was still at least fifteen years in the future at the time Ross crafted her retranslation.

## **Appendix:** *Facundo*'s nineteenth-century versions and 2022 retranslation

| **1845 (1st Spa. ed.)** | **1851 (2nd Spa. ed.)** | **1853 (Giraud's Fren. Transl.)** | **1868 (Mann's Eng. Transl.)** | **1868 (3rd Spa. ed.)** | **1874 (4th Spa. ed.)** | **2003 (Ross's Eng. Transl.)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CIVILIZACION I BARBARIE. VIDA DE JUAN FACUNDO QUIROGA I ASPECTO FÍSICO, COSTUMBRES I ABITOS DE LA REPUBLICA ARJENTINA | VIDA DE FACUNDO QUIROGA I ASPECTO FISICO, COSTUMBRES I HÁBITOS DE LA REPÚBLICA ARJENTINA, SEGUIDA DE APUNTES BIOGRÁFICOS SOBRE EL JENERAL FRAI FELIX ALDAO | CIVILISATION ET BARBARIE. MOEURS, COUTUMES, CARACTÈRES DES PEUPLES ARGENTINS. FACUNDO QUIROGA ET ALDAO. | LIFE IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC IN THE DAYS OF THE TYRANTS; OR, CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM. | FACUNDO; Ó CIVILIZACION I BARBARIE EN LAS PAMPAS ARGENTINAS | FACUNDO, Ó CIVILIZACION I BARBARIE EN LAS PAMPAS ARGENTINAS | FACUNDO: CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM |
| Domingo F. Sarmiento, miembro de la Universidad de Chile, i Director de la Escuela Nacional | El autor de Argirópolis | Domingo F. Sarmiento | Domingo F. Sarmiento, LL. D., Minister Plenipotentiary from the Argentine Republic to the United States | Domingo F. Sarmiento | Domingo F. Sarmiento | Domingo Faustino Sarmiento |
| | | A. Giraud, enseigne de vaisseau | Mrs. Horance Mann | | | Katheleen Ross |
| Imprenta del Progreso | Imprenta de Julio Belin i Compañía | Arthus Bertrand | Hurd & Houghton | D. Appleton y Compañía | Libreria Hachette y Cía. | University of California Press |
| Santiago | Santiago | Paris | New York | Nueva York | Paris | Berkley / Los Angeles / London |

| 1845 | 1851 | 1853 | 1868 | 1868 | 1874 | 2003 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | *Facundo*: An Introduction |
| | | | | | | Translator's Introduction |
| | | Préface du traducteur | | | | |
| | | | Preface | Prefacio de la traduccion inglesa por Mrs. Horace Mann | Prefacio de la traducción inglesa por Mrs. Horace Mann | |
| | | Introduction | | | | |
| [Untitled prologue by the author] | [Untitled prologue by the author] | Prologue | | | [Untitled prologue by the author] | Author's Note |
| | Carta a Alsina | Carta a Alsina | | | | |
| Introduccion | | | | | Introducción | Introduction |
| | | | | | Carta a Alsina | |
| Capítulos I-XI | Capitulos I-XIV. [Numbering error. It's actually 13 chapters] | Chapitres I – XIII | Chapter I-XIII | Capítulos I-XIII | Capítulos I-XIII | Chapter I-XIII |
| | | | | | Capítulos XIV-XV | Chapter XIV-XV |
| | Apéndice [Quiroga's proclamations] | Appendice [Quiroga's proclamations] | | Apéndice [Quiroga's proclamations] | Apéndice [Quiroga's proclamations] | |
| | El jeneral D. Frai Felix Aldao. Apuntes biograficos. | Frai José Felix Aldado, brigadier-général et gouverneur | Chapter XIV – Friar José Felix Aldao, Brigadier-General and Governor | El jeneral D. Frai Felix Aldao. Apuntes biograficos. | El jeneral D. Frai Felix Aldao. Apuntes biograficos. | |
| | | | | El Chacho, ultimo caudillo de la montonera de los llanos. Episodio de 1863. | El Chacho, ultimo caudillo de la montonera de los llanos. Episodio de 1863. | |
| | Civilizacion i barbarie [translated from Ch. de Mazade, *Duex Mondes*, 15 sept. 1846] | | | | | |
| | | | Biographical Sketch | | | |
| | | | Appendix [Letter from Sarmiento to Senator Sumner] | | | |
| | | Notes | | | | |
| | | | | | | Glossary of Historical Names |
| | | | | | | Translator's Notes |

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