

The Transnational Dissemination and Reception of Portuguese Poetry: Espanca, Andresen and Amaral

To Ana Luísa Amaral, in memoriam

As the country of two giants of the western literary canon, the renaissance Luís de Camões and the modernist Fernando Pessoa, Portugal has long been inclined to see itself as a land of poets, an image it sought to promote abroad too. Both male bards were tasked with embodying and signifying the essence of Portuguese culture.¹ But it begs the question: where are their female counterparts? Insofar as women have been less likely to be called upon to represent the nation, how much of a disadvantage is their marginalization when it comes to translation? To investigate how female artists fare in their journey into the Anglosphere, this article centres on three case studies, all widely regarded as major poets in the Portuguese-speaking world and beyond: Florbela Espanca (1894–1930), Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen (1919–2004), and Ana Luísa Amaral (1956–2022). Together, they offer an intellectually and artistically varied sample, spanning the last one hundred years.

1. BACKGROUND MATTERS

Numerically speaking, translations from Portuguese into English are under-represented in terms of market share: in 2012, despite being the sixth most widely spoken language in the world, Portuguese did not feature in the top ten. According to Büchler and Trentacosti, it was ranked in the twelfth place overall:

The top ten translated European languages are French, German, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, Portuguese and Danish. The gap between the leading language, French, and the second one, German, is around 40%. The top five non-European languages are Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, Hebrew and Persian. Measured globally, the first two make it into the top ten, pushing the last two European languages out of the top ten league'.²

Admittedly, Portugal is a small nation, with a population of c.10 million; but at c.216 million Brazil isn't.³ Based on figures for native speakers alone, therefore, it is a range of authors from Brazil and indeed Portuguese-speaking Africa that one would expect to be prominent. While some writers from the so-called Global South, for instance the Mozambican Mia Couto, have been admitted into the exclusive club of world literature, their female equivalents remain few and far between. A notable exception is the Brazilian Clarice Lispector, whose early international consecration via France and the US opened her oeuvre up to inclusion into the canon of feminist world literature.

Both Couto and Lispector are primarily prose writers. In a world where fiction represents a share of 67% of all translated literary work, and poetry only 13%,⁴ what happens to artists who have to contend with multiple 'marginalities', i.e. the superimposition of the categories of small nation / women / poetry, as is the case for Portuguese women poets?

A table compiled by Atkin,⁵ drawing on Instituto Camões data (which I have simplified below), enables us to quantify the relative paucity of translations from Portuguese into English and reveals a significant gender-gap.

Literary works translated from Portuguese in selected European countries and the US						
	1	2	3	4	5	6

Country	Total no. of literary works translated from Portuguese	Total no. of literary works by women translated	Literary works by women as % of all literary works translated	Total number of different literary authors translated	Total number of female literary authors translated	Female authors as % of all different authors translated
Germany	257	32	12.5%	73	33	45.2%
Spain	666	25	3.8%	86	17	19.8%
UK	165	5	3%	24	2	8.3%
France	530	26	4.9%	76	14	18.4%
USA	98	1	1%	25	1	4%

It comes as no surprise that twice as many authors are translated into French or Spanish as into English; or that the numbers making it into German are comparable to those into English (UK +US) (column 1). But by far the most glaring statistical disparity is that, of the 49 authors translated into English (column 4), only 3 were female (column 5). The net result, if we look at the last column (column 6), is that the percentage of women from Portugal translated into English is considerably lower than for any other major European language. It remains in single figures both for the UK and US.

Furthermore, as Atkin cogently argues, ‘the statistics do not reveal where we may best focus our efforts to achieve lasting change’.⁶ One central issue not captured in these figures is that of historical neglect. In that connection, it is worth reminding ourselves that the Constitution of the longest lasting dictatorship in Europe, Salazar’s Estado Novo [New State] (1933-1974), stipulated equality for all but contained a clause that in practice circumscribed women’s freedom in the light of ‘diferenças resultantes da sua natureza e do bem da família’ [differences arising from their nature and the good of the family]. Until the 1974 Revolution toppled the authoritarian regime, the generalised lack of promotion of women’s writing by successive generations of male cultural gatekeepers, at various stages of production and dissemination, had a hugely detrimental effect on the circulation of Portuguese women writers within national borders, let alone beyond them.

This entrenched historical situation for the first three quarters of the twentieth century accounts for the fact that women were less often anthologized than their male peers in Portugal itself – a process which perpetuated gendered definitions of genius, thereby conditioning critical reception and ultimately excluding women from the canon in the first

place.⁷ Such heavily gendered epistemic injustice had a severe repercussions in terms of who was selected to be translated and thus disseminated abroad –often with financial support by state-sponsored institutions, such as the Instituto Camões. This systemic bias left a huge deficit in terms of the availability in English of women writers of yesteryear, as we shall see most starkly in the case of Florbela Espanca.

The turning-point for the transnational visibility of Portuguese women writers came with the 1972 publication of *New Portuguese Letters*, by Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa (known as The Three Marias), a collective work that straddles the creative and the critical. Its censoring and the subsequent trial of its three authors on the grounds of obscenity became a *cause célèbre*. It sparked an international outcry, uniting second-wave feminists across the world in a support campaign that generated a huge amount of adverse publicity for the authoritarian regime. Amaral et al suggest that it became the first transnational cause of second-wave feminism.⁸ In fact, according to *Women Writers in Translation: an Annotated Bibliography 1945-1982*,⁹ *New Portuguese Letters* was the *one and only* female-authored work from Portugal translated into English before the early 1980s. By contrast, there were several from Brazil, albeit mainly published in the US.

Within Portugal itself, The Three Marias undermined the authority of a monolithic patriarchal regime and paved the way for a broader interest in the rethinking of the nation from a gendered perspective. After the return to democracy in 1974, the knock-on effect was a boom in the visibility of women's fiction, perhaps best encapsulated by Lídia Jorge, an author who quickly rose to prominence, especially after the runaway success of *A Costa dos Murmúrios* (1988) [*The Murmuring Coast*]. By and large, then, by virtue of necessity, women's transnational dissemination only took off after Portugal's return to democracy. So, if the picture was already dismal for prose-writers, what about poetry?

My benchmark for comparison, in terms of promotion and reception abroad, is Fernando Pessoa.¹⁰ Information about his transnational circulation elucidates the journey towards consecration in English over time. It broadly follows the pattern that Margarida Rendeiro identified for the Nobel Prize winner Saramago: first reception into other Romance languages (i.e. French, Italian, Spanish), and only then into English, usually in the US before the UK.¹¹ In the case of poetry, conditions must be ripe before book-length publications can materialize: dissemination starts with a smattering of translations scattered in academic journals; these are typically followed by inclusion into multi-authored anthologies; and only then does consecration through single-authored volumes occur. It is also worth noting that early translations into English tend to start off in Portugal itself. This broad pattern is also one that applies to women poets' trajectories, as the next section documents.

As José Blanco points out, the golden year for Pessoa in the Anglosphere was 1991. By then both Portugal and Spain had become fully fledged members of the EU, and that year saw three translations of *The Book of Disquiet*, including one by Richard Zenith and one by Margaret Jull Costa.¹² As Mansell reminds us, 'The work of single translators as champions for Catalan must not be underestimated',¹³ and the same applies to Portuguese. In the last thirty years, Pessoa has been fortunate to have not one but two gifted translators. Both Jull Costa and Zenith went on to win prizes for their renditions of Pessoa. Jull Costa won the Portuguese Translation Prize for *The Book of Disquiet* in 1992, while Zenith was awarded the PEN Award for Poetry in Translation, in 1999, for his *Fernando Pessoa & Co.: Selected Poems*. More recently, their services to Portuguese culture have been duly recognized by prestigious honours: Zenith was recipient of Portugal's Pessoa Prize, in 2012, while the Portuguese

government awarded Jull Costa the Ordem do Infante Dom Henrique in 2018, on the back of her OBE for services to literature in 2014.

Jull Costa and Zenith are two of the cultural mediators on whom the visibility of Portuguese literature in the Anglosphere predominantly rests. As we shall shortly see, between them, they have been involved in renderings of all three women under consideration. Specifically, Zenith translated Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen for Carcanet Press while she was still alive, and he went on to include a selection of poems by all three writers in his *28 Portuguese Poets: a bilingual anthology* (2015). For her part, Jull Costa has been involved in the dissemination of Ana Luísa Amaral, and more recently Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen too.

That said, it is undoubtedly their renderings of canonical male writers that led to their official seal of approval, evidenced by the awards bestowed on them. Richard Zenith's translations include Camões and Pessoa, as well as the novelist Lobo Antunes, while Margaret Jull Costa, who translates from both Spanish and Portuguese, has a portfolio of authors that includes Eça de Queiroz; Pessoa, as well as the contemporary novelists José Saramago, Lídia Jorge and Teolinda Gersão. Although it is of course gratifying to see two female prose-writers among the great and the good translated by Jull Costa, we cannot help but notice that she has only tackled one novel by each. By contrast, she has renditions of ten novels by Eça de Queiroz and twelve by Saramago. Why then is there only one Lídia Jorge novel, whereas twelve of Jorge's works have been translated in French? In 2011, in an interview for *The White Review*, when asked whether she had the luxury of choosing which authors to translate, Jull Costa indicated that publishers were the ones in charge, although she was at liberty to accept or turn down commissions.¹⁴ Since her OBE, however, she seems to have gained more freedom in terms of suggesting material to publishers. And, perhaps not coincidentally, she has been translating more texts by women in recent years.

2. THREE CASE-STUDIES

As Paschalis Nikolaou points out in connection with Cavafy, 'There are rarely "second chances" for a poet rendered into a major language'. If Pessoa, like Cavafy, has benefited from countless renditions over the years, the three women poets under consideration have enjoyed or are currently enjoying that rare thing, a 'second chance' too.

Nikolaou adds, 'in Cavafy's case, the consecutive acts of translation suggest not simply the reconfirmation of his value beyond his own culture, but the expression by translators and publishers of needs and desires'.¹⁵ To which I would add – and also by university teachers. If second chances arise from 'needs and desires', what might these be in the case of my chosen case-studies? Looking at demand-driven market conditions over the last thirty years, a decisive factor in the field of Lusophone studies has been the modernisation of academic syllabi, initiated by feminist scholars. Because Portuguese is almost always taught from scratch in UK universities, reliable translations are needed in order to teach – especially at first year level. In fact, today, the historic shortage of translated resources seems more urgent than ever, given the spread of CompLit courses, if we are to continue to diversify and decolonise the curriculum.

FLORBELA ESPANCA (1894-1930)

My first case-study is a contemporary of Pessoa, Florbela Espanca (1894–1930). In Portugal, Espanca quickly became the stuff of legend, thanks to a turbulent biography and a string of signature sonnets, where her poetic persona regularly occupies centre-stage. Her poetry is

often performative, with sonnets that alternate between feelings of crushing failure and the proclamation of her lust for life. She was in the process of proofreading her third collection, *Charneca em Flor* [Moor in Bloom], when she took her own life on the eve of her birthday in December 1930 by overdosing on painkillers. Soon after, in early 1931, *Charneca em Flor* was released to critical acclaim.

Not unlike the troubled Plath, her suicide fuelled a myth. Her reputation rests on the 1934 compilation of *Sonetos Completos* [Complete Sonnets]. At just under 140 sonnets, it offers a similar number to Cavafy. During the four decades of Salazar's Estado Novo, Espanca became a byword for a wider resistance. Her poetry, teeming as it does with forms of resistance rooted in the body, was enjoyed for its transgressive themes and underlying anti-establishment streak. So much so that, as I explain in my introduction to the most recent bilingual anthology of her poetry:

The scale of the popularity of her oeuvre, when measured by the number of re-editions of *Sonetos Completos* in quick succession, gives ample food for thought. A cursory online search in the catalogues of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal reveals that the 1934 compilation, initially released by the Coimbra-based Livraria Gonçalves and from 1950 onwards by the Porto-based Tavares Martins, reached its eighth edition by 1950, and fourteenth by 1974. This is nothing short of remarkable when we consider that Fernando Pessoa's celebrated 1934 *Mensagem*, initially published that very same year by Parceria A.M. Pereira, and subsequently by the Lisbon-based Ática from 1945 onwards, lagged significantly behind.¹⁶

In the context of post-revolutionary Portugal, there was renewed editorial interest when Espanca's work fell into the public domain. Some of her writings, namely her *Diário do último ano* [Diary from the Final Year], prefaced by Natália Correia, herself a writer, were released in the early 1980s. After yet more manuscripts surfaced, the watershed moment came with the publication of her *Obras Completas* [Complete Works].¹⁷ There is, demonstrably, a direct correlation between the Portuguese editorial boom that ensued and a wave of translations that spread into various European languages, as the table below indicates. Prior to 1980s there was only one outlier attempt, into Italian, stemming from Guido Battelli, Espanca's editor.¹⁸ The table shows that book-format dissemination in English lagged considerably behind that in both major and smaller European languages – by more than two decades in fact.¹⁹

DATE OF FIRST TRANSLATION IN BOOK-FORMAT	LANGUAGE
1985-1986	<i>Obras Completas</i>, ed. by Rui Guedes, 6 vols
1991	Spanish
1994	German (compilation of short stories)
1994	French
1996	Italian
1997	Czech
2004	Romanian
2017	Polish
2018	English US

1996	WITHOUT NEED FOR TRANSLATION Brazilian Portuguese ²⁰
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In 1992, just as this wave of translations was about to take off, Peter Fothergill-Payne, in a review for *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, registered the appearance of three academic articles about Espanca, published in quick succession in the US. He noted rather dismissively that 'she has inevitably become the poetess of choice of feminist critics as they emerge on Portuguese scene'.²¹ Lusophone literature, and its historical blind-spots in terms of gender, were indeed starting to undergo critical re-examination by feminist scholars. In terms of her wider dissemination via translation, it is doubtful, however, that Espanca was seen as having the potential to be promoted as a feminist icon, judging by the fact that the collection that was translated into French was her first, *Livro de Mágoas* [Book of Sorrows], suffused with melancholia, under the evocative title *Chatelaine de la tristesse* [Chatelaine of Sadness]. Similarly, the choice of title for the Spanish anthology is telling in this regard: *Quimera y saudade* [Chimera and Sorrow].

Given that Espanca's translations into English in book-form took so long to materialize, two questions arise: firstly, why the time-lag? Secondly, did it offer the possibility of showcasing a more 'feminist' side to her work? The tables below trace the slow gathering of momentum in the Anglosphere, following the standard pattern: an early scattering in academic journals; then in collective anthologies; and only then investment in single-author book-format.

DATE	ACADEMIC PERIODICALS
1966	"Who?" [Quem?], trans. by Isabell (sic) Fey, <i>University Review</i>
1987	4 sonnets trans. by Nina M. Haas, <i>Touchstone Literary Journal Texas</i>
1988	Nina M. Haas, <i>Homenagem a Florbela Espanca, Cadernos de Teoria Literária</i> vol.15 (Araraquara: UNESP, 1988)

	COLLECTIVE ANTHOLOGIES
1997	<i>Escrever do avesso: poetas portuguesas</i> [Writing in reverse: Portuguese women poets], Graça Abranches (ed.), (Coimbra: 3.º Congresso Europeu de Pesquisa Feminista)
2006	<i>Poets of Portugal: a bilingual selection of poems from the 13th through 20th centuries</i> ; trans. by Frederick G. Williams; intro by Maria de Lourdes Belchior; (New York: Luso-Brazilian Books)
2013	<i>52 Euros: Containing 26 Men and 26 Women in a Double A-Z of European Poets</i> , trans. by John Gallas, (Manchester: Carcanet)
2015	<i>28 Portuguese Poets: a bilingual anthology</i> , trans. by Richard Zenith and Alexis Levitin (Dublin: Dedalus Press) ²²
2015	<i>Lisbon Poets: Luís de Camões, Cesário Verde, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Florbela Espanca, Fernando Pessoa</i> , trans. by Austen Hyde & Martin D'Evelin (Lisbon: Lisbon Poets & Co)

DATE	SINGLE BOOK-FORMAT
2007 BOOK &CD	'12 Sonnets by Florbela Espanca', trans. by Ana Luísa Amaral, in <i>Um breve olhar musical sobre a poesia de Florbela Espanca (Canto e Piano)</i> , (Porto: Fermara Editora / Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos)
2018	<i>Our Book: Florbela Espanca Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Billie J. Maciunas (Rail Editions)
2019 BOOK &CD	<i>Florbela Espanca – O Fado</i> CD-Livro (SevenMuses)
2022	<i>This Sorrow That Lifts Me Up. Florbela Espanca</i> , trans. by Simon Park, intro by Cláudia Pazos Alonso (Lisbon: Shantarin)

It is noteworthy that Espanca's first collective promotion, in 1997, had occurred in the context of an international feminist conference. The intensity of Espanca's sonnets has lent itself to be frequently put to music over the years, and a decade later, in 2007 a slim volume served the purpose of accompanying a selection of sonnets put to music. The translations into English were carried out by the poet Ana Luísa Amaral, in a fitting gesture of recovery of a female forerunner. In 2019, a CD&book was released to showcase Espanca's poetry through the dramatic form of *fado*. But it was not until 2018 that the texts themselves took centre-stage in a single-authored volume, titled *Our Book*, and published in the US. Its translator, Billie J. Maciunas, was the author of one of the three articles so dismissively surveyed by Fothergill-Payne over twenty-five years previously. If there are rarely 'second chances' for a poet rendered into a major language, then at long last Espanca is belatedly beginning to come into public view – although still predominantly thanks to Portuguese-based initiatives, most recently Shantarin's *This Sorrow That Lifts Me Up*.

How is Espanca being reviewed and marketed in the 21st century in English-speaking countries? Portuguese cultural gatekeepers' unconscious bias against past women poets has a lot to answer for and it seems today it still extends to Pessoa's 'little sister' (to deploy Virginia Woolf's concept in a Portuguese context here). Indeed, in his review of *28 Portuguese Poets* for the *Times Literary Supplement*, Ricardo Marques salutes 'the attentive work of Zenith, introducing to a wider English-reading audience a golden century of poetry in Portuguese'.²³ He gives the example of Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen as 'a prime illustration of this flowering'. He then goes on to assert, '*28 Portuguese Poets* isn't just well conceived, but also at times surprising in the best of ways – for example, by the inclusion of Florbela Espanca, Adília Lopes and Daniel Faria'. Surprising to whom, one might ask? To him certainly, since he enshrines Andresen as the only possible truly canonical woman poet, in keeping with an outdated yet lingering cultural establishment position.

By contrast, the reception of Billie J. Maciunas' volume is telling. The website of the small press collates a few excerpts of reviews.²⁴ The majority of the soundbites stand out for the way they seek to place Espanca within the context of a world literature lineage (relevant references are bolded).

The first collection of Florbela Espanca's (1894–1930) incandescent poetry to appear in English, *OUR BOOK* is a **song of the self**.

To talk about poetry of the first half of the 20th century without talking about Florbela Espanca is to me the same as talking about poetry of the 19th century without talking about **Emily Dickinson or Rimbaud**.—Jonas Mekas

She reminds me of a poet of melancholy elegance from the furthest end of the European world, **Cavafy**.—Robert Kelly

Florbela Espanca's stirring Symbolist sonnets, gathered in OUR BOOK, ring through time and translation. Some of her poems have become **Fado songs**, a perfect fit for these songs of the heart. —Anne Waldman

The names **Rimbaud, Dickinson, and Juana Inés de la Cruz** also come to mind—if not in actual lineage, then in a poetic affinity.—Kimberly Lyons

Nonetheless, this comparative angle reveals some curious omissions on the part of reviewers (why Rimbaud rather than her beloved Verlaine?). Moreover, her firm inscription into an earlier literary tradition (which stretches as far back as Juana Inés de la Cruz, yet surprisingly does not include Camões) means little reference to a twentieth-century landscape (Cavafy excepted). By contrast, the introduction by George Monteiro mentions Edna St. Vincent Millay. And his earlier and longer draft version, which remains available online, also evokes Plath and Sexton.²⁵

SOPHIA DE MELLO BREYNER ANDRESEN (1919- 2004)

Like Florbela Espanca, Sophia is most commonly known simply by her Christian name, both in her native Portugal and more generally throughout the Portuguese-speaking world. While this may be sign that she is a legendary figure, it simultaneously reinforces the myth of the exceptional woman writer. As Owen and Pazos Alonso note, it seems that in traditional literary history 'exceptional women writers can only be "canonized" at the rate of one, or two at a pinch, per generation'.²⁶

Unlike her predecessor, Andresen became a cult writer in her own lifetime, helped by the fact that her long and distinguished literary career spanned six decades, thirty years either side of the 1974 Revolution. In the context of pre-1974 Portugal, Sophia was one of the few women writers who managed to achieve widespread critical acclaim, a fact bolstered, as Anna Klobucka incisively shows, by an apparently gender-neutral voice.²⁷ To a large extent, the publication of the prize-winning *Livro Sexto* [Sixth Book] and *Contos Exemplares* [Exemplary Tales] both in 1962, just over a decade before the collapse of the regime, captured a turning-point in the collective mood in the early 1960s. This accounted for Andresen's early consecration in the 1960s as a dissident writer, an image cemented at home after the revolution, when she briefly took up a seat as a socialist Member of Parliament, in 1975.

Simultaneously, the promotion of her image as an inspired poet was certainly decisive, and echoes Espanca's earlier singularity, as framed through the male gaze. Espanca's father had been an amateur photographer, and his pictures, alongside several other iconic ones, were eventually collated in a *Fotobiografia* [Photobiography] in 1985. In the 21st century, cinema

further contributed to cement her myth— for instance through her re-imagining in ‘Florabela’, a full-length prize-winning commercial film directed by Vicente do Ó in 2008. Like Espanca, Andresen’s iconic status was established through the seventh art, in her case as early as 1969, through a Gulbenkian-sponsored short film by João César Monteiro.

In the light of her notoriety, it is no wonder then that her presence in English in collective compilations both sides of the Atlantic occurred well before her predecessor’s work began to circulate in a similar format:

DATE	COLLECTIVE ANTHOLOGIES
1966	Longland, Jean R. ed, <i>Selections from Contemporary Portuguese Poetry; a Bilingual Selection</i> (New York: Harvey House)
1972	Helder Macedo ed, <i>Modern Poetry in Translation</i> , Special issue of <i>Modern Poetry in Translation</i> , 13-14
1978	Helder Macedo and Ernesto Manuel de Melo e Castro, eds, <i>Contemporary Portuguese Poetry</i> (Manchester, Carcanet)
2015	<i>28 Portuguese Poets: a bilingual anthology</i> , trans. by Richard Zenith and Alexis Levitin (Dublin: Dedalus Press)

It is worth noting that Andresen’s inclusion by Helder Macedo (himself as poet) in a 1972 collective anthology may not stem solely from the undeniable quality of her poetry, but also from her credentials as an outspoken anti-regime poet. Such profile was considerably increased after the compilation *Grades. Antologia de Poemas de Resistência* [Prison Bars, An Anthology of Resistance Poems] (1970, Lisbon, Dom Quixote) was censored by the regime.

After the return to democracy in 1974, Andresen’s international stature continued to grow, leading to the award of numerous literary prizes and a wide circulation, starting with France.²⁸

DATE OF FIRST TRANSLATION IN BOOK-FORMAT	LANGUAGE
1980	French
1983	Italian
1983	English (see below)
1991	German
1991	Flemish
1991	Dutch
1995	Chinese NB prose
2000	Spanish
2001	Danish
2007	Swedish
2004	WITHOUT NEED FOR TRANSLATION

	Brazilian Portuguese Companhia das Letras, 2004, Vilma Areas
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In her case, the first rendering into English was not only unusually prompt, but also state-sponsored, in a 1983 trilingual edition (Portuguese, French, English). It gradually paved the way for four compilations in English entirely devoted to her work, across four continents:

DATE	SINGLE BOOK-FORMAT IN ENGLISH
1983	<i>NAVIGATIONS</i> , trans. by Ruth Fainlight, Libon: Imprensa Nacional.Casa da Moeda English section of a trilingual edition (Portuguese, French, English)
1988	<i>Marine Rose: Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Ruth Fainlight, Reading Ridge Conn.: Black Swann.
1997	<i>Log Book: Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Richard Zenith, Manchester: Carcanet
2005	<i>Shores, Horizons, Voyages: Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Rui Cascais Parada, Hong Kong: Orchid
2015	<i>The Perfect Hour</i> trans by Colin Rorrison and Margaret Jull Costa Cold Hub, a New Zealand publisher
2020	Revised and expanded UK version of <i>The Perfect Hour</i> <i>The Name of Things and Other Poems</i> , Francis Boutle

The 1983 state-sponsored trilingual edition was published in Portugal. Andresen's American translator Ruth Fainlight, herself a poet, went on to compile *Marine Rose* in the US, while Richard Zenith (a poet too, who coincidentally happened to be Andresen's neighbour) translated her for the UK-based Carcanet, with Instituto Camões backing. There is no question therefore, that there was a non-negligible institutional investment in this author, widely regarded as a sure bet. In terms of cultural policy, the contrast with her equally prominent but more divisive contemporary, Natália Correia (1923-1993), could not be starker: Correia, a poet, playwright, novelist, MP and public intellectual, has yet to make it into the Anglosphere.

ANA LUÍSA AMARAL (1956 - 2022)

Ana Luísa Amaral, a professor of Anglo-American literature at the University of Porto, took early retirement in order to devote more time to writing. Of the three women discussed here, she was the only one to have lived abroad, in the United States between 1991 and 1992. As well as a towering public intellectual, she was one of Portugal's foremost poets until her untimely demise in 2022. Her immense commitment to poetry led her to translate into Portuguese heavyweights Emily Dickinson, John Updike and William Shakespeare, and to co-host a weekly program on national radio devoted to poetry 'O som que os versos fazem ao abrir' [The Sound Poems Make When They Open].

As an academic, Amaral's research field was Feminist and Queer Studies; her artistic work, especially her children's books, promote inclusivity.²⁹ In a talk delivered at the University of Oxford in 2013, Amaral argued that literature, especially poetry, speaks to the mind *and* the heart and therefore can be invested with power to forge a new social contract,

allowing not only for resistance but also for the enhancement of human strength, connection and re-connection with others. Language can thus gesture towards worlds of possibility and serve to empower.

Amaral's familiarity with the broadest sweep of the Western canon is visible throughout her oeuvre, consisting mostly but not exclusively of verse, and spanning the last thirty years. In her vision and revision of Western tradition, the political becomes poetic, and the personal becomes –as second wave feminists would have it – political. A case in point is her play in verse *Próspero Morreu* [Prospero Has Died] (2011), which engages with issues such as violence against women and racism.

In keeping with the usual pattern, Amaral's poetry was first translated piecemeal. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting that her transnational consecration in book-form was even speedier than Andresen's, having begun within a decade of the publication of her first collection, *Minha Senhora de Quê* [Milady of What?] in 1990:

DATE OF FIRST TRANSLATION IN BOOK-FORMAT	LANGUAGE
2000	French
2008	Italian
2009	Swedish
2011	Dutch
2012	Spanish (Venezuela; followed by Colombia; Spain; Mexico)
2015	English
2019	Chinese
2008	WITHOUT NEED FOR TRANSLATION Brazilian Portuguese

As is typically the case, translation into English in book-form lagged significantly behind other major languages, but unusually enough, just like Sophia, Amaral experienced that rare thing, 'a second chance' (Nikolaou) while still alive.

DATE	BOOK FORMAT IN ENGLISH
2015	<i>The Art of Being a Tiger. Selected Poems</i> , trans. By Margaret Jull Costa, Aris&Phillips foreword by Paulo de Medeiros
2018	<i>The Art of Being a Tiger. Selected Poems</i> , as above. Republished by Tagus Press, US, with new introduction by Anna Klobucka
2019	<i>What's in a Name?</i> , trans. by Margaret Jull Costa, New Directions
2019	<i>Nude: A Study in Poignancy</i> , The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press

It is instructive to compare and contrast her critical reception in the UK and US. *The Art of Being a Tiger* was published by an academic press, and it was reviewed by academics. The three UK-based reviews draw out the various political dimensions present in Amaral's work, from canonical revision, to post-imperialism, to feminism:

[In *Escuro*] Amaral interrogates the premises of *Mensagem* by pointing to what is absent or out of sight in Pessoa's text.³⁰

there are also several poems included in this volume that speak clearly to the moment we find ourselves in today. Perhaps the most lucid example of this timeliness (...) are 'Europa (Poema 1)', and the subsequent 'Europa (Poema 2)'.³¹

The 'collective force' (...) in Amaral's work emerges as a specifically concrete form of collective solidarity for women outnumbered by men in 'Common Places'.³²

By contrast, *What's in a Name?* is more obviously geared towards the general reader. The publishers' website collates a string of endorsements.³³ What stands out is that, by and large, reviewers did not seek to insert Amaral into any 'Great Western' canonical tradition, as had been the case with Espanca around the same time. Rather, insofar as they target the general reader, they focus on acknowledging the qualities and relevance of her voice – a crucial point for a writer who was then very much a living author:

this collection of poems beautifully weaves together myths, histories, voyages, and language with elegant ease. Amaral wears her attentiveness on her sleeve, deftly considering her place at home, in her city, and in the wilds. — *Drawn and Quarterly*

In this accomplished volume and translation, Amaral's subtle experimentation makes strange an artistic repertoire we thought we knew. — *Publishers Weekly*

Ana Luísa Amaral's poems read as intimate conversations between the poet and reader, (...) where small, everyday moments quickly spiral into great cultural, historical, and even cosmic significance. Brilliant. — *The Arkansas International*

This bilingual volume, pairing Costa's translations with Amaral's Portuguese originals, relies on humble imagery and plain language to plumb complicated truths. — *The New York Times Book Review*

In a limpid, poised poetry Ana Luísa Amaral evokes interlinked substances (a book, a mood, a mosquito, color itself, love and trust as central, being a mother, domestic moments and their metamorphic transformations) and affirms Being in the world with both a bedazzled clarity and a notable patience with mysteries and divisions. — Rachel Blau DuPlessis

Brilliant: her words celebrate the hidden potentiality inside every woman—and the spontaneity of life itself, even in the contemplation of sudden death. — *Asymptote*

These comments bring out not only the intrinsic quality of her poetry, but also that hers is an oeuvre that speaks to our times. But other factors may also account for Amaral's swift breakthrough into the Anglosphere through multiple translators and books.

There is no doubt that she had considerable cultural capital as an academic herself, and that this, combined with the fact that she spoke fluent English, facilitated her dissemination abroad. In addition, Amaral enjoyed the performance aspect of poetry and, over the last two decades, was invited to many public engagement events, with countless live poetry readings spread across France, Germany, England, Ireland, Spain, Russia, Romania, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Holland, the Americas (the United States, Brazil, Colombia and Argentina) and the Far East (China).³⁴ After retirement, her availability in terms of book tours surely boosted her transnational dissemination.

Moreover, some of her recent book tours in Anglophone countries, (not least in 2019 in the United Kingdom and the US in connection with *What's in a Name?*), benefited from institutional support from the Instituto Camões. And in November 2019, Amaral's reach became truly global, spreading from West to East, when China IPNHK (International Poetry Nights Hong Kong), one of the most influential international poetry events in Asia, hosted her. She was as part of a contingent of 30 famous poets from various countries, invited to read their works based on the theme 'Speech and Silence' to mark its ten-year anniversary, an event that gave rise to the publication of *Nude: A Study in Poignancy*, listed above.³⁵

While several translators over the years have been interested in making her work available in English, it is undoubtedly, however, the collaboration with Margaret Jull Costa that exponentially increased Amaral's visibility and reach.³⁶ This can be surmised if we look at the availability of her translations online, which suggests that Jull Costa's name (by then an OBE) was instrumental in the publication of one of Amaral's most iconic poems in *The Guardian* on International Women's Day:

TRANSLATORS	Websites
2006 Martin Earl	https://www.poetryinternational.org/pi/country/11/Portugal/en/tile
2011 Ana Hudson	http://www.poemsfromtheportuguese.org/Ana_Luisa_Amaral
2015 Margaret Jull Costa	https://www.asymptotejournal.com/blog/2015/09/22/translation-tuesday-five-poems-by-ana-Luís-a-amaral/
March 2017 Margaret Jull Costa	'Testament' showcased by <i>The Guardian</i> https://www.theguardian.com/books/translation-tuesdays-by-asymptote-journal/2017/mar/07/translation-tuesday-testament-by-ana-Luís-a-amaral-a-poem-from-mother-to-daughter ³⁷

Furthermore, in the digital age, online authorial presence is not just about the actual poetry. As Bozkurt asserts:

Authors themselves can now, in 21st century digital media society, construct a 'public self', through performative acts in press interventions or a participation in social media,

blogs and websites. These critical spaces are localities of hybridity and transition, characterized by a transnational approach that transcends the national cultural field.³⁸

Amaral had an official page on Facebook (now closed down) and it often generated responses from a wider pool of readers, whose comments attested to the warmth of a virtual community. However, it was a predominantly a Portuguese-speaking one. Thus, in terms of English-speaking coverage, broader digital initiatives were arguably more instrumental in generating a transnational buzz around her work. For instance, the Tumblr 'Women in Translation', a forum launched by translators Margaret Carson and Alta L. Price, that emerged out of the growing field of feminist translation studies, advertised the reception of *What's in a Name?*, eliciting multiple reactions.³⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The landscape has improved vastly in the last fifty years or so, considering that the only female-authored work from Portugal that had travelled into the English-speaking world in book-form by the 1970s was *New Portuguese Letters*. This 'first' was thanks to the involvement of international feminist networks: in today's world the power of feminist interventions remains indispensable. As Carson and Price state, in terms of changing the conversations in the here and now:

The gender gap and other kinds of exclusions in translation are now part of the conversation, despite the fact that books by men who write in European languages are still overwhelmingly favored when it comes to being translated, published, and reviewed in the United States. The "Great Men" tradition in literary translation may linger on, but it's becoming harder and harder to defend in light of our activism. By continuing to point to the gender disparities in our publishing niche, the Women in Translation movement—ours and others in the English-speaking world—is bringing a more equitable world of translation into view.⁴⁰

Indeed, in the UK too, other scholars, such as Olga Castro and Helen Vassallo, are having impact in bringing 'a more equitable world of translation into view'. For instance, one concrete initiative is the women's literary translation prize hosted by the University of Warwick, in which Castro is involved. Nonetheless, the statistics concerning entries for the prize in the last five years (2017-2022), confirm that Portuguese continues to punch below its weight: it has only made it once into the top ten languages since 2017, the year of its creation.⁴¹ This suggests that the pool of translators and publishers willing to invest in Portuguese remains comparatively modest. The point about multiple marginalities compounding the chronic under-representation of a 'small nation' like Portugal – plagued by the historical neglect of its women writers – thus remains very real.

Ultimately, this article has brought to light the role of intersecting networks of cultural diplomacy. Government policies (including the key role played by the Instituto Camões) can bolster the transnational dissemination of Portuguese women's writing. However, if 'state-supported translation and international promotion of smaller European literatures forms a refrain',⁴² then decades of state-funding that privileged the translation of male writers will take decades to undo, especially for the women of the past. That the first book in English of Espanca's stunning early 20th-century sonnets should only have been released in 2018, nearly

one century after they first appeared in print in Portugal, is a case in point. And poets such as the bisexual Judith Teixeira (1880-1959) or the outspoken Natália Correia (1923-1993), both *persona non grata* during the dictatorship, have yet to be translated into English. In various ways, unconscious bias is still having knock-on effects in terms of the state-sanctioned promotion of a range of diverse poetic voices today.

Furthermore, it is also clear that awarding-winning translators are a decisive factor, as champions in the successful dissemination of Portuguese literature – and Portuguese women’s writing in particular – into the English-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. The skilled work of Margaret Jull Costa, Richard Zenith, and many others established as well as emerging practitioners, is crucial because it often has concrete ramifications. For instance, Amaral’s collaboration with Margaret Jull Costa, translator of Pessoa for New Directions, meant that they were able to secure a major US publisher for *What’s in a Name*, without the need for state-sponsored funding.

There are some encouraging indications that the three writers examined here may now be beyond the need for state-support. To give a summary of the twenty-first-century landscape:

SINGLE AUTHORS	Institutional funding
AMARAL <i>The Art of Being a Tiger. Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Margaret Jull Costa, foreword by Paulo de Medeiros Aris&Phillips (2015)	no
<i>Our Book: Florbela Espanca Selected Poems</i> , trans. by Billie J. Maciunas, (Rail Editions, 2018)	yes
AMARAL <i>What’s in a Name?</i> , trans. by Margaret Jull Costa, (New Directions, 2019)	no
ANDRESEN, <i>The Name of Things and Other Poems</i> , trans. by Colin Rorrison and Margaret Jull Costa (Francis Boutle 2020)	no
ESPANCA, <i>This Sorrow That Lifts Me Up</i> , trans. by Simon Park, intro by Cláudia Pazos Alonso (Lisbon: Shantarin, 2022)	no

In terms of future dissemination and reception in the English-speaking world, of the three major poets discussed in this article, Florbela Espanca and Ana Luísa Amaral seem the most promising, not least because Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen has been the most translated thus far. There are some commercial considerations that may benefit the Florbela ‘brand’ at this point in time: she is out of copyright; as a contemporary of Pessoa, and a female pioneer, Florbela Espanca has strong cultural appeal; her mythical status is as marketable today as it was when Battelli first translated her in the early 1930s; bouts of depression and a life story ending in suicide makes her into a kind of Portuguese Sylvia Plath; she is widely disseminated through other media, including music, photographs and cinema; the Câmara de Vila Viçosa is currently recovering the house where she was born, so cultural tourism may become an added attraction; finally one century after the publication of her grief-stricken *Livro de Mágoas*, various centenaries are underway in the coming decade – and will culminate in 2030 and 2031 with the anniversary of her death and publication of *Charneca em Flor* respectively.

Cultural legibility is also an asset in the case of the more contemporary Ana Luísa Amaral, not least given her work’s engagement with English-speaking literary tradition and the ‘Great Western tradition’ more generally. Amaral had a few trump cards up her sleeve: aside

from the outstanding quality of her rich and diverse body of work and her unique voice, she was brilliant at public engagement and excelled in live readings. Her untimely demise is a huge loss, but she had reached sufficient international distinction to ensure that the translation of an individual collection, *Mundo* [World] (2021), her very last, will come out with New Directions in 2023, thanks to Margaret Jull Costa.⁴³ Others may yet follow.

Looking ahead, a clear commitment to addressing unconscious bias through multiple forms of activism remains essential. Perhaps surprisingly, the much-vaunted democratising effect of exposure via Internet channels, at least in ‘anthology’-type websites such as Poetryinternational, has yet to be conclusively proven. At the time of writing, of the forty-nine poets featured for Portugal in poetryinternational, only eight were women (including Espanca, Andresen, and Amaral).

ANTHOLOGIES	Women’s representation
<i>28 Portuguese Poets: a bilingual anthology</i> , trans. by Richard Zenith and Alexis Levitin (Dublin: Dedalus Press, 2015)	25% (7 poets)
<i>Lisbon Poets: Luís de Camões, Cesário Verde, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Florbela Espanca, Fernando Pessoa</i> , trans. by Austen Hyde & Martin D’Evelin; (Lisbon: Poets & Co. 2015)	20% (1 poet)
Poetryinternational website – for Portugal	15% (8 poets)

In this context, academia too continues to have a significant cultural mediation role, in conjunction with other key players: academics have institutional credibility, and thus some leverage, through engagement with various stakeholders, in terms of widening knowledge and changing perceptions about past and present women writers. Some may be translators themselves. And, crucially, their ‘soft power’ means that scholarship can contribute to shape the future. In her multiple roles as academic, translator and writer, Amaral understood better than most the constraints and opportunities within which she was operating; it thus seems fitting to conclude with an extract from one of her signature poems, ‘Testament’, not least given her recent passing away:

if I should die on a plane
and be separated from my body
and become a free-floating atom in the sky

Let my daughter
remember me
and later on say to her own daughter
that I flew off into the sky

‘Testament’, published in *The Guardian*, offers a message that resonates with hope for the future, movingly encapsulating female memory and legacies across three generations as they stretch ahead. In Jull Costa’s beautiful translation, it helps us to picture Amaral (and, by extension, other women poets too) in their putative afterlives: as free-floating atoms, they urge us to remember their literary achievements; and to continue to disseminate their poetry globally, through the magnifying power of translation.

¹ In 2006, their visible inscription in the redesigned Portuguese passport, for instance, was surely no coincidence <https://www.dn.pt/arquivo/2006/viajar-pelo-mundo-com-camoes-e-pessoa-no-bolso-639189.html>. Their images have since been replaced with two UNESCO World Heritage landmarks.

² in Büchler, Alexandra and Giulia Trentacosti *Publishing Translated Literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland 1990 - 2012 statistical report*, (2015), p. 5. https://www.lit-across-frontiers.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Translation-Statistics-Study_May2015.pdf

³ In the UK today, the presence of Portuguese through migration is attested in the 2021 census, which indicates that Portuguese is the fifth most common ‘main language other than English (English or Welsh in Wales)’, after Polish, Romanian, Panjabi and Urdu, and before Spanish or Italian among others. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/bulletins/languageenglandandwales/census2021>

⁴ Büchler, Alexandra and Giulia Trentacosti op.cit.

⁵, Rhian, ‘Does Size Matter? Questioning Methods for the Study of “Small” ’, in Chitnis, Rajendra A., Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, Rhian Atkin, and Zoran Milutinović, *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*, (Liverpool: LUP, 2020), pp. 247-266, p.258.

⁶ Atkin, Rhian. op. cit. p.259.

⁷ Ton Naaijken argues convincingly that ‘the role played by the anthology in the canonizing process is underestimated’, cited in Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta, *The Anthology in Portugal: A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007).

⁸ *New Portuguese Letters to the World: International Reception*, ed by Ana Luísa Amaral, Ana Paula Ferreira and Marinela Freitas (Peter Lang, 2016).

⁹ Resnick, Margaret & De Courtivron, Isabelle. (eds), *Women Writers in Translation: an Annotated Bibliography 1945-1982*, (New York: Garland, 1984).

¹⁰ For the US, information is available in António Ladeira, ‘Fernando Pessoa Nos Estados Unidos: Redesenhando Fronteiras.’ *Pessoa Plural* 16 (2019): 241-80. For the UK, see José Blanco, ‘Fernando Pessoa's Critical and Editorial Fortune in English: A Selective Chronological Overview’ *Portuguese Studies* 24.2 (2008): 13-32.

¹¹ Margarida Rendeiro, *The Literary Institution in Portugal since the Thirties* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).

¹² Blanco, op.cit.

¹³ Mansell, Richard, ‘Strategies for Success? Evaluating the Rise of Catalan Literature’, in Chitnis, Rajendra A., Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, Rhian Atkin, and Zoran Milutinović. *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*, (Liverpool, LUP, 2020), pp.126-144, p. 142.

¹⁴ <https://www.thewhitereview.org/feature/interview-with-margaret-jull-costa/>.

¹⁵ Nikolaou, Paschalis, ‘Translating as Re-telling: On the English Proliferation of C.P. Cavafy’, in Chitnis, Rajendra A., Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, Rhian Atkin, and Zoran Milutinović, *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations*, (Liverpool: LUP, 2020), pp. 165-183, p.165.

¹⁶ ‘Phenomenal Florbela’ in *Florbela Espanca, This Sorrow That Lifts Me Up*, bilingual anthology, ed. by Cláudia Pazos Alonso and trans. by Simon Park (Lisbon, Shantarin, 2022), pp.13-20, p.15.

¹⁷ *Obras Completas* ed. by Rui Guedes, 6 vols (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1985-1986).

¹⁸ *Versi di Florbela Espanca tradotti dal portoghese da Guido Battelli*, published as part of *Sonetos Completos*, (Coimbra: Gonçalves, 1934).

¹⁹ I thank Chris Gerry for his generosity in sharing with me the information contained in his entry for the forthcoming *Dicionário de Florbela Espanca*, ed by Fabio Mario da Silva and Jonas Leite.

²⁰ Brazil has been included here because, in the case of a global language like Portuguese, one often-overlooked dimension in the analysis of transnational circulation, is the reality of transatlantic

circulation without the need for translation. ESPANCA, Florbela. *Poemas*. Maria Lúcia Dal Farra ed. (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1996).

²¹ *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, 54, (1992), p.372.

²² *28 Portuguese Poets* includes ten sonnets originally published in Hilary Owen and Cláudia Pazos Alonso, *Antigone's Daughters? Gender, Genealogy, and the Politics of Authorship in Twentieth-Century Portuguese Women's Writing*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), pp. 65-69.

²³ Marques, Ricardo. 'Richard Zenith, Editor: 28 Portuguese Poets: A Bilingual Edition.' *Times Literary Supplement* 5892 (2016): 34.

²⁴ <https://www.spdbooks.org/Products/9780990788164/our-book-florbela-espanca-selected-poems.aspx>

²⁵ Justice to Florbela Espanca (1894-1930) (2014)– <https://portuguese-american-journal.com/essay-justice-to-florbela-espanca-1894-1930-by-george-monteiro/>.

²⁶ Hilary Owen and Cláudia Pazos Alonso, op. cit. p.208.

²⁷ Anna Klobucka. *O Formato Mulher: A Emergência da Autoria Feminina na Poesia Portuguesa*. (Coimbra: Angelus Novus Editora, 2009).

²⁸ **Only the previous year, Andresen had been seen a boost to her cultural profile, as the recipient of the 1979 Medalha de Verneil da Société de Encouragement au Progrès, de França, and as translator of *Quatre poètes portugais: Camões, Cesário Verde, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Fernando Pessoa* (Paris: Centre Culturel Portugais, 1979).**

²⁹ International recognition came in 2008, when the book *A génese do amor* [The Genesis of Love] was awarded the *Premio Letterario Giuseppe Acerbi*; in 2018 Amaral won the Premio Internazionale Fondazione Roma; in 2020 Best Poetry Book of the Year from the *Grémio de Librerias de Madrid*, Madrid bookstore association; and in 2021 the Prémio Rainha Sophia de Poesia Ibero-americana.

³⁰ Tom Stennett, <https://st-annes-mcr.org.uk/staar/publications/staar-7-2017/stennett-2017-ana-luís-a-amaral-and-the-portuguese-canon/>

³¹ Eleanor Jones, 'Ana Luísa Amaral: The Art of Being a Tiger: Poems, Translated by Margaret Jull Costa.' *Translation and Literature* 27.1 (2018): 131-35.

³² Hilary Owen, 'Amaral, Ana Luísa. *The Art of Being a Tiger: Poems by Ana Luísa Amaral*, translated by Margaret Jull Costa with an Introduction by Paulo de Medeiros, Liverpool UP, 2016', *Journal of Lusophone Studies* 3.2 (2018), pp. 155-160, p.158.

³³ <https://www.wwnorton.co.uk/books/9780811228329-what-s-in-a-name>

³⁴ <https://modernlanguages.sas.ac.uk/research-centres/centre-study-contemporary-womens-writing/languages/portuguese/ana-lu%C3%ADsa-amaral>

³⁵ <https://medium.com/@IPNHK/international-poetry-nights-in-hong-kong-7336e524a3fb>.

³⁶ I am using the word 'collaboration' because, as Jull Costa makes clear, she discussed her drafts with Amaral. See her forthcoming article 'Translating Ana Luisa Amaral: Close reading and collaboration' in *The Most Perfect Excess: essays on the works of Ana Luísa Amaral*, ed by Maria Luísa Coelho and Claire Williams (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming 2023).

³⁷ *Asymptote* became a founding member of *The Guardian's Books Network* with "[Translation Tuesdays](#)," a weekly showcase of new literary translations that can be read by the newspaper's 5 million followers.

³⁸ Bozkurt, S., 'Closing the Gender Gap?: New Spaces of Cultural Memory Construction for Contemporary Female Authors in Portugal', *Cadernos de Literatura Comparada*, 35 (2016), 83-101, p.85.

³⁹ <https://womenintranslation.tumblr.com/post/184110636161/whats-in-a-name>,

⁴⁰ Carson, Margaret, and Alta L. Price, 'Writing with WIT: The Gender Gap Seen through the Women-in-Translation Activism', *PhiloSOPHIA* 9.2 (2019): 135-36

⁴¹ https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/womenintranslation/

⁴² Chitnis, Rajendra, 'Literature as Cultural Diplomacy: Czech Literature in Great Britain, 1918–38', in Chitnis, Rajendra A., Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, Rhian Atkin, and Zoran Milutinović. *Translating the Literatures of Small European Nations* (Liverpool: LUP, 2020), pp.69-90, p.69.

⁴³ <https://www.ndbooks.com/book/world/>.