



Zsófia Gombár

**A Recepção da Literatura Britânica sob Ditaduras
na Hungria e Portugal**

**The Reception of British Literature under
Dictatorships in Hungary and Portugal**



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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Doutor em Literatura, realizada sob a orientação científica do Doutor Kenneth David Callahan, Professor Associado do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro, e da Doutora Ágnes Péter, Professora Emérita com Agregação do Department of English Studies, Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

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Dedico este trabalho à minha filha, Júlia.

o júri

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palavras-chave

Literatura britânica, traduções, política cultural, censura, ensino da literatura

resumo

Esta tese tem como objectivo comparar aspectos da recepção da literatura britânica durante o Estado Novo em Portugal, e na Hungria durante a era comunista. Na primeira parte da dissertação fica contextualizada e analisada a alteração da posição da literatura britânica nos dois países, enquanto na segunda parte se comparam facetas da recepção da mesma, contrastando as traduções literárias publicadas em Portugal e na Hungria entre 1949 e 1974, altura em que ambos os países foram dirigidos simultaneamente por regimes autocratas. Este estudo faz-se, em parte, através da comparação de manuais escolares e seletas, a fim de examinar os diferentes métodos usados pelos dois regimes ditatoriais politicamente opostos na tentativa de moldarem os seus leitores. É dada especial atenção à literatura proibida e aos motivos para as atitudes restritivas diferenciadas em relação a certos escritores na era de Salazar e na Hungria durante o período de Bloco de Leste. A tese conclui que a abordagem divergente em relação às obras literárias britânicas, bem como à literatura em geral, é principalmente enraizada na ideologia de governação diametralmente oposta dos dois regimes ditatoriais. A crença idealista no poder educativo da literatura em estabelecer o socialismo na Hungria está em nítido contraste com a política de cultura obscurantista do Estado Novo. Mesmo quando o apoio à literatura britânica não era uma das principais prioridades da esfera cultural húngara, parece evidente que a literatura canónica britânica teve uma recepção mais favorável na Hungria comunista do que no Estado Novo.

keywords

British literature, translations, cultural politics, censorship, literature education.

abstract

The thesis aims to compare aspects of the reception of British literature in *Estado Novo* Portugal and Communist-ruled Hungary. The first part of the dissertation contextualises and analyses the changing position of British literary works in the two countries, while the second part compares facets of their reception, both by contrasting the selection of Portuguese and Hungarian literary translations published between 1949 and 1974, when both lived under dictatorial rule simultaneously, and by comparing literature textbooks and school anthologies in order to establish which methods the two politically opposed dictatorial regimes used in the attempt to mould their readership. Special attention is also given to suppressed literature and the reasons underlying the restrictions imposed on the work of certain writers in the Salazar era and the Eastern Bloc period of Hungarian history.

The thesis concludes that their clearly divergent approach towards British literary works as well as towards literature in general is primarily rooted in the two dictatorial regimes' diametrically opposed ruling ideologies. The idealistic belief in the educational power of literature in establishing Socialism in Hungary stands in sharp contrast with the obscurantist culture politics of the *Estado Novo*. Even if supporting British literature was not a high priority in the Hungarian culture sphere, it seems that canonical British literature enjoyed a more favourable reception in Socialist Hungary than in *Estado Novo* Portugal.

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I . INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

"Twentieth century totalitarian regimes have revealed the existence of a danger undreamt of until now: that of the obliteration of memory. It is not that ignorance has not existed since time immemorial, not even the systematic destruction of documents and statues [...] twentieth-century tyrannies have systematised their annexation of memory and have been determined to control its most secret recesses. Sometimes these attempts have failed, but there is no doubt that in other cases (which by definition cannot be documented), traces of the past have been successfully eliminated."

(Tzvetan Todorov: *The Abuse of Memory*)¹

¹ Translated by Bridget Patterson. In: Harriet Harvey Wood and A. S. Byatt. *Memory. An Anthology* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2008): 375.

I 1. Grounds for Comparison, Research Hypothesis and Aims

Hungary and Portugal's similarities in terms of size, population, majority religion and an agriculture-based economy provide the potential grounds for the comparison of many social indicators, among which could be included that of literary production.² Drawing them together even closer is the fact that both countries lived under differing forms of dictatorial rule for a significant part of the twentieth century, although António de Oliveira Salazar's rightist administration and Mátyás Rákosi's and János Kádár's Communist regimes – despite all their occasional similarities – differ sharply for the obvious reason that they were publicly opposed to each other.

This dissertation aims to investigate the articulation of these similarities and differences in terms of the specificities of their reception of British literature. This reception encodifies many of the characteristics of the two regimes, given that it is an interface between them and the world outside their borders as well as a processing of an area that has generally possessed high cultural prestige.

As expected, the culture politics of Communist-ruled Hungary and Salazar's right-wing regime significantly diverge with respect to their approaches to world literature as well as to

² The scope of the dissertation is restricted to investigating the literary reception in continental Portugal.

literature in general. The almost exaggerated importance attributed to high literature by the Communist rulers as contrasted with the relative political disregard shown by the Salazar administration can mainly be ascribed to the pragmatic nature of the leading ideology of the Hungarian party-state, that is, Marxism, which regarded literature along with everything else as an ideological form. Deeply committed to the romantic belief in the efficacy of the printed word,³ the Communist leaders of Hungary were fully convinced of the moral and educational power of literature in the process of constructing a Socialist Future and creating the "New Man" of this Future.⁴ Conversely, even though the Salazar administration also recognised the propaganda potential of the literary field to a certain extent, especially at the beginning, Salazar always seemed to be more concerned with its financial implications than its possible political benefits, and as a result, publishing and the translation industry appeared to be a comparatively neglected area of the *Estado Novo*.

³ It should be emphasised that Karl Marx was also the child of Romanticism, and the great significance attached in his works to philosophy, literature, and intellectual activity has roots in the nineteenth-century growth of ideas that these were not solely the preserve of a moneyed elite. Lenin also showed keen interest in literature, and was convinced that literature should become part of the common cause of the proletariat, and thus an important component of Social-Democratic Party work. In: Vladimir Il'ich Lenin: *Lenin on Literature and Art*. Trans. Anon. (Rockville, MD.: Wildside Press, 2008).

⁴ Ferenc Takács. "The Unbought Grace." *Hungarian Quarterly* 43.165 (2002): 78.

Accordingly, the initial hypothesis of the present thesis is that British literature enjoyed a more favourable reception in Socialist Hungary than in Salazar's Portugal.

For André Lefevere:

Translation [...] is the visible sign of the openness of the literary system [...]. It opens the way to what can be called both subversion and transformation, depending on where the guardians of the dominant poetics, the dominant ideology stand. No wonder, therefore, that there have been all kinds of attempts to regulate translation, to make sure that it does not exert any subversive influence on the native system, to use it to integrate what is foreign by naturalising it first.⁵

In this light, then, it seems reasonable to surmise that a closed and strongly nationalist regime such as the *Estado Novo* would have a less receptive attitude towards translations, including translated literary works even from its long-time ally Britain, especially if they were assumed to contain suspect and politically subversive messages. In addition, the Salazar regime's initial pro-Fascist sympathies and its neutral status during the Second World War may also have exerted a considerable influence on the

⁵ André Lefevere. "Why Waste Our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm." *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. Ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985): 237.

reception of British literature. Alternatively, the supposedly more internationally-minded and open Communist regimes like Socialist Hungary also showed a hostile attitude towards ideologically incompatible literary material along with works that allegedly offended public morals, particularly during the dogmatic Stalinist period. Nevertheless, the Khrushchev Thaw (1953-1964) eventually brought an ideological opening as well as a cultural renaissance to many Eastern European countries including Hungary, when previously despised "Capitalist and Imperialist" British works together with other Western literature began to filter into these countries again at an accelerated rate. With these different historical periods in view, the thesis will also examine and compare the changing position of British literature as well as the divergently restrictive approach towards certain British writers in the two countries.

Finally, focusing primarily on a particular literature, that is, British literature, will provide a more detailed insight into the more general literary and translation history of the two countries in the periods concerned. Equally, observing the contrasts between the two cultural establishments and their different attitudes towards the literary and translation activities of the period may also help us to understand the complex mechanisms and ideological practices of cultural institutions in the two opposed regimes at a much deeper level.

I. 2. General Historical Background and International Contexts

I. 2. 1. Communism in Twentieth-Century Europe

The Communist system became dominant in Eastern and East-Central Europe – with minor time differences – shortly after the Second World War.⁶ The years 1945-1946 were mostly characterised by a short-lived political and cultural pluralism, which was soon followed by exclusive political takeovers by the local Communist parties. In 1948, “peoples’ democracies” were officially proclaimed in all Eastern European countries, which basically meant that all these countries were forced into tacit acceptance of the Soviet political model instituted by Stalin. As might be expected, these developments had a profound effect on the cultural and literary fields as well. The pattern appeared to be quite similar in every satellite state: (1) Book publishers along with theatres were nationalised and brought under strict ideological control; (2) former cultural institutions such as writers’ organisations or literary journals were suppressed and new ones were created in keeping with the Soviet model; (3) the doctrine of Socialist realism as well as the

⁶ Yugoslavia was a notable exception to the pattern of Soviet dominance. Even though Josip Broz, known as Tito (1892-1980), the leader of the Communist resistance movement, was a loyal Stalinist, after the Second World War, he moved to establish an independent Communist state.

Stalinist ideological perspective was introduced and enforced in the field of literature; (4) all publications were now subject to strong control and ideological censorship; (5) Soviet-controlled Eastern Bloc countries became more and more isolated from Western culture; (6) Soviet literature inundated the book market; (7) teaching of literature at secondary schools and universities adopted Marxist-Leninist principles; (8) all these processes were accompanied by wide-spread political arrests and show trials, and the accused included many writers.

Nevertheless, it must be added that the new policy also brought certain culturally beneficial changes to the Eastern bloc countries: illiteracy was, to all intents and purposes, eradicated, and since theatres and book publishers were generously funded by the state, books and theatre performances became affordable to a much wider audience. Indeed, literature and artistic activities enjoyed a much more respected position than previously. Writers and artists who ideologically conformed to the party-state were lavishly rewarded with money, awards, and other additional benefits.⁷

Interestingly, after Stalin's death, and especially after Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin's totalitarianism in 1956, somewhat different patterns emerged in most Communist countries. For example, Poland and Hungary reacted relatively quickly to the changes. The progressive fractures of

⁷ John Neubauer. "General Introduction". *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Ed. Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007): 36.

the regimes along with the intellectual elite started the process of de-Stalinisation and democratisation while rethinking Communism. In Hungary, events even led to the Revolution of 1956, which was soon suppressed by the intervention of the Soviet army. However, the Hungarian government installed by Soviet tanks desperately needed to legitimise its ascendancy in Europe and restore the Communist Party's popularity as far as possible.

Therefore, after the severe reprisals from the early 1960s onwards the new establishment introduced a cautious, yet relatively uninterrupted process of liberalisation, as contrasted with the Polish government, which re-imposed strict authoritarian rule from time to time from the mid-1960s.⁸ In Romania and Czechoslovakia, the political thaw started comparatively belatedly and both came to an early end: in Romania under the increasingly totalitarian Ceauşescu regime, and in Czechoslovakia after the military suppression of the Prague Spring of 1968.

1989 and 1990 brought radical political changes to the Eastern European regimes. The overall liberalisation process was largely the product of alterations in the dispensations of state power within the USSR, alterations which freed up the USSR's client states to reconsider the role of their own state apparatus. In 1986 the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev launched a series of drastically new reforms, which are considered to be the major

⁸ Iona Popa. "Translation Channels: A Primer on Politicized Literary Transfer." *Target* 18.2 (2006): 207-208.

cause of the dissolution of the Soviet Union as well as the general collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe. Unexpectedly, the political turnaround also brought – mostly for financial reasons – the end of several literary journals and publishing houses, which in the absence of sufficient governmental funding, were unable to adjust to a Capitalist cultural system.⁹ Moreover, even though blatant nationalist and politically related censorship appears to be a relatively rare phenomenon today, economic, moral, and religious censorship continues to exert considerable power in the publishing industry, and sometimes within the theatre.

I. 2. 2. European Fascism and Portugal

With respect to the development of an authoritarian state in Portugal, its immediate aetiology occurred before the post-second world war spread Communism to Hungary, and can be ascribed to the impact of the First World War, which proved to be more far-reaching than expected. Basically, the war swept away much nineteenth-century liberalism as well as marking the beginning of an era of revolutions and severe political conflict. Russian Communism was only one of the drastic responses to the crisis, a response whose principal ideology originated in nineteenth-century European Marxist and Russian revolutionary theory. The other radical response was

⁹ Neubauer: 60-61.

Fascism, which was more modern and original, as it was the direct consequence of the war itself. Neither a Fascist party nor a Fascist doctrine existed before 1919. Italian Fascism was founded in 1919, and was later followed by parallel or analogous movements in a large number of European countries.¹⁰ The extreme nationalism of these fascist movements, however, inevitably developed certain unique and idiosyncratic characteristics in each country. Hence, all Fascist organisations appear to differ from each other to a much higher degree than Communist parties of different nationalities, for instance.¹¹

In addition, while normally only Italy and Germany are regarded as exemplars of Fascist regimes, the long-lived Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships were also typical products of the Fascist era and both of them were greatly inspired by the success of the Italian Fascist and the German Nazi regimes. Nonetheless, neither of them correspond fully to the supposedly authentic European Fascist model, which was partly due to the fact that Salazar as well as Franco mostly relied on clerico-conservative principles, and inherently distrusted everything that was even remotely radical or revolutionary.¹²

Nonetheless, Stanley G. Payne states that Spain initially appeared to have far more points of similarity with the classically Fascist regimes than

¹⁰ Stanley G. Payne. *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980): 3.

¹¹ Stanley G. Payne. *A History of Fascism. 1914-1945* (London: Routledge, 2001): 8.

¹² Stephen J. Lee. *European Dictatorships. 1918-1945* (London: Routledge, 2000): 301.

any other large European countries of the period.¹³ According to António Costa Pinto, Franco's single party the *Falange* (Phalanx) was also closer to the Italian Fascist Party than to the Portuguese *União Nacional* (National Union).¹⁴ Payne also uses the term "semi-Fascist" in reference to Franco's regime,¹⁵ while he describes Salazar's Portugal as "authoritarian corporatism," implying that Spain was more Fascist than Portugal.¹⁶ On the other hand, from the early 1960s onwards, studies of totalitarian regimes (comparing Bolshevism to National Socialism)¹⁷ were expanded with a new term for an "ideal-type" of dictatorship, that is, "authoritarian regime," which greatly influenced scholarship on Fascism, especially with reference to classification and typology. Spain and Portugal thereafter were mostly included in the latter category. Indeed, in contrast with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Salazar's Portugal and Franco's Spain did not seem to have possessed (1) a charismatic leader,¹⁸ (2) a single party based on

¹³ Payne. *History*: 252.

¹⁴ António Costa Pinto. "Twentieth-Century Portugal: An Introduction." *Modern Portugal*. Ed. António Costa Pinto (Palo Alto: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998): 1-40.

¹⁵ Stanley G. Payne. *Spain. A Unique History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011): 125.

¹⁶ Payne. *History*: 312.

¹⁷ See Hannah Arendt. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1973) (originally published in 1951), and Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956).

¹⁸ Salazar, for example, was never the object of any personality cult like Hitler or Stalin, he did not even possess a charismatic image, nor did he attempt to create one.

mobilised mass support, (3) an expansionist and paramilitary ideology, or (4) an overall tendency towards totalitarianism.¹⁹

Despite all these factors, it must be said that both Iberian regimes showed totalitarian traits and inclinations, which were more in line with Fascist-type governments than any other, especially during the interwar period.²⁰ Although mass indoctrination – as opposed to Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany – never appeared to be a vital feature of Salazar's *Estado Novo*, nor was there any real Portuguese equivalent of, for example, the German Joseph Goebbels in the area of propaganda, Salazar was well aware of the necessity of establishing an apparatus to implant the *Estado Novo's* new ideology in the minds of its citizens. However, as one of Salazar's top priorities was to control governmental expenditure throughout his dictatorship, and the Portuguese economic situation did not encourage an effective expansion of the Portuguese publishing industry, or indeed literature or culture in general, they appeared to be much less significant elements of the Portuguese propaganda machinery than in Hungary or in other Communist countries, as will be shown in the following chapters.

It was only in the last phase of his political career that public buildings, towns and bridges were named after him. In fact, he detested the political limelight by nature, and always preferred to operate behind the scenes.

¹⁹ António Costa Pinto. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism. Problems of Interpretations* (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs, 1995): 3-4.

²⁰ For more detailed information on the Salazar regime's totalitarian tendencies, see Chapter II. 2. 2.

It is also important to note that although the cultural leaders of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany appeared to attach more political importance to both national and translated literature than the Portuguese establishment, the economic factor was also considered important in both countries. As far as translations are concerned, for example, according to the *Unesco Index Translationum*, Italy and Germany were translating more than any other country in the world, which suggests that translations, and especially translations from English, occupied a privileged position in the publishing landscape of the two countries at least during the first half of the pre-war Fascist period.²¹ Despite the campaign launched against translations later on, the appearance of mass translations and the increasing commercialisation of Italian and German publishing very much suited the Fascist aspirations to demolish the ivory towers in which intellectuals had detached themselves from the world. Literature had ceased to belong exclusively to the cultural elite, and was becoming a mass commodity, which was being produced and marketed using industrial methods.²²

Moreover, with the outbreak of the Second World War, state control of the publishing industry became

²¹ Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge. "Translation and the History of Fascism." *Translation under Fascism*. Eds Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 6.

²² Christopher Rundle. "Translation in Fascist Italy: 'The Invasion of Translations.'" *Translation under Fascism*. Eds Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 22.

much more predominant in both countries and many publishers found themselves in a dual predicament: On one hand, the Fascist government required at least a notional political conformity, which had the potential to guarantee publishers the possibility of carrying on their business, not to mention preserving their personal safety. On the other hand, commercial survival was also important, and the German reading public might well have preferred their pre-1933 favourites such as Edgar Wallace, Oscar Wilde, and Arthur Conan Doyle to panegyrics to the Führer.²³ Accordingly, if publishers hoped to achieve healthy sales and profits, the readers' taste had to be considered as well. As contrasted with Fascist states, in Communist countries, all publishing houses were under strict government control in a financial sense as well, and as a result a book's potential commercial success was ignored as a rule. As will be shown later on, this latter attitude was characteristically present in Socialist Hungary and Salazar's Portugal as well.

²³ Kate Sturge. "Translation in Nazi Germany." *Translation under Fascism*. Eds Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 64.

I. 3. A Review of Relevant Literature, Current Research Projects and New Trends

I. 3. 1. The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe

One of the main inspirations of the present dissertation has been the UK-based research project, *The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe* (RBAE), which focuses mainly on how "selected British authors have been translated, published, distributed, read, reviewed and discussed on the continent of Europe over the last few hundred years."²⁴ The findings of the project are available to the public through the resulting multi-volume series, *The Athlone Critical Traditions: The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe*. Eighteen volumes have been published to date, including those on Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Dickens, Lawrence, Woolf, H. G. Wells, Yeats, and Oscar Wilde.²⁵

²⁴ For more information on the project, consult the web-site <http://www.clarehall.cam.ac.uk/rbae/> (last accessed 21/10/2012).

²⁵ Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst, Eds. *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2002), Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer, Eds. *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2004), Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo, Eds. *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2004), Stephen Bann, Ed. *The Reception of Walter Pater in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2004), Howard Gaskill, Ed. *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2004), Richard Cardwell, Ed. *The Reception of Byron in Europe*

The project brings to bear the theoretical approaches of reading response criticism and reception studies, particularly as encapsulated in the seminal works of Hans Robert Jauss²⁶ and Wolfgang Iser.²⁷ These critical approaches emphasise the

(London: Continuum, 2005), Patrick Parrinder and John S. Partington, Eds. *The Reception of H.G. Wells in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2005), Hermann J. Real, Ed. *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2005), Peter Jones, Ed. *The Reception of David Hume in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2005), Klaus Peter Jochum, Ed. *The Reception of W. B. Yeats in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006), Annick Duperray, Ed. *The Reception of Henry James in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006), Dieter Mehl and Christa Jansohn, Eds. *The Reception of D. H. Lawrence in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2007), Murray Pittock, Ed. *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2007), Anthony Mandal and Brian Southam, Eds. *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2007), Elinor Shaffer and Edoardo Zuccato, Eds. *The Reception of S. T. Coleridge in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2007), Eve-Marie Engels and Thomas F. Glick, Eds. *The Reception of Charles Darwin in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2008), Susanne Schmid and Michael Rossington, Eds. *The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2008), and Stefano Evangelista, Ed. *The Reception of Oscar Wilde in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2010), Michael Hollington. Ed. *The Reception of Charles Dickens in Europe* (London: Continuum, forthcoming in 2012), Scott Mandelbrote and Helmut Pulte. Eds. *The Reception of Isaac Newton in Europe* (London: Continuum, forthcoming in 2013).

²⁶ Some of Hans Robert Jauss's works: *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*. Trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), and *Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding*. Trans. Michael Hays (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

²⁷ Wolfgang Iser's works: *The Implied Reader. Patterns of*

activity of the reader in bringing texts to life as well as the changing horizons of the reading community of which the reader is a part. Accordingly, the convenors of the project recognised that the narrow national literary history of Great Britain (as of other isolated national histories with an exclusively national perspective) would be incomplete without these foreign critical and literary responses.²⁸ Furthermore, the project also takes cognizance of the growing area of book history studies which had started to investigate the production, publication, and distribution of manuscripts and printed books.²⁹

The essays arising out of the British research project have proved to be immensely useful not only as resource material for the thesis, but also as a blueprint for the introductory chapters of the dissertation. The innovative aspect of the present thesis is, however, the comparative approach between two countries, namely, Hungary and Portugal, as opposed to the isolated and merely descriptive sections of the book series on the reception of British literature in various European countries.

Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), *The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), and *Prospecting. From Reader Response to Literary Anthropology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

²⁸ Elinor Shaffer. "World Literature Tomorrow." *Comparative Critical Studies* 3 (2006): 78-79.

²⁹ Elinor Shaffer. Series Editor's Preface. *The Reception of W. B. Yeats in Europe*. Ed. Klaus Peter Jochum (London: Continuum, 2006):viii.

Furthermore, censorship and anthology studies have assumed far greater importance in the analysis of the thesis than in the RBAE project. In addition, the dissertation draws on a vast amount of hitherto unpublished and largely unexplored archival material, especially with respect to literary censorship in the two countries. Finally, literature education, which has normally been a neglected foster child of present-day reception studies, is also a vital component of the thesis. The dissertation will accordingly investigate the part played by literature textbooks of the period in literary canon formation in Socialist Hungary or Salazar's Portugal.

I. 3. 2. British Literature in the Hungarian Cultural Memory and Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000

Currently one of the most productive research projects in the field of British Studies in Hungary is *British Literature in the Hungarian Cultural Memory*, housed at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest. Besides examining the complex mechanisms of cultural memory such as the historical processes of transmission, reconstruction, and appropriation, or processes of erasure and oblivion, the researchers of the project have created an online database of relevant events in the British and Hungarian intercultural dialogue of the modern period.³⁰ The

³⁰ Ágnes Péter. "Preface." *Idegen költők – Örök barátaink. Világirodalom a magyar kulturális emlékezetben.* eds. Bálint

online database draws heavily on a data pool *Anglisztikai repertórium 1772-1982* (An Index of English Studies 1772-1982)³¹ created between 1982 and 1991 under the supervision of Gizella Kocztur, a former professor in the English Studies Department at the University.³²

Indeed, Kocztur is also the author of one of the few essays that gives a focused description of the Hungarian reception of Anglophone literature. However, due to its brevity, the essay is more of general outline than a comprehensive treatment of the issues.³³ László Országh's preface to the Hungarian bibliography, *British Books in Hungary between 1945 and 1978*³⁴ contains more information on the subject, as does Csilla Bertha's essay on Anglo-Irish literature.³⁵ As far as the reception in the twentieth

Gárdos, Ágnes Péter, Veronika Ruttkay, Andrea Timár, and Máté Vince (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2010): 7.

³¹ The online database contains information on primary and secondary books, articles, and translations. It is available at

<http://seas3.elte.hu/angolpark/HU/DBSH/index.htm> (last accessed 21/10/2012).

³² Ágnes Péter. "British Literature in the Hungarian Cultural Memory/ 71770 Project Proposal. Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA): 4.

³³ Gizella Kocztur. "Anglo-Irish and Hungarian Literary Relations." *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England and the World*. Eds Heinz Kosok and Wolfgang Zach (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1987): 141-148.

³⁴ László Országh. "Preface." *British Books in Hungary between 1945 and 1978* (Budapest: Hungarian Publishers' and Booksellers' Association, 1979): i-xiii.

³⁵ Csilla Bertha. "The Literary Scene in Hungary since 1945: Changing Attitudes to Anglo-Irish Literature." *Literature(s)*

century is concerned, Márta Goldmann's monograph on James Joyce³⁶ and Márton Mesterházi's book on Sean O'Casey³⁷ should be mentioned here, as both devote lengthy chapters to the issue. Anna Katona's essay is also important, despite the fact that the Communist jargon of the period as well as the ideologically loaded text cast doubt on the degree of the article's political objectivity. Notwithstanding this, the essay remains one of the most valuable resources with regard to Hungarian reception studies.³⁸

Another relevant research project, whose new findings and bibliographic data were also incorporated in the present thesis, is the Lisbon-based project, *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000*. The project is a collaboration of two research centers: the Research Centre for Communication and Culture (CECC)³⁹ and the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies (CEAUL).⁴⁰ The primary objective of the project is to gather and process information concerning foreign literary

in English: New Perspectives. Ed. Wolfgang Zach (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990): 175-187.

³⁶ Márta Goldmann. *James Joyce kritikai fogadtatása Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006).

³⁷ Márton Mesterházi. *Sean O'Casey Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).

³⁸ Anna Katona. "Twentieth Century English Literature in Hungary from 1945 to 1959." *Hungarian Studies in English* 7.1 (1961): 79-98.

³⁹ For more information on the centre, consult the web-site: http://www.fch.lisboa.ucp.pt/site/custom/template/ucptpl_fac.asp?SSPAGEID=934&lang=1&artigoID=4479 (last accessed 21/10/2012).

⁴⁰ See <http://www.ulices.org/home.html> (last accessed 21/10/2012).

production in Portugal between 1930 and 2000.⁴¹

The project was born as a response to the notable lack of bibliographical information on books published in Portugal during the *Estado Novo*, which is principally due to the fact that unlike Hungarian publishers, Portuguese book production was not under strict centralised control, hence the lack of well-organised statistical records.⁴² Additional problems stem from the fact that Portuguese legal deposit libraries do not always hold copies of every book published in the country, and the bulletins of the National Bibliography also contain several lacunae. Therefore, the publication of the critical bibliography of *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000* is long overdue, and will clearly bring new dimensions to academic research in Portugal.

With reference to the reception of British literature in Portugal, one of the most useful resources was Jorge de Sena's comprehensive essay entitled "Anglicismo,"⁴³ but several articles in the

⁴¹ The first part of the database covering the years 1930-1955 has been accessible through the Internet at <http://translatedliteratureportugal.org/eng/index.htm> since 2010 (last accessed 21/10/2012).

⁴² The Portuguese censorship officers' inconsistencies also seem to strengthen this assumption. A great number of books were allowed to circulate which are commonly supposed to have been banned by the Portuguese authorities, such as *Gretta* by Erskine Caldwell or works by Stalin, etc. These books simply escaped the censors' notice owing to the absence of a reliable record system, while other less harmful publications were vigorously suppressed.

⁴³ Jorge de Sena. "Anglicismo." *Amor e outros verbetes* (Lisbon: Edição 70. 1992): 74-88.

journal *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*⁴⁴ have also proved enormously helpful, particularly those by Maria Zulmira Castanheira, Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, and Jorge Bastos da Silva.⁴⁵ Other relevant resource books in connection with the twentieth century are, among others, the proceedings of the *Estudos de Tradução em Portugal* (Translation Studies in Portugal).⁴⁶

I. 3. 3. Censorship Studies

The reasons for the widespread interest in censorship studies over the last few decades are twofold. First, the collapse of the dictatorial

⁴⁴ The journal is published by CETAPS (the Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies). For more information, see <http://cetaps.com/> (last accessed 31/03/2012).

⁴⁵ Maria Zulmira Castanheira. "A literatura inglesa na imprensa periódica portuguesa do romantismo." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*. 17 (2008): 127-254, Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. "Charles Dickens em Portugal." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*. 8 (1999): 81-120, and Jorge Bastos da Silva. "Um contexto para a recepção de Shakespeare no romantismo português. Os dados dos periódicos." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* 9 (2000): 43-85.

⁴⁶ The most relevant volumes are: Teresa Seruya, Ed. *Estudos de tradução em Portugal. Coleção Livros RTP, Biblioteca Básica Verbo. I.* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2005), Teresa Seruya, Ed. *Estudos de tradução em Portugal. Coleção Livros RTP, Biblioteca Básica Verbo. II.* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2007), Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz, and Alexandra Assis Rosa, Eds. *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009).

regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece in the mid-1970s, then the implosion of the Soviet bloc and the downfall of Apartheid in South Africa in the early 1990s, ensured the release of previously undisclosed documents and information on censorship, which significantly encouraged new research activities on the subject. Second, the appearance of a new understanding of censorship mostly inspired by the works of the French sociologist Michel Foucault,⁴⁷ and the anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu,⁴⁸ have led to profound conceptual changes in our previous understanding of censorship. Moreover, the fact that censorship as a field of study has become more popular among prominent scholars is also due to a growing awareness and recent debates in democratic

⁴⁷ Foucault's works on power, knowledge, discourse, and the relationship between them have had a major impact on contemporary thinking. He analyses how human beings operate within a given culture, and thus make different decisions, which are "subject to someone else by control and dependence," but are also structured by conscience or self-knowledge. Foucault meticulously avoids using the term "censorship" in order to strip the word of its usually negative connotations, and to rethink completely what really lies behind censorial practices. See, for example, Michel Foucault. "The Subject and Power." Trans. Leslie Sawyer. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Eds Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 208-213.

⁴⁸ Similarly to Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu also advocates that discourse without censorship is impossible. According to Bourdieu, censorship also "determines the form [...] and, necessarily, the content, which is inseparable from its appropriate expression and therefore literary unthinkable outside of the known forms and recognised norms." Pierre Bourdieu. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Trans. John Brookshire Thompson. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994): 139.

societies concerning issues such as political correctness, hate speech, pornography, feminism, or the canon: works by Keith Allan and Kate Burridge, Drucilla Cornell, Stefan Braun, and Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann are typical interventions in these contexts.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, literary censorship under dictatorial regimes, especially with regard to translated literature, continues to be relatively unexplored territory in many European countries, among which can be included Portugal and Hungary. The reasons for this considerable delay in both countries are of course manifold (and will be expanded upon in Chapter III. 1.) However, one of the initial explanations for a certain reluctance to promote scholarly investigation with regard to literary censorship issues, especially on the part of the Hungarian academic world – as Mátyás Domokos also notes – may be ascribed to the fact that the dogmatic interpretations of literary works made in the relatively recent past are so offensive to contemporary scholars that they refuse to accord them any credit by giving them academic attention.⁵⁰

Despite this unpromising start, several senior and young Hungarian researchers decided to launch a

⁴⁹ Keith Allan and Kate Burridge. *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann, Eds. *Kanon und Zensur* (München: Fink, 1987), Stefan Braun. *Democracy Off Balance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), and Drucilla Cornell. *Feminism and Pornography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵⁰ Mátyás Domokos. *Leletmentés* (Budapest: Osiris, 1996):15-16.

project on *Censorship and World Literature in Hungary (1945-1989)*, currently housed at the University of West Hungary. The project was mostly inspired by the new findings on censorship in Socialist Hungary, which also constitute the core material of Chapter III. 1. The key innovation of the research project is that it makes an attempt to unite oral history with archival material analysis. The use of these combined sources appears to be a more effective procedure to resolve most of the possible doubts and inconsistencies which might surface in both archival and oral testimony records in the course of the research. Furthermore, as more than twenty years have passed since 1989, this distance in time might provide researchers with a more objective understanding and insight into the book publishing industry of the time.

In Hungary, no in-depth study has been published on Communist literary censorship in Hungary. Nevertheless, studies by Lóránt Czigány, Mátyás Domokos, László Szörényi, and László Vörös have made a serious attempt to partially fill this vacuum.⁵¹ Moreover, Hungarian censorship studies have seldom, with the exception of work by István Bart, focused on translations.⁵² Further research with regard to

⁵¹ Lóránt Czigány. *Nézz vissza haraggal!* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1990), Domokos 1996, László Szörényi. *Delfinárium. Filológiai groteszkek* (Miskolc: Felsőmagyarországi Kiadó, 1998), László Vörös. *Szigorúan ellenőrzött mondatok. A főszerkesztői értekezletek történetéből: 1975-1986* (Szeged: Tiszatáj Alapítvány. 2004)

⁵² István Bart. *Világirodalom és könyvkiadás a Kádár-korszakban* (Budapest: Scholastica, 2000).

British literature has also been carried out by other scholars such as Gabriella Hartvig, Zsolt Cziganyik, and Géza Marácz, but it is principally dominated by the reconstruction of individual cases.⁵³

As far as censorship studies in Portugal are concerned, scholarship on censorship has produced several significant works by Cândido Azevedo, Ana Cabrera, Graça dos Santos, Lauro António, Maria do Piçarra, and Ana Gabriela Macedo and Maria Eduarda Keating.⁵⁴ There has not been to date, however, any

⁵³ Gabriella Hartvig. "The Dean in Hungary." *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*. Ed. Hermann J. Real (London: Continuum, 2005): 224-237, Gabriella Hartvig. "Silenced Writers as Successful Translators of the Anglo-Irish Novel in 1950s Hungary". *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 15.2 (2009): 397-415. Zsolt Cziganyik. "Cenzúra és irodalom: George Orwell az Európa Kiadó lektori jelentéseinek tükrében" *A tünődések valósága: The Reality of Ruminations. Írások Sarbu Aladár 70. születésnapjára*. Eds Judit Borbély and Zsolt Czigányik (Budapest: ELTE, 2010): 281-288, Géza Marácz. "'The Puritan Faun': The Reception of D. H. Lawrence in Hungary." *HUSSE 10 konferencia kötetében* (forthcoming)

⁵⁴ Cândido de Azevedo. *Mutiladas e proibidas: Para a história da censura literária em Portugal nos tempos do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), Cândido de Azevedo. *A censura de Salazar e Marcelo Caetano: Imprensa, teatro, televisão, radiodifusão, livro* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1999), Ana Cabrera. "A censura ao teatro no período marcelista" *Media e Jornalismo* 7. 12. (2008): 27-58, Graça dos Santos. *O espectáculo desvirtuado. O teatro português sob o reinado de Salazar: 1933-1968* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 2004), Lauro António. *Cinema e censura em Portugal: 1926-1974* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Museu República e Resistência, 2001), Maria do Piçarra. *Salazar vai ao cinema* (Coimbra: Minerva, 2006), Ana Gabriela Macedo and Maria Eduarda Keating, Eds. *Censura e inter/dito: Censorship and Inter/Diction* (Braga: Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, Universidade do Minho, 2009).

study of theatrical and cinematographic production which provides a comprehensive analysis into the complex mechanism and hierarchical structure of the Portuguese censorship apparatus during the *Estado Novo*. And it is also true that very little is known about the scale of suppressed foreign literature except for a few lists of banned books such as *Livros proibidos no regime fascista*, César Príncipe's *Os segredos da censura*, and Maria Luísa Alvim's *Livros portugueses proibidos*, which might be in part due to the lack of organised archival material in the National Archives of Portugal.⁵⁵ For instance, 22.4% of the 10,011 censorship reports on books issued between 1934 and 1974 are still missing.⁵⁶

Heroic efforts, however, have been made by Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz and their colleagues, who have undertaken several projects to analyse the role of literary translation and censorship in twentieth-century Portugal.⁵⁷ Although censorship reports on books stored at the National Archives of Portugal

⁵⁵ *Livros proibidos no regime fascista* (Lisbon: Comissão do Livro Negro sobre o Regime Fascista, 1981), César Príncipe. *Os segredos da censura* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1994), and Maria Luísa Alvim. *Livros proibidos no regime fascista: Bibliografia* (Typescript: Braga, 1992).

⁵⁶ Teresa Seruya. "Translation in Portugal during the Estado Novo Regime." *Translation under Fascism*. Eds Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 131.

⁵⁷ For more detailed information, see Teresa Seruya, et al. "Notes for a Cartography of Literary Translation History in Portugal." *Doubts and Directions in Translation Studies: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress, Lisbon 2004*. Eds Yves Gambier, Miriam Shlesinger and Rade Gundis Stolze (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007):59-71.

have not yet been catalogued, and are still kept in large cardboard boxes labelled "Caixas da Censura," Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz sorted the reports by publication year during their investigation, and they also plan to digitalise these documents, which will indeed greatly facilitate future research efforts in this area. The most revealing results of their archival work were published in 2006, 2008, and 2009.⁵⁸ Chapter III.1 of the present thesis also relies on these valuable archival records.

I. 3. 4. Anthology Studies

Patricia Odber de Baubeta argues that literary scholars are aware of the importance of anthologies, despite the fact that they do not always constitute their primary research interest.⁵⁹ However, it is true that while several outstanding articles have been published on the subject of anthologising, the number

⁵⁸ Teresa Seruya. "Zur Koexistenz von nationaler Kultur und internationaler Literatur unter dem Estado Novo Salazars." *Übersetzen - Translating - Traduire: Towards a Social Turn*. Ed. Michaela Wolf (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006): 317-328, Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz. "Foreign Books in Portugal and the Discourse of Censorship in Portugal in the 1950s." *Translation and Censorship: In Different Times and Landscapes*. Eds Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008): 3-20, Seruya, Moniz, and Assis Rosa, Eds. *Traduzir*.

⁵⁹ Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta. *The Anthology in Portugal. A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, Berne, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt, New York, Vienna: Peter Lang, 2007): 20.

of single-author monographs or edited collections of essays devoted to examining anthologies is rather limited. J. T. Csicsila, Anne Ferry, Harold Kittel, Leah Price, and Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider, and Stephanie Lethbridge are among the few authors who have contributed to a critical understanding of anthologies.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the bibliography of works in this area still appears to be scattered and piecemeal. This vacuum might come as a surprise since as Odber de Baubeta puts it:

[...] even a preliminary examination of anthologies will contribute significantly to the (re-)construction of [...] literary history. As a literary, cultural and commercial phenomenon, they can teach us a great deal. Anthologies demonstrate how literary works are disseminated and consumed, they speak to us about literary fashions, aesthetic values or reader reception and taste. Taken at face value, they may act as performance indicators, showing which authors and

⁶⁰ J. T. Csicsila. *Canons by Consensus: Critical Trends and American Literature Anthologies* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), Anne Ferry. *Tradition and the Individual Poem. An Inquiry into Anthologies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), Harold Kittel, Ed. *International Anthologies of Literature in Translation. Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung. Band 9* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1995), Leah Price. *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider, and Stephanie Lethbridge, Eds. *Anthologies of British Poetry. Critical Perspectives from Literary and Cultural Studies* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

works have been deemed worthy of selection and publication [...].⁶¹

As far as Portuguese anthology studies are concerned, until very recently no single volume had been published focusing only on anthologies. This lacuna was filled in part by the publications of Odber de Baubeta's *The Anthology in Portugal* in 2007. A second volume is due to appear in 2012.⁶² Another important work is a collection of essays edited by Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'Hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa, and Maria Lin Moniz, which contains several studies on Portuguese anthologies and collections.⁶³ In Hungary, it appears that besides a bibliography series⁶⁴ and several reviews on various literary anthologies, anthology studies is still an unexplored area among scholars. Consequently, the data on translation anthologies presented in Chapter III. 3. is the first to attempt to examine the role of anthologies in Hungarian canon formation.

⁶¹ Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 27.

⁶² Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta with Margarida Vale de Gato and Maria de Lurdes Morgado Sampaio. *The Anthology in Portugal: Literature, Translation and the Margins* (Oxford, Berne, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt, New York, Vienna: Peter Lang) forthcoming.

⁶³ Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'Hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa, and Maria Lin Moniz, Eds. *Translation in Anthologies and Collections (19th and 20th Centuries)*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins) forthcoming.

⁶⁴ Lajos Madár. *Magyar irodalmi antológiák és gyűjtemények*. Vol I- VII (Budapest: PIM, 1978-1986).

I. 4. Methodology

I. 4. 1. Cultural Memory, Memory Crises, and Research Objectives

Over the past two decades cultural memory has become the object of intense philosophical, social, and cultural enquiry. The importance attached to cultural memory is also well documented by the proliferation of publications on specific national, social, religious and even family memories.⁶⁵ One of the main intellectual contributors to cultural memory studies is Maurice Halbwachs, who decisively dismissed biological theories of memory, and advocated the existence of a socially constructed memory instead. He emphasised that memory should not be interpreted as an essential individual attribute, but that "it is always in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise, and localise their memories."⁶⁶ This means that even though the individual's memory is dependent on his or her own past, these memories are always modified by available social and cultural frameworks.

⁶⁵ Astrid Erll. "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction." *Media and Cultural Memory/ Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung*. Eds Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 1.

⁶⁶ Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective Memory*. Ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992): 38.

Furthermore, as individuals normally remember the past from the perspective of their contemporary world, their memories are located in the in-between of the present and the past. Memory, therefore – connected to a meaningful past – can change according to the emerging needs of an individual or a group. Accordingly, its time-horizon contains the past, the present, and the future, since the past is reconstructed in the present providing an attempt at guidance for the future. This in part explains why people tend to forget, rediscover, and revise aspects of their personal and collective pasts. Memory is accordingly never a static representation of the past, but “advancing stories” through which individuals and communities construct a dynamic sense of identity.⁶⁷

A distinction, however, should be made between (1) “collective memory”, as analysed by Halbwachs, which is characterised by a limited temporal horizon and oral traditions, mostly based on everyday communication between the members of the community, and (2) “cultural memory,” as defined by the Egyptologist and cultural theorist Jan Assmann, which, on the contrary, is characterised by a much wider temporal horizon and a certain distance from the everyday, maintained by cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance). As Assmann asserts: “In the flow of everyday communications such as festivals, rites, epics,

⁶⁷ Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs. “Introduction.” *Cultural Memory: Essays on European Literature and History*. Eds. Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003): 12.

poems, images, etc. form islands of time, islands of completely different temporality suspended from time. In cultural memory, such islands of time expand into memory spaces of retrospective contemplativeness."⁶⁸

Since memory consists of socially constituted forms and relations, but is also prone to individual acts of interference and restructuring, it is always susceptible to social reconsideration and manipulation. This makes it an example of a constructed reality rather than a simply imprinted one, and often of social forgetting rather than remembering. Thus it is that theorists of cultural memory such as Marc Augé or Avishai Margalit stress the need to forget as much as the need to remember, particularly when a culture has lived through traumatic and painful periods that it feels the need to disavow. For Margalit, this is a process of adjusting the present to a past we need to both remember, as it teaches us things about how we got where we are at present as well as about mistakes we do not want to repeat, and to forget, in the sense that we do not want to feel crushed by shame over what our culture emoted in the past. He suggests that the right model for this is "the covering-up model, not the blotting-out model. What ought to be blotted out is the emotion in the sense of reliving it, not in the sense of remembering it."⁶⁹

Cultural memory can be especially found in literary texts, because according to Mieke Bal "they

⁶⁸ Jan Assmann. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." Trans. John Czaplicka. *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 129.

⁶⁹ Avishai Margalit. *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002): 208.

are continuous with the communal fictionalising, idealising, monumentalising impulses thriving in a conflicted culture."⁷⁰ Moreover, literary texts in their fictionalising of events, begin to establish a distance between the conventions of witness such as memoir or autobiography and the possibility of exploring events more imaginatively or provocatively. The potential of literary texts to construct powerful summaries or symbolic representations of history can give rise to their generating ideologically-charged reputations that challenge established consistencies or institutions, leading to their becoming counters in international or local power flows.

Furthermore, Aleida and Jan Assmann, in their essay on canon and censorship, point out that certain despotic and totalitarian political systems might use censorship not as a tool of preserving the cultural heritage of the past, but on the contrary, to eradicate aspects of the past in order to consolidate their political power. Cultural memory, therefore, is inevitably constrained to the governing present of the cultural authority,⁷¹ even in the case of apparently open and censorship-free regimes.⁷²

⁷⁰ Mieke Bal. "Introduction." *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Eds Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England): xii.

⁷¹ Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann. "Kanon és cenzúra." Trans. V. Horváth Károly. *Irodalmi kanon és kanonizáció*. Ed. Zoltán Rohonyi (Budapest: Osiris): 102.

⁷² See, for example, the numerous cases of the ideologically charged processing of history in varying education systems in Marc Ferro. *The Use and Abuse of History. Or How the Past Is Taught to Children*. Trans. Norman Stone and Andrew Brown. London: Routledge, 2003), or the bitter controversies

Accordingly, this thesis aims to investigate some of the different methods and techniques of manipulating cultural memory in the two opposing dictatorial regimes. It also attempts to reveal how certain above all British authors were the subjects of official anxiety and thus deliberate marginalisation, omission, and suppression, or in the case of favoured writers, of support by means of forced popularisation and dissemination. These reconstructive and eliminating operations of Hungarian and Portuguese cultural memory constitute one of the main focuses of the research outlined in this thesis.

Ellen W. Sapega and Éva Standeisky, among others, call attention to a certain crisis of memory in contemporary Hungary and Portugal. Sapega speaks of a conservative kind of nostalgia, which is manifested, for example, by Salazar's being chosen as the greatest Portuguese of all time by viewers of a Portuguese TV show in 2007, or the unexpected popularity of popular books and films on Salazar's private life such as Felícia Cabrita's *Os Amores de Salazar* (Salazar's Lovers, 2007) or the film *Salazar, A vida privada* directed by Jorge Queiroga in 2009.⁷³ Standeisky also spotlights the problem of social

surrounding official attempts to impose a particular interpretation of history on education systems and public discourses in Australia, in Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark. *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

⁷³ Felícia Cabrita. *Os amores de Salazar* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2007), *The Dictator's Secret Passions* [*Salazar, A Vida Privada*]. Dir. Jorge Queiroga, 2009.

forgetting and idealising the Communist era in Hungary. People fail to remember that neither political pluralism nor freedom of speech existed under Communism. According to Standeisky, even if nostalgia is partly understandable, it is regrettable and disturbing how quickly Hungarians have forgotten what the real price of political and economic stability was.⁷⁴

On the other hand, another pitfall of contemporary scholarship on the Communist era is to overly politicise history by demonising the Communist heritage, and failing to analyse the past and its impact from a more scholarly perspective. When Pierre Nora says that "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left," he refers to the disappearance of memory's traditional *milieux*, where premodern societies lived within the continuous past.⁷⁵ Subsequently, professional historians or other researchers into the role of tradition and memory in inventing tradition have been charged with identifying and accessing the historical events in more scholarly fashion. Even though mass culture and the media have contributed to the democratisation process of memory to a certain degree, inasmuch as everyone is his or her own historian, technology and mass culture have brought about a so-called "acceleration of history", which has created such a sense of distance between the present and the past that people now find it impossible to remember how life really was even only a few decades earlier.

⁷⁴ Zsuzsanna Sándor. "Ítélezések nélkül." *168 óra* (2009): 12.

⁷⁵ Pierre Nora. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7.

Moreover, despite the fact that the selective memory of historical events is not a new phenomenon in the course of history, the media industry in contemporary society appears to provide a much greater potential for manipulation of the past via films, television series, videogames, and the fragmented referencing of history in advertisements and internet chatter.

One of the main purposes of this dissertation, therefore, is to provide a measured study of the cultural industries and gatekeepers of the era first, by offering new findings and evidence which, for several reasons, have not been exposed thus far, since a nation without history is a nation lacking memory or information on which reasoned judgments could be formed. The non-circulation of information has always been an ingredient in the creation of an authoritarian society after all.⁷⁶ Second, by providing a comparative analysis, the thesis will add a new perspective to Hungarian as well as Portuguese historiography. The comparative aspect of the analysis is rooted in the need to promote a dialogue between cultures of different historical and political heritages as opposed to monographs on a particular country in a particular period. Seeing the contrasts between the two opposing regimes' cultural policies and strategies during a given period may contribute to a more global, hence more impartial, overview of the relevant years and their possible negative or positive impact on the present.

⁷⁶ David Myton. "Why History Isn't History Just Yet." *Campus Review* 9.39 (1999): 12-13.

I. 5. Resources, Methods, Exclusion and Inclusion Criteria

I. 5. 1. Resources and Methods

The dissertation is divided into two parts. The first two chapters provide a general introduction to the reception of British literature in Portugal and Hungary until the 1970s, while the second part makes an attempt to gauge the difference and similarities of the reception in the two countries based on the translations of British literature published during a specific time period, that is, between 1949 and 1974. The chosen time frame enables us to examine the reception of British literature in the two countries when both lived under authoritarian rule simultaneously.

Besides the reference material mentioned in Chapter I. 2. 2., the first part of the thesis relies principally on the most significant critical essays and reference books published in the era. With regard to the second part of the thesis, the data for comparison was mostly accessed through five bibliographic databases: *British Books in Hungary 1945-1978*, *Külföldi szerzők művei Magyarországon, 1945-1970, 1971-1975* (Foreign Authors in Hungary, 1945-1970, 1971-1975), *Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa*, Janeiro de 1935 a Junho de 2001 (The Portuguese National Bibliography, January, 1935-June, 2001), the volumes of the *Index Translationum*, and the unedited and unrevised version of

Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000: A Critical Bibliography.

As far as Hungarian book and anthology production is concerned, Hungarian online booksellers' catalogues and the card catalogue on translation anthologies of the National Széchényi Library of Budapest have proved to be very useful, as have Hungarian book publishers' collective bibliographies such as the Európa, Helikon, Magvető Publishing Houses' bibliographic bulletins. Besides the still unrevised and unpublished critical bibliographic database on *Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930-2000*, several other resource books have been consulted in search of additional translation anthologies such as *The Anthology in Portugal* (2007) and "Censorship, Translation and the Anthology in the *Estado Novo*" (2009) by Odber de Baubeta, along with the bibliographic data of the Continuum book series on the RBAE.

Based on this data, four databases have been created to facilitate comparison between the two countries' book production. The fields of the databases include (1) the author's name, (2) title of the book, the collection or the literary work, (3) translator's name, (4) the publisher, (5) the place of publication, and (6) the publication date. The creation of databases has not only made the comparison process more accurate between the two countries, but has also made it possible to gauge the differences in publication numbers between certain historical periods in one particular country.

The data presented in Chapter III. 1. on literary censorship have also been digitally stored in Excel

worksheets. The Portuguese data were exclusively based on the censorship files stored at the National Archives at the Torre do Tombo, while the Hungarian data were collected mainly from two sources: (1) the withdrawal lists issued by the Ministry of Culture from 1949 until 1953 and (2) the index-card catalogue of the National Széchényi Library's Ex-Sealed Department. The latter two are relatively unknown to literary scholars, which is also due to the fact that the number of studies on the subject is remarkably limited. Except for a very few essays written mostly by library experts and historians, no comprehensive studies have been published on these issues hitherto. The chapter of the thesis on literary censorship, therefore, partly attempts to fill this lacuna. The new findings of this extensive piece of research have also triggered further investigation in this area in Hungary.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Zsolt Cziganyik. "Reader's Responsibility: Literature and Censorship in the Kádár Era in Hungary" *Confrontations and Interactions. Essays on Cultural Memory*. Eds Bálint Gárdos, Ágnes Péter, Natália Pikli, and Máté Vince (Budapest-Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011): 223-234, Zsófia Gombár. "The Reception of British Literature under Dictatorships in Hungary and Portugal" *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*. 15.2 (2009): 269-284, Zsófia Gombár. "Dictatorial Regimes and the Reception of English-Language Authors in Hungary and Portugal." *Censorship across Borders: The Censorship of English Literature in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Eds Alberto Lázaro Lafuente and Catherine O'Leary (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011): 105-128, Gabriella Hartvig. "Anglo-Irish Influence in Győző Határ's Art of Writing." *The Binding Strength of Irish Studies. Festschrift in Honour of Csilla Bertha and Donald E. Morse*. Eds Marianna Gula, Mária Kurdi, István D. Rácz (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press,

Additionally, literature textbooks and manuals are normally ignored by literary scholars on the grounds that literature selected for and taught to children may significantly differ from the adult literature canon due to its specific and didactic nature. A particular novelty of the thesis is that the scope of investigation includes textbook texts in order to analyse the educational purposes manifested in the *Estado Novo's* and Socialist Hungary's culture policies. Chapter III. 4. also examines the different methods the two opposing dictatorial regimes used to mould their readership through the implementation of an educational policy that met their political ideologies.

The databases used in this chapter contain information on secondary-school books published in Portugal and in Hungary. However, the analysis here tends to be more to the qualitative and interpretive than quantitative. The databases include (1) the name of the author, (2) the title of the textbook, (3) the publisher, (4) the place of publication, (5) the target age group, (6) the name of the author in English who is being presented.

I. 5. 2. Exclusion and Inclusion Criteria

The focus of the thesis on literature means that

2011): 237-47), Veronika Schandl. "Where Public is Private: Reading Practices in Socialist Hungary." *Primerjalna književnost* 34.2 (2011): 111-119.

as a result scientific books, technical or popularising works, and philosophical treatises along with travel and guidebooks were excluded from the evaluation process. Furthermore, due to the impossibility of being exhaustive with respect to such a large corpus, the scope of the dissertation is confined to the analysis of literature published in book form. Therefore, translations from English published in periodicals or unpublished theatre translations have not been included.⁷⁸

Although this study is primarily concerned with British literature, the dissertation includes references to other English-language writers where considered relevant to the argument. Furthermore, American or Irish authors who were part of the British literary world for a substantial part of their careers have also been included in the analysis, such as, for example, T. S. Eliot, Henry James, Sean O'Casey, William Butler Yeats, and James Joyce. In particular, due to the scarcity of

⁷⁸ Nevertheless, both translations in periodicals and on stage deserve further research. Thanks to the Portuguese Project TETRA (Teatro e Tradução), which is under the direction of Manuela Carvalho, and housed at the Centre for Comparative Studies of the University of Lisbon, a growing amount of information is available on theatre translation in Portugal, see: <http://tetra.fl.ul.pt/base/> (last accessed 21/10/2012). In Hungary, the database created under the supervision of Ágnes Péter at the Department of English Studies of Eötvös Loránd University is also a valuable source for the reception of British literature in literary magazines. For more information on this, see: <http://seas3.elte.hu/angolpark/HU/DBSH/index.htm> (last accessed 21/10/2012).

information on British literature banned in Hungary and Portugal during the periods under analysis, Chapter III. 1 deals with all literatures in English that were suppressed during this time.

I.6. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into two main sections: The first section (II. Historical and Cultural Background to the Reception of British Literature in Hungary and Portugal) provides a general background to the reception of British literary works in Hungary and Portugal, respectively, while the second section (Comparing Book Production in Hungary and Portugal Between 1949 And 1974) compares the production of translations in the two countries in approximately the same period when both were living under dictatorial rule.

The first section consists of two main chapters: The first chapter (II. 1. British and Hungarian Literary Relations) examines the position of British literature in Hungary from the eighteenth century until the late 1970s with the main focus on the Communist period in Hungary, while the second chapter (II. 2. British and Portuguese Literary Relations) considers Anglo-Portuguese relations from 1294 until 1974, paying special attention to the reception of British literature during the *Estado Novo*.

The first chapter on Hungary is divided into seven sub-chapters. After the general introduction the thesis sets out to reveal the different roles attached to British literature in Socialist Hungary's changing socio-political landscape. After the Second World War, hopes of democracy and political and cultural plurality in Hungary were dashed by the totalitarian dictatorship established by the Communist leader Mátyás Rákosi. With reference to

British literature, this meant that the flourishing translation activity of the transitional period became systematically organised and conducted by the state, and thus the number of British works drastically decreased, giving way to Soviet literary works. After the Revolution of 1956 the Kádár regime brought a new opening in political as well as cultural terms to the country, which also provoked positive changes with respect to the reception of British literature. Nevertheless, as far as the critical reception of British literature is concerned, its Marxist rhetoric and concepts were largely maintained.

The second chapter on Portugal, with five subchapters, traces the changing status of British literature in Portugal. After the general introduction the primary focus of the chapter shifts to *Estado Novo* Portugal. In addition, it shows the government's futile attempts to mould the Portuguese readership through the implementation of new cultural and educational policies to legitimise the *Estado Novo's* political and social programme. It also examines the different attitude adopted by the Salazar administration towards British works in the country's pro-Fascist period as well as after the Second World War in the light of translations and critical works published during this era. It will also demonstrate that the Caetano regime – despite the initial hopes for political and social reforms – did not bring significant change to the country, a state of affairs which was reflected in the publishing sector as well.

The second section on book production in

Communist Hungary and *Estado Novo* Portugal is divided into four chapters:

The first chapter of this section (III. 1. Censorship and the Reception of English-Language Authors in Hungary and Portugal) investigates the absence of certain English-language authors and their works in Hungary and Portugal, and adduces possible reasons for the differently restrictive attitudes towards a number of these authors in the two countries. It also compares the divergent controlling methods and censorship practices of the Hungarian and Portuguese regimes.

The second chapter (III. 2. The Reception of British Literature in Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974) contrasts the number of single-author British literary works translated and published in Hungary and Portugal in the given period. It also attempts to provide possible explanations as to the different selection criteria operating in the two countries with regard to certain British authors.

The third chapter (III. 3. Translation Anthologies and British Literature in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974) offers a comparison between multi-author anthologies of British literature published in Portugal and Hungary, and similarly to the previous chapter, it provides insights into the mechanisms for publishing foreign literature in the period, along with the difficulties of the contemporary translation industries.

The fourth chapter (III. 4. British Literature in Hungarian and Portuguese Textbooks) compares Hungarian and Portuguese school anthologies, textbooks, and manuals containing references to

British literary figures or works. It then discusses the different attitude towards literature education in Socialist Hungary and the *Estado Novo* along with the two regimes' divergent approach towards world literature versus national literature.

The conclusion (IV. Conclusion) summarises the main findings of the study, and also suggests new avenues for future research with regard to reception and censorship studies.

II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND TO
THE RECEPTION OF BRITISH LITERATURE IN
HUNGARY AND PORTUGAL

II. 1. British and Hungarian Literary Relations

"Minor literature is attached to time and space. For world literature only great individuals are of interest, who respond to one another through ages and countries. Only the greatest belong to world literature. [...] Those who continue the work of their predecessors and shake hands above the different nations."

(Mihály Babits: *A History of European Literature*)⁷⁹

II. 1. 1. General Introduction

Throughout the course of Hungarian cultural history, Western, and especially English language literature, always seemed to experience a belated reception. The reasons for this substantial delay in its reception lie in several external and internal factors. First of all, Hungary's specific geographical position in Central Europe isolated the country from the influence of once more distant nations such as England, Ireland or France. Thus there was always a considerable time-lag in the reception of new artistic products from certain cultural traditions. The presence of English-Hungarian literary relations are best described as sporadic until the eighteenth century. Interestingly,

⁷⁹ Translated and cited by Mihály Szegedy-Maszák. In Mihály Szegedy-Maszák. "The Permanence and Mutability of Aesthetic Values" *Hungarian Studies* 12 (1997): 95.

the first Hungarian mediators of English culture were Protestant students⁸⁰ from Hungary and Transylvania who began to attend German, Dutch, Swiss and sometimes even English universities from the seventeenth century on.⁸¹ It is intriguing, for instance, while symptomatic of the still continuing relevance of Latin as an international language, that John Milton was regarded as a great author not on account of *Paradise Lost*, but rather because of his Latin polemic, *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*. In general, secular English literature did not seem to arouse any particular interest until the Hungarian Enlightenment. The first Hungarian who referred to William Shakespeare was György Bessenyei, the central figure of the Enlightenment movement in Hungary, in 1777.⁸² In fact, it was only after Bessenyei's literary appearance that the distinctive characteristics of English and Hungarian relations became more clearly manifested.⁸³

Second, Hungary's territorial proximity to Austria was clearly a crucial element in German

⁸⁰ The first Hungarian student, however, to attend an English university was not a Protestant, but a Catholic student, Nicholaus de Hungaria. He was a scholar maintained by Richard I at the University of Oxford between 1193 and 1196, yet no other Hungarian students followed him for the next few centuries. See William Stubbs, Ed. *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (London: Longman, 1864): 74.

⁸¹ Kocztur: 142.

⁸² Sándor Fest. "Angol irodalmi hatások hazánkban Széchenyi István fellépéséig." *Skóciai szent Margittól a Walesi bárdokig*. Eds Lóránt Czigány and János H. Korompay (Budapest: Universitas, 2000): 303-308.

⁸³ Kocztur: 142.

cultural dominance in the country. Indeed, Hungary became part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which also explains why the German language could become one of the principal intermediary linguistic vehicles of the period. Thus it was that almost every canonical British author – Shakespeare, Defoe, Sterne, Byron, Walter Scott, etc. – was translated first from German texts. The first translators who realised the drawbacks of not relying on the original English texts were the great Hungarian neologists, Ferenc Kazinczy, Ferenc Verseggy, Gábor Döbrentei and József Kármán. They were also the first to start learning the language as well as to propagate the need to learn it.⁸⁴

Third, due to the language's unique Finno-Ugric origins, Hungarian is linguistically distinct from all neighbouring languages, which made the country greatly dependent on other intermediary languages,⁸⁵ particularly, German and Latin.⁸⁶ Even before the dissolution of the Monarchy and Hungary's independence (1918), the French language began to be popular around the turn of the century, reflecting its then strong international influence. Consequently, English-language literature was still *terra incognita* for the Hungarian reading public,

⁸⁴ Ibid. 144.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 141.

⁸⁶ The Latin language was the official language in Hungary until 1844. It was highly convenient for both the Hungarians and the Austrians, as the Hungarians could avoid using German in Hungarian legislative and administrative bodies, while the Austrians were equally happy to avoid having to use the Hungarian language.

since English continued to be an almost unknown language at that time.⁸⁷

The appearance of the Hungarian journal *Nyugat* (The West) in 1908 was an important step towards a broader consideration of foreign literatures.⁸⁸ The journal, in accordance with its emblematic title, made a serious attempt to become a promoter of all European national literatures. The overwhelming majority of poets and liberal-minded thinkers belonging to the *Nyugat*-circle showed intense interest in English literature. Mihály Babits, Árpád Tóth, Dezső Kosztolányi, Lőrinc Szabó, Gábor Halász, Antal Szerb and Frigyes Karinthy, among others, translated works by classic and modern Western authors, or wrote critical reviews and essays advocating their importance.⁸⁹ Moreover, the growing influence of German Fascism in the 1930s and 1940s, did not reduce, but rather increased the attention paid to English literature in Hungary.

After the First World War, Hungarian intellectuals were particularly ardent devotees of the British parliamentary system. They sympathised with its democratic values, and regarded it as a model to be followed. Subsequently, British culture along with English-language literature received considerable public interest.⁹⁰ On the whole, the

⁸⁷ Márta Goldmann. "Belated Reception: James Joyce's Works in Hungary." *Comparative Critical Studies* 3 (2006): 228.

⁸⁸ Csilla Bertha. "The Hungarian of the West: Yeats's Reception in Hungary." *The Reception of W. B. Yeats in Europe*. Ed. Klaus Peter Jochum (London & New York: Continuum, 2006): 150.

⁸⁹ Goldmann. "Belated": 228.

⁹⁰ Goldmann. *Joyce Magyarországon*: 18.

right-wing Horthy regime, which governed Hungary between 1920 and 1944, did not see any particular political threat in literature, and so it did not become the focus of their attention. Accordingly, world literature, including English literature, enjoyed relatively greater freedom during this period.

In Márton Mesterházi's view, the post-World War I years in Hungary can be divided into two parts on the basis of cultural rather than political viewpoints. The dividing year is 1935, when *Mai angol dekameron* (Modern English Decameron), a collection of ten English short stories, was published under the editorship of *Nyugat*.⁹¹ Mesterházi considers this to mark the birth of modern English studies in Hungary. The range of short stories provided an introduction to aspects of the contemporary British literary world (albeit oriented more towards the 1920s than the 1930s), and the preface written by Vernon Duckworth Barker, along with Gábor Halász's erudite review,⁹² should indeed be regarded as an important milestone in the reception of English literature in Hungary.⁹³

The period between 1926 and 1934 appears to be considerably less relevant with regard to the Hungarian reception of British literature. The most

⁹¹ Vernon Duckworth Barker, Ed. *Mai angol dekameron*. trans. Irma P. Berenkei et al. (Budapest: Nyugat, 1935). The volume contained short stories by the following authors: Richard Aldington, John Galsworthy, Richard Hughes, Aldous Huxley, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, William Somerset Maugham, Osbert Sitwell.

⁹² Gábor Halász. "Mai angol Dekameron." *Nyugat* 12 (1935): 479-482.

⁹³ Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 13-19.

widely read author of the time was the popular crime fiction writer, Edgar Wallace, while G. K. Chesterton, John Galsworthy, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence and Somerset Maugham's works were appreciated only by a small number of intellectually aware readers. As far as the scholarly reception of English literature is concerned, it appears to be similarly meagre, which can be explained mainly by the fact that after the First World War, the Institute of English Philology in Budapest had not become particularly involved in the dissemination of English culture. Besides, all prominent Hungarian thinkers of the age had an excellent command of German, French or Latin, but none of them spoke English fluently, with the exception of a very few writers, such as, for example, Antal Szerb, a respected Hungarian scholar and writer, who was also the author of the most important monograph on English literature during this period.⁹⁴

The period between 1935 and 1943 is a more prolific interlude when compared to the periods that came before and after. As mentioned above, the increased interest in English culture can also be seen as an intellectual protest against the strengthening presence of Fascism in Hungary. By 1939, the adjective "pro-British" would carry wider connotations such as "liberal", "anti-Nazi" and even "pro-Jewish" in Hungary. However, mention must also be made of Hungarian pro-British sympathisers' other

⁹⁴ Antal Szerb. *Az angol irodalom kis tükre* (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1929).

common characteristics, in particular their respect for democracy and contempt for demagogy.⁹⁵ In fact, many Hungarian poets and writers started translating British poetry texts to a greater extent during this period, in what may be viewed as a response to the growing extreme-right influence in the country. In 1942, a translated anthology of English Romantic poetry⁹⁶ came out under the editorship of László Szabó Cs.⁹⁷ The publication of the volume, however, was far more than merely a publishing event. Featuring translations by Hungarian poets of Jewish origin such as Miklós Radnóti and István Vas was also an open protest against the inhuman tendencies of the government then in power.⁹⁸ By 1942, many of the writers who had done so much to mediate between English literature and Hungarian were drafted for forced-labour service⁹⁹ on a more frequent basis.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ András D. Bán. "Friends of England", *Hungarian Quarterly* 40.153 (1999): 30.

⁹⁶ László Cs. Szabó, Ed. *Három költő, Antológia Byron, Shelley, Keats műveiből* (Franklin, Budapest, 1942).

⁹⁷ László Szabó Cs. (1905-1984) Hungarian writer, critic, and journalist.

⁹⁸ Miklós Szabolcsi, Ed. *A magyar irodalom története 1919-től napjainkig* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1980): 865.

⁹⁹ According to Hungarian anti-Jewish laws introduced in 1939, citizens of Jewish origin were no longer permitted to serve in the regular armed forces. Nevertheless, an alternative military service was required. Labour service was forced labour involving hard physical work such as repairing public roads, draining marshes, loading, trenching or mine clearing. Many of these units were badly fed and subject to constant humiliation by their guards. The majority of the prisoners died before the end of the war, including Miklós Radnóti, Antal Szerb and Gábor Halász.

With respect to popular fiction, more English-language authors were published. According to Mesterházi, this tendency might also be interpreted as a way of objecting to the new sentimental and moralistic German and Austrian operettas in vogue, which perfectly suited the self-righteous Fascist attitude of the period. The most popular authors in English of this time were the American Louis Bromfield, the Scottish writer A. J. Cronin and the Swiss-English John Knittel, among others.¹⁰¹ The erudite reading audience, however, now favoured the more modern Aldous Huxley over the more Edwardian Galsworthy and Wells. Chesterton remained more popular than ever, while Shaw, Maugham, Lawrence and Woolf continued to be widely read along with James Joyce. Symptomatically, a highly favourable book on James Joyce was published by Tibor Lutter in 1935,¹⁰² standing in sharp contrast with his later disparaging works on Joyce published during the Communist era. Finally, Gábor Halász's comprehensive monograph on English literature¹⁰³ marks the end of this productive period.¹⁰⁴

Examining the reception of English-language literature of the post-World-War I era, however, one cannot ignore the near absence of American literature, as well as the almost complete neglect of

¹⁰⁰ Bán: 38.

¹⁰¹ Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 18.

¹⁰² Tibor Lutter. *Az újabb angol irodalom nagy kérdőjele: James Joyce* (Budapest: A Kir. Magyar Pázmány Péter Egyetem, 1935).

¹⁰³ Gábor Halász. *Az angol irodalom kincsesháza* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1942).

¹⁰⁴ Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 12-24.

authors from the rest of the English-speaking world. *Nyugat* might be indirectly responsible for this absence, since critics writing in the journal systematically failed to identify the main currents of contemporary American literature.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Mihály Babits, who was the editor of the journal from 1929 until his death in 1941, played an essential role in the formation of the international literary canon in Hungary. Although he was a widely-read man and well informed on world literature, he regarded American literature as a mere subsection of European writing. In 1911, in his essay on English poetry,¹⁰⁶ he regarded Poe and Longfellow as more British than American. This assumption was partly due to Babits's tendency to associate world literature with merely European, more precisely, Western European literature in general. Even though German-centeredness was beginning to disappear from the journal from 1910 onwards, American literature continued to meet with a poor reception, which also foreshadows the position of American literature in the Hungarian literary canon during the following decades.¹⁰⁷ Besides Mark Twain and Upton Sinclair, it is extremely difficult to find any American author who would receive

¹⁰⁵ Mihály Szegedy-Maszák. *Újraértelmezések* (Budapest: Krónika-Nova, 2000): 132.

¹⁰⁶ Mihály Babits. "Könyvek angol költészetéről." *Nyugat* 10 (1911):955-957.

¹⁰⁷ József Szili. "The Uncompromising Standards of *Nyugat* (1908-1941)." *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Vol. 3: The Making and Remaking of Literary Institutions*, Eds Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007): 78.

unanimous critical approval in the journal. Mihály Szegedy-Maszák also calls attention to the fact that Oscar Wilde attracted exaggeratedly enthusiastic appreciation in *Nyugat*, whereas Henry James received almost none.¹⁰⁸ In fact, James is not even mentioned in Babits's influential monograph on European Literature.¹⁰⁹

In 1941, Babits died, and with his death *Nyugat* also ceased to exist. Certain Eurocentric interpretations concerning American literary works notwithstanding, *Nyugat* is considered to be the most important medium of the period with regard to disseminating English-language culture in Hungary. It published 99 English writers in total, only a very small number of whom have subsequently been forgotten.¹¹⁰ All in all, *Nyugat* played a major role in establishing the English literary canon in Hungary. It created lasting critical standards, and also determined subsequent generations' literary taste for decades to come.

¹⁰⁸ Mihály Szegedy-Maszák. "A *Nyugat* és a világirodalom." *Alföld* 50.5 (1999): 55.

¹⁰⁹ Mihály Babits. *Az európai irodalom története*. 2 vols. (Budapest: *Nyugat*, 1934-1935).

¹¹⁰ Szili: 77.

II. 1. 2. Transitional Period (1945-1949)

"There are no names for such changes. I can't say it was as if 'night had suddenly fallen.' Rather, it was like the parts of the day when it is still bright, but the light which had till then illuminated the region cheerfully and vividly suddenly becomes more solemn, turns almost gloomy. People took notice and, like the light, like the landscape, they grew somber. But they didn't want to believe the time of change was here."

(Sándor Márai: *Memoir of Hungary 1944-1948*)¹¹¹

Hungarian literary scholars no longer consider 1945 as a turning point between two different literary periods, as they used to in the 1980s, but rather see the four years between 1945 and 1949 as a period of transition, characterised by volatility and cultural pluralism in literary life. Szegedy-Maszák also calls attention to the fallacious assumption that 1945 would be the beginning of a new era in literary life based on a foundation of continuity. He defines it rather as a forced break with continuity that became irreversible by 1948 and 1949, when the cultural apparatus was completely restructured in imitation of the political totalitarianism of the Soviet model.¹¹² Until 1949, no radical paradigm shift occurred either in literary life or in other fields

¹¹¹ The excerpt is taken from Márai's book *Föld, föld*, published first in 1972 in Toronto. Translated by Albert Tezla.

¹¹² László Kósa, Ed. *A Cultural History of Hungary in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Budapest: Corvina & Osiris, 2000): 290.

of the creative arts. High culture remained intact for a relatively short period after the Soviet occupation, whereas public education immediately came under centralised control. The coalition government's heterogeneity somehow prevented the overwhelming dominance of the Communist party line in cultural life. As Communist Party members were concentrating more on seizing absolute power in other governmental areas, they could not pay adequate attention to Hungary's cultural life, and as a result, it enjoyed relative freedom during these years. In fact, literary life had never seemed to be as colourful and free as at that time. A closer look at the diversity of the literary products published within this period shows contemporary artists' initial enthusiasm over an apparently brighter Socialist future.¹¹³

Hungary suffered irrecoverable intellectual losses in the Second World War. About 450,000 Jews perished in the Holocaust,¹¹⁴ among them the anglophile scholars Antal Szerb and Gábor Halász as well as the poets Miklós Radnóti, György Sárközi and the writer Andor Endre Gelléri and the dramatist Dezső Szomory. Several eminent authors such as Sándor Fest, a well-respected English philologist, and István Örley, a short story writer, were tragically killed during the siege of Budapest. Besides human losses (approximately one million people were killed during the war altogether), forty per cent of the

¹¹³ Éva Ständeisky. "Kultúra és politika Magyarországon (1945-1946)." *Társadalom és kultúra*. Ed. József Vonyó (Pécs: Pro Pannonia Kiadó, 2003): 121-124.

¹¹⁴ Jörg Konrad Hoensch. *A History of Modern Hungary 1867-1994* (London: Longman, 1996): 154.

national wealth of 1938 was destroyed. Hungary was transformed beyond recognition. Almost all bridges were blown up by the Germans in their retreat, while factories, railway lines and housing stock were similarly damaged by bombing and shelling. Hungary was probably one of the most seriously afflicted countries of the Second World War. In addition, enormous reparation bills were expected to be paid to neighbouring countries such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the significant loss of territory to surrounding nations.¹¹⁵

It is intriguing nevertheless that British cultural influence continued to flourish during the three years following the war. It can also be regarded as a natural reaction to the political changes. András D. Bán notes an interesting incident when "Auld Lang Syne", also known as the "Candle-light Waltz" was played all over Budapest, in cafés, bars and restaurants, as a result of the popularity of the sentimental war film, *Waterloo Bridge* (Mervyn LeRoy, 1940), starring Vivien Leigh and Robert Taylor. As the public now had easy access to English and American films, they enjoyed almost whatever was shown. It must have been a bizarre, yet enlightening experience for the Hungarian audience to see the war from a different viewpoint, more precisely, from the winners' point of view.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ László Kontler. *Millennium in Central Europe. A History of Hungary* (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999): 387.

¹¹⁶ András D. Bán. *Hungarian-British Diplomacy, 1938-1941. The Attempt to Maintain Relations*. Trans. Tim Wilkinson (London: Routledge, 2004): 189.

As for theatres, Shaw was understandably more favourably received than during the right-wing Horthy regime. He had once even been banished from almost all Hungarian stages between 1926 and 1928 as a consequence of his criticism of the Hungarian reactionary political system.¹¹⁷ Theatre experts could now publicly state their commitment to Shakespeare and Shaw's dramatic work. The growing recognition of Shaw is also shown by the fact that the previously most popular English playwright, J. B. Priestley, was superseded by Shaw with four new premières in Hungarian theatres between 1945 and 1947.¹¹⁸ *Saint Joan* was performed by the National Theatre of Budapest in 1945, where no plays by Shaw had been performed for more than eighteen years. Critics believed that staging *Saint Joan* in the National Theatre would finally fill the long-felt gap of Shaw's presence on Hungarian stages and compensate for the absence of contemporary English drama to some extent.¹¹⁹

As far as contemporary English literature was concerned, the most widely discussed author in 1947 was Aldous Huxley. Four books by Huxley were published within this period.¹²⁰ Even though almost all of his works met with great critical acclaim, the tenor of the reviews foreshadows the discourses of the subsequent Communist years. Huxley was seen as an

¹¹⁷ István Pálffy. *George Bernard Shaw Magyarországon, 1904-1956* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987): 144-149.

¹¹⁸ Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 25-26.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 169-170.

¹²⁰ *Antic Hay* (1947), *Brave New World* (1946), *Collection of Short Stories* (1946), and *Time Must Have a Stop* (1946).

exemplary critic of rotten bourgeois reality,¹²¹ as the intellectual precursor of Socialist transformation,¹²² or simply as an implacable enemy of despotism.¹²³ However, Tibor Lutter, in his article on modern Marxist publications,¹²⁴ is extremely disparaging with regard to Huxley's middle-of-the-road philosophy, also condemning the thinking of D. H. Lawrence, T. S. Eliot and James Joyce for good measure.

Another great literary event was the publication of the first Hungarian translation of *Ulysses* in 1947.¹²⁵ Endre Gáspár's hasty translation was published by a small publishing house in one thousand numbered copies.¹²⁶ Although the publication contained numerous errors, any translation of *Ulysses* should be regarded as a major intellectual feat. If we take into consideration that in 1946 Hungary was still in ruins and that in 1948 "the Year of the Turning Point", in Communist parlance, tragically began, it is near miraculous that a Hungarian *Ulysses* was published in 1947, before censorship was imposed.¹²⁷

One of the most representative examples of how

¹²¹ László Bóka. "Polgárság és irodalom." *Alkotás* 3-4 (1947): 51-52.

¹²² Ákos Domanovszky. "Az angliai államosítás." *Huszdik Század* 5-6 (1947): 111-123.

¹²³ Imre Sarkadi. "Huxley olvasása közben." *Válasz* 9 (1947): 266-269.

¹²⁴ Tibor Lutter. "Modern angol marxista kiadványok." *Nagyvilág* 8 (1947): 570-576.

¹²⁵ James Joyce. *Ulysses*. Trans. Endre Gáspár (Budapest: Nova Kiadó, 1947).

¹²⁶ Goldmann. *Joyce Magyarországon*: 43.

¹²⁷ Goldmann. "Belated": 243.

political power and ideological doctrines are capable of altering intellectuals' public positions can be observed in the evolution of the Hungarian scholar Tibor Lutter. Lutter started as a modernist critic, and praised Joyce's artistic creativity and political independence in his dissertation of 1935, whereas in his article on Gáspár's translation he claims that Joyce and other so-called decadent writers' linguistic and artistic innovations are lacking in an objective overview of reality, as they desperately try to avoid confrontation with the horrendous war-torn world.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Joyce fails to comment on or systematise the world he lives in.¹²⁹ According to Lutter, the Joycean artistic choice of *l'art pour l'art* is incapable of further developments, and therefore, it is nothing more than aimless escapism.¹³⁰ It is impossible, however, not to notice Lutter's struggle to fully interiorise the Marxist critical line, as his plodding ideological reasoning leaves considerable doubts about his personal conviction.¹³¹

Apart from Lutter's essay in the literary journal *Forum* (Forum), Miklós Szentkuthy published his complimentary article on Joyce in *Magyarok* (Hungarians),¹³² while Imre Sarkady's favourable

¹²⁸ Tibor Lutter. "James Joyce és Ulyssese." *Forum* 2 (1947): 151.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*: 146-147.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*: 151.

¹³¹ Goldmann. *Joyce Magyarországon*: 124.

¹³² Miklós Szentkuthy. "James Joyce." *Magyarok* 9 (1947): 193-205.

review appeared in *Válasz* (Response).¹³³ All these journals had started in 1945 or 1946 along with *Valóság* (Reality), *Nagyvilág* (Wide World) and *Újhold* (New Moon), but by 1948, many of them had ceased to exist due to the administrative measures imposed by the increasingly powerful regime's bureaucratic apparatus. A nervous reticence began to characterise the literary scene. The number of articles on English literature dropped to almost zero by July. The only author who still received a favourable reception, or more precisely, any attention at all, was Shaw,¹³⁴ who fitted perfectly into the new progressive line on literature, as a Socialist thinker and naïve defender of Stalinism.

In August 1948, Alexander Fadeyev, first secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union, delivered an emotive diatribe against Western modernist authors at the Soviet-sponsored World Congress of Leaders of Culture for the Defence of Peace held in Wrocław (formerly Breslau), Poland. Major literary figures such as T. S. Eliot, Eugene O'Neill, John Dos Passos and Henry Miller were accused of supporting aggressive anti-Socialist propaganda. Fadeyev also declaimed:

If jackals could learn to use the typewriter and hyenas could master the fountain pen, they no doubt would write just like Henry Miller, [T. S.] Eliot, [André] Malraux and other Sartrists. ... The leader of the English decadence is the mystic and

¹³³ Imre Sarkadi. "James Joyce: Ulysses." *Válasz* 3 (1947): 298-300.

¹³⁴ Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 28-29.

aesthete Eliot. Known for his pro-fascist sympathies, he recommends himself as follows: "We are hollow people, people stuffed with rubbish."¹³⁵

Ilya Ehrenburg, popular Soviet novelist-propagandist, continued the assault. "We cannot speak of bourgeois culture. It no longer exists."¹³⁶ He also added that the pessimistic atmosphere and the lack of public faith in the future of humanity eventually led to the appearance of an official decadent doctrine, whose disciples were T. S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley and Arnold Toynbee.¹³⁷

Inspired by his Soviet colleagues, Lutter wrote an article on T. S. Eliot à propos of his winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1948.¹³⁸ He mostly dwells on Eliot's metaphysical and religious fallacies and the retrograde nature of his world view. Even though Lutter acknowledges Eliot's innovative literary experiments as a possible artistic response intended to fill the emptiness of the post-war world, he points out that Eliot's subsequent failure to confront reality makes his

¹³⁵ David Cauter. *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 62. Eliot's original goes "We are the hollow men/We are the stuffed men". *Collected Poems 1909-1935*. London: Faber, 1936: 87.

¹³⁶ Frank A. Ninkovich. *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹³⁷ Tibor Lutter. "T. S. Eliot és a Nobel-díj." *Forum* 4.1 (1949): 62-65.

¹³⁸ Lutter: 62-66.

avant-garde and rebellious form of expression utterly futile.¹³⁹ After Lutter's article, no critical essay on Eliot was published in any Hungarian periodical until 1957.¹⁴⁰ Marxist criticism did not show any further interest in Eliot's literary products in this dark and oppressive period of the Communist era.¹⁴¹

In parallel with the war declared on Eliot and the Western modernists, critics launched another crusade against popular literature, e.g. crime fiction, romantic novels and adventure stories. As the correspondent for the *Times* noted, several book shops and libraries in Hungary had been attacked for displaying Western books considered to be degenerate. Authors such as A. J. Cronin, Maugham, and Louis Bromfield were banned in favour of Ehrenburg and Fadeyev.¹⁴² Various articles appeared attacking bestsellers as part of the counterattack against the imperialist offensive of the capitalist dictatorship of the market.¹⁴³ Besides Cronin, Bromfield¹⁴⁴ and Maugham,¹⁴⁵ Erich Maria Remarque, Margaret Mitchell, R. C. Hutchinson,¹⁴⁶ William Saroyan and Charles

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ The only one exception is Alick West's article, "The Abuse of Poetry and the Abuse of Criticism by T. S. Eliot", which appeared in *Világirodalmi Tájékoztató* 3.3 (1954): 224-233.

¹⁴¹ Olga Rózsa. *T. S. Eliot fogadtatása Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977): 35.

¹⁴² "Remoulding Hungary: Russian Pressure." *Times*. 31 August 1949: A3.

¹⁴³ Kálmán Sándor. "A konfekcionált hazugságok irodalma." *Irodalmi Szemle* 5 (1948): 15.

¹⁴⁴ Gábor Goda. "A bestsellerek margójára." *Forum* (1947): 143-144.

¹⁴⁵ Imre Keszi. "A giccs politikája." *Csillag* 1 (1948): 60.

¹⁴⁶ Goda: 143-144.

Morgan were classified as vicious enemies of the true intellect.¹⁴⁷ The major problem with bestsellers was that even though some of them dealt with the proletariat, mineworkers, factory workers or farmers, they were written about them, but not for them, as the target audience was mainly the middle-class.¹⁴⁸ By 1949, none of these authors were published in Hungary, and neither were other classic "bourgeois" English authors. In 1949, only three British authors were allowed to be published, namely, the Socialist George Bernard Shaw, the "progressive" William Shakespeare and one of George Lukács's favourite classic authors, Walter Scott. The short democratic interlude of the late 1940s had come to an end. 1949 marked the beginning of one of the cruellest epochs of Hungarian history.

II. 1. 3. The Rákosi Era

"Tyranny is where there is tyranny."

(Gyula Illyés: "A Sentence about Tyranny")¹⁴⁹

Shortly after the Soviet army liberated Hungary from German occupation in 1945, Moscow-trained Hungarian Communist exiles shrewdly filled the political vacuum with the help of the Soviets.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Keszi: 14-15.

¹⁴⁸ Goda: 144-145.

¹⁴⁹ Written in 1950, and translated by Steven Polgar.

¹⁵⁰ Lóránt Czigány. *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986): 441.

Elections by secret ballot were held on 4 November 1945 under the strict control of the Russian-dominated Allied Control Commission. To the Hungarian Communists' great disappointment, the Independent Smallholders Party won the elections by an overwhelming majority of 57%, while the Communists won slightly below 17% of the vote. The results clearly show that the majority of the Hungarian population preferred parliamentary democracy based on private property and a market economy to Socialism-ruled state economic management and planning. Nevertheless, the Soviet commander, Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, refused to allow the Smallholders to form a government. A coalition government was established instead with the Communists filling all the key ministry posts. In 1947, a new election was held due to illegal political arrests and a subsequent wave of emigration among the current political elite. The Communists, with some manipulation of the ballot, emerged as the largest single party, despite the fact that they still did not manage to secure a substantial majority in the Parliament. The Communists' "salami tactics", whereby they systematically eliminated their political rivals little by little - slicing them up like a salami - continued at an accelerated pace.¹⁵¹ By 1948, the remaining opposition had virtually been erased. As the parties ceased functioning, the multi-party system was completely liquidated and a one-party system was established. In the next election, on 15 May 1949, voting was open, and the voters were

¹⁵¹ Kontler: 391-402.

presented with a single list. On 18 August 1949, Parliament adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of Hungary, which was a faithful copy of the Soviet constitution of 1936. Mátyás Rákosi (1892-1971), a confirmed Stalinist, and leader of the Communist party, became all powerful.¹⁵²

In addition to seizing all power, Rákosi and his sympathisers (Ernő Gerő, Mihály Farkas, József Révai) along with the Hungarian secret police *Államvédelmi Hatóság*, better known as the *ÁVH* (State Protection Authority), ruthlessly eliminated everyone who could potentially have posed an obstacle to their exercising their power. From 1949, with the help of Soviet advisors, a series of show trials commenced, where even true Communists, possible rivals like László Rajk were executed.¹⁵³ During this period, approximately 400,000 people were condemned to imprisonment or internment.¹⁵⁴ Nobody could feel safe anymore. Since the prisons were all full, labour camps, which were modelled on the Soviet gulags, were established. Prisoners of these camps were kept in

¹⁵² Lajos Izsák. *A Political History of Hungary, 1944-1990*. Trans. Andrew T. Gane (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2002): 132.

¹⁵³ László Rajk, former Minister of Foreign Affairs was accused of being an agent of imperialism and Tito's spy, his major aim to restore capitalism and jeopardise Hungary's independence. Rajk was tortured but promised acquittal if he took responsibility for the charges brought against him. The trial, which showed a fearful resemblance to the great Moscow show trials of the 1930s, ended with the pronouncement of the death sentence against Rajk. Many others involved in the case were similarly executed, or imprisoned. See Hoensch: 203.

¹⁵⁴ Kontler: 413.

inhuman conditions and subjected to forced hard labour, humiliation and torture. The number of prisoners has been estimated at 45,000.¹⁵⁵ These figures not only prove the repressiveness of the regime, but also help us to comprehend the fear-ridden atmosphere of the 1950s, when sudden disappearances due to anonymous denunciations were frequent.

"The Year of the Turning Point" in Hungarian cultural life, however, began in mid-1949,¹⁵⁶ when József Révai, the incumbent Minister of Education, and culture potentate of the era, completely restructured the cultural institutional system and effectively managed to establish the cultural totalitarianism of the Soviet model in Hungary.¹⁵⁷ With the nationalisation of Hungarian publishing houses between 1948 and 1949, and the bookselling industry from 1949,¹⁵⁸ literary life came irreversibly under centralised control. It meant that only those authors whose writing was approved of by the Communist Party gained access to the public. The official doctrine of Communist aesthetics was Socialist realism, which completely superseded all supposedly bourgeois literary tendencies as well as "empty formalism". Writers who did not wish to toe the official party line had two choices: either to emigrate or to write for their desk-drawer. Now it was the Party itself which had the final say not only

¹⁵⁵ Izsák: 139.

¹⁵⁶ Ständeisky. "Kultúra": 123.

¹⁵⁷ Kósa: 290.

¹⁵⁸ György Kókay. *A könyvkereskedelem Magyarországon* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997): 141.

in what was to be published, but also in what was allowed to be read.

In addition to bringing the Hungarian book industry under state control, libraries were also strictly monitored by the state. Between 1945 and 1953, several withdrawal lists were issued with the purpose of filtering out any printed material which supposedly ran counter to the newly-introduced ideology of Soviet-bloc Hungary. The authorities, however, went much further than destroying only Fascist and anti-Soviet propaganda products. From 1949, the withdrawal lists contained even canonical literary works which were ostensibly irreconcilable with the current culture line, including works by György Lukács, Ferenc Molnár, Ferenc Herczeg, Ferdynand Antoni Ossendowski, G. A. Borgese, Pierre Benoît, Gaston Leroux, Marcel Proust, Albert Camus, Jean Cocteau, Jean-Paul Sartre, José Ortega y Gasset, Erich Kästner and Knut Hamsun, among others. Approximately 10% of the works on these lists in total were written by English-language authors such as Edgar Rice Burroughs, Edgar Wallace, Agatha Christie, P. G. Wodehouse, D. H. Lawrence, Ernest Hemingway, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair or Pearl S. Buck.

Many of these works were proscribed either because they were regarded as non-educational mass literature or because their content or the authors themselves apparently conflicted with the official political standpoint. Unexpectedly, however, the majority of these books were withdrawn not because of their politically or ideologically reprehensible material, but on the grounds of containing forewords

or afterwords written by politically objectionable figures or of being published by a purportedly reactionary publishing house. (For further details on the book destruction campaigns, see Chapter III. 2.)

World opinion's rejection of the show trials and purges froze the contacts with the Western world even further, while the outbreak of the Korean War also aggravated the conflict between the Superpowers. The adaptation of the Soviet system of institutional and ideological conformity narrowed the scope of Hungarian foreign policy, offering only the possibility of developing bilateral contacts with other Socialist countries.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, translating Russian and the literature of other friendly countries became of vital importance in literary life. In such a war-like literary atmosphere, it is no wonder that we can hardly speak of the reception of Western literature, especially British and American literature, in the period, as scarcely any works of literature in English were allowed to enter the country.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, all Western literature was regarded as ideologically dangerous to the Socialist reader, being an inherently detrimental cultural product of Capitalist imperialism.

Even if censorship did not exist officially in Hungary, certain books were never allowed to be translated. Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* or George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*,

¹⁵⁹ Hoensch: 209-210.

¹⁶⁰ Bertha. "The Literary Scene": 175.

for instance, were strictly forbidden throughout the whole era. Indeed, Orwell was referred to as a minor Trotskyist scribbler,¹⁶¹ while Ezra Pound was simply declared a Fascist,¹⁶² T. S. Eliot and Henry Miller were compared to jackals and hyenas,¹⁶³ and James Joyce's *Ulysses* summed up as a heap of dung.¹⁶⁴ Upton Sinclair was also pronounced to be anti-Soviet and reactionary.¹⁶⁵ He was put on the blacklist and readers were not given access to his works, because of his harsh criticism of Stalin and his policies.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, the overwhelming dominance of Soviet Marxist criticism in Hungarian cultural life prevented further English and American authors from receiving a politically unbiased reception. Unfortunately, the impossibility of intelligent critical discussions of these writers discouraged publishing houses and translators from translating their major works until the early 1960s. As for contemporary British and American literature, translation ceased completely, with the exception of some authors who were deemed to be politically

¹⁶¹ T. Motiljova. *A népi demokratikus és kapitalista országok haladó irodalmáról* (Budapest: Művelt Nép Kiadó, 1951): 6.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*: 5.

¹⁶³ David Cauter. *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 62.

¹⁶⁴ Karl Radek. "James Joyce or Socialist Realism." *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*. Vol. 2. Ed. Robert H. Deming (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970): 625.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: 6.

¹⁶⁶ Lehel Vadon. *Upton Sinclair in Hungary* (Eger: Eszterházy Károly Tanárképző Főiskola, 1993): 57.

"progressive" such as the inevitable Shaw and Australians James Aldridge and Jack Lindsay.

Indeed, Shaw always enjoyed a favourable reception in Hungary during the Communist period, as he was regarded as a prominent Socialist thinker. Nonetheless, it is not widely known that even Shaw was partly censored on the Hungarian stage by the Communists. From 1949 until his death in 1950, no new play by Shaw was put on stage either in Budapest or in other city,¹⁶⁷ as a result of the political instability of the period and subsequent hesitancy as to the question of whether Shaw would continue to suit the Stalinist cultural line or not. His death seemed to resolve this dilemma, and turned Shaw into an impeccable classic. Shaw's case well illustrates the ambivalent attitude of Communist cultural policymakers towards living contemporary Western authors. The dead author always appears to be the preferred choice not only in the uncertain Rákosi era, but also throughout the allegedly more lenient Kádár era. Consequently, the reprinting of established English classics continued without cease. Notwithstanding the catastrophic drop in the number of British authors published, Shakespeare, Burns, Shelley, Defoe, Swift, Dickens, Fielding, Thackeray and Hardy escaped unharmed and continued to be popular authors in the period along with the conservative Anglo-Indian Rudyard Kipling and the religious John Milton.

¹⁶⁷ Pálffy: 192.

Nevertheless, Hungarian libraries and bookshops remained largely empty of essential English classics. Győző Határ, a Hungarian émigré writer, recalls in his diary how difficult it was to obtain an English copy of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, when he was asked to translate the novel in 1954.¹⁶⁸ Since this unhappy eighteenth-century novelist had committed the mistake of writing his works in the language of "the enemy", the few copies which were miraculously saved from being pulped were safely concealed in the sealed collection of the University Library of Budapest.¹⁶⁹ Határ even had to ask permission from the Party Secretary to borrow the book. Not even Tibor Lutter's English Department held a single copy of *Tristram Shandy*. Lutter's hostile attitude towards the British Council's generous support after the Second World War concerning book donations and scholarships for Hungarian scholars, and his strong favouring of Soviet influence instead, adversely affected the quality of education and scholarly research throughout the Hungarian domain of English Philology.

Lutter's farcical allegation in his essay on Shakespeare and English Studies in Hungary¹⁷⁰ that even the most prominent British scholars avidly seek

¹⁶⁸ Győző Határ. *Életút*. 3 vols. (Szombathely: Magyar Írók Szövetsége. Nyugat-magyarországi Csoport: Életünk Szerkesztőség, 1993-1995).

¹⁶⁹ Határ. *Minden hajó hazám* (Szombathely: Magyar Írók Szövetsége. Nyugat-magyarországi Csoport: Életünk Szerkesztőség, 1994). Vol. 2 of *Életút*, 3 vols. 1993-1995: 395.

¹⁷⁰ Tibor Lutter. "Shakespeare és a magyar anglicisztika néhány kérdése." *Irodalomtörténet* 1 (1949): 77-96.

inspiration from Soviet literary investigations¹⁷¹ gives a good idea of the priorities of the Marxist agenda of the time. The *Times* correspondent was equally astonished by the statement of the Hungarian National Theatre's director that "the road of the Soviet stage is our only road", and that the capitalist [i.e. British] stage is "unable to represent the true Shakespeare".¹⁷² Lutter also emphasised that Western critics had failed to produce any constructive study on Shakespeare in contrast to those of Soviet scholars such as Mikhail Morozov. In addition, he suggested that Hungarian experts on British literature should rely on their Soviet colleagues' works instead of the "rózsaszínű angol kultursznobizmus" (pink English cultural snobbery) popularised by the British Council.¹⁷³ In 1953, the fiery campaign against bourgeois culture abruptly subsided, and even the presence of strident Marxism diminished in critical work due to a sudden, unexpected event: Stalin died of a cerebral haemorrhage on 5 March 1953, which would inaugurate a new epoch in Hungarian history.

II. 1. 4. The Beginning of a New Epoch: The Calm before the Storm, 1953-1956

"...in the heat of the social constructive work, we did also make some mistakes."

¹⁷¹ Ibid.: 82.

¹⁷² "Remoulding Hungary": A3.

¹⁷³ Lutter. "Anglicisztika": 82.

(Mátyás Rákosi)¹⁷⁴

Shortly after Stalin's death, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party issued its condemnation of the personality cult. His death undoubtedly shook the ground beneath the feet of his best pupil, Mátyás Rákosi.¹⁷⁵ Rákosi even had to perform the ritual of self-criticism, which he did at the session of the Central Committee of the party on 27-28 June 1953. Rákosi resigned, and Imre Nagy replaced him as Prime Minister for a short period. Nevertheless, there was still continuing uncertainty as to whether Moscow would favour Nagy or Rákosi in the end.¹⁷⁶ A general amnesty was declared affecting almost 750,000 people, and internment camps were abolished. Furthermore, 1500 political prisoners returned to Hungary from captivity in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1954, the majority of well-known and wrongly convicted Communists had still not been rehabilitated and languished in prison, due to juridical delaying tactics.¹⁷⁷

József Révai, the dreaded cultural potentate of the Rákosi era, was also forced to step down as Minister of Education. His successors did not seem to share Révai's strict rigour, as they proved to be considerably less confident in their decisions, and hence more lenient. Indeed, control over cultural

¹⁷⁴ Izsák: 153.

¹⁷⁵ Izsák: 149.

¹⁷⁶ Kontler: 422.

¹⁷⁷ Izsák: 153-154.

policy became relatively unleashed for a brief period.¹⁷⁸ Consequently, Western literature could slowly filter into Hungary again. The sudden boom in the publication of British and American authors in 1956 and 1957 was a by-product of this temporary political relaxation. There was a noticeable rise in the publication of such works from 1954 onwards.

During this relatively modest political opening, besides the "progressive" and politically safe classics, previously harshly criticised "best-seller" writers such as Maugham, Priestley, Evelyn Waugh and even P. G. Wodehouse could now be published. A comparison between the official withdrawal lists issued by the Ministry of Culture in 1950 and the list of literary publications from 1951 provides an instructive contrast inasmuch as certain British authors of books previously destroyed by the narrow-minded functionaries of the Stalinist regime were now retranslated and republished under the direct instructions of the Ministry.¹⁷⁹ Novels by the above-mentioned authors might have appeared partly as an act of compensation for the harsh Stalinist years, but it is much more probable that the new publications were due more to the authors' former popularity in post-war Hungary, which had not vanished in spite of the Communists' efforts to remould the the literary tastes of an entire nation.

Since the Hungarian authors who refused to write according to the doctrines of Socialist Realism were

¹⁷⁸ Éva Standeisky. E-mail to the author. 3 March, 2009.

¹⁷⁹ Kővér: 206.

denied the facilities of publication in the Rákosi era, they also found themselves without a means of subsistence. Many well-known silenced writers such as Győző Határ, László Németh, Géza Ottlik or the famous modernist poet, Sándor Weöres, had to turn their hand to translation. At the same time, employing the best Hungarian poets and writers as translators created a translation industry of extremely high standards, creating a fund of excellent translations which has been drawn on by Hungarian literature ever since. As the ideological currents of the personality cult years were still in existence to some extent, many Hungarian authors remained obliged to continue to work as translators, which sometimes they were willing to do, especially if authors who were important to them were to be translated. Before that they had had to struggle with leaden Soviet poetry and literature, while now they were offered English, French, even German literature.¹⁸⁰

The translation of Sterne's works by Győző Határ, for example, was also begun in these years of temporary political relaxation. Határ was released after two and a half years in prison. As he was known to be fluent in four languages, and the publishing houses were in urgent need of translators, his name was immediately suggested. He translated Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*¹⁸¹ and *A Sentimental Journey*,¹⁸² but he

¹⁸⁰ László Lator. "My Life as Editor." *The Hungarian Quarterly* 43.165 (2002): 65.

¹⁸¹ Laurence Sterne. *Tristram Shandy úr élete és gondolatai*. Trans. Győző Határ (Budapest: Új Magyar Kiadó, 1956).

¹⁸² Laurence Sterne. *Érzelmes utazás Francia- és Olaszországban*.

had scarcely finished the latter when the Revolution of 1956 broke out, after which he managed to leave the country.¹⁸³ Miklós Szentkuthy, a well-known English literature scholar, also became a full-time translator, after he returned from Oxford only to find himself among the politically unreliable unemployed.¹⁸⁴ Besides *Gulliver's Travels*,¹⁸⁵ he also translated *Oliver Twist*.¹⁸⁶ Another renowned translator of Charles Dickens was Géza Ottlik, who translated *David Copperfield*¹⁸⁷ and the *The Pickwick Papers*¹⁸⁸ along with Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*¹⁸⁹ and Waugh's *The Loved One*¹⁹⁰ during this short period of political opening.

The political change affected the tone and subject-matter of literary criticism as well. Several critics now complained about the lack of Western "progressive" authors on the Hungarian literary

Trans. Győző Határ (Budapest: Európa, 1957).

¹⁸³ Gabriella Hartvig. "Sterne in Hungary." *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*. Eds Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer (London: Continuum, 2004): 187-190.

¹⁸⁴ Hartvig, "Dean": 234.

¹⁸⁵ Jonathan Swift. *Gulliver utazásai*. Trans. Miklós Szentkuthy (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1952).

¹⁸⁶ Charles Dickens. *Twist Olivér*. Trans. Miklós Szentkuthy (Budapest: Új Magyar Kiadó, 1955).

¹⁸⁷ Charles Dickens. *Copperfield David, Gyermekévek, Ifjúság*. Trans. Géza Ottlik (Budapest: Ifjúsági Kiadó, 1954).

¹⁸⁸ Charles Dickens. *Pickwick-mesék*. Trans. Géza Ottlik (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1957).

¹⁸⁹ Ernest Hemingway. *Az öreg halász és a tenger*. Trans. Géza Ottlik (Budapest: Új Magyar Kiadó, 1956).

¹⁹⁰ Evelyn Waugh. *A megboldogult*. Trans. Géza Ottlik (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1957).

landscape.¹⁹¹ Imre Sarkadi went so far as to state that no significant piece of English literature had been published in Hungary for nearly ten years.¹⁹² Károly Haas claimed that publishing policy should disentangle itself from the misbeliefs that literature should merely be considered as a thematic issue, and that every literary product which failed to advocate current political interests such as "the fight for peace" or Stakhanovism should be regarded a merely autotelic activity by default.¹⁹³ Péter Nagy harshly claimed that no scholarly paper of note had been published in this period concerning world literature, and literary translations had been confined only to the commemoration of anniversaries.¹⁹⁴ Béla Köpeczi reported that publishers from now on would broaden the palette of foreign authors, even including works which might not perfectly conform to the formal and ideological demands of Socialist realism, but which still represented progressive values.¹⁹⁵ In another article, he added that a wider choice of foreign literary works would effectively help to minimise cultural provincialism and nationalism at the same time.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Péter Nagy. "Pártunk III. Kongresszusa és irodalmunk." *Csillag* 6 (1954): 1108-1124; Béla Köpeczi. "Könyvkiadásunk néhány kérdéséről." *Csillag* 7 (1955): 1474-1484.

¹⁹² Imre Sarkadi. "Napoleon útján Párizsba." *Művelt nép* 6 (1956): 17.

¹⁹³ Károly Haas. "A könyvkiadás jövő évi terveiről." *A könyvtáros* 7 (1956): 511.

¹⁹⁴ Nagy. "Pártunk": 1120.

¹⁹⁵ Köpeczi. "Könyvkiadásunk": 1438.

¹⁹⁶ Béla Köpeczi. "A könyvkiadás jövő évi tervei." *Művelt Nép* 10 (1955): 16.

Nagy also stressed that all possible works of great literary merit should be published, as long as they did not articulate any overtly adverse political message.¹⁹⁷

Notwithstanding the positive change of attitude towards literature in English, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and T. S. Eliot continued to receive negative criticism. Even though Tibor Lutter, the once omnipotent ideologue of the English literary domain in Hungary, would now rehabilitate W. H. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis, Stephen Spender, Huxley and Waugh as well as E. M. Forster, Graham Greene and H. E. Bates, and strongly urged the publication of works by contemporary authors such as Christopher Caudwell, Doris Lessing and Sean O'Casey, the cultural hiatus caused by Leftist sectarianism still made its presence felt. József Czimer, for instance, vehemently condemned the lenient authorities who preferred less problematic kitsch such as the Frenchman Eugène Scribe's light comedies to Shaw's sarcastic social criticism on the Hungarian stage.¹⁹⁸ As for contemporary British and American literature, "the deader the better" publishing policy continued to be palpably present. Nevertheless, besides Doris Lessing, who in the meantime had resigned from the Communist Party, a new contemporary British author,

¹⁹⁷ Péter Nagy. "A könyvkiadók gondjai." *Művelt Nép* 9 (1956): 16.

¹⁹⁸ József Czimer. "Színházi munkánk állami vezetése." *Új Hang* 1 (1955): 77-78.

Dylan Thomas was introduced to the Hungarian reading public in the literary journal, *Nagyvilág*.¹⁹⁹

At the same time, a certain servile obedience to the Communist cultural line was still tangible in the Hungarian scholarly field of English-speaking literature. In 1954, the World Peace Council suggested that works by Henry Fielding should be promulgated,²⁰⁰ and also called attention to Walt Whitman. In addition to the consequent publication of *Leaves of Grass* by Whitman in 1955,²⁰¹ several scholarly studies on Fielding and Whitman appeared in various literary journals, adding further dimensions to the exercise of criticism on literature in English in Hungary in this period.²⁰²

All in all, the Communist attempt between 1948 and 1956 to replace national aspirations in literary life with a Soviet model failed miserably. As Sir

¹⁹⁹ Miklós Szentkuthy. "A művész arcképe kölyökkutya korában." *Nagyvilág* 1 (1956): 218-221.

²⁰⁰ The World Peace Council was a front for Communist parties, which would advocate unilateral disarmament in the Western countries. The organization was mainly financed by the Soviet Union.

²⁰¹ Walt Whitman. *Fűszálak*. Trans. Lőrinc Szabó, Sándor Weöres (Budapest: Új Magyar Kiadó, 1955).

²⁰² Tibor Lutter. "Henry Fielding." *Természet és Társadalom* 113.2 (1954): 487-490; Péter Egri. "A realizmus Fielding Tom Jones-ában." *Filológiai Közlöny* 1.3 (1955): 375-381; László Kéry. "Henry Fielding." *Csillag* 8.10 (1954): 1908-1920; Tamás Ungvári. "Henry Fielding halálának 200. Évfordulójára." *Irodalmi Újság* 5.30 (1954): 71; Tibor Lutter. "Walt Whitman." *Természet és Társadalom*, 114.9 (1955): 558-560; István Vas. "Fűszálak." *Csillag* 9.8 (1955): 1646-1653; Miklós Kürthy. "A jó ősz költő"[Whitman], 3.3 (1955): 95-97.

Ivor Pink, British ambassador at Budapest in the 1960s, intelligently remarks: "Hungary's cultural background is Magyar and West European, not Slav."²⁰³ He also concludes that the leading role of Hungarian writers in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 further proved his point. Despite intensive propaganda, Hungarian authors and artists had refused to accept the exclusive presence of Soviet culture. As an external observer, Pink also notes that the Communists' cultural campaign for an equally-educated society, with cheap books, cinema and theatre tickets, public libraries and national book weeks, did manage to increase the public demand for culture. Nevertheless, political leaders had to realise that if they intended to satisfy this ever-growing hunger for literature and culture, publishing houses as well as theatres and cinemas would have to turn to the West for material and permit more freedom to Hungarian authors with respect to artistic life and the creative process in general.²⁰⁴

II. 1. 5. The Kádár Era

"one day he must be buried
and we must not forget
to appoINT the murderers!"

²⁰³ Sir Ivor Pink. "Confidential Memorandum." Quoted in: Éva Standeisky. "Hungary in the Early 1960s: Ivor Pink, the British Envoy, Reports." *Hungarian Quarterly* 39.150 (1998): 120-129.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

(Gáspár Nagy: "Eternal Summer: I'm over Nine")²⁰⁵

A deeper understanding of the Hungarian writers' major role in the Hungarian Revolution requires comprehension of the special position of writers and poets in the course of Central and Eastern European history. In contrast to Western European countries where artists could freely work as artists, and politicians functioned merely as politicians, in Hungary as well as other Eastern European countries, literature often served as an overt substitute for politics, and writers often replaced despotic and corrupt politicians in the public eye. The writers themselves also accepted their prophetic and politically active role in the public sphere.²⁰⁶ In fact, national revolutions were always considered to be the direct results of the heroic sacrifice made by writers and poets, who willingly risked even their lives in order to protect national interests. Consequently, people cited their beloved heroes' poems and quoted distinguished writers if they wanted to express their discontent with tyrannical authorities.²⁰⁷ Thus it is scarcely surprising that

²⁰⁵ The last word of each of the original calligram poem's lines ends in NI, the initial of Imre Nagy, the executed prime minister of the 1956 Revolution. (...egyszer majd el kell temetNI /és nekünk nem szabad feledNI /a gyilkosokat néven nevezNI!) The poem was published in October, 1984 in the Tatabánya monthly, *Új Forrás*. This hidden meaning escaped the notice of the censors and the poem was published. The extract was translated by Péter Ferenczy.

²⁰⁶ Éva Standeisky. *Az írók és a hatalom* (Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1996): 11-12.

²⁰⁷ Raija Oikari. "Discursive Use of Power in Hungarian Cultural Policy during the Kádár Era." *Hungarian Beiträge* 14.2 (2000):

Hungarian political powers always tried to win intellectuals over to their cause in order to legitimise their supremacy.

The Communist takeover in the literary field ended in mutual disappointment, since the greatest Hungarian authors did not agree to conform to the official standards of Socialist Realism, nor did they speak up for Communism, but chose silence instead. Even minor or younger authors who initially accepted the financial and social advantages offered by the Party later became disillusioned and turned away from Stalinist values. It was not unexpected that many of them should willingly participate in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and that subsequently a significant number of them were imprisoned as a consequence of their active role in the uprising. The mass detentions after the Soviet occupation of the country involved probably many more than 4,700 people by mid-November.²⁰⁸ The period of massive reprisals lasted from April 1957 until the spring of 1959. Besides being a mass phenomenon, the reprisals were harsh. Between the winter of 1956 and the spring of 1961, 341 people were hanged and more than 22,000 people were sentenced to imprisonment. In addition to the official executions, the uprising cost approximately 2,500 lives in the capital and around 3,000 countrywide during the revolution.²⁰⁹

134.

²⁰⁸ Izsák: 188.

²⁰⁹ Kontler: 429.

Predictably, the new Hungarian leaders' cruelty provoked great international uproar. Several foreign writers expressed their strong disapproval of the unjust death penalties imposed. Numerous English authors, among others, Bertrand Russell, Julian Huxley, J. B. Priestley and Stephen Spender signed a memorandum addressed to János Kádár (1912-1989), the new, still illegitimate Premier of Hungary.²¹⁰ In 1957, more than ten writers and fifteen journalists were imprisoned; among others, the internationally well-known sixty-five-year-old Tibor Déry, the dramatist Gyula Háry, the poet Zoltán Zelk and the writer Tibor Tardos.²¹¹ At the end of October 1957, Stephen Spender sent another telegram to Kádár,²¹² while T.S. Eliot, E. M. Forster, John Lehmann, Cecil Day Lewis, John Masefield, Somerset Maugham, Charles Morgan, J. B. Priestley, Bertrand Russell, Angus Wilson and others published an open letter to protest against the trials.²¹³ The International P.E.N. suspended the Hungarian centre in 1957 on the grounds that they were violating the constitution of the organisation by not protesting against the unjust arrests and harassments of writers.²¹⁴ The committee later readmitted Hungary, because it was believed

²¹⁰ Standeisky. *Az írók*: 268.

²¹¹ György Gömöri. *The Hungarian Literary Scene, 1957-1959* (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 1959): 1.

²¹² Standeisky. *Az írók*: 362.

²¹³ Phyllis Bentley, Richard Church, T. S. Eliot, E. M. Forster, John Lehmann, C. Day Lewis, John Masefield, W. Somerset Maugham, Charles Morgan, J. B. Priestley, Bertrand Russell, C. P. Snow, Rebecca West, Angus Wilson. "Hungarian Writers on Trial." (Letters to the Editor) *Times* 29 October 1957: F11.

²¹⁴ Standeisky. *Az írók*: 409.

that this action might better serve the imprisoned Hungarian writers' interest. Unfortunately, the decision proved to be incorrect.²¹⁵ Consequently, a great number of centres, including those in New York, Vienna, Darmstadt and London suggested a renewal of the suspension.²¹⁶

Hungarian writers also protested, and many of them boycotted the government's new publishing activities by simply refusing to publish. They could not be persuaded to write even apolitical works.²¹⁷ Up to September 1957, the Kádár government and the most prominent Hungarian writers were not even on speaking terms.²¹⁸ Kádár was placed in an awkward predicament. Being a Reform-Communist himself, and an ex-member of the short-lived revolutionary government of 1956, he was more of an advocate of political and cultural heterogeneity (though obviously not pluralism). However, the Stalinist members of the government, along with the occupying Soviet forces, demanded firm action against all possible signs of opposition. Kádár's desperate aspirations to international approval and intellectual legitimization stood in sharp contrast with the current retaliatory government policy. He needed Hungarian and foreign writers' support, as they were the best means of shaping public opinion (as contrasted with scientists, for example). Consequently, Kádár would

²¹⁵ "Hungarian P.E.N. Club." *Times* 7 November 1959: D7.

²¹⁶ "Move to Suspend Hungarian P. E. N." *Times* 7 January 1960: D9.

²¹⁷ Oikari: 148.

²¹⁸ Gömöri: 4.

hasten to seek a compromise with intellectuals, as political consolidation would have been impossible without their full consent. Thus, after the reprisals ended, immediate steps were taken to restore Kádár's popularity among writers.

Despite the Hungarian authors' boycott, the period was extremely rich in terms of books published, which was mainly due to the fact that the writers had signed their contracts and prepared their manuscripts before the revolution.²¹⁹ As for British literature, the Hungarian publishing industry had not experienced such a boom in the number of translations since 1947. 1957 was considered to be a record year with sixty-one titles such as Virginia Woolf's *Flush*, Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One*, Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner*, the previously condemned British author, J. B. Priestley's *Black-Out in Gretley* and Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*, etc.²²⁰

However, all these translations published were still the last products of the short "thaw" of the 1950s. This flourishing period was also partly attributable to the fact that in the middle of the reprisals, the authorities did not have time to pay close attention to the publication industry. Furthermore, since it was impossible for the

²¹⁹ Gömöri: 3.

²²⁰ Besides many other factors, Sean O'Casey's relative unpopularity in Hungary might have been strengthened by his letter of 1957, in which he publicly expressed his sympathies with the new Kádár regime. In: Tibor Magyar. "Karácsonyi csúcsforgalom a könyvásáron." *Magyar Nemzet* 15 Dec. 1957. Quoted in: Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 69.

authorities to withdraw all the ideologically dangerous books from the printing press, they simply removed only those whose authors had emigrated after 1956.²²¹ The ban affected translators as well to a very moderate extent. This is the reason why we find Győző Határ's name as translator only in the colophon of the book, *A Sentimental Journey*, for example.

Nonetheless, in contrast to the Hungarian Stalinist regime, the Kádár era was more open towards Western culture and literature. In the iron-handed early 1950s, the publication of literary products by decadent authors such as T. S. Eliot or James Joyce was scarcely imaginable. Only those Western authors who were either Communists or fellow-travellers were published, while the remainder, in the majority, were regarded as "un-committed decadent cowards" or, worse, "agents of imperialism".²²² The Európa Publishing Press, true to its earlier promises, has continued to publish Western literature. Apart from the usual European classics, works by authors writing in English such as H. E. Bates, John Galsworthy, Graham Greene, Somerset Maugham, John Osborne, Katherine Mansfield, James Joyce, Christopher Isherwood, J. M. Synge, Dylan Thomas and others were translated and published in many thousands of copies.

Moreover, works of popular literature that had met with disapproval could finally enter the literary market in the form of detective stories, thrillers or light entertainment. The reading public were now

²²¹ Gömöri: 3.

²²² Czigány. *Hungarian Literature*: 452.

allowed access to writers such as Agatha Christie, James Hilton and even P. G. Wodehouse or G. K. Chesterton. In the theatre, there was a great appetite for Shakespeare, Shaw, Sean O'Casey, Priestley, and especially for Eugene O'Neill, Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, John Osborne and other contemporary leftist playwrights.²²³ Whatever their ideological agenda, however, novels and plays by Western authors seemed to challenge the hegemony of Socialist realist literature in Hungary.

The reappearance of the monthly literary journal *Nagyvilág* well suited the cultural policy of the new regime, which desperately wanted to prove that unlike the Rákosist concept of literature, the current party line would never discriminate against Western authors who were not enthusiastic devotees either of Socialism or Socialist Realism. British and American literature finally began to seep into the hermetically sealed sphere of Hungarian cultural life. This relative tolerance was derived from Kádár's political slogan, a verse paraphrased from the New Testament:²²⁴ "He, who is not against us, is with us, and welcomed by us," completely replacing Rákosi's maxim,²²⁵ i.e. "He, who is not for us is against us."²²⁶ The former hegemony of political

²²³ Pink: 128.

²²⁴ "For he that is not against us is on our side." (*21st Century King James Version*. Mark 9: 40).

²²⁵ "He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth abroad." (Matt. 9:30).

²²⁶ Hoensch: 234.

narrow-mindedness and literary provincialism had started to disappear for good.

II. 1. 6. Consolidation (1960-1977)

"I ask every Communist individually to set an example, by deeds and without pretence, a real example worthy of a man and a Communist, in restoring order, starting normal life, in resuming work and production, and in laying the foundations of an ordered life."

(János Kádár)²²⁷

The Hungarian intelligentsia's passive resistance and the lack of international recognition still placed serious obstacles in the path of the full legitimacy of the new government. Finally, the general amnesty of 1963 created a basis upon which Kádár could start to improve his international reputation. Hungary's full membership was restored in the United Nations, having been suspended since 1957.²²⁸ Thereafter Kádár succeeded in extending the country's Western contacts outwith the restrictions of Kremlin policy, while avoiding clashes with the Moscow leadership. In the long run, however, Kádár's two-sided policy managed both to fully legitimise its ascendancy and gradually change from a totalitarian to more of an authoritarian character.

²²⁷ Melvin J. Lasky. *The Hungarian Revolution. A White Book. The Story of the October Uprising as Recorded in Documents, Dispatches, Eye-Witness Accounts, and World-Wide Reactions* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1957): 140.

²²⁸ Kontler: 437.

Meanwhile the regime's new cultural policy underwent an equally radical transformation. After certain earlier inconsistencies, György Aczél²²⁹ became the absolute authority on all culture-related matters in Hungary for the next quarter century.²³⁰ Initially his main task was to appease the "nation's conscience", namely, that of the writers, and to get them to accept a compromise rather than to terrorise and silence them.²³¹ The "grand pact" offered by the government was that they would ease repression and secure a significant improvement in living conditions, provided that the population surrendered their right to completely free political expression. This tactic won gradual acceptance from almost all Hungarian intellectuals as well.²³² In practice, the flourishing "goulash Communism" or "refrigerator Communism" was based on a very delicate and complex bargaining system. As long as one did not question the legitimacy of the government, the state would permit relative freedom in the private sphere and provide considerably higher living standards.

This policy also became articulated in Aczél's

²²⁹ Even though Aczél György was the effective leader of the cultural field in Hungary, technically, he was only the second in charge in the administration, and his official positions varied many times. Interestingly, he was appointed only deputy minister, but never Minister of Culture. This perfectly exemplifies the opaque power policy in Kádár's political apparatus, whose inner hierarchy and complex relations were extremely difficult to discern. See Oikari: 138.

²³⁰ Kósa: 296.

²³¹ Ignác Romsics. *Hungary in the Twentieth Century*. Trans. Tim Wilkinson (Budapest: Corvina & Osiris, 1999): 337.

²³² Kósa: 296.

notorious three Ts system. The Ts refer to the initials of three Hungarian words—*tilt*, *tűr*, *támogat*—and divide the cultural sphere into three categories. For the sake of preserving the alliterations these may be termed works “prohibited”, “permitted” and “promoted”.²³³ Literary products which were considered to be overtly Anti-Communist or Anti-Soviet such as Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Koestler’s *Darkness at Noon*, or other works which failed to meet the prudish, petty bourgeois tastes of the ruling elite such as the “pornographic” Henry Miller’s works or *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* by D. H. Lawrence were strictly banned.²³⁴

The “permitted” works did not express open hostility towards Socialism in general, but neither did they support Socialist ideas, nor did they share the constructive optimism offered by Socialist Realism, and they included such works as the supposedly pessimistic and decadent writings of James Joyce,²³⁵ Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley²³⁶ and Samuel

²³³ Kontler: 445.

²³⁴ As a consequence of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, other novels by Lawrence were never allowed to enter the canonical series of *Classics of World Literature*. In: Bart. *Világirodalom*: 91.

²³⁵ A confidential report of 1963 shows that the publication of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* was not enthusiastically supported by the General Directorate’s officials. They rejected the idea of a new translation on the grounds that the previous translation was still available in libraries, and that the novel’s ideas and inhumanity had become alien to Socialist morality, leaving it with the potential to arouse the interest of only a few snobbish elitists. In: Gyula Tóth. *Írók Pórázon: A Kiadói Főigazgatóság irataiból, 1961-1970* (Budapest: MTA Irodud., 1992): 215-216. Nevertheless, the new translation appeared in 1974.

Beckett,²³⁷ as well as middlebrow fiction such as novels by Agatha Christie or Margaret Mitchell.²³⁸ The authorities, however, would not tolerate even the "permitted works" without commenting on them. Accordingly, Marxist critics always had to point out their literary deficiencies, thereby supposedly covering themselves in case any veiled threats against or critiques of the Socialist System were later discovered. It was also an established custom in Hungary that these slightly problematic books always included a mildly critical preface or postscript in order to preclude any possible official disapproval of the work in question.

Works that were promoted or supported, either offered harsh criticism of Capitalist society, for example, works by Thomas Hardy, Charles Dickens or Shaw, or that presented politically preferred themes or form such as Len Doherty's *Men Beneath*, Jane Walsh's *Not Like This* and Lewis Grassic Gibbon's *A Scots Quair*. Alternatively, authors who were

²³⁶ Stalinist literary criticism wrongly associated *Brave New World's* Utopian world with the Communist vision of the future, and as a result, his novels were allowed to be published only from the 1960s in Hungary. In: Bart *Világírodalom*: 88.

²³⁷ Even though for many years Beckett's plays were not authorised to be staged in Budapest theatres, his works were mostly translated into Hungarian: *Waiting for Godot* appeared in the periodical *Nagyvilág* in 1965, and a collection of Beckett's plays was published in 1970, while *Murphy* and the trilogy *Watt*, *Malone Dies* and *The Unnamable* came out in 1972 and 1987, respectively.

²³⁸ *Gone with the Wind* was not allowed to be published in Hungary until 1986, based on aesthetic and political reasoning. In: Tóth: 401.

Communist or Leftist sympathisers such as James Aldridge, Jack Lindsay, Sean O'Casey, Ernest Hemingway, Dylan Thomas, Alan Sillitoe, John Osborne or Arnold Wesker gained favourable reputations with Hungarian reviewers.

As far as publishing policies were concerned, the Kádarian era's new cultural line brought a significant opening in ideological and cultural terms. This also resulted in a high-quality translation industry, extending that which had ironically begun in the 1950s, when many distinguished poets and writers had to turn to translation out of necessity, and who continued their work after the revolution as well. In addition, as the Communist rulers of Hungary were strongly convinced of the moral and educational power of literature in the process of building Socialism, literature, and especially high literature, was granted an almost exaggerated importance. And as publishing houses were under centralised control in the financial sense as well, funding became completely divorced from market considerations. Therefore, a tremendous amount of money was allocated to unprofitable culture on a yearly basis.²³⁹

If we compare only the British books published in the post-war period and in the Kádár era, we will see that there is a considerable increase in both the quantity and the quality of the Hungarian translations. The range of authors translated was also greatly extended in every period of English

²³⁹ Takács. "Grace": 76.

literature, to include texts such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Canterbury Tales*, three-volumes of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, almost all of the works of Fielding and Sterne, some by Smollett, the shorter poems of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Blake, most poems by Keats and Shelley, and a few by Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne, novels by Emily Brontë, Hardy, Conrad, Meredith and plays by Oscar Wilde, Shaw and Synge.²⁴⁰ Publication and translation or re-translation of this progressive heritage of English classics was considered to be one of the highest-priority areas of the translation industry throughout the whole era.

As far as the critical reception of British literature is concerned, several new scholarly books and articles appeared in parallel with these political changes. Tibor Szobotka's monograph on Shelley and his collection of essays *Valóság és látomás*, for example, are of more interest than most. Besides several classic British authors, including Shakespeare, Fielding, Blake, Dickens, and Shaw, the book contains essays on problematic authors such as James Joyce and Franz Kafka. Interestingly, Szobotka values Joyce's early works more than his later ones, namely, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, because of their more realistic quality, echoing a view that is commonly shared by other Marxist critics of the period. Another important study on Joyce was written by Péter Egri, entitled *James Joyce és Thomas Mann. Dekadencia és modernség* (James Joyce and Thomas Mann. Decadence and Modernity). Egri attempts to illustrate

²⁴⁰ Ország: viii-ix.

the key elements of Lukács's thesis of bourgeois decadence and modern realism by applying them to the works by James Joyce and Thomas Mann, showing a preference for Thomas Mann on the grounds that his novels exhibit more "social depth" and offer more authentic representations of reality.²⁴¹

The biography book series "Az írók világa" (The world of writers) launched by Európa Publishing Press in the late 1960s is also noteworthy. The series includes classic British authors such as Fielding, Defoe, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Scott, Dickens, Conrad, Hardy, Shaw, Maugham, Yeats, Woolf, and Huxley. Although the series was written for more of a popular audience, the books are not only important to note because the books' writers themselves are prominent Hungarian scholars such as Aladár Sarbu, Ferenc Takács, Ágnes Péter, Ágnes Bécsy, Ernő Taxner-Tóth, and Márton Mesterházi, but also because the series provides additional information on the Hungarian literary canon of British authors of the period.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Goldmann. "Belated": 233.

²⁴² Géza Hegedüs. *G. B. Shaw világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1970), István Tótfalusi. *Shelley világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1971), Ernő Taxner-Tóth. *Dickens világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1972), Ferenc Takács. *Fielding világa*. (Budapest: Európa, 1973), Aladár Sarbu. *Joseph Conrad világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1974), István Tótfalusi. *Byron világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1975), Csaba Sz. Kiss. *Hardy világa*. (Budapest: Európa, 1976), Péter Szentmihályi Szabó. *W. B. Yeats világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1978), Ernő Taxner-Tóth. *Thackeray világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1978), Aladár Sarbu. *Henry James világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1979), Ágnes Bécsy. *Virginia Woolf világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1980), István Bart. *Walter Scott világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1981), Márton Mesterházi. *Sean O'Casey világa* (Budapest:

Other relevant contributions to English studies are two literary histories of British literature. Both works were published by the Gondolat Publishing House. *Az angol irodalom története* (History of British Literature) by Miklós Szenczi, Tibor Szobotka, and Anna Katona provides a comprehensive history of British literature from Beowulf until the 1950s. Anna Katon's chapter on contemporary literature, however, reveals great hesitancy with respect to the canonicity of the contemporary authors under scrutiny. Her occasionally over-cautious attitude now appears symptomatic of the ever-changing cultural-political expectations of the period: "Due to the lack of historical distance, even in the case of finished oeuvres such as James Joyce's and T. S. Eliot's, it is still impossible to provide such a resolute approach to their works as in the case of Shakespeare or Dickens."²⁴³

The obligatory presence of Marxist criticism is also palpable in several essays of *Az angol irodalom*

Európa, 1983), Péter Balabán. *Sinclair Lewis világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1983), Anna Mária H. Szász. *Aldous Huxley világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1984), Ernő Taxner-Tóth. *A Brontë nővérek világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1984), Béla Mohay. *Katherine Mansfield világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1985), Katalin Budai. *Maugham világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1986), András Török. *Oscar Wilde világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1989), and Ágnes Péter. *Keats világa* (Budapest: Európa, 1989).

²⁴³ "Még amikor lezárt életműről van szó, mint pl. James Joyce avagy T. S. Eliot esetében, akkor sincs meg a szükséges történelmi távlat ahhoz, hogy olyan határozottsággal ítélkezhessünk, mint Shakespeare vagy Dickens oeuvre-jéről." In Miklós Szenczi, Tibor Szobotka, and Anna Katona. *Az angol irodalom története* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1972): 678.

a *huszadik században* (English literature in the twentieth century) edited by László Báti and István Kristó-Nagy. Nevertheless, besides the list of "promoted" authors, including Shaw, Galsworthy, Auden, Dylan Thomas, MacDiarmid, and Sillitoe, the number of "permitted" authors is also significant, including writers such as Maugham, Joyce, Woolf, Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, and Beckett. The essay writers were distinguished scholars or translators, including István Géher, Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, Zoltán Abádi Nagy, Miklós Vajda, András Fodor, and Levente Osztovits.

Another important work with reference to British literature is the multi-volume *Világirodalmi lexikon* (Encyclopaedia of World Literature) whose authors were also prominent scholars. Unexpectedly, the encyclopaedia contains information on "prohibited" authors such as George Orwell and Arthur Koestler as well. Indeed, Szenczi, Szobotka and Katona's literary history also dedicates two pages to Orwell. What is more surprising is that neither work directs severe criticism at the authors, but rather offers an apologetic explanation for their conversion from Communist sympathisers to deluded mouthpieces of Anti-Soviet propaganda.

All things considered, the Hungarian reception of British literature was shaped by the characteristics of two divergent historical periods: The Rákosi regime broke off almost all relations with the Western world, and also attempted to reconstruct the Hungarian literary canon through the political

excommunication of writers whose views or style were not in harmony with Socialist realism, or even through the means of destroying books. The Kádár administration, learning from the previous regime's mistakes, aimed to be more receptive towards the Western world. Nevertheless, the list of "promoted" and "prohibited" writers remained the same in principle, that is, Socialist sympathisers of the Left such as Shaw, or "progressive" classic authors, including Shakespeare, Dickens, and Scott enjoyed maximum support, while critical voices like those of Orwell and Koestler continued to be silenced. The real innovation of the Kádár regime was the introduction of the new category of "permitted" or tolerated works, so that eventually, Joyce, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot, and Beckett did become part of the Hungarian literary canon of foreign writing, albeit with a considerable delay.

II. 2. BRITISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERARY RELATIONS

"A fortuna da literatura inglesa entre nós tem sido vária, e nunca equivalente à importância positiva ou negativa que os laços políticos e económicos tiveram, desde remota antiguidade, na história dos dois países."

(Jorge de Sena: Prefácio. In A. C. Ward: *História da literatura inglesa*)²⁴⁴

II. 2. 1. General Introduction

In contrast to Hungary, Portugal's geographic proximity and relatively easier accessibility via the Atlantic Ocean greatly facilitated the bilateral political and economic relationship with England. However, contrary to what might be expected, it did not involve continuous and prolific Luso-English cultural exchange. Diplomatic relations between the two countries date back as early as 1294, when Portugal first entered into a commercial treaty with England. In 1386, the Treaty of Windsor was signed by Dom João I and Richard II, which assured perpetual peace and friendship between England and Portugal.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Jorge de Sena. "Prefácio." A. C. Ward. *História da literatura inglesa*. Trans. Jorge de Sena (Lisbon: Editorial Estúdios Cor. Limitada, 1959): 9.

²⁴⁵ A year later, in 1387, Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV, was married to Dom João I in order to seal the alliance. Another dynastic marriage took place in Portugal in

The Old Alliance was later revived by the Treaty of Methuen in 1703, which gave mutual trade advantages to Portuguese wines and English woollen cloth, but technically enabled the English to gain almost total control of Portuguese foreign trade in a short period of time and make Portugal politically and economically dependent on England.²⁴⁶

Nevertheless, in spite of the continuing commercial and political alliances between Portugal and England, literature in English did not receive widespread recognition among the Portuguese reading public until the twentieth century, more precisely, only after the Second World War.²⁴⁷ The main reason for this – as had been the case for other European countries such as Spain or Italy, for instance²⁴⁸ – is

1662, when Charles II married Catarina de Bragança, daughter of Dom João IV.

²⁴⁶ For further information on Luso-English relations, see Edgar Prestage, Ed. *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations* (Watford: Voss and Michael, 1935), Leslie M. Shaw. *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal 1654-1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), Glyn Stone. *The Oldest Ally. Britain and the Portuguese Connection, 1936-1941* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1994), and Maria Bullon-Fernandez, Ed. *A Inglaterra e a Península Ibérica na Idade Média. Séculos XII-XV. Intercambios culturais, literários e políticos* (Mem Martins: Europa-América, 2008).

²⁴⁷ João Almeida Flor. "Traduções de Inglaterra." *Dicionário do Romantismo Literário Português*. Ed. Helena Carvalhão Buescu (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997): 556.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Flavio Gregori. "The Italian Reception of Swift." *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*. Ed. Hermann J. Real (London: Continuum, 2005), and Alberto Lázaro. "The Emerging Voice: A Review of Spanish Scholarship on Virginia Woolf." *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe*. Eds Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst (London: Continuum, 2002).

that French language and literature dominated the Portuguese cultural sphere until the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, Portuguese literature, mostly due to geographic and language-related reasons, had been traditionally dependent over the centuries on the Spanish, Italian, and mostly on the French connection.²⁴⁹ Consequently, the Portuguese literary response to British literature was, in general, determined by the French reception, or more precisely, by the way literary works in English were publicly and critically acclaimed, selected and translated in France.²⁵⁰

Since among the educated Portuguese population there were few who could read or speak in English until at least the first half of the twentieth century, most people had to limit themselves to the available French and Portuguese translations. Furthermore, as the Portuguese book market was largely dominated by French publishers, books in English were of course hardly accessible to the reading public.²⁵¹ It is also important to note that it was not until the Romantic period that the market for translations finally started to expand, and that translation became a lucrative business activity in Portugal.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Jorge Bastos da Silva. "On the Very Late Reception of Coleridge's Writings in Portugal." *The Reception of S. T. Coleridge in Europe*. Ed. Eduardo Zuccato (London: Continuum, 2007): 243.

²⁵⁰ Castanheira: 130.

²⁵¹ Bastos da Silva. "Coleridge": 244.

²⁵² Manuela Portela. "Sterne's Arrival in Portugal." *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*. Eds Peter Jan de Voogd and John Neubauer (London: Continuum, 2004): 222.

Consequently, we can hardly speak of any significant literary exchange between the two countries until this period. Sporadic translations of British texts into Portuguese, however, occasionally occurred. *Confessio Amantis* by John Gower, for example, was translated into Portuguese by Robert Payne, canon of Lisbon, who probably belonged to the Portuguese queen Philippa of Lancaster's Anglo-Norman court.²⁵³ Isabel Cruz Lousada's bibliography of Portuguese translations of British texts between 1554 and 1900 reveals that only a very limited number of translated works appeared in Portugal before the eighteenth century.²⁵⁴ Indeed, the majority of them are official letters and documents, but a few religious works were also translated into Portuguese such as *The Book of Common Prayer* by Thomas Cranmer

²⁵³ Sena. "Anglicismo": 82. For further information, see John Matthews Manly. "On the Question of the Portuguese Translation of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*." *Modern Philology* 27 (1929-30): 467-472, Bernardo Santano Moreno. "The Fifteenth-Century Portuguese and Castilian Translations of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*." *Manuscripta* 35 (1991): 23-34, Maria do Carmo Correia de Oliveira. "Sobre muse e a Musa: (com)textos de sabedoria em *Confessio Amantis* de John Gower e sua tradução ibérica" *eHumanista* 3 (2003): 1-18. http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume_03/index.shtml (last accessed 21/10/2012), and Manuela Faccon. "Il testimone mutilo della traduzione castigliana della *Confessio Amantis*." *eHumanista* 18 (2011): 366-384. http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/volume_18/index.shtml (Last accessed 21/10/2012).

²⁵⁴ Cf. Isabel Maria da Cruz Lousada. *Para o estabelecimento de uma bibliografia britânica em português (1554-1900)*. Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998).

in 1695 or the history of Saint Thomas à Becket in 1554.

Translation of English literary works started in Portugal only from the second half of the eighteenth century. Authors such as Francis Bacon, John Bunyan, William Congreve, Ben Jonson, John Dryden, and Oliver Goldsmith were being read in Portuguese translation for the first time. Portuguese readers, however, were acquainted with these English writers mostly through French translations. Nevertheless, several newspapers such as *Mnemósine Lusitana*, *Jornal Enciclopédico* or *Jornal de Coimbra* published poems in English accompanied by Portuguese translations. In eighteenth-century Portugal, the most popular English poets were Alexander Pope, Edward Young, Thomas Gray, and James Hervey.²⁵⁵

The reason for this relatively long delay in translating works from English might lie in the fact that during the conservative restoration process followed by Dom José I's death and the Marquês de Pombal's political fall, all ideas which were suspected of showing any affinity with the underlying ideology of the American War of Independence or the French Revolution were seen as an imminent threat to the monarchy. Foreign books had to be smuggled into the country in order to avoid being confiscated.²⁵⁶ Indeed, strict censorship and seizure of literary and philosophical works along with the constant vigilance of the populace were significant factors determining

²⁵⁵ Lia Noemia Rodrigues Correia Raitt. *Garrett and the English Muse* (London: Tamesis, 1983): 3.

²⁵⁶ Gerald Bär. "Ossian in Portugal." *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*. Ed. Howard Gaskill (London: Continuum, 2004): 354-355.

the production and circulation of books in Portugal during the period.²⁵⁷

The nineteenth century saw constant social and political upheavals in Portugal from invasions and revolutions to civil war, accompanied by the repeated exile of liberal politicians and thinkers to England and France. The democratic Constitution of 1822 finally put an end to the country's ideological and cultural isolation. The freedom of the press also notably increased the number of printers and publishing houses in Portugal and gave access to new foreign literary tendencies. Nevertheless, Portuguese translations of British literary works were still sporadic, and the majority of them continued to be rendered into Portuguese through French translations.²⁵⁸

It is most intriguing though that Pre-Romantic English poets such as Thomas Gray, Edward Young, James Hervey and James Macpherson should have a much more profound impact on Portuguese literary life²⁵⁹ than the English Romantic literary movement, for

²⁵⁷ José António Gomes. *Towards a History of Portuguese Children's and Youth Literature* (Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura, 1997): 9.

²⁵⁸ Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires. *Walter Scott e o romantismo português* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. 1979): 38.

²⁵⁹ For more information on the Portuguese reception of English pre-Romanticism, see Maria Gabriela Carvalho Buescu. "Os pré-românticos ingleses em Portugal: Young, Grey, Hervey e Thomson." *Macpherson e o Ossian em Portugal* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2001): 105-110, and Álvaro Manuel Machado. *As origens do Romantismo em Portugal* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1979).

example. In fact, except for Byron,²⁶⁰ the most celebrated poets of the Romantic era such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats passed relatively unnoticed in contemporaneous Portugal.²⁶¹

Symptomatically, the Portuguese expatriates in England were also unaware of the existence of Wordsworth and Coleridge.²⁶² Furthermore, it can be said that – with the obvious exception of Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano – the emigrant Portuguese liberals' overall relationship with English culture and literature could be regarded as fairly sporadic and isolated, which might have resulted from the fact that the elite in Portugal at this time were decisively Francophile. The reasons for this are manifold. First, it seems that in Europe as well as in Portugal, France, or more precisely, the mythical French Revolution, was seen as a universal model of social and political democratisation, rather than the British example.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ According to the data provided by Cruz Lousada's bibliography, by far the most frequently translated British author in Portugal before 1900 was Byron (with 70 translations). Next on the list comes Walter Scott (54), and then Shakespeare (53). For more detailed discussion on the reception of Byron in Portugal, cf. João Almeida Flor. "Byron em português: Para o estudo histórico-cultural da tradução." *Dedalus*. 5 (1995): 175-184, and Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. "'Tempting Demon': The Portuguese Byron." *The Reception of Byron in Europe*. Ed. Richard Andrew Cardwell (London: Continuum, 2004): 164-187.

²⁶¹ Almeida Flor. "Tradução": 557.

²⁶² Jorge Bastos da Silva. *Shakespeare no romantismo português. Factos, problemas, interpretação* (Oporto: Campo das Letras, 2005): 36-37.

²⁶³ Sena. "Anglicismo": 79.

Second, the romantic French revolutionary tradition appeared to be somewhat more accessible, or in other words, more concrete than the philosophically-loaded German concept or the mystical English romantic image.²⁶⁴

Finally, anti-British feelings followed by the British occupation of Portugal after the Napoleonic Wars²⁶⁵ and the British Ultimatum of 1890²⁶⁶ might also have had a significant negative impact on the reception of British literature in the nineteenth century. For example, Garrett's initial reservations concerning Shakespeare, which in fact stand in sharp contrast with his later passionate enthusiasm for him, might be traced back to the historical and biographical events of his early years, when the unjustifiably lengthy presence in the country of the

²⁶⁴ Álvaro Manuel Machado. *O "Francesismo" na literatura portuguesa* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984): 40-41.

²⁶⁵ The occupying French army under General Junot was driven out with the help of the British troops, but once Portugal was freed of its French invaders, the British exacted a price for their support. Sir Arthur Wellesley's victory in 1808 at Vimeiro resulted in the notorious Convention of Sintra. It arranged for Junot's army to leave Portugal without the country receiving any compensation. The French were even allowed to take away with them all the precious objects they had plundered in the country. The Portuguese troops were put under the command of an English general, William Beresford, who became de facto ruler of the country.

²⁶⁶ The ultimatum demanded that Portuguese military forces should retreat from the region between Angola and Mozambique, or otherwise Britain would break off diplomatic relations with Portugal, a barely-veiled threat of immediate military intervention from the British side.

British forces who had fought against the French stirred up widespread anger and outrage in Portugal.²⁶⁷ Indeed, based on bibliographical evidence, João Ferreira Duarte conclusively proves that the notable absence of translations from Shakespeare in Portugal during the 1890s is a deliberate omission, or more exactly, a clear example of ideologically-driven non-translation. The "ideological embargo", as Duarte terms it, was a direct result of the strong anti-British and nationalistic sentiments pervading the country in the aftermath of the colonial conflict with Britain in 1890.²⁶⁸

It is also noteworthy that despite the fact that a great number of English men of letters visited Portugal, among others, Henry Fielding, William Beckford, Robert Southey, and Byron, no real cultural exchange took place between the two countries. Although Fielding died and was buried in Lisbon, his novels did not have any repercussion in Portugal's literary life, and neither did those of Robert Southey. Jorge de Sena partly explains the absence of proper cultural dialogue between the two nations by a certain mutual disrespect: the Portuguese population saw the British visitors as Anglican heretics, with whom they were not even allowed by the inquisitorial authorities to associate, whereas the British

²⁶⁷ João Almeida Flor. "Para a imagem de Shakespeare em Garrett." *Garrett às portas do milénio*. (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2001): 47.

²⁶⁸ João Ferreira Duarte. "The Politics of Non-Translation: A Case Study in Anglo-Portuguese Relations" *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 13.1 (2000): 95-112.

condemned the Portuguese for their Catholicism and monarchic idolatry.²⁶⁹ British residents in Portugal seemed to be remarkably reluctant to socialise with the local inhabitants, and even if they had excellent libraries such as that of Southey's uncle, for instance, they mainly kept to themselves, and apparently were not even keen readers.²⁷⁰

When Victorian England was finally discovered by the Portuguese reading public, it was again through French mediation. In fact, Júlio Dinis, who belonged to the Anglophile colony of Oporto and was supposedly an excellent connoisseur of English literature, quotes Dickens in French. Even though Eça de Queirós harshly criticises the Portuguese *francesismo*, the literary movement *Geração 70* – to which he belonged – was also decisively Francophile.²⁷¹

Accordingly, it is no wonder that in the early decades of the twentieth century, Portuguese modernism was also greatly determined by avant-garde tendencies brought from contemporary France, despite the notable exception of Fernando Pessoa, whose passionate admiration for English literature appears to be a somewhat isolated phenomenon of the time. Although Pessoa wrote and spoke English fluently,²⁷² and his library and his writings also demonstrate an extensive knowledge of literature in English,²⁷³ his

²⁶⁹ Sena. "Anglicismo": 78.

²⁷⁰ Bär: 356.

²⁷¹ Sena. "Anglicismo": 79.

²⁷² His proficiency in English was due to the fact that Pessoa attended school for several years in Durban, South Africa.

²⁷³ Patrícia Oliveira da Silva McNeill. "Affinity and Influence: The Reception of W. B. Yeats by Fernando Pessoa." *Comparative*

fragmentary translations as well as his poetic and academic texts largely influenced by Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Yeats and Walter Pater apparently did not have any impact on the Portuguese authors of his generation.²⁷⁴ One will have to wait until the second half of the twentieth century to see an unprecedented number of English literary works translated into Portuguese (see Chapter II.2.4.).

II. 2. 2. The Beginning of a New State

“António de Oliveira Salazar.
Três nomes em sequência regular...
António é António.
Oliveira é uma árvore.
Salazar é só apelido.
Até aí está bem.
O que não faz sentido
É o sentido que tudo isto tem.”

(Fernando Pessoa: “Salazar”)

The period between 1890 and 1926 was

Critical Studies. 3.3 (2006): 250.

²⁷⁴ On Pessoa and British literature, see Arnaldo Saraiva. *Fernando Pessoa. Poeta-tradutor de poetas* (Oporto: Lello Editores, 1996), Jorge de Sena. “Fernando Pessoa e a literatura inglesa.” *Fernando Pessoa & Cª Heterónima. Estudos coligidos. 1940-1978* (Lisbon: Edições 70. 1983): 91-96, or Maria Teresa Malafaia and Jorge Bastos da Silva. “Fernando Pessoa and the Reception of Pater in Portugal.” *The Reception of Walter Pater in Europe*. Ed. Stephen Bann (London: Continuum, 2004): 216-227.

characterised in Portugal by crucial political and social transformations. The consolidation of the third French republic in 1876 and the abolition of the Brazilian monarchy in 1889 undoubtedly helped to strengthen the popularity of the Republican Party in Portugal. Moreover, the British Ultimatum aroused strong anti-dynastic sentiments, which might also, in part, have led to the assassination of Dom Carlos I in 1908, and then to the overthrow of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910.²⁷⁵

Despite the continuing political and economic instability of the Portuguese First Republic, which was significantly increased by the First World War, the republicans undoubtedly left long-lasting legacies in the social and educational history of Portugal. In the educational sphere, for example, the Republic introduced several important reforms, and the Law of Separation of Church and State was also introduced to aid in the fight against backwardness and obscurantism. And even if the majority of republican achievements such as freedom of assembly, the right to strike, and the secularisation of the educational system were to be abolished after 1926, in certain crucial aspects, Portugal was never to look back.²⁷⁶

Liberal democratic values became more and more discredited due to the near-constant political confusion and corruptions of the period, and thus the popular appeal of anti-parliamentary groups greatly

²⁷⁵ Tom Gallagher. *Portugal. A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983): 17.

²⁷⁶ António de Figueiredo. *Portugal. Fifty Years of Dictatorship* (New York: Holmer & Meier Publishers, 1976): 51.

increased in Portugal. In the 1920s, the concept of liberal democracy seemed to have lost its previous positive connotation in the press, while other newly installed authoritarian regimes such as Mussolini's Italy or Primo de Rivera's Spain received high acclaim nationwide.²⁷⁷ Conversely, in many other parts of Europe, democracy failed mostly due to constant political instability. Therefore, it is no wonder that the military coup d'état of 1926 was largely welcomed by the Portuguese public, many of whom, in fact, had grown heartily tired of the ceaseless political turmoil and anarchist agitation that characterised the final years of the Republic.²⁷⁸

Furthermore, the military junta somehow tried to maintain the impression that the suspension of the constitution was only temporary and that civil rights and democratic institutions would be restored in the near future. However, the new constitution introduced in 1933 by António de Oliveira Salazar, a former university professor of economics, all of its democratic guarantees notwithstanding, included a clause that enabled the government to limit civic liberties severely "for the common good." This proviso technically ensured the institutionalisation of supposedly temporary dictatorial rule.²⁷⁹

Salazar began his political career as minister of finance in the military government formed by Coronel Vicente de Freitas in 1928. Thanks to the efforts of

²⁷⁷ Gallagher: 30-32.

²⁷⁸ Ellen W. Sapega. *Consensus and Debate in Salazar's Portugal. Visual and Literary Negotiations of the National Text, 1933-1948* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2008): 1.

²⁷⁹ Figueiredo: 108.

the regime's propagandists, Salazar somehow became commonly known as the "saver of the nation". By exercising full control over the economic sector of the state, he was able to balance the budget and stabilise the Portuguese currency, the escudo, within only one year. However, as Tom Gallagher points out with reference to his methods, Salazar was far from being an economic innovator, but rather more of a talented accountant.²⁸⁰ Perhaps describing him as an economist might also not be completely accurate, since the subjects he taught at the University of Coimbra, for example, corresponded more to chartered accountancy than to what is generally understood by the term economics.²⁸¹

Salazar's meteoric rise to power was mainly due to his popular image as a self-denying politician who always acted only out of the deepest altruism and patriotism. Nevertheless, the allegedly self-sacrificing finance minister soon began to make his influence felt in non-financial matters as well. Having become disillusioned with parliamentary democracy at a young age during the First Republic, Salazar always appeared to be the polar opposite of the romantic liberal.²⁸² He was firmly convinced that "there can be absolute authority; there can never be absolute liberty; order has always been the true condition of beauty."²⁸³ Elected prime minister in

²⁸⁰ Gallagher: 48.

²⁸¹ Peter Fryer and Patricia McGowan Pinheiro. *Oldest Ally. A Portrait of Salazar's Portugal* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1961): 114.

²⁸² Figueiredo: 51.

²⁸³ António de Oliveira Salazar. *Salazar, Prime Minister of*

1932, Salazar was finally able to assert his political credo. A year later, Salazar established the *Estado Novo* (New State), an anti-parliamentarian and authoritarian form of government that would last four decades.

With reference to British literature, the republican period was still characterised by a certain resentment towards the British because of the way they had handled Portuguese colonial interests in the 1890s. Therefore, the absence of literary works translated from English perhaps does not come as a surprise, nor does the relative lack of critical response to contemporary British works.²⁸⁴ The comparatively poor reception of Shakespeare in Portugal beforehand was not only attributable to the anti-British sentiments aroused by the British Ultimatum, but also to French neo-classicist taste, which predominated in Portuguese literary culture until the 1830s.²⁸⁵ Owing to the persistent influence of Nicolas Boileau's aesthetic principles, even several romantic and pre-romantic liberal-minded intellectuals such as the Marquesa de Alorna or Almeida Garrett disregarded Shakespeare's work.²⁸⁶ In fact, before his departure to England in 1823,

Portugal Says... (Lisbon: SPN Books, n.d): 31.

²⁸⁴ José Manuel Mota. "News from Nowhere: Portuguese Dialogues with H. G. Wells." *The Reception of H. G. Wells in Europe*. Eds Patrick Parrinder and John S. Partington (London: Continuum, 2005): 255-256.

²⁸⁵ João Almeida Flor. "A Tribute to Luis Cardim (1879-1958)." *Translating Shakespeare for the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Rui Carvalho Homem and Ton Hoenselaars (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004): 245.

²⁸⁶ Almeida Flor. "Garrett": 46.

Garrett still preferred Corneille to Shakespeare, Ossian to Homer, and Schiller to Racine.²⁸⁷

Nevertheless, it was still in the nineteenth century that several translations were produced by among others, the Portuguese king Dom Luis I, António Feliciano de Castilho, Bulhão Pato, and Rebelo da Silva. With the exception of José António de Freitas's translations,²⁸⁸ translation production with regard to Shakespeare appeared to be comparatively modest in this period. As far as the Portuguese reception of Shakespeare in the early twentieth century is concerned, one of the most significant figures is undeniably Luis Cardim (1879-1958), whose academic achievements as a scholar, translator and university professor made a long-standing contribution to Shakespearean studies in Portugal.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Almeida Garrett. "Poesia." *Cronista* (1827): 180.

²⁸⁸ José António de Freitas (1849-1931) translated *Othello* in 1882 and *Hamlet* in 1887, and also published a critical study on *Hamlet* in 1887, which is, in fact, one of the first psychoanalytical readings of the tragedy. The study was based on the work on hysteria by the famous French neurologist Jean Charcot, who also had a major influence on the young Sigmund Freud. Indeed, Freitas's psychological essay on the Prince of Denmark could be regarded as an exceptional peer of Ernest Jones's *Hamlet and Oedipus* (1942), or even the works of A. C. Bradley. For more information, see Fernando de Melo Moser. "O lugar de José António de Freitas na moderna crítica shakespeariana." *Discurso inacabado* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994): 257-266 or João Almeida Flor. "Hamlet, 1887. Para a tradução portuguesa de um caso psiquiátrico." *Estudos de tradução em Portugal. Coleção Livros RTP, Biblioteca Básica Verbo*. II. Ed. Teresa Seruya (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2007): 117-129.

²⁸⁹ Flor. "Luis Cardim": 244.

Besides his critical works on Shakespeare such as *Shakespeare e o drama inglês* (1931), *A vida de Shakespeare: Factos. Lendas e problemas* (1942), or *Os problemas do Hamlet e as suas dificuldades cénicas: A propósito do filme de Sir Laurence Olivier* (1949), it was chiefly due to Luis Cardim's academic standing as a professor of English that the University of Oporto was the first university in Portugal to create an institutional framework for Shakespearean studies. This pioneering tendency, however, did not seem to spread southwards to the Universities of Coimbra or Lisbon until the second half of the twentieth century.²⁹⁰

Being a poet himself and a translator of poets such as Chaucer, Thomas Wyatt, Sir Philip Sydney, Milton, Blake, Burns, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, or Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Luis Cardim translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in 1925, and also published an essay on the play a year later, entitled "The Killing of Julius Caesar in Shakespeare's Tragedy".²⁹¹ Almeida Flor calls attention to the oddity of Cardim having translated the play in 1925 when it had already been translated twice in the 10-year span from 1913 to 1923. Although Almeida Flor also stresses that in the absence of adequate historical evidence, any theory concerning Cardim's motivation in translating *Julius Caesar* should be regarded as mere speculation, he adds that

²⁹⁰ Flor. "Luis Cardim": 250.

²⁹¹ Manuel Gomes da Torre. "Dr. Luiz Cardim. Dos liceus para a antiga Faculdade de Letras do Porto." *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto. Línguas e Literaturas*. Ser. 2. Vol. 4 (1987): 291.

the topicality of the play in the Portugal of the First Republic deserves more academic attention: the history of the sixteen-year-long First Republic was characterised by short-lived military insurrections and autocratic governments of clear dictatorial tendencies such as, for example, the administration of Sidónio Pais, who himself was also assassinated. *Julius Caesar* would accordingly provide a fruitful platform for debating contemporary social and political issues of the period as well as general questions about the role of violence as a viable method for removing dictatorships in the course of history.²⁹²

Intriguingly, the only Shakespearean play which was banned from public performance under the Salazar regime was precisely *Julius Caesar*. In 1964, the *Ateneu de Coimbra* planned to stage the play based on Luis Cardim's translation. However, the *Comissão de Exame e Classificação de Espectáculos* (The Commission of Examining and Classifying Performances) rejected the theatre company's request on the paradoxical ground that the play would require innumerable cuts, which would be inconsistent with the work of a highly-esteemed playwright such as Shakespeare.²⁹³ The fact that the translator, Luis Cardim, continued to be a liberal-minded republican and a long-standing opponent of the *Estado Novo* regime might not have facilitated the authorisation of the performance either, but it was clearly not the only reason for

²⁹² Flor. "Luis Cardim": 254.

²⁹³ Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Espectáculos. (1964) Proc. 7620. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon).

the ban.²⁹⁴ Evidently, the play – due to its perceived subversive nature – was still considered a potential threat under Salazar's authoritarian administration.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Apart from the *Ateneu de Coimbra*, the *Teatro Moderno de Lisboa* also wanted to commemorate the Shakespeare quatercentenary by producing *Julius Caesar* in 1964. According to the translator, Luiz Francisco Rebello, the theatre directorate of the *Teatro Moderno* submitted a French translation to the censorship committee, and Rebello also produced a basic Portuguese outline of the original text. The play was nonetheless suppressed. Luiz Francisco Rebello. Interview with the author. 24 March, 2011.

²⁹⁵ For more detailed information on Shakespeare performances during the *Estado Novo*, see Fran Rayner. "Shakespeare and the Censors: Translation and Performance Strategies under the Portuguese Dictatorship." *Translation and Censorship: In Different Times and Landscapes*. Eds Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008): 62-73, Rui Pina Coelho. "Safe Shakespeare. Performing Shakespeare during the Portuguese Fascist Dictatorship (1926-74)." *Translation under Fascism*. Eds Christopher Rundle and Kate Sturge (London: Palgrave, 2010): 215-231, and Zsófia Gombár "Bowdlerised Shakespeare Productions in Hungary and Portugal." *Theatre Censorship around the World: Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority*. Eds Michael Thompson, Catherine O'Leary and Diego Santos Sánchez (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) forthcoming.

II. 2. 3. António Ferro and the *Política do Espírito*

"Ferro: 'Forgive me,' I say, 'but while of course it is right and proper to think of looking after our artistic heritage of the past, I'd remind you that it's quite as proper and perhaps even more important to look after the present-day art. It ought to be a part of our national growth, to be an expression of our present. I know of a couple of dozen young men, full of talent and youth, looking out eagerly for a chance of being useful to their country and hoping that the state will notice them.' [...]

Salazar: 'We agree then,' he says. 'Thought and intellect must never be stopped. We must stimulate them, give them a progressive movement. Go and tell those young men of yours that they need have no fears. They have only got to wait a little.'

(António Ferro: *Salazar. Portugal and her Leader*)²⁹⁶

Paradoxically, the initial period of the Hungarian Communist and the Salazarist regime appears to be highly similar with respect to their totalitarian tendencies. One of the most distinctive characteristics of totalitarian systems – quite aside from the centralised control of the political and economic spheres or the institutionalised terror – is their tendency to eliminate pluralism of expression in cultural life and thereby use the space provided to attempt to indoctrinate society.²⁹⁷ Even though the

²⁹⁶ Translated by H. de Barros Gomes and John Gibbons.

²⁹⁷ Ignác Romsics. *Magyarország története a XX. Században* (Budapest: Osiris, 2005): 281.

present chapter does not attempt to settle the debate as to whether the term Fascist or totalitarian might correctly be applied to Salazar's Portugal,²⁹⁸ certain institutions and social policies introduced in the first decades of the regime can indeed be characterised as totalitarianistic, if not totalitarian in a narrowly-defined sense.

In spite of the fact that the *União Nacional* (National Union) never seemed to be a party with extensive popular support, and that it also failed to make any persistent attempt to mobilise the masses, the constitution of 1933 abolished the multi-party system in the country, thereby completely monopolising Portugal's political life. Furthermore, the creation of mass organisations such as the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese Youth), where membership was compulsory for boys aged ten and upwards, along with the Fascist salute, and the anti-communist *Legião Portuguesa* (Portuguese Legion), a paramilitary organisation modelled on the Nazi SA (Sturmabteilung),²⁹⁹ or the establishment of the Portuguese secret police, *Polícia de Vigilância e de Defesa do Estado, PVDE* (Police of Vigilance and State Defence),³⁰⁰ whose first instructors were indeed imported from Italy and Germany,³⁰¹ all point to the existence of an obvious political and ideological

²⁹⁸ For further discussion of the issue, see Costa Pinto. *European Fascism*.

²⁹⁹ Luis Reis Torgal. *Estados Novos. Estado Novo*. Vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009): 159, 220-226.

³⁰⁰ The PVDE was renamed PIDE in 1945.

³⁰¹ Gallagher: 118.

link between the *Estado Novo* and totalitarian Fascist movements in contemporary Europe.³⁰²

Although a great number of scholars emphasise that mass indoctrination was a relatively rare phenomenon in the *Estado Novo*,³⁰³ since Salazar did not necessarily intend to create a new ideological model or a "new mankind" as totalitarian regimes normally did, António Costa Pinto points out that Salazarism did attempt to ensure social control by creating a cultural and socialising apparatus to officially institute an organic vision of society.³⁰⁴ Central control of workers' free time through organizations such as the *Federação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho* (National Federation for Joy at Work), the ideological education and training of "future mothers and women" with the help of the *Obras das Mães para a Educação Nacional* (Association of Mothers for National Education) or the *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* (Portuguese Youth Female Branch), where enrolment was also obligatory for school-age girls, or the politically redefined education system along with introducing the *Política do Espírito* (Politics of the Spirit), the official culture of the *Estado Novo* mostly modelled on Mussolini's cultural propaganda, were all indeed governmental tendencies that clearly show extensive administrative

³⁰² Sapega: 2.

³⁰³ See, for example, Gallagher: 93; Lee: 301; José Flávio Sombra Saraiva, Ed. *Foreign Policy and Political Regime* (Brasília: Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2003): 76.

³⁰⁴ Costa Pinto. *European Fascism*: 204-205.

intervention in the private sphere.³⁰⁵

The *Estado Novo* enforced nationalist and Catholic values on the Portuguese people, while the whole education system along with the strictly monitored press idolised the Portuguese nation, excluding all the possibly harmful effects of new foreign literary tendencies. Portugal's isolation from Europe until the 1960s was reasonably effective in perpetuating the regime's ideology, since Salazar was perfectly aware that political isolation as well as obscurantism at home and obscurity abroad was the best guarantee of survival for his authoritarian government. The *Estado Novo* administration always showed little inclination towards change and reform, and built up an ideologically specific image of Portugal which, in fact, did not reflect the real country.³⁰⁶ Depicting Portugal as a rural paradise in touch with its mythic past was a far cry from the underdeveloped agrarian land with its extreme poverty and medieval backwardness, where more than sixty percent of the people were still illiterate in the 1930s.³⁰⁷

The development of an official national culture, however, became an important means of establishing a positive identification with the dictatorship. The *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, SPN (Secretariat

³⁰⁵ Fernando Rosas, Ed. *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)* (Lisbon: Presença, 1992): 142.

³⁰⁶ Margarida Rendeiro. *The Literary Institution in Portugal since the Thirties. An Analysis under Special Consideration of the Publishing Market* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010): 45.

³⁰⁷ N. F. R. Crafts, Gianni Toniolo. *Economic Growth in Europe since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 351.

of National Information)³⁰⁸ was created in 1933 with the aim, among others, of encouraging the publication of propaganda, preventing subversive ideas from penetrating the country, collaborating with Portuguese artists and writers, establishing contacts between Portuguese writers and journalists and their foreign counterparts and promoting press conferences abroad.³⁰⁹ Although as one propaganda book's introductory note indicates, "Dr. Salazar is temperamentally averse to all the clamorous propaganda which has arisen round his name and work,"³¹⁰ Salazar did recognise the importance of a propaganda institution in legalising his ascendancy. Salazar's initial intention, however, to concentrate the nation's cultural effort mainly on the restoration of national monuments such as castles, military monuments and national palaces was partly challenged by António Ferro, the first director of the SPN, who unlike Salazar was fully aware of the propagandistic power of literature and the theatre.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ The propaganda institution was restructured three times during its operation: (1) The *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, SPN between 1933 and 1944, (2) the *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo*, SNI (National Secretariat of Information, Folk Culture and Tourism) 1944-1968, (3) the *Secretaria de Estado de Informação e Turismo*, SEIT (Secretariat of Information and Tourism) 1968-1974.

³⁰⁹ Rosas: 398.

³¹⁰ António de Oliveira Salazar. *Doctrine and Action. Internal and Foreign Policy of the New Portugal. 1928-1939*. Trans. Robert Edgar Broughton (London: Faber & Faber, 1939): 180.

³¹¹ When António Ferro interviewed Salazar in his propaganda book, *Salazar: O homem e a sua obra* (Salazar: The Man and his Work) in 1933, Ferro confronted Salazar with the significant

António Ferro was a cosmopolitan journalist, who had been also part of the modernist *Orpheu* group while still very young, and had nothing to do with Salazar's provincial integralism. Perhaps because of this, he was awarded the position of masterminding the regime's official culture policy, and coined the *Política do Espírito*, which cleverly combined modern aesthetic principles with historical tradition.³¹²

António Ferro, similarly to József Révai, the Hungarian cultural ideologue of Rákosi-regime Hungary, attempted to involve artists actively in promoting the ideological doctrines of the new political establishment. As noted, Ferro saw more propaganda potential in literature and the theatre than Salazar, and thus he willingly invested in several cultural initiatives in order to spread the conservative ideology of the *Estado Novo*. The *Bibliotecas Ambulantes de Cultura Popular* (Mobile Folk Libraries), for example, were travelling libraries aimed at disseminating culture in the provinces, while the *Teatro do Povo* (People's

vacuums in the Portuguese cultural and artistic domain such as the total lack of avant-garde tendencies in the theatres, the predominantly traditionalist taste, the weak and timid literary production, and the devastating state of the plastic arts, mainly due to the fact that that the Portuguese government resisted even the idea of giving financial support to these activities. Salazar partly accepted Ferro's polite criticism. In his reply, he emphasised the first priority of restoring several national monuments, but made a vague promise to his interviewer about possible sponsorship in the future. António Ferro. *Salazar. O homem e a sua obra* (Lisbon: Emp. Nacional de Publicidade, 1933): 87-89.

³¹² Costa Pinto. *European Fascism*: 195.

Theatre) was a travelling theatre company whose main function was to bring performances to remote rural areas where the population otherwise had little or no access to traditional theatres.³¹³ The SPN also set up several literary prizes in order to stimulate national literary production. However, only those authors were awarded prizes whose works best expressed the concept of the Portuguese nation and values, while, for instance, novels written by writers such as José Maria Ferreira de Castro or Aquilino Ribeiro, who were noted for being opposed to the Salazar regime, naturally went unrewarded.³¹⁴

Ferro himself later admitted that many contemporary writers of "inegável talento" (undeniable talent) did not even compete for these prizes, but searched for other ways of achieving recognition.³¹⁵ Despite all these efforts in the cultural sphere, the regime was unable to encourage the emergence of a homogeneous group of intellectuals who would be able to produce an official literary corpus.³¹⁶ Even as late as the mid-1940s, the propaganda apparatus had not formulated an effective publishing policy in accordance with the values advocated by the *Estado Novo* regime.³¹⁷

Ferro's overall failure in the cultural field evidently provoked Salazar's discontent by the 1950s.

³¹³ Sapega: 15.

³¹⁴ Rendeiro: 60-61, 67.

³¹⁵ Jorge Ramos do Ó. *Os anos de Ferro. O dispositivo cultural durante a "Política do Espírito" 1933-1949. Ideologia, instituições, agentes e práticas* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1999): 129.

³¹⁶ Rosas: 421.

³¹⁷ Rosas: 416.

In a propagandist interview book collated by a French journalist, Christine Garnier, published in 1952, Salazar opined:

I take immense pleasure in everything beautiful and intelligent, and deplore the shortage of literary talent in Portugal. I am highly satisfied with all the progress achieved by our sculptors and decorators. However, we have to accept the fact that at present, we have no great painters and architects to create new schools, and neither the theatre nor the literary field have managed to broaden their horizons.³¹⁸

Interestingly, similar criticism was levelled by József Révai against the schematism and oversimplification of Hungarian artistic life due to the dogmatic interpretation of Socialist Realism in the mid-1950s. It seems that despite all the abundant financial support, the Muses fell silent, and did not respond to the word of command. The *Teatro do Povo* ceased in 1956, having produced sixty-four different plays, but apparently none of them had been considered to possess great artistic importance.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ "Agrada-me tudo o que é belo e inteligente e lastimo que Portugal seja tão pobre no campo das letras. Sinto-me muito satisfeito com os progressos realizados pelos nossos escultores e decoradores mas, há que admiti-lo, não possuímos hoje grandes pintores nem architectos que tenham feito escola e tanto o teatro como a produção literária não conseguiram alargar os seus horizontes." In Christine Garnier. *Férias com Salazar* (Lisbon: Fernando Pereira, 1983): 116.

³¹⁹ See Heloísa Paulo. *Estado Novo e propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil. O SPN-SNI e o DIP* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1994): 129-135.

The *Bibliotecas Ambulantes* almost contained only carefully selected nineteenth-century novels that attempted to maintain an image of Portugal in its allegedly glorious past. The absence of works such as *O crime do Padre Amaro* (The Crime of Father Amaro), *O Primo Basílio* (Cousin Basilio) or *Os Maias* (The Maias) by Eça de Queirós reveals the SPN's strict criteria for excluding all possible social and political criticism which would contradict the official representation of the country.³²⁰ Establishing mobile libraries was a highly constructive initiative on the part of the government, but the project proved to be only a short-term one, as it foundered in 1950 after only five years.³²¹

Ferro's *Política do Espírito* failed not only because of the obligatory ultranationalist and conservative nature of these cultural initiatives as well as their sectarian and elitist character, but also because of Salazar's inherently hostile attitude towards any increase in government spending. Primarily a financial expert and a technocrat, Salazar always regarded culture as a territory of secondary importance and of a merely ornamental character. He appeared more preoccupied with its financial impact than with any contribution it might make to enriching national cultural life. In reality, to Salazar, literature and the theatre were nothing more than problematic areas with the potential of

³²⁰ Rendeiro: 73.

³²¹ Daniel Melo. *A leitura pública no Portugal contemporâneo. 1926-1987* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004): 151-154.

being a constant drain on the state budget.³²² In her memoirs, Ferro's wife, Fernanda de Castro, refers to Ferro's constant clashes with the prime minister because of exceeding the previously fixed budget and his endless struggles with the "unhas-de-fome do Alvelas" (the stingy miser of Alvelas), alias Salazar, to obtain the extra financial support from which certain artists could certainly have benefitted.³²³

As far as foreign literature is concerned, the majority of writers and critics welcomed translated literature, and regarded it as a natural means of internationalising the Portuguese literary sphere and taste. Indeed, despite the overwhelming presence of national literature in the book stock of the *Bibliotecas Ambulantes*, a small number of works by foreign authors was also included; among them, works by Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Jane Austen, Emilio Salgari, the Countess of Ségur, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, and Magdeleine Calemard du Genestoux.³²⁴ There were of course other minor critical voices who did not regard translation as an obvious blessing.³²⁵ The monthly journal *Ocidente*, for example, published a brief article entitled "Epidemia de traduções" (Epidemic of Translations), in which the author

³²² Santos: 101.

³²³ Fernanda de Castro. *Ao fim da memória. 1906-1939* (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2006): 36-37.

³²⁴ The official catalogue of the SNI mobile libraries included 103 authors of whom 85% (88) were Portuguese. The foreign authors were featured only in the collection of *Viagens e Aventuras* (Travel and Adventures). In *Renheiro*: 72.

³²⁵ Seruya. "Translation in Portugal": 122.

expressed harsh criticism of the mental laziness and the anti-national tendency characterising the new translation phenomenon that had mushroomed in the 1940s. Instead of inundating the book market with low-quality translations, the author of the article advocated familiarising the Portuguese reading public with the great national classics to a far greater degree.³²⁶

Nonetheless, in view of the limited production of domestic literary works of acknowledged quality, Portuguese publishers were obliged to rely mostly on translations of foreign works.³²⁷ Interestingly, the French hegemony in the Portuguese book market was first shattered during the Second World War. The fall of France in 1940 had a strong negative impact on the distribution of French books, which thus gave rise to the publication of a hitherto unprecedented number of English works.³²⁸ At the same time, several English-language authors such as Aldous Huxley, Joseph Conrad, Katherine Mansfield, Rosamond Lehmann and Charles Morgan became widely read in Portugal due to their favourable reception in France.³²⁹ Works by Aldous Huxley and Katherine Mansfield were also discussed in Francisco Alves de Azevedo's book *Figuras contemporâneas* as early as 1933.³³⁰

³²⁶ "Epidemia de traduções" *Ocidente* 62 (1943): 222.

³²⁷ Seruya. "Translation in Portugal": 122.

³²⁸ Sena. "Anglicismo": 81.

³²⁹ Graça Abranches. "The Portuguese Reception of Virginia Woolf." *The Reception of Virginia Woolf*. Eds Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst (London: Continuum, 2002): 313.

³³⁰ Francisco Alves de Azevedo was a Portuguese journalist and writer who took a great interest in British and American culture and published works such as *Figuras significativas da*

Azevedo also devoted a whole chapter to D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*,³³¹ which he considered to be a work which forced readers to react in disgust to its naturalistic and obscene descriptions, leading them to value sobriety and chastity more, and thus turning Lawrence into a moralistic writer despite himself.³³² Nevertheless, a much better, if less ingenious, piece of criticism on the same novel appeared two years later in the journal *O Diabo* by Albano Nogueira, who went on to translate Lawrence's *The Lost Girl* [in 1945].³³³

Ironically, while in the UK, the reputation of D. H. Lawrence as a thinker and writer was tarnished and blighted by charges of Fascism, in Portugal Lawrence's critical reception was exceptionally positive. Isabel Fernandes suggests that the

literature inglesa contemporânea (Important Figures of Contemporary English Literature) (1940) and *Breve história da literatura inglesa* (Brief History of English Literature) (1942), where he also examined modern authors such as Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, G. K. Chesterton, George Bernard Shaw, and Virginia Woolf.

³³¹ The translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was first published in Portugal only in 1970, but it was almost immediately banned in spite of the translator's desperate attempt to mitigate the "phallic language" of the novel. Cf. João Ferreira Duarte. "Línguas cortadas: Lady Chatterley e o amante dela em português." *Cadernos de Literatura Comparada*. 8/9 (2003): 153-172.

³³² F. Alves de Azevedo. *Figuras contemporâneas* (Lisbon: Livraria Peninsular, 1933): 33-34.

³³³ A longer version of the article was republished under the title: "Miniatura inacabada de David Herbert Lawrence." *Imagens em espelho côncavo. Ensaios* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1944): 11-32.

association of Lawrence's name with Nazism might have endeared his writings to certain Portuguese intellectuals, as during that time Fascism was glorified as a positive cultural ethos in Portugal.³³⁴ Indeed, this was the time when Lawrence's works slowly began to be translated into Portuguese, and a small number of essays and articles also appeared in the same decade.

In addition, it was in 1940 that the first Portuguese translation of a novel by Lawrence was published. *Women in Love* was translated by João Cabral do Nascimento, who went on to become the leading translator of Lawrence.³³⁵ According to Fernandes, it is not so much the quality of his translations, but his relentless efforts at translating Lawrence's novels over decades that makes Cabral do Nascimento an important figure with reference to the Portuguese reception of D. H.

³³⁴ Isabel Fernandes. "The Taming of Lady Chatterley's Creator: D. H. Lawrence in Portugal after Seventy Years." *The Reception of D. H. Lawrence in Europe*. Eds Christa Jansohn and Dieter Mehl (London: Continuum, 2007): 159.

³³⁵ Besides six novels by Lawrence, Cabral do Nascimento translated works by British authors such as Charlotte and Emily Brontë, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Henry Fielding, Graham Greene, Thomas Hardy, Henry James, J. B. Priestley, H. G. Wells and Oscar Wilde. With Luis Cardim, he was also the translator of Ifor Evans's *A Short History of English Literature* as early as 1910. For more information on Cabral do Nascimento, see Maria Mónica Teixeira. *Cabral do Nascimento. A palavra da confiança e a herança do simbolismo francês* (Funchal: Direcção Regional dos Assuntos Culturais Funchal, 1997) and Vanessa Castagna. *Voz de muitas vozes. Cabral do Nascimento tradutor* (Cascais: Principia Editora, 2009).

Lawrence.³³⁶

Cabral do Nascimento, along with João Gaspar Simões, José Régio and Adolfo Casais Monteiro belonged to the *Presença* Generation. *Presença* was a highly influential literary journal, first published in Coimbra in 1927. The university students who founded the journal regarded themselves as the intellectual heirs of the *Orpheu* Generation³³⁷ and actively sought the collaboration of Fernando Pessoa and Almada Negreiros as well as publishing several poems by Mário de Sá-Carneiro. Apart from publishing reviews on national literature, the *presencistas* were also keen to introduce the Portuguese public to new foreign writers such as Dostoyevsky, Ibsen, Joyce, Pirandello, Proust, Strindberg, Gide, and Jean Cocteau.³³⁸

As far as literature in English is concerned, the *presencista* group was also generally credited as the literary group most receptive to Anglo-American writings. However, an examination of the pages of *Presença*, published from 1927 until its disappearance in 1940, reveals that with the exception of D. H. Lawrence and the now largely forgotten Rosamond Lehmann, no writers in English were dealt with

³³⁶ Fernandes: 160.

³³⁷ The *Orpheu* Generation refers to a group of intellectuals who were mainly responsible for the introduction of modernism in Portugal. They were grouped around the literary publication the *Orpheu*. Despite the fact that only two issues were published, the members of the group continued to publish in other literary journals. The most prominent members of the group were António Ferro, Almada Negreiros, Fernando Pessoa, Santa Rita Pintor, and Mário de Sá-Carneiro.

³³⁸ Sapega: 92.

extensively in the journal. The authors mentioned in passing were Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde, Shaw, Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Whitman, Poe, and T. S. Eliot.³³⁹

It appears that the *presencista* group had a much more profound influence on the reception of English literature outside the *Presença* territory. As Patricia Odber de Baubeta notes, besides being influential literary critics and reviewers, the leading lights of the *Presença* Generation were also keen anthologists and translators.³⁴⁰ Gaspar Simões was appointed literary editor of the Portuguese publishing house *Portugália Editora* in 1942, and also became responsible for commissioning works in the *Antologias Universais* series, regularly inviting collaborations from his fellow *presencistas* as editors or translators.³⁴¹ *Os melhores contos ingleses* (The Best English Short Stories) published by *Portugália*, for example, was translated by Cabral do Nascimento, but the selection and the preface were prepared by Gaspar Simões.³⁴² Indeed, the very first

³³⁹ George Monteiro. "The Reception and Reputation of Henry James in Portugal." *The Reception of Henry James in Europe*. Ed. Annick Duperray (London: Continuum, 2006): 191.

³⁴⁰ Patricia Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 101.

³⁴¹ Interestingly, despite the fact that Gaspar Simões was subject to an unusual constraint, that is, he should not publish works by his fellow *presencistas*, as they were still living authors, and as a result, according to the publisher, they would not sell that well, he skilfully evaded the restriction by inviting his friends to contribute as editors or translators to some of the anthologies he proposed. In Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 106-107.

³⁴² The volume contained short stories by Conrad, Joyce, Lawrence, Mansfield, Huxley, Maugham, and Stephen Spender. João Gaspar Simões, Ed. *Os melhores contos ingleses* (Lisbon:

anthology edited and translated by Gaspar Simões was also a translation anthology, *Contos Ingleses* (English Short Stories) published by a different publisher in 1942, and containing short stories by Defoe, Stevenson, Aldous Huxley, Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and Trollope.³⁴³

In his preface, Gaspar Simões speaks about the poor reception of English literature in Portugal, and realising the educational potential that lies in the anthologies, he also expresses the hope that he might be able to arouse his readership's interest and inspire them subsequently to read the novels of the authors selected. As expected, Gaspar Simões's didactic intention to promote literature in English among his readers is easily discernible in his other works as well. And once Gaspar Simões had broken new ground by launching anthologies of hitherto unknown authors in English, several publishing houses followed suit. Accepting his critical judgements, they published several multi-author as well as single-author collections.³⁴⁴ And it was through these anthologies that the majority of Portuguese readers first came into contact with several British and American authors such as Jane Austen, Virginia Woolf, Erskine Caldwell, Pearl. S. Buck, Jack London, Somerset Maugham, and George Bernard Shaw.³⁴⁵

Gaspar Simões was also the editor of *Os melhores contos americanos. Primeira Série* and *Segunda Série*

Portugália Editora, 1943).

³⁴³ João Gaspar Simões, Ed. *Contos ingleses* (Lisbon: Sírius, 1943).

³⁴⁴ Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 114

³⁴⁵ Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 119.

(The Best American Short Stories, First and Second Series) published in 1943³⁴⁶ and 1944(?),³⁴⁷ respectively. In the preface of the latter, he expressed his discontent with respect to the Portuguese reading public's almost complete ignorance of American authors such as Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Henry James.³⁴⁸ Despite the public's relative unfamiliarity with British literature, it appears that Portuguese publishers still showed a marked preference for British authors over American.

In view of the strong history of Anglo-Portuguese relations, this partiality might not be unexpected. While the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance always enjoyed high priority in Portugal's foreign policy, until 1944 and the establishment of the American military base in the Azores, the USA was regarded as of marginal strategic interest to Portugal.³⁴⁹ Salazar, along with several members of the political elite, also shared certain preconceived ideas about the US

³⁴⁶ The first volume included short stories by Poe, Washington Irving, Hawthorne, Melville, Twain, James, Faulkner, Steinbeck, Saroyan, and Hemingway. João Gaspar Simões. *Os melhores contos americanos. Primeira Série* (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1943).

³⁴⁷ The second volume included works by authors such as Willa Cather, Pearl S. Buck, Sherwood Anderson, Dorothy Canfield, Ring Lardner, Conrad Aiken, Dorothy Parker, and Erskine Caldwell. João Gaspar Simões. *Os melhores contos americanos. Segunda Série* (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1944).

³⁴⁸ João Gaspar Simões. *Os melhores contos americanos. Segunda Série*. 2nd edition (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1966): 9.

³⁴⁹ José Freire Antunes. *Kennedy e Salazar. O leão e a raposa* (Lisbon: Difusão Cultural, 1991): 22.

and the Americans.³⁵⁰ Oddly enough, Coca-Cola, the leading standard-bearer of the American consumer society, was not allowed to enter the country on moral and aesthetic grounds.³⁵¹ The regime's anti-American sentiments also went hand in hand with the Portuguese populace's general ignorance about the US. According to a secret report issued by the Office of Strategic Services, the majority of the Portuguese people knew Americans only through films and the tabloid press. It appears that the sensational stories about gangsters, millionaires and movie stars did not have a favourable effect on the image of the USA in the eyes of the otherwise quite conservative and puritanical Portuguese population.³⁵²

A comparison of the number of American and British works published in the 1940s confirms this prejudice. The number of British works is more than twice the number of American works published in Portugal between 1940 and 1949. However, unlike in the case of British books, most American titles appeared only in the second half of the 1940s, which shows an obvious correlation with the changed political position of the USA in Portugal's foreign policy. Erskine Caldwell, Pearl S. Buck, Jack London, Eugene O'Neill, Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas Mayne Reid, William Saroyan, and Mark Twain are only a few of the most frequently published American authors of the period.³⁵³

As far as British literature is concerned, an

³⁵⁰ Seruya. "Translation in Portugal": 125.

³⁵¹ Gallagher: 100.

³⁵² Quoted in Antunes: 22.

³⁵³ For more information, see Seruya. "Translation in Portugal."

important exhibition should be mentioned here. It took place under the auspices of the Portuguese British Council in 1943, not long before the end of the Second World War.³⁵⁴ *Exposição de livros portugueses traduzidos de inglês* (Exhibition of English books translated into Portuguese) was a large-scale public display of Portuguese translations of British works with the collaboration of sixteen Portuguese publishers as well as the *Grémio Nacional dos Editores e Livreiros* (National Association of Publishers and Book-Sellers). A closer examination of the catalogue reveals that a great variety of British books had been published in the country over the years. The authors listed in the catalogue were mainly classic novelists, including Charlotte and Emily Brontë, George Eliot,³⁵⁵ Oscar Wilde, Charles

³⁵⁴ The first Portuguese British Council centre was founded by Professor George West in 1938. Besides offering language courses, the main function of the institute was to popularise English literature and culture in Portugal by distributing scholarships and prizes to students and professors as well as by maintaining an excellent library, and promoting exhibitions and the publication of works in connection with Portuguese and British cultural relations. Quite aside from these seemingly altruistic initiatives on the part of the British Council, the underlying intention in creating the institute was to counter the German and Italian ideological and cultural dominance in the country. For more detailed information on the subject, see Alison Roberts. *Um toque decisivo. A Small but Crucial Push. British Council 70 anos com Portugal* (Lisbon: Medialivros, 2007).

³⁵⁵ George Eliot and Jane Austen were discovered in Portugal only in the 1940s. According to Jorge de Sena, the publishers' preference for classic authors might also be explained by the fact that their works were no longer protected by copyright.

Dickens, and Robert Louis Stevenson, and scientists, historians, philosophers and literary scholars such as Charles Darwin, William Cobbett, Bertrand Russell, or William Jones.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the inclusion of political works such as Churchill's collected political speeches, the text of King George VI's royal broadcast of September 1940, *A psicose alemã* (The German psychosis) by George Adam,³⁵⁷ and other documentary and propaganda books concerning the Second World War indicates that Salazar's initial sympathies with the Axis powers along with the Portuguese political apparatus's determined efforts to keep Portugal neutral by prohibiting the circulation of all anti-Nazi propaganda had apparently disappeared and given way to a politically more open attitude towards the Allies, who were now in a much more favourable situation with respect to winning the war.

Another significant exhibition took place between 4 and 12 January 1947, which was organised by the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* CNMP (National Council of Portuguese Women).³⁵⁸ The

In Sena. "Anglicismo": 81.

³⁵⁶ Cf. *Catálogo da exposição de livros portugueses traduzidos de Inglês* (Lisbon: Instituto Britânico em Portugal, 1944).

³⁵⁷ The circulation of the book was otherwise prohibited, because of its anti-Nazi content (R2268/1943).

³⁵⁸ The *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* was founded by Adelaide Cabete during the First Republic in 1914. Technically, it was the only feminist organisation of the First Republic which survived for a relatively long period during the *Estado Novo*. According to Irene Flunser Pimentel, the initial tolerance demonstrated by Salazar's administration was probably due to the near invisibility of the organisation

Exposição de livros escritos por mulheres (Exhibition of books written by women) comprised approximately 3000 books by 1500 women writers from twenty-eight countries altogether.³⁵⁹ Books written by British

until the end of the Second World War and to the fact that it was thought to be operated only by an insignificant minority elite. Nonetheless, several members of the organisation were later arrested, and the Council's office was also closed by the police on 28 June 1947, not long after the international exhibition. The CNMP was officially dissolved by the government under the pretext that the organisation did not have the right to use the title "national" in its name since it did not belong to any governmental institutions and its existence was redundant in the light of the other state women's associations. Cf. Irene Flunser Pimentel. *História das organizações femininas do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 2001): 114-120.

³⁵⁹ Besides the books, almost 100 portraits of women writers, politicians and scientists drawn by well-known and less-known Portuguese women artists were put on display in the banqueting hall of the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (National Society of Fine Arts) in Lisbon. Furthermore, selected poems and prose extracts were recited by the Portuguese journalist Etelvina Lopes de Almeida and the actress Carmen Dolores, lectures on prominent female figures were given by distinguished Portuguese women of letters, and films based on the novels exhibited were shown to a large and enthusiastic audience. The general anti-Fascist ethos demonstrated on the part of the organisers was well evidenced not only by screening the American film *The Seventh Cross* (Fred Zinnemann, 1944) adapted from the novel of the same title by the German refugee writer Anna Seghers, but by giving space in the organisation to another well-known anti-Fascist female movement, the Associação Portuguesa Feminina para a Paz, AFPP (Portuguese Female Association for Peace). The AFPP was a charity organisation aiding ex-prisoners and victims of French and Spanish concentration camps. It was dissolved by the PIDE in March, 1952, not long after the members commemorated

women writers on display (249: 8%) slightly outnumbered the Portuguese books (240: 8%) by nine volumes, and were exceeded only by French women writers (288: 10%) in number, which might also be related to the fact that the French publishers eventually managed to regain their dominance in the Portuguese book market for a short period after the Second World War.³⁶⁰ With the exception of four Portuguese³⁶¹ and three French translations,³⁶² the British works exhibited were available only in English for the visitors. Jane Austen, George Eliot, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the Brontë sisters, Ann Radcliffe, Mary Shelley, Katherine Mansfield, Agatha Christie, Daphne du Maurier, Edith Sitwell, and Virginia Woolf were but a few of the names listed among the British authors.³⁶³ Moreover, there were

International Women's Day in Lisbon, on the grounds of its supposedly Communist affiliation and sympathies. In Irene Flunser Pimentel. *A história da PIDE* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, Temas & Debates, 2007): 256-257.

³⁶⁰ Sena. "Anglicismo": 81.

³⁶¹ Catarina Carlota, Lady Jackson. *A formosa Lusitânia*. trans. Camilo Castelo Branco (Oporto: Livraria Portuense, 1877); Elaine Sanceau. *D. Henrique, o navegador*. trans. José Francisco dos Santos (Oporto: Civilização, 1942); Elaine Sanceau. *Afonso de Albuquerque. O sonho da Índia*. trans. José Francisco dos Santos (Oporto: Civilização, 1939); Elaine Sanceau. *Em demanda do Preste João*. trans. José Francisco dos Santos (Oporto: Civilização, 1939).

³⁶² *Orphan Islands* by Rose Macaulay, *The Miracle Merchant* by Concórdia Merrel, and *Forever Amber* by Kathleen Windsor.

³⁶³ Intriguingly, due to his epicene name, Evelyn Waugh was mistaken for a woman writer and erroneously included in the catalogue; cf. *Exposição de livros escritos por mulheres* (Lisbon: Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas, 1947).

also a great number of presentations and discussions on the life and works of famous British women figures such as Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, and Virginia Woolf.

The lecture on Virginia Woolf was given by Manuela Porto, who – besides being a novelist herself and a cultural activist – was also the translator of Virginia Woolf, Anne Brontë, Katherine Mansfield, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Louisa May Alcott.³⁶⁴ The lecture delivered by Manuela Porto later appeared in a book series published by the cultural journal *Seara Nova* (New Harvest).³⁶⁵ The essay is an excellent example of how prestigious foreign authors' works were used to refer to contemporary social problems which were not otherwise mentioned in *Estado Novo* Portugal. Manuela Porto, thus, managed to articulate her politically loaded ideas by commenting on Virginia Woolf's writings

³⁶⁴ Maria de Deus Duarte. "Manuela Porto: Tradução, um jogo perigoso." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* 16 (2007): 161.

³⁶⁵ The journal was first published in 1921 and it was the mouthpiece of the *Seara Nova* Movement, founded by progressive and socially sensitive intellectuals such as Jaime Cortesão, Raul Brandão, Manuel Teixeira Gomes, Aquilino Ribeiro, António Sérgio, and Raul Proença. They advocated non-partisan reforms and regeneration of polity and society. However, they never managed to make any major political impact either during the First Republic or during Salazar's regime. Manuela Porto as well as Irene Lisboa had a very close connection with the *Seara* group. In João Camilo dos Santos. "Portuguese Contemporary Literature." *Modern Portugal*. Ed. António Costa Pinto (Palo Alto: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998): 221-222.

without any serious consequences.³⁶⁶

Despite its title, *Virginia Woolf, O problema da mulher nas letras* (Virginia Woolf: The Problem of Women Writers), Manuela Porto did not speak only about middle-class women intellectuals, but called attention to the severe hardships that women of lower economic and social status had to suffer in a country where women were basically subject to their husbands' authorisation for such things as getting a job, leaving the conjugal home or even crossing national borders, and where domestic violence continued to be a well-established tradition.³⁶⁷ When Manuela Porto, in her essay, referred to the unfortunate position of women in the past centuries as being physically abused by their husbands or fathers on a regular basis, she was effectively alluding to the situation of women of her own lifetime.³⁶⁸

She even reminded her women audience that although in her lecture, she was restricting herself principally to Virginia Woolf's texts, they could still read between the lines, interpret these texts for themselves, and see whether the arguments still applied.³⁶⁹ Manuela Porto's political inclinations are quite evident throughout her discourse, especially when she posed the rhetorical question as to whom one

³⁶⁶ For more information, see Deus Duarte.

³⁶⁷ Virginia Ferreira. "Engendering Portugal. Social Change, State Politics, and Women's Social Mobilization." *Modern Portugal*. Ed. António Costa Pinto (Palo Alto: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998): 172.

³⁶⁸ Manuela Porto. *Virginia Woolf. O problema da mulher nas letras* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1947): 30.

³⁶⁹ Porto: 42.

should believe: the poet Goethe, who felt the most passionate devotion and respect for women, or the Fascist Mussolini, who professed his deep contempt for the so-called weaker sex.³⁷⁰

As a direct consequence of this extensive exhibition, in the same year the PIDE sealed off the main office of the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres*, and the books exhibited were all confiscated.³⁷¹ Maria Lamas was also dismissed by the director of the journal *Século* due to government pressure.³⁷² Although she never enlisted in any political party, Lamas was repeatedly imprisoned for her subversive pacifist and feminist activities. In 1962, at the age of sixty-eight, she left Portugal and lived in exile for seven years.³⁷³ Manuela Porto committed suicide in 1950 mainly due to personal as well as political difficulties. She was only forty-two years old.

³⁷⁰ Porto: 27.

³⁷¹ As a result of the confiscation of books, Maria Lamas faced grave difficulties in reimbursing the publishers for their expenses. In Maria Luzia Fouto Prates. "Exposição de livros escritos por mulheres. 1930 e 1947." *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*. Eds Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz, and Alexandra Assis Rosa (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2009): 154.

³⁷² Fouto Prates: 154.

³⁷³ Maria Antónia Fiadeiro. *Maria Lamas-biografia* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003): 13-16.

II. 2. 4. The Literary Scene after Ferro until 1968

"Salazar: Num país tão desprovido como o nosso, não temos o direito de perder um só artista digno deste nome. Portanto, é nosso dever proteger os homens de talento, ainda que sejam inimigos do regime."

(Christine Garnier: *Férias com Salazar*)³⁷⁴

Although on the day of Hitler's death, Salazar ordered the flags in Portugal to be flown at half-mast in deference to the late *Führer*, in the face of strong disapproval from the British,³⁷⁵ from the end of the Second World War, in his political discourses, Salazar always emphasised the political and ideological distinction between the Portuguese dictatorship and Hitler's Germany. The Portuguese authorities also made serious attempts to conceal all remaining traces of Fascism in their political apparatus. The *Estado Novo* defined itself now as an "organic democracy", while paramilitary organisations such as the *Mocidade Portuguesa* became student or sporting organisations, and the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* was also renamed the *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Turismo e Cultura Popular*, promoting in its name "tourism and information" instead of "propaganda." The *Legião Portuguesa* also vanished from the Portuguese streets and fell into terminal decline.³⁷⁶

The victory of the democratic Western Allies

³⁷⁴ Garnier: 116.

³⁷⁵ Roberts: 56.

³⁷⁶ Pinto. "Introduction": 39.

clearly put Salazar's establishment in a difficult position, creating the need to adjust to the new diplomatic situation, and leading to serious attempts to legitimise the regime in the eyes of the Western allies. For instance, Salazar authorised certain fake democratic openings such as the creation of the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática*, MUD (United Democratic Movement), and for the first time in twenty years, he also promised to call for free elections, in which the opposition was also permitted to participate, albeit with only one month to campaign.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, the authorities also appeared to be powerless against the spontaneous mass demonstrations that took place in Portugal's larger cities on 8 May, 1945, on Victory in Europe Day.³⁷⁸ In Lisbon alone, approximately 500,000 people marched up

³⁷⁷ Nonetheless, a great number of opposition organisers were soon arrested and several political meetings were banned. It is also important to note that Salazar never allowed any neutral international bodies to supervise the elections for fear that the widespread election fraud would be publicly exposed. Paradoxically, no country in Europe had as many elections as Portugal had during the dictatorial era. There are several hypotheses for Salazar's insistence on these mock elections. One of them is that Salazar tolerated elections so as to impress Western powers with the idea that Portugal was moving towards democracy. Conversely, it is also argued that the main function of the general elections was to reveal who in reality belonged to the opposition political camp. In "Elections in Portugal". *Times* 17 November 1945: C3; Gallagher: 114.

³⁷⁸ Even though in provincial towns, local police showed a more hostile attitude towards the democratic sympathisers, in Lisbon, the regime did not have any option other than to tacitly tolerate the march.

the *Avenida da Liberdade* in commemoration of the defeat of fascism.³⁷⁹ Many of these sympathisers naively believed that after the war, Churchill would help to defeat the dictatorial regime and restore democracy in Portugal.³⁸⁰

In fact, no help was forthcoming from the Allies, who may have been unaware of the real extent of the pro-democracy demonstrations, since the Portuguese press was constantly monitored and censored by the authorities. Consequently, newspapers along with the Portuguese radio failed to report on the nationwide demonstrations.³⁸¹ At the same time, Salazar's political neutrality and his military concessions to Great Britain and the US as well as the rapid onset of the Cold War guaranteed the survival of Salazar's regime even in the unfavourable post-1945 climate.³⁸² The Communist threat seemed to be more terrifying than lingering Fascism, and as a result, the West refrained from any hostile acts against Salazar or Franco.³⁸³ Despite the fact that the admission of Portugal was still resisted by many countries, Portugal joined the United Nations in 1955, and also became one of the founding members of NATO without further ado, mainly due to British and American influence. Ironically, the *Estado Novo* joined with relative ease this Western right-wing allied bloc, supposedly set up to defend democracy and fundamental

³⁷⁹ Gallagher: 107-108.

³⁸⁰ Margery Withers. *Remembering Portugal* (Paredes: British Historical Society of Portugal, 2001): 85.

³⁸¹ Withers: 97.

³⁸² Pinto. "Twentieth-Century Portugal": 39.

³⁸³ Gallagher: 108.

human rights.³⁸⁴

As far as British literature is concerned, an important cultural shift took place in the 1950s: literature in English finally started to gain more significance, especially in terms of readership, both in the original and in translation.³⁸⁵ In the 1940s, the number of British and French works published in Portugal was more or less the same. However, in the 1950s, this rate changed drastically, and Britain began to lead, while the number of French authors translated into Portuguese slightly decreased.³⁸⁶ The most popular British authors of the decade were Shakespeare, Maugham, E. Phillips Oppenheim, Scott, Dickens, Huxley, and Greene. The most widely published women writers were Jane Austen, Daphne du Maurier, George Eliot, Katherine Mansfield, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë.

The British Council also greatly contributed to the popularity of these British authors in Portugal. The Council continued to organise book exhibitions such as that celebrating Somerset Maugham's eightieth anniversary as well as conferences, dramatised readings, theatre performances, film sessions and concerts, which attracted an increasing number of visitors. Exhibitions of books became regular, particularly in the 1950s, when the institute organised exhibitions on a fortnightly basis. The books exhibited were usually donated to the host universities, which were in desperate need of books

³⁸⁴ Figueiredo: 124.

³⁸⁵ Abranches: 313.

³⁸⁶ Seruya. "Translation in Portugal": 125-126.

in English.³⁸⁷

Symptomatically, under a dictatorial regime of obscurantism like the *Estado Novo*, culture and literature became charged with a much wider political meaning. Even though Salazar's administration did not show particular concern for cultural agents such as the British Council, for the opposition, culture came to be an essential tool in the expression of their anti-regime stance.³⁸⁸

During Salazar's regime, a great number of dissident scholars and writers showed a deep interest in literature in English either by absorbing the influence of British writers in their works or by writing on and translating works in English.³⁸⁹ One of the most influential Anglophile intellectuals was Jorge de Sena.³⁹⁰ Besides being a poet, playwright, and novelist himself, Sena was a translator of exceptional merit and also an outstanding anthologist. Sena's translation anthologies include *Poesia de 26 Séculos* (Poetry of 26 Centuries) in two volumes and *Poesia do século XX. De Thomas Hardy a C. V. Cattaneo* (Twentieth Century Poetry. From Thomas Hardy to C. V. Cattaneo), all three of which contained numerous translations of British poets such as Donne, Milton, Blake, Byron, Wordsworth, Tennyson,

³⁸⁷ Roberts: 119.

³⁸⁸ Roberts: 132.

³⁸⁹ Portela: 232.

³⁹⁰ Jorge de Sena (1919-1978) went into exile in Brazil in 1959, fearing that he would be prosecuted for his involvement in a failed coup attempt against the *Estado Novo*. In 1965, he moved to the USA, where he continued teaching Portuguese literature at the University of Wisconsin, and later at the University of California Santa Barbara until his death.

Gerard Manley Hopkins, Yeats, T. S. Eliot, Cecil Day Lewis, Stephen Spender, and Dylan Thomas. He was also the translator of works by Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, Faulkner, Hemingway, Eugene O'Neill, and above all Emily Dickinson.

Patricia Odber de Baubeta notes that Sena's work as a translator and anthologist could be seen as a natural extension of his assiduous endeavours in the field of literary criticism.³⁹¹ While Sena's contribution to the critical reception of British literature in Portugal is extremely significant, his work as a critic might not have been duly appreciated in Portugal either because his reviews appeared scattered in a plethora of journals, or because many of his works were published abroad such as his literary history book *A Literatura Inglesa* (English Literature) which came out in São Paulo in 1963.³⁹² In addition, Sena prefaced and annotated A. C. Ward's *Illustrated History of English Literature*, published in Lisbon in 1960, while his monographs on Shakespeare, T. S. Eliot, and the English novel also testify to his profound interest in British culture.

Sena was perfectly aware of the fact that in Portugal, most of the major works in English were still unavailable in Portuguese translation, to say nothing of the lesser-known authors with whom the average reader was completely unfamiliar.³⁹³ Bringing to bear his encyclopaedic knowledge of classic and

³⁹¹ Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 139.

³⁹² Odber de Baubeta. *Anthology*: 133.

³⁹³ Jorge de Sena. "Algumas explicações." *Sobre literatura e cultura britânicas*. Ed. Mécia de Sena (Lisbon: Relógio D'Água, 2005): 106-107.

modern literature, Sena set out to educate his readers on the most current literary trends of his time and to promote contemporary world literature. His comments on certain British writers are of great importance, particularly emerging authors such as Angus Wilson, Malcolm Lowry, William Golding, Kingsley Amis, and John Osborne.³⁹⁴

Another Anglophile Portuguese expatriate was the *presencista* Adolfo Casais Monteiro, who left Portugal for Brazil five years earlier than Sena, after he had been arrested several times between 1930 and 1943 because of his opposition to the regime.³⁹⁵ He also translated several works by British and American authors such as Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Hemingway, and Erskine Caldwell, and as a literary advisor of prestigious publishing houses, he was also responsible for several twentieth-century authors in English becoming available for the first time in Portugal in the 1940s, among others, D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Joseph Conrad, Charles Morgan, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Katherine Mansfield.³⁹⁶ Similarly to Jorge de Sena, Casais Monteiro also spent his life in the service of literature, writing both poetry and essays on literary critical topics. In his book *O romance: teoria e crítica* published in 1964 in Rio de Janeiro, he dedicated several chapters to British authors such as Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, and Virginia Woolf.

In 1969, he also published a famous essay on

³⁹⁴ Cf. Jorge de Sena. *A literatura inglesa* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 1989).

³⁹⁵ Pimentel. *PIDE*: 252.

³⁹⁶ *Abranches*: 313.

Fernando Pessoa and T. S. Eliot, in which he investigated the question of how a poet writing in many voices can remain "sincere." Casais Monteiro's exposition of the problem — and simultaneously his solution to it — was effected by comparison with T. S. Eliot's theory on "impersonal art".³⁹⁷ Casais Monteiro's as well as Jorge de Sena's receptivity to aspects of European culture is highly relevant here in as much as it represents an international approach as opposed to the *Estado Novo's* officially nationalistic and insular stance on literature.

The well-known literary scholar and writer Agostinho da Silva also relied on foreign literary texts in his crusade against the provincialism and obscurantism of the regime. As might be expected, he was also forced to leave Portugal and live and teach in Brazil because of his political beliefs. Nonetheless, before his exile in 1944, he was the editor and the publisher of a series of anthologies under the general title *Introdução aos grandes autores* (Introduction to Major Authors). Each volume contained a short introductory essay with biographical notes, followed by a translated work by a prominent author: either the full text or excerpts. The series included works by authors such as Cervantes, Erasmus, Fénelon, Voltaire, Molière, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Dostoyevsky, Lermontov, Stendhal, Flaubert, Mérimée, and Maupassant. The authors in English consisted of Thomas More, Harvey, Bacon, Swift, Dickens, Ruskin, Franklin, Poe, Whitman, and

³⁹⁷ Cf. Adolfo Casais Monteiro. "Theory of Impersonality. Fernando Pessoa and T. S. Eliot." *Journal of the American-Portuguese Cultural Society* 6-7 (1972-73): 40-45.

Emerson.³⁹⁸

The selection of the authors and the texts was intended to be thought-provoking or at times to express his aversion covertly to the regime's official point of view. For example, publishing "The Grand Inquisitor," a parable, from the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, was an obvious protest against the Salazarist regime's obligatory Catholic dogmatism. The unorthodox selection of excerpts from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, namely, from "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms" instead of the most well-known part 1 and part 2,³⁹⁹ allowed Agostinho da Silva to use Swift's canonical text to criticise the contemporary Portuguese administration indirectly. The text includes several references to political exiles and economic mass emigrations as well. Swift's biting satire on the corrupt judicial system, Capitalist exploitation, social disparity, and misgovernment was further used by Agostinho da Silva as a political parallel to Salazar's Portugal. In addition, Swift's restrained references to the then British prime minister Robert Walpole implicitly targeted the Portuguese leader Salazar as well.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ The volume *Ideário de Jefferson* (Selected thoughts by Jefferson) translated by Agostinho da Silva, was prohibited by the Portuguese authorities on the grounds that Jefferson's work blatantly advocated democratic principles which stood in sharp contrast with the ideology of the *Estado Novo* (R2650/1944).

³⁹⁹ Part I: "A Voyage to Lilliput and Blefuscu", and Part II: "A Voyage to Brobdingnag."

⁴⁰⁰ Jorge Bastos da Silva. "A Lusitanian Dish: Swift to Portuguese Taste." *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*, Ed. Hermann J. Real (London: Continuum, 2005): 81-82.

Agostinho da Silva returned to Portugal in 1969, after Salazar was succeeded by Marcelo Caetano, in the false hope that the change of leadership might give rise to a certain political and cultural opening. Jorge de Sena also visited Portugal in 1968, when before leaving the country he was briefly arrested by the Portuguese police at the Spanish border. Although yearly pilgrimages followed, he never actually returned to his native country, not even after the democratic revolution in 1974.⁴⁰¹

II. 2. 5. The Marcelist Spring, a False Promise of Freedom

"amantes nós pela liberdade do que sabemos disfrutar quando juntos; amantes nós pela alegria de o sermos na alegria do corpo um do outro;"

(Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa: *Novas cartas portuguesas*, 1972)⁴⁰²

In 1968, Salazar's sudden illness forced him to retire, and another prime minister was appointed, the scholarly jurist and university professor Marcelo

⁴⁰¹ Alba della Fazia Amoia and Bettina Liebowitz. *Multicultural Writers since 1945. An A-to-Z Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004): 169.

⁴⁰² Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, Maria Velho da Costa. *Novas cartas portuguesas* (Alfragide: Dom Quixote, 2010): 256.

Caetano. Caetano had a definitely more internationalist outlook than his predecessor. While Salazar barely left Portugal during his ministry, Caetano made frequent trips abroad – to Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the USA. He also introduced some economic, political and educational reforms. Even though he slightly improved social conditions in Portugal, he was still unable to raise the Portuguese economy to Western European standards.⁴⁰³ Furthermore, political prisoners continued to be incarcerated, censorship was not abolished, and elections remained strictly controlled. Surveillance and intimidation of all sectors of society through techniques such as arbitrary imprisonment, political persecution, and assassinations were still present in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.⁴⁰⁴

Nonetheless, the period between 1968 and 1970 came to be known as the *Primavera marcelista* (the Marcelist Spring), echoing the 1968 Prague Spring. It was a time when members of the opposition, intellectuals and even the publishing sector began to believe that the regime could be reformed from the inside and thus could be set free of the most destructive aspects of repression.⁴⁰⁵ However, the colonial wars in Africa continued, which meant that

⁴⁰³ "Obituary. Dr Marcello Caetano. Former Prime Minister of Portugal." *Times* 28 October 1980: F14.

⁴⁰⁴ Alan W. Ertl. *Toward an Understanding of Europe. A Political Economic Précis of Continental Integration* (Boca Raton, Fla.: Universal Publishers, 2008): 304.

⁴⁰⁵ João Ferreira Duarte. E-mail to the author. 4 December, 2010.

the greater part of the Portuguese army was engaged in fighting futile guerrilla wars at an enormous cost to the nation, provoking widespread national as well as international protests. Under these circumstances, Caetano's attempt at liberalisation was soon abandoned.

The 1970s also saw the first attempt to publish a Portuguese translation of D. H. Lawrence's infamous novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. João Ferreira Duarte argues that the first translator or publisher might have been convinced along with so many other cultural agents that Marcelo Caetano's premiership would finally ease censorship restrictions and allow the publication of the novel. Despite presenting a text completely purged of obscene words and expressions, the book was immediately suppressed after publication.⁴⁰⁶ A closer investigation of British and American works published during the period, however, shows that publishers' expectations were not all unrealistic, since a small number of previously unpublishable books were now finding their way into print, as they were either authorised or simply passed unnoticed, for example, Henry Miller's relatively innocuous *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare* (1971) or John Cleland's pornographic novel *Fanny Hill* (1968) under the simplified title *Memórias de uma mulher* (Memoirs of a Woman). Unsurprisingly, the latter was forbidden throughout the whole era.⁴⁰⁷

With reference to works in English published

⁴⁰⁶ Ferreira Duarte. "Línguas cortadas": 167.

⁴⁰⁷ *Livros proibidos no regime fascista* (Lisbon: Comissão do Livro Negro sobre o Regime Fascista, 1981): 29; and (R261/1936), (R9090/1971).

during Caetano's administration, it can be said that the canon did not change to a great extent. The most frequently published authors were Agatha Christie, Maugham, Greene, Shakespeare, Wilde, Stevenson, and Charles Dickens. The most recent British literary tendencies did not seem to significantly affect the Portuguese book market. A new genre appeared though, which was indeed completely unknown to the Hungarian reading audience of the time and that is "horror books." Intriguingly, Alfred Hitchcock's suspense novels, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* appeared much earlier in the Portuguese book market than the Hungarian one.

Another important contribution to translation production in *Estado Novo* Portugal were the *Livros RTP*, which was a book series launched by the Verbo Publishing House in 1970. The series was, in fact, based on the successful Spanish collection *Biblioteca Básica Salvat. Libros RTV* (published by Salvat Editores and Alianza Editorial between 1969 and 1973). Unexpectedly, the idea of the series came from César Moreira Baptista, the incumbent head of the SNI, and as a result the series received special governmental attention as well as television coverage. Besides several works by classic Portuguese authors, the book collection contained numerous prestigious foreign literary works. With reference to British literature, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Shaw's *Pygmalion*, and Durrell's *Justine* were published within the series

between 1971 and 1972.⁴⁰⁸

As far as the Portuguese Anglophile intellectuals of the period are concerned, Fernando de Mello Moser stands pre-eminent among his contemporaries. Although he was of German decent, Moser dedicated most of his academic career to English literature, particularly to Thomas More and Shakespeare.⁴⁰⁹ Besides being an outstanding scholar, he was an exceptionally brilliant teacher in the University of Lisbon. Indeed, it was under Moser and subsequently under Professor João Almeida Flor, Maria Helena Paiva Correia, and Álvaro Pina that the University of Lisbon built a strong department of English Studies after 1974.⁴¹⁰

In conclusion, it can be argued that the British literary influence had some effect on the Portuguese academic and cultural sphere, though not as profoundly as one might expect in view of the historical and political links between the two countries. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the

⁴⁰⁸ For more information, see the articles published in Teresa Seruya, Ed. *Estudos de tradução em Portugal. Coleção Livros RTP, Biblioteca Básica Verbo. I* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2005), and Teresa Seruya, Ed. *Estudos de tradução em Portugal. Coleção Livros RTP, Biblioteca Básica Verbo. II* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2007).

⁴⁰⁹ João Almeida Flor. "'Beyond a Common Joy.' Evocações Shakespearianas em Fernando de Mello Moser." *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*. - Universidade de Lisboa, 18.5 (1994): 113-122.

⁴¹⁰ Martin A. Kayman. "A Very Old Alliance? An Introduction to English in Portugal." *European English Studies. Contributions towards the History of a Discipline*. Eds Balz Engler and Renate Haas (Leicester: The English Association, for ESSE, 2000): 20.

dynastic marriages and their political and social reverberations as well as the economic and commercial relationship between the two countries, all of these, should have encouraged Portuguese-British cultural interchange, yet it was only after the Second World War that translated British works began to appear in large numbers in Portugal.

A comparison between the Portuguese and Hungarian reception of English literature after the 1950s reveals that in Portugal, the cultural impact of certain British and American authors depended more on individual choices and personal preferences. The role of cultural mediators such as Gaspar Simões, Jorge de Sena, and Agostinho da Silva in the reception history of British literature appears to be much more significant in Salazar's Portugal than in Socialist Hungary, which might be due to the fact that the Portuguese small-sized publishing business encouraged a more personal relationship between literary advisors or translators and publishers. Conversely, in Hungary, whilst not diminishing the importance of individual Anglophone intellectuals' role in the Hungarian canon formation process, it must be said that the selection procedure was a less impartial decision and more of a product of highly-educated and qualified teams employed by various large state-supported publishing houses. Accordingly, the reception of British literature in Portugal appears at times to be more arbitrary and less systematic as compared with the Hungarian reception.

III. COMPARING BOOK PRODUCTION IN HUNGARY
AND PORTUGAL BETWEEN 1949 AND 1974

III. 1. Censorship and the Reception of English-Language Authors in Hungary and Portugal⁴¹¹

"The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."

(John Stuart Mill: *On Liberty*)⁴¹²

III. 1. 1. Introduction

Before comparing the main tendencies of book and anthology production with regard to British literature in Socialist Hungary and the *Estado Novo*, it is also important to examine the absence of certain authors and their works due to political

⁴¹¹ The first version of this chapter was published in Catherine O'Leary and Alberto Lázaro. Eds. *Censorship across Borders. The Reception of English Literature in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2011 under the title: "Dictatorial Regimes and the Reception of English-Language Authors in Hungary and Portugal." 105-128.

⁴¹² Charles W. Eliot. Ed. *John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle. Part 25 Harvard Classics* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004): 219.

priorities. Interestingly, the practice of censorship in the two countries diverges completely as can be observed by their contrasting approaches to literature in English and world literature on the whole. This chapter will mainly focus on suppressed foreign literature, and more specifically, the reasons for the differently restrictive attitudes towards certain English-language writers in the Salazar era and the Eastern Bloc period of Hungary. Besides their divergent selection criteria, the two regimes' corresponding discriminatory approaches will be revealed in light of the fact that even widely different forms of dictatorships appear inherently to share similar characteristics, e.g. prudishness or puritanism.

The fact that censorship studies in Portugal and Hungary have started to develop only relatively recently can be explained by several factors. One of them is the immense difficulties researchers normally encounter in the search for tangible evidence of the existence of censorship. First of all, the complexity of the self-censorship phenomenon in both countries' cultural life precludes the possibility of a fully-comprehensive evaluation.⁴¹³ Second, the notable lack of information on censorship in Portugal, which is partly due to still unorganised and missing archives, poses additional obstacles to further research. Third, the absence of written evidence regarding

⁴¹³ For further discussion of this problem, cf. Mátyás Domokos. "Leltárhiány." *A rontás ellen*. Vol. 2 of *Az olvasó fényűzése: Esszék, tanulmányok fél évszázad terméséből* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2007): 117-161.

censorship in Hungary is mainly attributable to the fact that the Communist authorities deliberately relied on verbal communications made on an individual basis in order to avoid disclosing any printed record of censorship, which, in fact, did not officially exist in Hungary. Consequently, the presence of censorship often remains unsubstantiated due to the lack of conclusive proof.

Despite these difficulties, there are certain methods by which one can directly or indirectly prove the existence of censorship in both countries: (1) Comparison of the translation production before and after the change of the regime, for instance, reveals a consistent absence of works by particular authors, themes or genres, e.g. the complete lack of Arthur Koestler and George Orwell's works in Hungary, or those of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in Portugal, or erotic, horror, esoteric and alternative lifestyle literature in both countries. (2) Systematic negative literary criticism of certain authors is also highly suggestive such as, for example, the unfavourable reception of James Joyce in Hungary until the 1970s. (3) Official lists of works withdrawn from libraries issued in Hungary between 1949 and 1953 contain a revealingly high number of British and American literary works, considered ideologically problematic by the Communist officials of the period. Furthermore, lists of banned books which were previously kept in sealed departments in certain libraries are similarly informative.⁴¹⁴ (4) Finally,

⁴¹⁴ Unfortunately, I was able to obtain data only from the National Széchenyi Library of Budapest's Sealed Department.

even though 22.4% of the Portuguese censorship reports on books dated between 1934 and 1974 have mysteriously disappeared from the National Archives of Portugal, the remaining 77.6% provide some of the most valuable sources of information on censorship in Portugal.

III. 1. 2. The Rákosi and Kádár Regime in Hungary

Examining the Communist period in Hungary at a deeper level, the fundamental difference between the two subsequent Communist regimes' general political attitudes is of the utmost importance. As has been said before, the initial Communist years in Hungary were marked by the rule of Mátyás Rákosi, a confirmed Stalinist. His totalitarian regime's main function was to reshape all spheres of life according to a new Soviet type of model, whereas János Kádár, who unlawfully replaced Imre Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, after the Soviet occupation in 1956, desperately needed national as well as international recognition in order to fully legitimise his ascendancy. Consequently, the two regimes' censorship practices diverged widely. The former's narrow-minded arrogance used repressive censorship in order to erase elements of the bourgeois world's cultural heritage, and as the

Nevertheless, strong evidence suggests that there were other sealed departments in several Hungarian as well as Portuguese libraries, whose library catalogues regrettably disappeared even before, as well as after, changes of regime.

publishing industry was controlled by the regime, they were also in the position to decide what to publish and what not to publish. The Kádár regime seemed to have learnt from its predecessor's mistakes and tried earnestly to maintain the illusion of democracy. Accordingly, the practice of external censorship apparently disappeared.⁴¹⁵ Although central control formally ceased to exist in the publishing field, authorities contrived to find indirect methods to supervise book publishing, e.g. confidential phone calls, informal directives, suggestions to the editors etc. Strangely enough, the whole controlling apparatus was solidly based on self-censorship exercised by the publishers themselves. Repressive censorship was therefore exceptionally rare in this period.⁴¹⁶

Rákosi's takeover in 1948 almost completely isolated Hungary from the Western cultural sphere. Furthermore, by 1949, all publishing houses along with the previously privately-owned bookstores had been nationalised by the new government, and so

⁴¹⁵ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 35.

⁴¹⁶ As for literature in English, I have found only one occasion when prior editorial censorship did not filter out a seemingly innocent sentence, in the book *The White Deer and Other Stories* by James Thurber. Pál Békés, the translator changed the original English names "Tarcomed" and "Nacilbuper" (in mirror writing: Democrat and Republican) to "Trápa" and "Tnorfpén" (a Párt = the Party, Népfrent = Popular Front), words he must have heard on a daily basis. Authorities still face-lifted half of the stock. In Pál Békés. "Trápa and Tnorfpén." *Hungarian Quarterly* 43.165 (2002): 72.

Hungarian literary life came under direct political control. In practical terms, it meant that only those authors' works were published who were approved of by the Communist Party. George Orwell, or Arthur Koestler's anti-Soviet works were evidently banned. However, the absence of intelligent critical discussion of several other British and American authors also involved a virtual ban on translating and publishing their works. The negative image of James Joyce, for example, was first promulgated by Karl Radek at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934. He compared *Ulysses* to a "heap of dung, crawling with worms, photographed by a cinema apparatus through a microscope",⁴¹⁷ while Fadeyev called Henry Miller and T. S. Eliot jackals and hyenas.⁴¹⁸ As for contemporary literature in English, translation apparently ceased completely, excepting some authors who were considered politically "progressive". There was also a catastrophic drop in classic British and American authors published between 1949 and 1954.

Moreover, from 1948, when "the Year of the Turning Point" tragically began, a so-called "culture war" was declared against every piece of literature which could be considered anti-Marxist, bourgeois or decadent.⁴¹⁹ During this period thousands of books were destroyed, pulped and removed from Hungarian

⁴¹⁷ Radek: 625.

⁴¹⁸ Caute: 62.

⁴¹⁹ Gabriella Hartvig. "The Dean in Hungary." *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*. Ed. Hermann J. Real (London: Continuum, 2005): 235.

libraries and bookstores. The withdrawal campaign culminated in 1950, when the procedure became fully state-controlled. The Ministry of Culture even issued two⁴²⁰ consecutive official withdrawal lists for village and work-trade libraries,⁴²¹ which - due to certain alleged bureaucratic misunderstandings - were adopted for bookshops and second-hand bookshops as well.⁴²² Even though the succinct prefaces of the publications carefully avoided using phrases such as "directive" or "departmental order", due to the fear-ridden atmosphere of the Stalinist years, librarians and book shop assistants would unhesitatingly regard the two "recommendation lists" as executive decrees. Therefore the majority of these libraries and bookshops lost a great number of priceless items from their collections. More than 120,000 books were destroyed in Budapest alone.⁴²³

The first catalogue contained 1,848 titles, and

⁴²⁰ Besides these two withdrawal lists, four other indexes came out between 1949 and 1950. Two lists for school libraries published in the educational journal, *Köznevelés*, and two semi-official lists issued by the Népkönyvtári Központ (People's Library Centre Office). The indexes encompassed 1,829 titles altogether. However, only 3% of these titles were of British and American literary works. In Gyula Gerő. *Könyvtár a megyeházán: Napló, dokumentumok és kommentárok az 1950-es Kaposvári Városi Olvasóterem rövid életéről - életéből* (Kaposvár: M. és Vár. Kvt, 2002): 49-56.

⁴²¹ Népkönyvtári Központ. *Útmutató üzemi és falusi könyvtárak rendezéséhez*. 2 vols. (Budapest: Népkönyvtári Központ, 1950).

⁴²² György Kövér. *Losonczy Géza, 1917-1957* (Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1998): 204-205.

⁴²³ Kövér: 205.

the second included 6,552.⁴²⁴ Approximately 15% of these works are British and American literary texts, including a great amount of canonical or semi-canonical English and American literature such as works by Thomas de Quincey, Robert Southey, Oliver Goldsmith, A. A. Milne, Lewis Carroll, Thornton Wilder, Edith Wharton, Herman Melville, Louisa May Alcott, Virginia Woolf, etc. Examining the book lists, it is clear that the main reason for discarding the books selected was that they seemingly failed to serve an essential function as reliable political tools, since they were either considered to be "contemptible pulp fiction", for example, works by Louis Bromfield, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Agatha Christie, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Daphne du Maurier, P. G. Wodehouse or Edgar Wallace, "bourgeois propaganda", such as writings by imperialist ideologues or apologists like Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster, "pessimistic individualism" in the form of novels by writers such as Aldous Huxley, Ernest Hemingway, and D. H. Lawrence, or were simply published by a politically unreliable publisher, e.g. *Winnie-the-Pooh* by A. A. Milne.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ We have no data on the exact number of the titles, since the two lists designated the complete oeuvre of 426 authors as subject to destruction.

⁴²⁵ For further information, see Zsófia Gombár. "Cenzúrázott irodalom: Könyvindexek Magyarországon 1945 után." (Banned Literature in Hungary: Book Withdrawal Campaigns after 1945.) *EPONA, E-Journal of Ancient and Modern Celtic Studies* 2 (2010): 1-9. <http://sek.nyne.hu/btk/flli/anglisztika/epona-journal/Lists/Announcements/DispForm.aspx?ID=7&Source=http%3A%2F%2Fsek.nyne.hu%2Fbtk%2Fflli%2Fanglisztika%2Fepona->

The Hungarian weeding-out campaign caused a great international scandal. The first protesters were the French, who severely criticised the Hungarian government for regarding Dumas and Daudet as dispensable.⁴²⁶ *The Times* also condemned the libricidal campaign in a page-long editorial on "The Blimps of Buda" on 7 December 1950. As a consequence of the international uproar, József Révai completely distanced himself from the book destruction, and even named and rebuked the "culture destroyers", as if they had acted fully independently of his will.⁴²⁷ The lists were partly withdrawn, and those responsible were impeached. Moreover, authorities made fruitless efforts to cover up the scandal by instructing bookshop managers to put any possibly remaining items from the list on display.⁴²⁸ The Communist authorities' desperate attempt to show Hungarian culture policy in a favourable light stands in sharp contrast with the Portuguese political attitude, as will be seen in the Portuguese section.

Nonetheless, the publication of further withdrawal lists between 1952 and 1953⁴²⁹ seems to

[journal%2FLists%2FAnnouncements%2FAllItems.aspx](#) (last accessed 21/10/2012).

⁴²⁶ Miklós Vértessy. "Mit olvashattunk és mit nem? II.: Ajánló és tiltó könyvjegyzékek 1945 után." *Könyvtáros* 38.5 (1988): 306.

⁴²⁷ Anna Magdolna Sipos. "Könyvek kivonásával és megsemmisítésével a politika szolgálatában: Könyvindexek 1949-1950" *Könyvtári Figyelő* 53. 4 (2007): 702.

⁴²⁸ Sándor Varga. "A selejtlista: 1950." *Irodalomtörténet* 15.2 (1983): 485-486.

⁴²⁹ Népkönyvtári Központ. *Elavult könyvek jegyzéke*. 3 vols (Budapest: Népkönyvtári Központ, 1952-1953).

flatly contradict the above-mentioned intentions. The three volumes contained approximately 14,000 titles. Even though the title of the catalogues suggests that they contain only "outdated books", the Marxist jargon used in the preface of the first volume casts certain doubts on the lists' ideological impartiality. According to the preface, the books destined to be discarded were aesthetically worthless, obsolete and of inferior quality, undeserving of being read by the Hungarian working people, who were now on the road to cultural development.⁴³⁰ Even though the new lists do not contain canonical literature, there are a great number of popular authors in English among them, Agatha Christie, Louis Bromfield, Edgar Wallace, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Daphne du Maurier, and Margaret Mitchell. Unfortunately, it was not the last crusade against popular fiction in the Communist period. Indeed, light entertainment literature was not welcome by the Kádár administration either. Besides, the lists also contained ideologically problematic books, which continued to be banned in the Kádár era as well. Besides a few unjustly imprisoned and émigré authors, e.g. György Faludy, György Pálóczi-Horváth, Pál Tábori, or Menyhért Lengyel, I found eight English-language authors on the list whose works were stored, among others, in Széchényi Library's Sealed Department until 1988, for example, *Sweet Pepper* by Geoffrey Moss⁴³¹ (1923) and Richard Halliburton's

⁴³⁰ *Népkönyvtári Központ*. Vol 1. 1952: 3.

⁴³¹ *Sweet Pepper* is a romantic novel about an English officer who falls in love with Hungary after the First World War, and becomes a ferocious advocate of revising the country's

travel book *The Royal Road to Romance* (1925). Nevertheless, it remains puzzling why the Ministry of Education still insisted on disposing of further volumes after the international scandal. The only plausible explanation for this apparently contradictory insistence - besides avowedly ideological reasons - is that by pulping additional books, authorities could partly alleviate the period's severe paper shortage, a common problem in post-war Hungary.⁴³² It can be concluded that in the whole course of Hungarian history, never have so many books been destroyed as during the Stalinist years.

In contrast to the Rákosi regime's sectarian close-mindedness, the culture policy of the Kádár era finally brought a certain opening in ideological and cultural terms to the country. Interestingly, unlike other Socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia, Poland or Bulgaria, for instance, Hungary had no legally constituted system of censorship. Kádár himself also referred to its absence in his semi-informal speech delivered at the Hungarian Writers' Association shortly after the Prague Spring of 1968. He even recalled a previous conversation with "Comrade Dubček", in which he seriously questioned the effectiveness of censorship

borders.

⁴³² This act well suited the regime's problem-solving policy. In 1951, domestic security organs attempted to ease social tension arising from the shortage of apartments by banishing 12,704 people (mainly members of the former social elite) from the capital city. As happened with pulping books, the deportation of Budapest's citizens did not achieve what the authorities wanted. In Izsák: 138-139.

offices in Czechoslovakia. He overtly suggested that experts, i.e. publishers and editors - many of whom were evidently listening to his speech - should be the ones to practise censorship exclusively.⁴³³ As a matter of fact, in Hungary, books were barely censored by external official bodies such as the *Kiadói Főigazgatóság* (the Publishers' Directorate),⁴³⁴ but rather by the above-mentioned publishing experts, whose political and intellectual sensitivity would be an essential element in maintaining a delicate balance between governmental control and literary expectations. In practice, there was constant negotiation going on between the professionals and the authorities behind the scenes. Editors and sub-editors always tried for more; more precisely, they kept testing the boundaries of official resistance to publishing even politically risky authors.⁴³⁵ Nevertheless, editors inevitably had to engage in a form of self-censorship in certain cases, if they intended to remain permanently employed.

In 1957, János Kádár at a closed meeting also objected to direct political control over the Press, saying:

We should voice strong criticism subsequently or

⁴³³ István Feitl. "Kiegyezés vagy fegyverszünet? Kádár János 1968-ban az Írószövetségben." *Múltunk* 53.4 (2008): 172.

⁴³⁴ The Publishers' Directorate was established in 1954 in order to centralise the administration of publishers. It also functioned as a double line of defence to fully guarantee that cultural policy remained intact. In Bart. *Világirodalom*: 12-14.

⁴³⁵ Takács. "Grace": 77.

call the person to account for his mistake instead. [...] What will happen? They do not write properly about a certain issue. We call their attention to the error. They write an improper article again. We warn them once more. The newspaper will either change for the better or will not be supported anymore, and then the editor will be replaced. If he does something wrong, he will be prosecuted, if he does something worse, he will go to prison.”⁴³⁶

The officially undefined and thus fairly obscure status of censorship in Hungarian culture life is well exemplified by the case of István Eörsi, a well-known blacklisted Hungarian writer. In 1981 – to his fellow writers’ amazement – Eörsi officially demanded the introduction of censorship in Hungary. He argued that ratification of censorship would restrain publishers from the exclusion of particular authors based only on their names, and lead them rather to concentrate more on the possible harmful content of the literary works based on an actual examination of

⁴³⁶ “Inkább éljünk az utólagos bírálat jogával és felelősségrevonással. [...] Mi fog itt történni? Rosszul írtak egy kérdésről? Észrevételezzük a cikket. Újra rosszul írnak? Újra szólunk. Vagy megjavul a lap, vagy nem lesz tartható, és akkor leváltjuk a szerkesztőt, ha pedig nagyon csúnya dolgot csinál, büntető eljárást indítunk ellene, ha még csúnyább dolgot, börtönbe kerül.” In: Gergő Bendegúz Cseh, Melinda Kalmár, and Edit Pór. *Zárt, bizalmas, számozott: Tájékoztatáspolitikai és cenzúra, 1956-1963: dokumentumok* (Budapest: Osiris, 1999): 278.

the works in question.⁴³⁷

Nevertheless, there were several publicly-known political taboos in Socialist Hungary whose violation was strictly forbidden until the end of the regime, e.g. criticizing the Soviet Union and its relations or the one-party system. Other expressly prohibited issues were the Revolution of 1956, the Treaty of Trianon,⁴³⁸ the difficulties of Hungarian minorities, crimes committed during the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 or the Soviet occupation in 1945, anti-Semitism and Nazi literature.⁴³⁹ Non-political censorship categories were "graphic description of sexuality" and abusive language. However, as the years passed, the public attitude towards sex, obscenity and verbal vulgarity gradually changed. John Updike's *Rabbit, Run*, for example, appeared in 1968 and even the highly controversial *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was allowed to be published in 1983.⁴⁴⁰ Conversely, both novels continued to be

⁴³⁷ Gábor Murányi. "Eörsi István és a cenzúra: A kimondóember." *HVG* 27.42 (2005): 95-97.

⁴³⁸ The Peace Treaty of Trianon was signed two years after the end of the First World War, in 1920. Hungary lost two-thirds of its pre-war territory, and three-fifths of its pre-war population.

⁴³⁹ According to the treaty of 1945 signed in Moscow, all Fascist, anti-Soviet and anti-democratic literature should be destroyed in Hungary. Between 1945 and 1946, four lists of prohibited items were compiled. Most of the books were of a revisionist, anti-Semitic, nationalistic or militaristic nature. Nevertheless, each list contained politically innocuous items as well. The number of literary products in English appears to be insignificant.

⁴⁴⁰ It was notable that even if publishing houses brought out

banned in Portugal during the whole era.

In view of the paucity of written evidence concerning literary censorship in Kádár-regime Hungary, I expanded the scope of the investigation to include indirect proof as well, such as the card catalogue of the National Széchényi Library's Ex-Sealed Department. The Sealed Department of the National Széchényi Library started to operate in 1946 (officially only in 1948) with the aim of preserving certain Fascist, anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet books as legal deposit copies. After the Hungarian Revolution, the collection was thoroughly revised and reclassified. Later it was enlarged by new foreign accessions on a regular basis. According to its regulation of 1959, the Department should include the following books: (a) books on the Index of Fascist and Anti-Democratic Works, (b) anti-people, anti-Soviet works, which overtly support hostile propaganda and books paying tribute to the Revolution (this category basically covers Hungarian émigré literature), (c) pornography, (d) any material withdrawn from circulation by the authorities (the most elusive category of all). However, with time, several books were reevaluated and restored to the main collection. Unfortunately, no written record exists with respect to these changes. The present card catalogue of this special department still stored in the library reflects only the status of the collection immediately before the change of the

several "improper books" in Socialist Hungary, it was common practice that they did not illustrate the volumes. In Lator: 74.

regime.⁴⁴¹

I examined 285 books, chiefly English and American literary material:⁴⁴² works by 106 English-language authors⁴⁴³ and 179 Hungarian émigrés from Great Britain, the USA, Canada and Australia. Surprisingly, the vast majority of these publications are in English, only 42 of them are translated into Hungarian, but a small number of German, French and Swedish translations could be found among them as well.

The primary reason for the exclusion is politically related. Most of the books were made inaccessible to the public because of their critical attitude towards the USSR. Next on the list come works against the Hungarian regime, then books on the Revolution of 1956. Only 13 titles, that is, 5% of the English collection, were closed to the reading public on account of their sexual content (See Figure 1).

⁴⁴¹ For further information, see Mária Somogyi. "Tiltott könyvek, könyvtári zártság." *A könyvtárak és a hatalom*, ed. Monok István (Budapest: Gondolat, 2003): 89-162.

⁴⁴² Political treatises and history books were mostly excluded from the evaluation process.

⁴⁴³ Most of the authors are British (67) and American (37). There are also 2 Canadians.

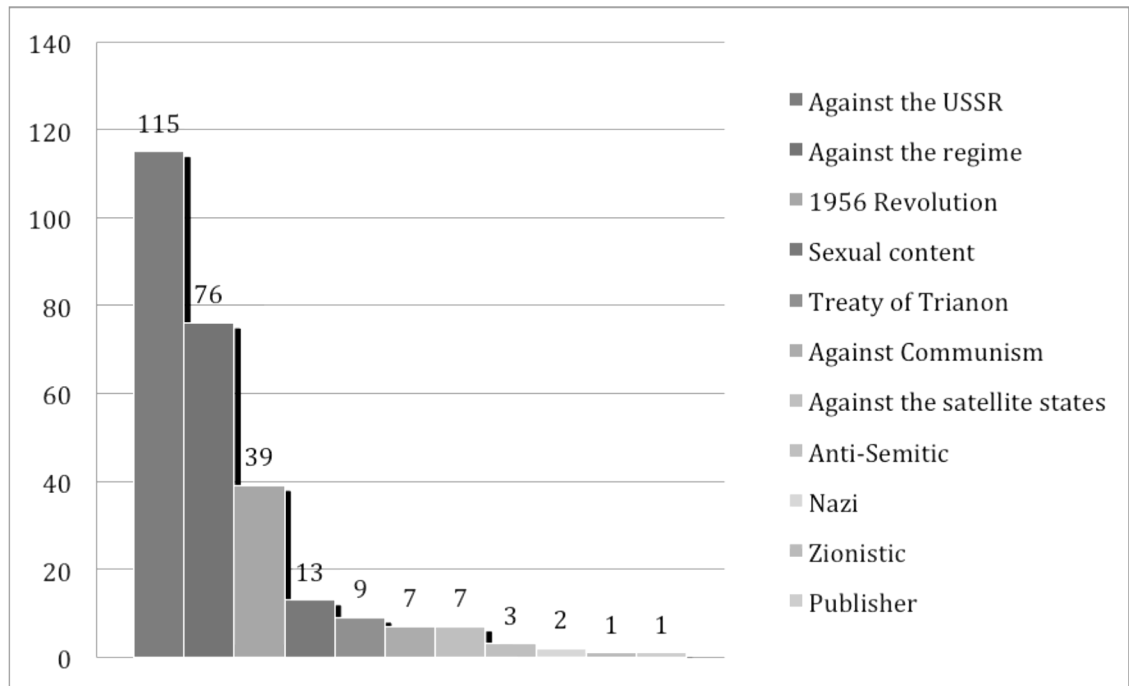


Figure 1: Censorship categories and the collection of English books stored in Széchényi Library's Sealed Department

As far as literary genre is concerned, more than half of the collection (57%) is creative non-fiction, i.e. autobiographies, biographies, journals, essays, etc. However, the largest individual literary genre is the novel (88), and the collection also includes a small number of plays (4), collections of poems (14) and short-stories (6). Internationally acclaimed classic literary works are extremely rare, which is partly due to the fact that the English collection's main function was to present reference material on Hungary's international reputation for Communist experts, and not to collect literary products aesthetically inconsistent with the Socialist ideal.

Nevertheless, the fact that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* used to be censored and belonged to the Sealed Department is confirmed by an index card accidentally

left in a card index drawer. The handwriting⁴⁴⁴ and the characteristic Marxist parlance⁴⁴⁵ confirm that D. H. Lawrence's novel was still part of the collection after 1957. Other legendary non-political English works, whose index cards were found, were the Hungarian translation of the salacious *Fanny Hill* by John Cleland, and another erotic novel in English, *Lady, Take Heed*⁴⁴⁶ by Jack Kahane, founder of the Obelisk Press.⁴⁴⁷ The authors whose names appear most frequently in the collection are usually Hungarian émigrés, e.g. Arthur Koestler (29), George Mikes (15),⁴⁴⁸ and Paul Tábori (12). The only English author who has a significant number of titles in the

⁴⁴⁴ Szilvia Bánfi, senior research fellow at the National Széchényi Library, identified the literary historian Györgyi Markovits's handwriting on the card. Györgyi Markovits (1919-1985) became the head of the Department in 1957, and remained in her position until 1983.

⁴⁴⁵ "The present novel was written with the intention of condemning industrial civilisation, the English class differences and the unnatural relationship between man and woman".

⁴⁴⁶ The novel was published under the pseudonym Cecil Barr in 1938. According to the French text on the index card, the novel was printed in Hungary (Imprimé en Hongrie), and it was probably confiscated on 12 June 1939 for offending public morals. It must have been a remaining item of literary material censored by the preceding rightist regime.

⁴⁴⁷ Obelisk Press was an English-language publishing house in Paris which specialised mainly in erotic literature, including nevertheless works by prominent authors such as Henry Miller, D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce.

⁴⁴⁸ Besides being a Hungarian émigré, Mikes was blacklisted because he gave an uncomplimentary television interview about Hungary in the late 1970s. In Bart. *Világírodalom*: 40.

collection is George Orwell (8), which proves that, similarly to Koestler, his works seriously concerned the Hungarian authorities. Further important politics-related works in English are *The Naked God* by Howard Fast,⁴⁴⁹ Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World Revisited*⁴⁵⁰ and finally, a play by Robert Ardrey, *Shadow of Heroes*.⁴⁵¹

Along with the notable absence of the works which were censored during the Kádár period, it should also be pointed out that it was probably one of the greatest and the most productive periods of literary translation in the history of the country. Furthermore, if one compares translated English literature published in Socialist Hungary and *Estado Novo* Portugal, it will be found that high literature still occupied a relatively better respected position. Even though it was kept on a comparatively short political leash, authorities occasionally

⁴⁴⁹ Fast publicly quit the Communist Party after the Hungarian Revolution. The autobiography's politically unfavourable stance probably discouraged the Socialist leaders from openly disclosing information on the book.

⁴⁵⁰ Even though several essays in the collection strongly attack Communist dictatorships, it is highly probable that the principal reason for prohibiting the volume was the foreword, in which the author refers to the Hungarian Revolution and its repression.

⁴⁵¹ The play was produced in London as *Stone and Star* in the year of Imre Nagy's trial, i.e. 1958. The plot centres on the Communist Foreign Minister László Rajk's show trial of 1949. One of the protagonists is János Kádár, himself, who slyly attempts to persuade Rajk to admit the fabricated charges. The play follows events in Hungary from 1944 to the Revolution of 1956.

seemed to be surprisingly lenient with respect to non-politically related literary material (see, for example, Updike's *Rabbit, Run*). The translations also functioned as a kind of safety-valve in order to control the tension arising from the Kádarian culture policy's otherwise still prohibitive nature. Strangely enough, highly profitable popular fiction continued to be openly despised in Hungary on the grounds that, unlike the classics, it failed to fulfil the idealistic objectives of educating people at a higher level.⁴⁵²

In contrast, mass literature in Portugal was not censored on account of its less intellectually constructive characteristics, but rather because of its frequently traceable elements of apparent immorality. In fact, Portuguese and Hungarian culture policy stand in stark contrast to each other with regard to their relation to the "masses". The Communist leaders attempted to use literature as a tool to remove class barriers via the development of an equally educated society.⁴⁵³ And indeed, the

⁴⁵² Since average Hungarian readers had only limited access to popular literature, they were forced to read the classics. Hungarian reading experts even today refer to the 1960s as the "Golden Age." In András Veres. "Az írók és a hatalom a hatvanas évek Magyarországon." *A magyar irodalom története* Vol. 3, Ed. Mihály Szegedy-Maszák (Budapest: Gondolat, 2007): 533.

⁴⁵³ Lóránt Czigány notes that a charitable aristocratic Hungarian lady, who must have left Hungary well before the Revolution of 1956, regularly visited a Hungarian refugee and ex-freedom fighter of working-class origin in an Oxford hospital. She was utterly amazed by her "humble" patient's request, when he asked for novels by Thomas Mann and poems by

Communist cultural campaign starting from the late 1940s did manage to increase the public demand for "high" culture.⁴⁵⁴

In Portugal, on the other hand, translations of literary works always gave additional cause for concern to the authorities, as they made texts available even to the less cultivated classes, who might be exposed to harmful material by reading them. It seems that Portuguese authorities were perfectly aware of this cultural gap between the educated and the less-educated classes. Indeed, they even encouraged it by making small concessions to the former, e.g. works in foreign languages were less frequently censored in view of the fact that the vast majority of the Portuguese population did not speak languages other than Portuguese. Furthermore, books discussing delicate issues, e.g. homosexuality, were normally available only to the educated few such as doctors, scholars, or lawyers.⁴⁵⁵

the Hungarian poet Attila József to read. Czigány himself also remembers a Hungarian miner in Wales who had an excellent collection of books and spent almost all his money on acquiring additional items. In Czigány. *Nézz vissza*: 51.

⁴⁵⁴ Standeisky. "Ivor Pink": 126.

⁴⁵⁵ Seruya and Moniz: 18.

III. 1. 3. Censorship and the Salazar-Caetano Regime Portugal

Unlike Hungary, where even the use of the word "censorship" was cautiously avoided by the authorities, in Portugal, censorship was a legally recognised practice. There were several official bodies whose respective names overtly included "censorship" such as the *Direcção Geral de Serviços de Censura* (General Censorship Directorate) or *Comissões de Censura à Imprensa* (Press Censorship Committees). Books were mainly censored by the Censorship Directorate, which became part of the SNI in 1944. However, the SNI was under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister of Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar.⁴⁵⁶

In contrast to Kádár-regime Hungary, books were not subject to prior censorship in Portugal, but rather repressive censorship.⁴⁵⁷ Problematic books were normally confiscated after being published. Confiscation of books after being published, however, could easily mean bankruptcy to the privately-owned publishing houses. This, in fact, acted as deterrent, and was a deliberate mechanism of repression. The PIDE also had the right to issue search warrants for

⁴⁵⁶ Graça Almeida Rodrigues. *Breve História da Censura Literária em Portugal* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1980): 72.

⁴⁵⁷ In some cases, certain Portuguese authors and even publishers were obliged to present a copy of the literary work they wished to publish in advance.

bookshops,⁴⁵⁸ publishing houses, even private homes, if they felt it necessary.⁴⁵⁹ In addition, imported books and other sorts of publications were strictly examined by custom officials, while private mailing was constantly monitored by post office clerks.⁴⁶⁰ Consequently, no foreign book could easily enter the country without official inspection. The book could be easily suppressed, if it was believed to represent the influence of Communist ideology, its author was Communist or its content was considered to be politically detrimental to the *Estado Novo*, e.g. it attacked the Prime Minister and other official entities of Portugal, or criticised the country's foreign or colonial politics. Antimilitarism and pacifism were delicate issues as well. Furthermore, the book was banned if it appeared to be offensive to Catholic morality with regard to marriage, homosexuality, adultery, sexual satisfaction, birth control, abortion, suicide, Freemasonry, Protestantism, etc. Books were equally censored if they described violent scenes in detail or used offensive or obscene language. Finally, occult and alternative spirituality literature was also discouraged by the authorities.

Within the scope of this study, I examined more than 400 censorship reports mainly on literary

⁴⁵⁸ However, there were several bookshops in larger cities which clandestinely sold prohibited books to reliable domestic customers. In Clara Barata and Luís Miguel Queiros. "Os livros da resistência: livrarias no regime fascista." *Público*. 11 June 1994: S1-S4.

⁴⁵⁹ Azevedo. *Mutiladas*: 57.

⁴⁶⁰ Azevedo. *A censura*: 77.

products in English which were sent to the Censorship Directorate⁴⁶¹ between 1934 and 1974. The provenance of the books is usually indicated in the reports. Most of them were provided by the PIDE (and later by the DGS), or the Portuguese Post Office. Only two reports designate the Customs Services as the place of origin. In addition, several books were presented probably by the publishers/translators for approval or requested for censorship by the authorities. As opposed to Communist Hungary, where censors were mostly members of the intelligentsia, e.g. obedient editors or highly-educated culture politicians, the vast majority of Portuguese inspectors were military officers.⁴⁶² Most of them were captains, followed by majors, colonels, lieutenants and lieutenant-colonels. Contrary to the general belief that military officers are less educated, a small number of them seemed to be exceptionally well-informed about literary and philosophical issues. Furthermore, as Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz also observe in their study, many of them had a good command of foreign languages, particularly English, French and

⁴⁶¹ The books were mainly examined by the censors of the *Secção de Livros* (Book Censorship Section), which was established in Lisbon on 2 February 1934. In Joaquim Cardoso Gomes. *Os militares e a censura: A censura à Imprensa na Ditadura Militar e Estado Novo, 1926-1945* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006): 115.

⁴⁶² The military forces played a crucial role in Portugal throughout the twentieth century. The coup d'état of 1926 was a military action, which, in fact, initiated the *Ditadura Nacional* (National Dictatorship) and later the *Estado Novo*. Indeed, the Revolution of 1974, which finally managed to overthrow the Fascist regime, was also a military coup.

Spanish, which was very uncharacteristic of the Portuguese population during the period.⁴⁶³

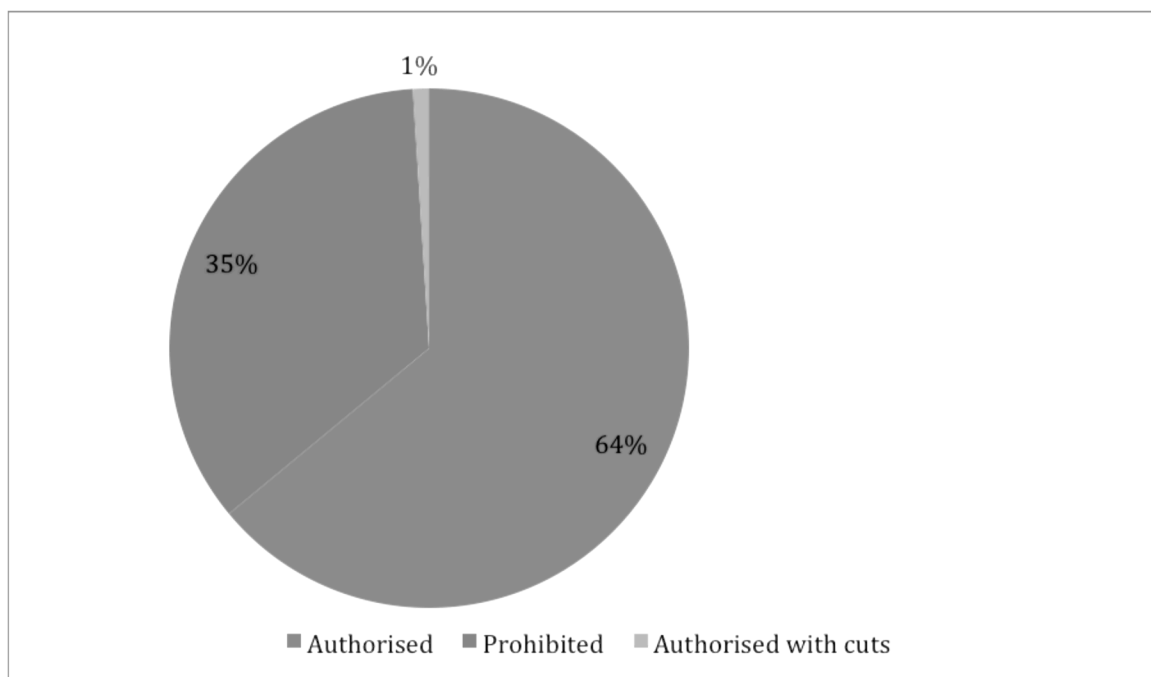


Figure 2: English books authorised and prohibited in Portugal

The substantial majority of the books are Portuguese (and partly Brazilian) translations (68%), followed by works in French (15%), in English (14%), and in Spanish (3%).⁴⁶⁴ Approximately one third of the books examined in this chapter (35%) were prohibited, while a small number of them (1%) were only partially authorised, that is, bowdlerised versions or restrictive usage was permitted (See Figure 2). As contrasted with Hungary, the main reason for the suppression was not political, but rather “non-

⁴⁶³ Seruya and Moniz: 10.

⁴⁶⁴ The figures presented in this section are not completely accurate, since roughly 20% of the reports are still missing. These relative numbers are thus indicative only.

political" immorality (67%): erotic, pornographic or homosexual literature (59%), realistic description of violence (4%), improper language usage (2%), one anti-Catholic, one anti-matrimonial work and one book on Freemasonry.

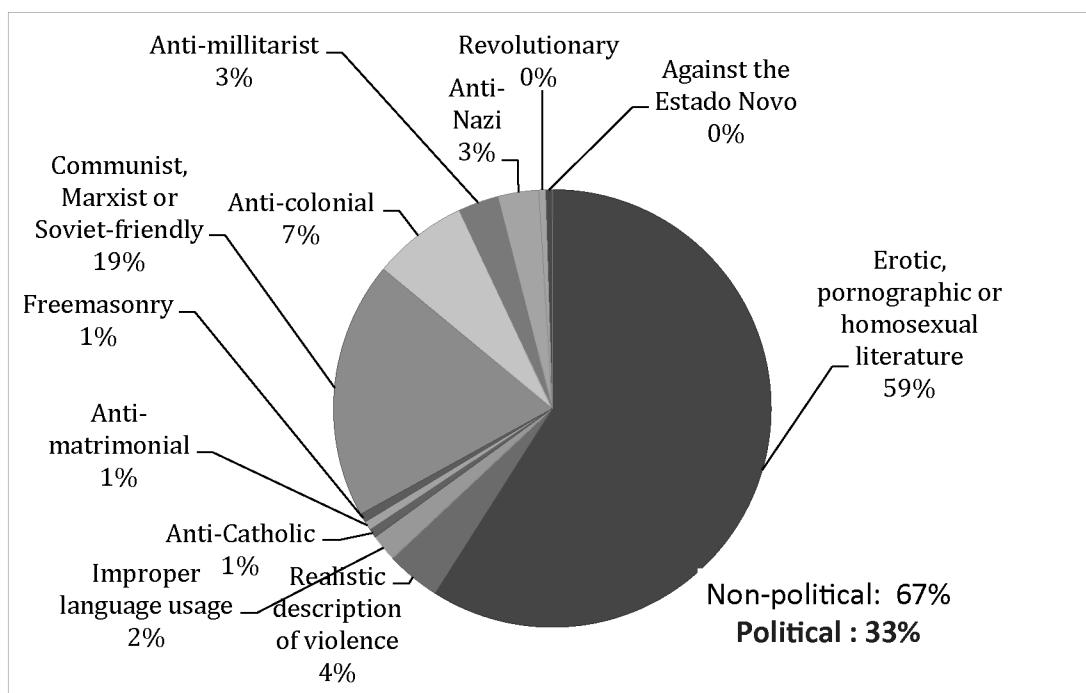


Figure 3: Censorship categories and English books in Portugal

The books which were banned on political grounds were mainly Communist, Marxist or Soviet-friendly material (19%), or anti-colonial (7%), anti-militarist (3%) and anti-Nazi⁴⁶⁵ (3%) literature, one "revolutionary" work and one against the *Estado Novo* (See Figure 3).

Many of the authors who were investigated more than twice by the censors were prominent writers,

⁴⁶⁵ Due to Portugal's neutral position in the Second World War, anti-Nazi propaganda along with anti-British and anti-American literature was banned during the period. In Seruya. "Zur Koexistenz": 323.

including Erskine Caldwell (13), Henry Miller (12), Bertrand Russell (10), Jack London (8), Howard Fast (8), Somerset Maugham (6), Mark Twain (6), John Dos Passos (6), William Shakespeare (5), Charles Dickens (5), Robert Louis Stevenson (4), D. H. Lawrence (4), Edgar Allan Poe (4), Jane Austen (4), John Steinbeck (4), Arthur Koestler (3), George Bernard Shaw (3), Ernest Hemingway (3), John Updike (3). Nonetheless, frequent occurrence does not necessarily involve automatic prohibition. The majority of the above-mentioned writers were not actually banned, including Shakespeare, Austen, Stevenson, Twain, etc. Moreover, several "unobjectionable" books sent by the post office or custom services reveal these "first line" censorship officers' ignorance about literary and political matters, for example, Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* (R5023/1953), Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (R2353/1943) or a work by a well-known American Catholic priest celebrity, Monsignor Fulton Sheen (R5578/1956).

The list of banned works nonetheless does contain numerous items by classic authors, for instance, *Lesbia Brandon* by Algernon Charles Swinburne was prohibited because of allusions to incest (R6889/1961), William Faulkner's *Sanctuary* for its exceptionally violent scenes (R5090/1953),⁴⁶⁶ *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by D. H. Lawrence (R8969/1971),⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ For more information on Faulkner in Portugal, see Ana Teresa Marques dos Santos. "Faulkner and the Portuguese Censorship." *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes*. Eds Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008): 21-29.

⁴⁶⁷ *Lady Chatterley* was first published in Portugal in 1970 by

Fanny Hill by John Cleland (R9090/1971) and nine novels by Henry Miller for their pornographic content, Updike's *Rabbit, Run* (R8651/1969) and *Couples* (R8490/1969), Norman Mailer's *An American Dream* (R8777/1969) and Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* (R6375/1959) for their extreme immorality, two novels by John Steinbeck for supporting Communism (R6456/1959) and the USSR (R4098/1949), five novels by Erskine Caldwell for various political and non-political reasons: immorality (R7608/1965, 7095/1962, 6620/1960), abusive language (R2525/1944), Soviet propaganda (R4086/1949), Howard Fast's *Spartacus* for its revolutionary content (R5337/1955), later bowdlerised only for its homosexual scenes (R6942/1961), and James Thurber's *The Last Flower* for being antimilitarist (R8974/1971).

It is also difficult to understand why the Portuguese censors prohibited the English version of *Roxana* by Daniel Defoe in 1962 (R7014/1962), although they had authorised the Portuguese translation in 1955 (R5444/1955). As the volume belonged to the suspiciously indecent Royal Giant Book series, and the sensual book cover did not suggest an English classic either, the censors might have confused *Roxana* with a second-rate erotic novel in English. Similar administrative errors were generally avoided by a superior authority's second opinion. Joseph

Galeria Panorama. Even though António Rodrigues, the translator, purged the text of many obscene and dialect expressions, authorities suppressed the novel without compunction. See Fernandes 165. Subsequently, even post office clerks were instructed, in writing, to confiscate every single copy of the novel in all languages. In *Príncipe*: 134.

Conrad's *Under Western Eyes* was almost erroneously censored on account of its allegedly pro-Russian sympathies (R3013/1948). According to the report, Charlotte Brontë's novel *The Professor* was similarly considered to be harmful to public morals and social discipline. The censor even found the novel unsuitable for younger readers (R2312/1943). However, the novel was subsequently authorised by a superintendent. George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was also nearly banned because of its immoral love scenes (R6145/1958) and *The People of the Abyss* by Jack London was authorised only with cuts, since London wrote about extreme urban poverty in England, which, besides being anti-British propaganda, might encourage "the Machiavellian fight" against social injustice in Portugal as well "under the auspices of universal happiness" (R2742/1944). The similarly "realistic" and even "racist" novel *Jenny* by Erskine Caldwell escaped censorship owing to a decision by a superior. The superintendent defends the novel in view of the fact that it would be self-deception to see the world through rose-tinted glasses, and refers to other nineteenth-century classics, which equally depict social problems (R7608/1965). Nevertheless, Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* was again almost banned for the word "puta" (prostitute) and allusions to sexual intercourse in one of the acts (R6275/1958). The censor also found two minor indecencies in *Mrs. Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf; nonetheless, the novel was authorised without further ado (R5152/1954).

It is of particular interest that the Portuguese authorities were remarkably indulgent towards well-

known authors as a rule. Despite supporting atheist doctrines, *Am I an Atheist or an Agnostic?* by Bertrand Russell, for example, was allowed to be published due to the fact that Russell was a well-known philosopher. They were similarly tolerant towards the Nobel-Prize winning Shaw, Hemingway and Pearl Buck. Strangely enough, they even blithely ignored the graphic descriptions of extreme cruelty found in the novel *In Cold Blood* owing to the high profile of author Truman Capote (R8292/1968). Intriguingly, censors also appeared to be relatively lenient towards previously published books which had circulated unnoticed in Portugal for years. *Farewell to Arms* by Hemingway was authorised (R5154/1959) along with *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (R4261/1949) in view of the fact that both novels had been available in Portugal for two or three years. The French translation of *Gretta* by Erskine Caldwell was tolerated by the authorities since a Lisbon publishing house had even issued the fourth reprinting of the novel in Portuguese (R7847/1966). A collection of works by the "Angry Young Men" was equally approved in 1967, as it had been published in 1963 (R8051/1967). Furthermore, censorship officials seemed also to be surprisingly broad-minded with regard to works whose film adaptations were on at Portuguese cinemas such as Howard Fast's *Spartacus* (R6942/1961), *The Night of the Iguana* by Tennessee Williams (R7626/1965), *Kitty* by Rosamond Marshall (R9156/1971) and *Fraulein (Erika)* by James McGovern (R6367/1960). The latter was favourably received by the censor, since the German heroine's realistic sufferings in war-torn Berlin might help to remind

the Portuguese reading audience how lucky they were that they escaped the horrors of the Second World War thanks to Salazar. It is also of note that besides the language, the price of the book was also an important factor regarding the authorities' relative tolerance towards the book in question. *Crimes admirables*, a collection of English crime stories in French, for instance, was approved on the grounds of its costliness, meaning that the volume was available only to a restricted group. Thus it was that Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* in English (R9120/1971) was easily authorised, while the Portuguese translation continued to be strictly banned (R7489/1964).

III. 1. 4. Conclusion

Analysing the similarities and the differences between the Communist and the right-wing regimes' censorship practices, it can be deduced that they diverge from each other to a substantial degree. Nonetheless, one of the most similar characteristics of the two regimes is their deep respect for canonical literature. Even though the Portuguese censors appear to be more mistrustful even towards well-known classics, they - similarly to the Hungarian authorities - seem to be more permissive in relation to internationally acclaimed authors. Nevertheless, the two preferential attitudes towards the classics diverge considerably in as much as the Portuguese conservative approach basically stems from the Salazar regime's authoritarian nature, while the

Communist devotion to established masterpieces is mainly due to their idealistic belief in the educational power of classic literature, as long as it was politically reliable. Comparing the Hungarian and Portuguese censorship categories applied to literature in English, the following table (Table 1) has been drawn up to illustrate the differences:

	Banned only in Hungary	Banned in both countries	Banned only in Portugal
Political	Against the USSR or its satellite states, anti-Communist		In favour of the USSR or its satellite states, Communist, anti-Nazi
Country-specific	1956, Treaty of Trianon		Anti-colonial, anti-militarist
Non-political		Pornography Abusive language	Homosexuality, ⁴⁶⁸ prostitution, anti-matrimonial, abortion, atheism, anti-Catholicism, Freemasonry, violence

⁴⁶⁸ With respect to homosexuality, no direct evidence has been found regarding censorship imposed on English-language literature in Hungary hitherto, even though John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* and the Hungarian émigré Michael Porcsa's *Under the Brightness of Alien Stars* openly refer to the theme. Both novels were banned for different reasons: the former for pornography in general, the latter for anti-Soviet propaganda.

Table 1: Censorship categories applied to English-language literature in Hungary and Portugal

It appears from the above that the Hungarian censorship bodies, especially during the Kádár era, were more indulgent with regard to non-political literature. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that this illusory tolerance served only as a "political safety valve", whose primary function was to keep the regime in power rather than to promote democratic values. In addition, the Communist and the Portuguese Catholic prudishness slightly differ from each other on an ideological basis. Essentially, the Communist puritan austerity would not tolerate pornography either, e.g. Cleland's *Fanny Hill*, for instance, but it would be highly flexible with questions such as atheism, abortion or realistic descriptions of poverty such as *The People of the Abyss* by Jack London. Furthermore, the presumption that the Portuguese authorities were more prudish is underlined by the fact that the majority of the Portuguese books examined in this chapter were censored for moral and not for political reasons.

Moreover, comparing the number of books banned only in Hungary on political grounds, but published in Portugal (Koestler: *Darkness at Noon*, Orwell: *Animal Farm*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*) to the number of books banned only in Portugal and published in Hungary (Caldwell: *God's Little Acre*, Fast: *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*, Steinbeck: *In Dubious Battle*, Michael Gold: *Jews without Money*, John Reed: *Ten Days that Shook the World* [7 printings], etc.)

reveals a substantial numerical difference. It seems that literature played a significantly more dominant role in the Hungarian propaganda machinery than in the Portuguese. This argument is also supported by the fact that in Hungary, literature in English was predominantly banned on a political basis.

III. 2. The Reception of British Literature in Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974⁴⁶⁹

"Poets are regarded as immensely important in Hungary, much more important than in Britain: poetry is a living force, a cultural life-line, the hope, solace, and delight of millions."

(George Mikes: Appreciation)⁴⁷⁰

III. 2. 1. Introduction

The reception of British literature in Hungary and Portugal when both lived under different forms of dictatorial rule simultaneously reveals both a fear of literature and a willingness to use it to re-educate people. The present chapter compares the translation production of Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974 with this dichotomy in view. The initial year of the time span under scrutiny marks the Communists' final takeover of the Hungarian book industry, while the closing year denotes the end of the right-wing dictatorial regime in Portugal. The chapter contrasts the number of translations published as well as the lists of authors and their works. The chapter focuses exclusively on single-

⁴⁶⁹ The first version of this chapter was published in the *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 2009/2 under the title: "The Reception of British Literature under Dictatorships in Hungary and Portugal." 269-284.

⁴⁷⁰ In: György Faludy. *Learn this Poem of Mine by Heart, Sixty Poems and One Speech* (Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1983): 127.

author translations, hence collections of works by different British authors will be examined separately in the next chapter.

Before presenting the main findings of this chapter, however, the two politically divergent regimes' culture policy will be outlined in brief, since a full understanding of the different attitudes towards foreign literature may be obtained only when they are examined within this context. Furthermore, besides considering several other influential factors such as language and culture-related differences, examining the political environment of the two countries may contextualise more profoundly their dissimilar evaluation of British literature.

Comparing the Portuguese to Hungarian book production of the period, the most striking difference is that the Portuguese government seemingly never intended to establish complete control over the publishing industry. As with the Horthy regime, the previous rightist Hungarian government, the *Estado Novo* was not overly concerned with the propaganda potential of literature, and therefore never invested strongly in it, leaving publishing patterns dependent on the book market's continuously changing needs. This attitude is also reflected by the different prizes granted in the area of the arts and culture. Between 1934 and 1950, the number of prizes awarded for the categories of literature fell drastically in comparison with the numbers of awards offered in the field of painting and sculpture. The authorities seemed to be more committed to promoting visual over literary culture

in Portugal during the 1930s and the 1940s.⁴⁷¹

Conversely, since the Communist rulers of Hungary were strongly convinced of the educational power of literature in the process of building Socialism, literature, and, especially high literature was given an almost exaggerated significance. Moreover, since all publishing houses were under state control, financial support was completely separated from market considerations. A large amount of money was thus earmarked annually for unprofitable culture. Indeed, book retail prices were kept exceptionally low throughout the whole era, which made books available even to people of lower economic status.⁴⁷² In Portugal, however, the most voracious book consumers of the period were mostly doctors and lawyers, who could afford the most expensive books on a regular basis.⁴⁷³

III. 2. 2. Statistical Results

Despite the two different approaches towards literature, a numerical comparison between the Hungarian and Portuguese translation production of the period with regard to British literature apparently contradicts their respective historical contexts. In Portugal, approximately five times more

⁴⁷¹ Sapega: 90-91.

⁴⁷² Takács. "Grace": 76.

⁴⁷³ Irene Lisboa. *Inquérito ao livro em Portugal*. Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1944): 67.

British authors and six times more British literary works were published than in Hungary. The number of works published including reprints, however, is only three times greater, compared to the Hungarian figure, which suggests that Hungarian publishers had a greater tendency towards issuing new editions of the same title. It is of particular interest that despite the numerically greater translation production in the given period in Portugal, closer investigation reveals a qualitative divergence between the two countries' publishing environments with respect to classic literature as contrasted with popular fiction, as will be seen (Table 2).

Hungary			Portugal		
Authors published in Hungary	Total number of works published	Total number including reprints	Authors published in Portugal	Total number of works published	Total number including reprints
172	397	726	835	2353	2502 ⁴⁷⁴

Table 2: The number of British books published in Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974

III. 2. 3. Popular Fiction in Hungary and Portugal

Highly profitable popular fiction was openly despised in Communist Hungary, since it did not fulfil the idealistic objectives of the Hungarian

⁴⁷⁴ The Portuguese figures presented in this chapter are still incomplete, and should only be taken as indicative.

culture policy, inasmuch as bestsellers were not held to foster appropriate educational and cultural values. In 1968, authorities even introduced a so-called "sheet price" system. Publishing houses were literally obliged to pay a "kitsch-tax", if they wished to publish bestsellers. The money was later transferred to a common fund so as to sponsor less popular publications such as barely profitable high literature as well as Soviet and propagandistic literary material. According to the "sheet price" system, the price of books was set on the basis of the number of pages, but the value of a page was closely tied to its content. The cheapest pages were Hungarian, Soviet, and other contemporary People's Democracies' literature (0.70 HUF/sheet). Next on the list came classic works from the above-mentioned countries (0.80 HUF /sheet), then contemporary literature from "other foreign countries" such as the United Kingdom and the USA (1.0 HUF/sheet), followed by "other foreign" classics and "light literature" such as entertainment, biographies, and so forth (1.2 HUF/sheet), and finally detective and adventure stories (1.8 HUF /sheet)(see Table 3). This system functioned throughout the whole Kádár era.⁴⁷⁵ Briefly, a British detective novel, for instance, would cost almost twice the price of a less popular contemporary Soviet novel.

⁴⁷⁵ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 29-30.

Type of literature	Price/A5
Contemporary Literature (Hungary, USSR, People's Democracies)	0.70 HUF/ page
Classics (Hungary, USSR, People's Democracies)	0.80 HUF/ page
Contemporary Literature (Other Foreign Countries)	1.0 HUF/ page
Classics and Entertainment (Other Foreign Countries, romantic novels, biographies, etc.)	1.2 HUF/ page
Popular Literature (detective and adventure stories)	1.8 HUF/ page

Table 3: The sheet-price system

Even though the sheet price system did not fully achieve its primary aim, that is, to significantly discourage the appearance of bestseller literature in the book market, this system is an excellent example of the Kádár regime's disapproving attitude towards popular fiction.

The ideological and cultural difference between the Kádár and the Rákosi regimes notwithstanding, both of them remained openly hostile towards the products of popular culture in general. The new regime's antagonistic attitude towards popular fiction is well reflected by the small publication numbers, especially when viewed in light of the Portuguese figures. The following list comprises those authors who were included in the lists of titles to be withdrawn from circulation issued during the Rákosi era, and they were similarly proscribed under the Kádár administration (see Table 4).

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. reprints	total number	total incl. reprints
Florence Louisa Barclay	∅	∅	7	14
G. K. Chesterton	1	1	7	11
Peter Cheyney	∅	∅	24	24
Agatha Christie	9	11	67	69
A. J. Cronin	∅	∅	7	11
Arthur Conan Doyle	2	3	12	14
Daphne du Maurier	∅	∅	7	13

James Hilton	1	1	8	9
C. S. Forester	∅	∅	12	13
Edgar Wallace	1	2	12	12

Table 4: Popular fiction writers published in Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974

III. 2. 4. Politically Favoured Authors in Hungary

Even though British and American literature were never greatly encouraged in Communist Hungary, certain Western authors appeared to be more favoured by Hungarian publishers, especially if they were perceived as left wing or depicted the dark side of Capitalist life.⁴⁷⁶ The list below comprises those British-based authors who were mainly favoured by the Hungarian publishers on political grounds (see Table 5).

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. reprints	total number	total incl. reprints
James Aldridge	5	5	∅	∅
W. H. Auden	1	1	∅	∅
David Caute	1	1	∅	∅

⁴⁷⁶ Standeisky. "Ivor Pink": 126.

Rhys Davies	1	1	∅	∅
Len Doherty	1	1	∅	∅
Lewis Grassic Gibbon	2	2	∅	∅
Jack Lindsay	2	2	∅	∅
Sean O'Casey	4	4	∅	∅
George Bernard Shaw	11	21	4	5
Alan Sillitoe	3	3	1	1
Dylan Thomas	3	3	1	1
Gwyn Thomas	1	1	∅	∅
Jane Walsh	1	1	∅	∅

Table 5: Politically favoured British-based authors in Hungary between 1949 and 1974

As can be seen, a great number of politically partisan writers were favoured by the Hungarian authorities, as long as they did not attack Socialism. George Bernard Shaw, Dylan Thomas, Sean O'Casey, and W. H. Auden were well known for their left-leaning political views. However, occasionally, a critical attitude towards capitalist society alone seemed to fulfil the selection criteria for publication, especially in the 1950s. It is particularly true in the case of the Lancashire worker Jane Walsh and the miner Len Doherty. In 1961,

Anna Katona in her essay on the Hungarian reception of twentieth-century English literature notes that several British authors appear to be more respected in Hungary than in Great Britain, and unsurprisingly Jane Walsh's and Doherty's names are included among them.⁴⁷⁷

III. 2. 5. Classic British Authors in Hungary and Portugal

When the publication figures of British literary works that have been or are considered canonical are examined, the following four categories can be identified: (1) classic authors similarly received in Hungary and Portugal, (2) classic authors more favourably received in Portugal, (3) classic authors more favourably received in Hungary, and finally, (4) classic authors published only in Hungary.

Similar attitudes towards certain authors and their works may be observed in the case of the following authors (see Table 6):

⁴⁷⁷ Katona: 93.

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. reprints	total number	total incl. reprints
Charlotte Brontë	3	18	4	13
Emily Brontë	1	14	1	9
Henry James	3	4	2	2
Ben Jonson	1	2	1	1
John Keats	1	1	1	1
D. H. Lawrence	4	4	7	7
William Shakespeare	20	68	30	54

Table 6: Classic authors similarly received in Hungary and Portugal between 1949 and 1974

Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, and William Shakespeare were equally popular in both countries. Even though neither the number of the publications nor the published texts indicate the presence of censorship, Shakespeare's plays were staged only sporadically in the Portuguese theatre. A great number of them were even subjected to censorship by the General Inspectorate of Theatres.⁴⁷⁸ As stated

⁴⁷⁸ Rui Pina Coelho. "Shakespeare Surveilled by Salazar: Anatomy of a Story of Censorship." *Translation and Censorship: In Different Times and Landscapes*. Eds Teresa Seruya and Maria Lin Moniz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008):

above, Charlotte Brontë's *The Professor* was also nearly censored in Portugal in 1943 on account of its allegedly being harmful to public morality and social discipline (R2312/1943).⁴⁷⁹ One of the Portuguese censors even criticised *Jane Eyre* since the novel deliberately depicted class differences in order to disseminate "premeditated ideas and concepts" (R1400/1941).⁴⁸⁰ The authorities' strictures notwithstanding, neither novel's publication was hindered or restrained under the *Estado Novo*.

On the other hand, Ben Jonson, John Keats, Henry James, and D. H. Lawrence were all less popular in the two countries. In Portugal, the relatively modest number of published works by these authors is principally attributable to the general lack of interest in high culture and also to the Portuguese government's supreme indifference with regard to certain cultural manifestations, matched by the reluctance to provide any kind of support for cultural and educational initiatives outside the popularising nationalism characteristic of the regime. It is noteworthy, however, that D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was suppressed in both countries as a consequence of the novel's "pornographic content".⁴⁸¹ In Hungary, other novels by

47-48.

⁴⁷⁹ "Tem passagens de certo modo inconvenientes para a disciplina social e por outro lado afecta a boa moral que devemos a todo o custo valorizar."

⁴⁸⁰ "... a autora se propõe alimentar uma tese dissolvente, buscando na diferenciação de classes sociais motivos para habilmente transmitir idéas [sic] ou conceitos preconcebidos."

⁴⁸¹ *Lady Chatterley* was finally published in Hungary in 1983,

Lawrence were also excluded from the canonical book series of Classics of World Literature as a kind of punishment for *Lady Chatterley*.⁴⁸² Henry James's relatively poor reception in Hungary can be partly ascribed to the ideological rigidity of the Marxist line in literary criticism, which forced even the most prominent scholars to describe Henry James as a "rootless cosmopolitan".⁴⁸³

According to the figures given below, Jane Austen, George Eliot, and Mary Shelley were apparently more favourably received in Portugal than in Hungary. Although I have not obtained decisive evidence with respect to the underlying reasons for the three women writers' relative unpopularity among Hungarian publishers, their less favourable reception might be partly explained by the fact that none of the authors endorsed radical views with regard to contemporary social injustice, failing thus to conform to the norms imposed by Marxist literary criticism. In Hungary, Austen was mostly regarded as a minor novelist, who, bound by her class-based limitations, was unable to give an accurate portrayal either of the capitalist relations of her age or of the life of working people.⁴⁸⁴ George Eliot was also considered by some Marxist critics to be a profoundly

even before the change of the regime. In Portugal, the novel came out only after the Revolution, in 1975.

⁴⁸² Bart. *Világirodalom*: 91.

⁴⁸³ Mihály Szegedy Maszák. "Henry James in Hungary." *Neohelicon*, 39 (2002): 278-279.

⁴⁸⁴ Nóra Séllei. "Jane Austen in Hungary." *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*. Eds Anthony Mandal and Brian Southam (London: Continuum, 2007): 245-246.

conservative author since she strongly rejected the idea of revolutionary social transformation.⁴⁸⁵ As far as Mary Shelley's complete absence in the Hungarian book market is concerned, it is possible that the Gothic *Frankenstein* might not have satisfied Hungarian publishers' expectations concerning appropriate themes for high literature.

The total absence of George Orwell's works can be explained by the author's anti-Soviet and anti-totalitarian attitude manifested in his best-known works, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. As a consequence of the political tenor of these texts, Orwell's whole oeuvre was strictly prohibited in Hungary throughout the Communist era, along with the works of Arthur Koestler.⁴⁸⁶ The less favourable reception of Aldous Huxley was partly due to the fact that Stalinist literary criticism wrongly associated *Brave New World's* dystopian world with the Communist vision of the future, so that Huxley's novels were allowed to be published in Hungary only from the 1960s.⁴⁸⁷ In the case of Samuel Beckett, it appears that *Waiting for Godot's* pessimistic message collided with Socialist optimism relating to the future, and for many years productions of Beckett's plays were

⁴⁸⁵ A kritika konzervatívnak tartja George Eliotot. Bár kétségtelen, hogy ellenezte a társadalom erőszakos megváltoztatását, sem nézetei, sem magatartása nem ilyen egysíkú. In: Anna Katona. *A valóságábrázolás problémái George Eliot regényeiben* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969): 44.

⁴⁸⁶ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 40.

⁴⁸⁷ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 88.

not authorised in Budapest theatres (see Table 7).⁴⁸⁸

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. Reprints	Total number	total incl. reprints
Jane Austen	3	3	6	20
Samuel Beckett	2	2	5	6
George Eliot	1	1	6	8
Aldous Huxley	3	4	14	34
George Orwell	∅	∅	2	3
Mary Shelley	∅	∅	1	3

Table 7: Classic authors more favourably received in Portugal between 1949 and 1974

In the light of the publication figures below, it appears that a significant number of canonical British authors received a more favourable reception in Hungary than in Portugal (see Table 8).

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. reprints	total number	total incl. reprints
Henry Fielding	4	8	3	4
W. M. Thackeray	9	21	2	2

⁴⁸⁸ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 39.

Joseph Conrad	5	8	1	1
Daniel Defoe	6	24	3	8
Thomas Hardy	6	17	3	4
John Milton	3	3	∅	∅
George Bernard Shaw	11	21	4	5
P. B. Shelley	3	4	1	2
Jonathan Swift	3	19	2	7
H. G. Wells	9	18	3	5
James Joyce	4	5	2	2
Rudyard Kipling	3	20	3	3

Table 8: Classic authors more favourably received in Hungary between 1949 and 1974

The works of Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, William Makepeace Thackeray, Thomas Hardy, and Joseph Conrad seem to have met the requirements of the official culture line in Hungary, as not only did they have the advantage of presenting harsh criticism of Feudal, Imperialist, or Capitalist society, as in, for example, novels by Swift, Hardy, or Conrad, but they also suited the regime's politically preferred form of realism. Furthermore, the authors who were Socialists or Leftist sympathisers such as Shaw or Wells were also reviewed

favourably by Hungarian reviewers, which fed into more support from publishers.

Milton's reasonable presence in Hungary could be put down to the fact that Milton participated in Cromwell's revolutionary government, which might have attracted Marxist literary critics' attention to a greater extent. In Hungary, Milton was better known as a political radical, who was strongly committed to republicanism than as a religious poet. Similarly to Milton, Shelley was also considered a revolutionary poet, and mostly praised for the pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811). It is also notable that in the 1950s, critics apparently attached greater importance to the programmatic poem "Song to the Men of England" than to more complex poetry such as "Ode to the West Wind" for instance.⁴⁸⁹

Joyce's and Kipling's success, however, appears puzzling as the Irish novelist was banned in Hungary until the late 1950s and remained one of the most harshly criticised authors as late as 1974, when the second translation of *Ulysses* finally came out.⁴⁹⁰ Nevertheless, almost all of Joyce's major works had

⁴⁸⁹ István D. Rácz. "'A marvellously mild-tempered, gentle person': Shelley in Hungarian Culture." *The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe*. Eds Susanne Schmid and Michael Rossington (London: Continuum, 2007): 224.

⁴⁹⁰ For further information on Joyce's Hungarian reception, cf. Márta Goldmann. "Belated Reception: James Joyce's Works in Hungary." *Comparative Critical Studies*, 3 (2006): 227-248 or Márta Goldmann. *James Joyce kritikai fogadtatása Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006).

been published by that time.⁴⁹¹ Somewhat inconsistently, the fact that Kipling was a profoundly conservative author was easily dismissed by Hungarian authorities on the grounds of his being a talented and popular writer.⁴⁹²

The authors listed below exemplify the different attitudes evinced towards non-profitable high literature (see Table 9).

Authors	Hungary		Portugal	
	total number	total incl. Reprints	total number	total incl. reprints
William Blake	1	1	∅	∅
Robert Browning	2	2	∅	∅
Robert Burns	2	7	∅	∅
Geoffrey Chaucer	1	3	∅	∅
S. T. Coleridge	1	1	∅	∅
William Congreve	2	2	∅	∅
John Donne	1	1	∅	∅
Thomas Malory	1	1	∅	∅

⁴⁹¹ Bart. *Világirodalom*: 98.

⁴⁹² Mesterházi. *Magyarországon*: 33.

Samuel Pepys	1	1	∅	∅
Alexander Pope	1	1	∅	∅
Laurence Sterne	2	2	∅	∅
A. C. Swinburne	1	1	∅	∅
W. B. Yeats	2	2	∅	∅

Table 9: Classic authors published only in Hungary between 1949 and 1974

Despite the determination of the Portuguese propaganda machine to establish a state-ideology dominated consensus by wielding all possible tools such as the new technologies offered by the modern mass media and even public art,⁴⁹³ indoctrinating the population through high culture never seemed viable to the regime, principally due to the fact that a vast proportion of the population was still illiterate.⁴⁹⁴ Nonetheless, it must be kept in mind that the absence of the following authors from the Portuguese book market is a highly complex issue, which should not be attributed exclusively to the country's political dispensations. Geographical, cultural, and language-related factors greatly complicate the examination of literary reception.

⁴⁹³ Sapega: 87.

⁴⁹⁴ In 1930, 68.1% of the Portuguese population was illiterate, while in 1970 the illiteracy rate was 25% (Crafts 351).

III. 2. 6. Cultural, Language, Human and Economic-Related Factors

As pointed out in Chapter II. 2. 1., the poor reception of the English Romantic poets, among others, can be ascribed to the paradoxical fact that despite the great British political and economic influence in Portugal, English literature seemingly did not have any significant impact on the Portuguese cultural sphere until the Second World War. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats failed to achieve significant recognition among the intelligentsia, as the majority continued to be comprehensively Francophile, principally on account of the centuries-old hegemony of the French language and literature in the country.⁴⁹⁵

Besides cultural and language-related influences, however, there are further relevant elements which might have played a crucial role in the selection process. Editors and publishers' different literary taste or their possibly divergent educational and social background could also be decisive. For instance, in addition to ideological reasoning, George Eliot's relatively less and Conrad's more favourable Hungarian reception might well be explained by editors and translators' personal preferences.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, economic factors are

⁴⁹⁵ Almeida Flor. "Traduções de Inglaterra": 556-557.

⁴⁹⁶ Joseph Conrad was one of the favourite authors of Levente Osztoivits (1940-2006), translator, chief editor, later director of Európa Publishing Press. George Eliot's novels were strongly disliked by the male-majority publisher's

similarly significant. As the foreign exchange allotment was strictly restricted in Hungary during the Communist era, the publishers' strong preference for classic, out-of-copyright authors instead of contemporary British writers is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, due to the lack of government support in Portugal, Portuguese publishing houses were greatly dependent on publishing reasonably priced and profit-making books in a limited market, which might also have had a considerable impact on canon formation in the country.

III. 2. 7. Conclusion

All in all, comparing the book production of the two countries in the given period the following conclusions may be drawn: as was expected, there are great dissimilarities between the Portuguese and the Hungarian reception of writing from Britain. The numerical differences notwithstanding, literature, and, especially "high" literature, appears to enjoy a relatively more highly respected position in Hungary than in Portugal. It seems that the divergent attitudes towards literature were mainly rooted in the two opposing regimes' ideological differences. Portuguese control of publishing was essentially based on retaining the docile obedience of the populace, whereas the Hungarian authorities wanted to re-educate the lower social classes, a desire in which cheap books and public libraries clearly played

readers. In István Bart, Telephone interview. 29 October 2009.

their part.

III. 3. Translation Anthologies and British Literature in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974⁴⁹⁷

"Communism must be made comprehensible to the masses of the workers so that they will regard it as their own cause."

(Lenin: Speech delivered at a conference of political education workers of Gubernia and Uyezd)⁴⁹⁸

"I consider more urgent the creation of elites than the necessity to teach people how to read."

(António de Oliveira Salazar: *Princípios fundamentais da revolução política*)⁴⁹⁹

III. 3. 1. Anthologies of British Literature

Comparing the numbers of translation anthologies published in Hungary and Portugal during the same period produces significantly different results. The data collected suggests that in Hungary, a greater number of translation anthologies containing British literature were published in the given time span (see Table 11). For example, with reference to anthologies

⁴⁹⁷ The first version of this chapter will be published in Teresa Seruya, Lieven D'Hulst, Alexandra Assis Rosa, and Maria Lin Moniz. Eds. *Translation in Anthologies and Collections (19th and 20th Centuries)* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, forthcoming) under the same title.

⁴⁹⁸ Lenin: 164.

⁴⁹⁹ Gallagher: 99.

exclusively dedicated to British literature, twelve anthologies were published in Hungary between 1949 and 1974 alone. The anthologies contain only classic English literature: poetry, drama, short stories, etc. As far as Portuguese anthologies are concerned, I have found only a small number of British literature anthologies, and none of them were published in the period of time under investigation (See Table 10).

It is also notable that every Portuguese volume encompasses solely short stories. The popularity of the genre might lie in the eminent readability of the short story's concise structure. Furthermore, it seems that a great number of editors and translators such as João Gaspar Simões and Cabral do Nascimento preferred the more easily comprehensible and thus didactically appealing short story form, especially when they intended to introduce Portuguese readers to relatively new, unknown literary territories such as classic English or American literature. It is also noteworthy that in Portugal, all of these anthologies were published only in the 1940s, and interestingly, no further similar volumes appeared from the 1950s, when, in fact, British literary works finally began to inundate the Portuguese book market. Collections of classic British literature might not have proved as profitable as crime and science fiction anthologies in Portugal.

Anthologies published in Portugal	Anthologies published in Hungary
<p><i>Contos ingleses</i> (English Short Stories) 1942</p> <p><i>Contos ingleses modernos</i> (Modern English Short Stories, 2 Vols.), 1944, 1945</p> <p><i>Os melhores contos ingleses</i> (The Best English Short Stories), 194?</p> <p><i>Histórias fantásticas inglesas e americanas</i> (Fantastic English and American Stories), 1946</p>	<p><i>Tájfún</i> (Classic Short Stories), 1966</p> <p><i>Mai angol elbeszélők</i> (Contemporary British Short Stories), 1958</p> <p><i>Pokolkő</i> (Modern English Short Stories), 1971</p> <p><i>Előjáték</i> (Twentieth-Century Short Novels), 1969</p> <p><i>Angol reneszánsz drámák</i> (Elizabethan Drama), 1961</p> <p><i>Kalandos históriák</i> (Picaresque Novels), 1974</p> <p><i>Mai angol drámák</i> (Contemporary British Drama), 1965</p> <p><i>A szépség lányai</i> (Love Poems), 1970</p> <p><i>Angol és amerikai költők</i> (Poems), 1957</p> <p><i>Az angol líra kincsháza</i> (Poems), 1958</p> <p><i>Angol költők antológiája</i> (Poems), 1960</p> <p><i>Angol és skót népballadák</i> (Popular Ballads), 1955</p>

Table 10: Anthologies of British literature published in Portugal and Hungary

I have gathered information on 182 Hungarian anthologies and forty-six Portuguese anthologies which contain British literary works. As far as literary genres are concerned, it appears that no

Portuguese anthology was issued during the *Estado Novo* containing British dramatic works, while in Hungary, no less than twenty drama anthologies were published during the period of the study. Poetry anthologies are also extremely rare in Portugal,⁵⁰⁰ with the majority being anthologies of short stories (See Table 11).

Anthologies published in Portugal			Anthologies published in Hungary		
46			182		
Short stories	Poetry	Drama	Short stories	Poetry	Drama
41	5	∅	43	119	20

Table 11: Portuguese and Hungarian translation anthologies containing British literary works published between 1949 and 1974

III. 3. 2. Anthologies of Short Stories

The crime fiction anthology seems to be the most popular type of anthology of the period in Portugal, while it is an almost unknown phenomenon in the Hungarian book market. During my research, I came across only one Hungarian anthology of crime fiction

⁵⁰⁰ Even though Jorge de Sena's translation anthology, *Poesia do Século XX* was published in 1978, I have included it in this chapter, as the volume was supposedly scheduled to appear around 1974.

presenting classic British authors such as Charles Dickens, Robert Louis Stevenson and Arthur Conan Doyle. In Portugal, approximately half of the anthologies contain works by so-called canonical authors, while the other half include works of popular or generic fiction. Popular literature anthologised in Portugal can be divided into two main subgenres: crime fiction and science fiction. Interestingly, sentimental British romance short fiction aroused neither the Portuguese nor the Hungarian anthology editors' interest. Apparently, the female reading audience was considered to have been catered for by different genres.

The number of crime fiction anthologies seems to be slightly greater than the number of science fiction anthologies in Portugal, but as the number of Portuguese anthologies investigated in the present chapter is perhaps not large enough to be statistically representative, conclusions drawn from this fact need to be approached carefully. Questions as to the relative popularity of particular generic forms in Portugal and Hungary are of natural interest in the context of such a study. Even though popular fiction was never supported, but only tolerated in Socialist Hungary, science fiction enjoyed exceptional popularity. Besides British and American science fiction authors, I found a great number of Soviet science fiction writers in the anthologies under investigation. This is mainly attributable to the fact that in the USSR, a great number of authors dedicated themselves to science fiction writing, inspired by the country's pioneering space programme.

The genre was also in vogue in other satellite states such as in Poland or Czechoslovakia. In Portugal, on the other hand, as José Mota in his essay on the Portuguese reception of H. G. Wells notes, the Portuguese literary world has never had deep-rooted traditions of science-fiction writing. There has been no Portuguese science fiction author of the status of Verne or Čapek, for instance.⁵⁰¹

Another interesting anthology type, which seems to be an exclusive characteristic of the Hungarian translation environment, is the anthology with a politically educational function. Most interestingly, several short stories and poems were anthologised according to various ideologically motivated selection criteria. Anti-fascism, anti-racism, anti-militarism and anti-religiousness appear to be frequent anthology topics in Hungary,⁵⁰² while it is increasingly rare to find any translation anthologies with openly politically biased selection parameters in Portugal. On the contrary, Portuguese editors of translation anthologies and book series who were not convinced followers of the Salazar regime overtly demonstrated preference for foreign authors who

⁵⁰¹ Mota: 264.

⁵⁰² A few examples are listed here to illustrate this tendency: *Prométheusz tüze: Költők a bálványok és az istenek ellen* (Prometheus's Fire. Poets against Worship Idols and False Gods) 1961, *Lenin él* (Lenin Still Lives) 1970, *Soha többé...Válogatás az antifasiszta irodalomból* (Never again...Collection of Anti-Fascist Resistance Literature) 1962, *Himnusz a békéről* (Hymn for Peace) 1960, *Költők, dalok, forradalmak* (Poets, Poems, Revolutions) 1969.

advocated progressive or democratic principles.⁵⁰³ It is also difficult not to notice, for example, Jorge Sena's careful inclusion of certain poems and texts in his translation anthologies. Keats's sonnet "Written in Disgust of Vulgar Superstition", for example, is strongly anticlerical, while Sena's reference to Milton's *Areopagitica* as one of the noblest and most courageous discourses against censorship in the anthology's biographical notes appears to be a calculated challenge to censorship practices of the period.⁵⁰⁴ Moreover, Sena's anti-militarist and anti-authoritarian attitude is also well evidenced by his deliberate choice of anti-war and pro-democratic poems such as "Soldiers Bathing" by F. T. Prince, "The Next War" by Osbert Sitwell⁵⁰⁵ or "Democracy" by D. H. Lawrence.⁵⁰⁶

The Portuguese censors' apparent lenience, or rather, negligence with respect to literature in English is particularly revealing. It seems as if the

⁵⁰³ For more information, cf. Jorge Bastos da Silva. "A Lusitanian Dish: Swift to Portuguese Taste." *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*. Ed. Hermann J. Real (London: Continuum. 2005): 79-92 and Jorge Bastos da Silva. "Oportunidade ideológica da Introdução aos Grandes Autores de Agostinho da Silva." *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*. Eds Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz and Alexandra Assis Rosa (Lisbon: Universidade Católica, 2009): 307-324.

⁵⁰⁴ Jorge de Sena. *Poesia de 26 séculos*. Vol. 1 (Oporto: Editorial Inova. 1971): 242.

⁵⁰⁵ Jorge de Sena. *Poesia do século XX* (Oporto: Editorial Inova. 1978).

⁵⁰⁶ José Augusto França, Ed. *Bicórnio: Antologia de inéditos de autores portugueses contemporâneos* (Lisbon: José Augusto França. 1952).

prestigious status of British and American literature in Portugal provided more protection against censorship as contrasted to local literature, for instance. Furthermore, as Odber de Baubeta also suggests, anthologies might have been used as a vehicle for avoiding censorship. She notes that several Portuguese authors, among others, Alves Redol, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, and Miguel Torga, managed to contribute to anthologies, despite the fact that their works were banned or they themselves were politically harassed during the *Estado Novo*.⁵⁰⁷ A similar phenomenon can be observed in Kádár-regime Hungary. In spite of the fact that Vladimir Nabokov and Arthur Koestler were officially banned in Hungary until the late 1980s, a short story by Nabokov and an essay by Koestler appeared in two anthologies in 1968 and 1973, respectively. Nevertheless, the relationship between censorship and anthologies needs further research so as to strengthen and confirm these and additional hypotheses.

III. 3. 3. Poetry Anthologies

The evidence suggests that the most popular literary genre for anthologies in Hungary was poetry. It appears that 119 poetry anthologies were published

⁵⁰⁷ Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta. "Censorship, Translation and the Anthology in the *Estado Novo*." *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*. Eds Teresa Seruya, Maria Lin Moniz and Alexandra Assis Rosa (Lisbon: Universidade Católica. 2009): 53-54.

in Hungary during the given period, of which forty-nine were single-translator volumes. More than half of the translators were well-known or relatively well-known poets of the time, and many of them were not ardent supporters of the regime. A great number of distinguished authors became translators out of necessity even in the dark 1950s, or after the Revolution of 1956 when they found themselves black-listed as politically unreliable and had to struggle with the costs of everyday life.⁵⁰⁸ The prestige of poetry translation rose in response to the translating activity of so many significant writers, and definitively contributed to laying the foundation for a high-quality translation industry of the period.⁵⁰⁹

Contrary to Hungary, poetry was never one of the most state-subsidised areas in Portugal. Besides a few Salazarist versemongers of momentary success, the Portuguese establishment never sponsored poets in the way that the Communist authorities did. Even though state-subsidised fiction and poetry of a propaganda nature did appear in Portuguese bookstores, and *Bibliotecas Ambulantes de Cultura Popular* did contain ideologically biased poetry, the producers of serious literature who refused to comply with the government's propaganda requirements faced serious financial difficulties due to the lack of government support.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ Hartvig. "Dean": 234.

⁵⁰⁹ Bart. *Világírodalom*: 55.

⁵¹⁰ Sapega: 90-91.

In spite of the fact that Communist culture policy supported only literature of putative educational value, there were certain marketing techniques even with regard to classic literature which clearly aimed at attracting a greater reading audience. An examination of the poetry anthologies of the period shows that selection criteria seem to be among the most effective popularising strategies. Nineteen of the 119 Hungarian poetry anthologies comprised love poems or poems deliberately selected for girls or women, for instance, which is a very rare phenomenon in Salazar's Portugal. Other popularising themes are mostly male-related, such as sports or hybrid anthologies designed for boys.

A comparison of the list of British poets anthologised in the two countries shows a notable absence of British war poets in the Portuguese publications. I have come across only three Great War poets in Portuguese anthologies: Rupert Brooke, Robert Graves, and Osbert Sitwell, and one World War II poet: F. T. Prince. In Hungary, however, ten Great War poets and three World War II poets were published, including Siegfried Sassoon, Edward Thomas, Wilfred Owen, and Sidney Keyes (See Table 12). Indeed, war and peace were frequent anthology topics in Hungary, where pacifism always seemed to be a key element, while in Portugal, works by British and American authors could easily be suppressed on account of their antimilitarist or pacifist content, such as Bertrand Russell's *War Crimes in Vietnam* (1967), James Thurber's *The Last Flower* (1939) or John Dos Passos's *Nineteen Nineteen* (1932).

Portuguese anthologies	Hungarian anthologies
Great War Poets	
Rupert Brooke (1) *	Rupert Brooke (11)
Robert Graves (1)	Robert Graves (10)
Osbert Sitwell (1)	Siegfried Sassoon (4)
	Edward Thomas (3)
	Wilfred Owen (4)
	Wilfred Wilson Gibson (2)
	Osbert Sitwell (1)
	Jeffrey Day (1)
	Richard Aldington (1)
	Herbert Read (1)
World War II Poets	
F. T. Prince (1)	Sidney Keyes (10)
	Alun Lewis (1)
	Keith Douglas (4)

Table 12: War poets in translation anthologies published in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974. The numerical figure in brackets indicates the number of anthologies in which the author was published.

III. 3. 4. Drama Anthologies

The noticeable lack of drama anthologies in

Portugal might be explained by the Salazar regime's inherently anti-theatre attitude. Unlike Hungary, the Portuguese establishment seemingly failed to recognise the political potential that lay in the theatre itself, and, therefore, never supported it effectively. Furthermore, the complex bureaucratic system of theatre censorship, introduced as early as 1927, made almost every theatre practitioner's work precarious and sometimes even impossible.⁵¹¹ Hungarian Communist cultural agitation and propaganda via cheap theatre and cinema tickets, in contrast, succeeded in stimulating the population's interest in culture in this form. However, in order to satisfy the audience's needs, the theatres and cinemas, along with the publishing houses, had to turn to the West for material. British plays were often in vogue in Hungarian theatres, especially during and after the Khrushchev Thaw. Apart from classic authors such as Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe or Ben Jonson, the anthologies contained a few contemporary playwrights, who had the double advantage of being leftist sympathisers and of portraying the sordid side of life in the West, dramatists such as George Bernard Shaw, or the "angry young man" John Osborne, or "kitchen sink dramatist" Arnold Wesker.⁵¹²

III. 3. 5. The Most Frequently Anthologised Authors

A comparison between the two lists of the most-

⁵¹¹ Rayner: 63.

⁵¹² Standeisky "Ivor Pink": 126.

often anthologised authors shows that in Hungary, classic British literature enjoyed notable success. The most popular authors in Hungary are all poets, including the dramatist and poet William Shakespeare and the novelist and poet Thomas Hardy,⁵¹³ while in Portugal, half of the anthologised authors are non-canonical authors such as the crime fiction writer Agatha Christie, Peter Cheyney, the science fiction author, Arthur C. Clarke or the author of the Simon Templar series, Leslie Charteris, for example (See Table 13). The reason for this is relatively simple. Poetry anthologies have never been the most profit-yielding publications, and without adequate government funding, a publisher specialising in such material could easily go bankrupt. Since Hungarian publishing houses were never profit-driven institutions, in contrast to the privately-owned Portuguese publishers, they could afford the luxury of publishing even unprofitable translation anthologies without the risk of bankruptcy. As pointed out before, highly profitable popular fiction was openly despised in Socialist Hungary, and many such authors were banned because they were deemed not to enshrine appropriate educational and cultural values.

⁵¹³ Shakespeare's works appeared in fifty-two poetry anthologies and three drama anthologies; Hardy's works were published in twenty-four poetry anthologies and only in four short story anthologies.

Portuguese anthologies	Hungarian anthologies
Agatha Christie (8)	Percy Bysshe Shelley (64)
H. G. Wells (8)	William Shakespeare (55)
Arthur Conan Doyle (7)	Robert Burns (53)
D. H. Lawrence (6)	William Butler Yeats (51)
Jonathan Swift (5)	Dylan Thomas (44)
G. K. Chesterton (4)	William Blake (43)
Peter Cheyney (4)	John Keats (43)
Arthur C. Clarke (4)	T. S. Eliot (36)
Charles Dickens (4)	Robert Browning (33)
Oscar Wilde (4)	William Wordsworth (33)
William Blake (3)	W. H. Auden (30)
Leslie Charteris (3)	Lord Byron (30)
William Shakespeare (3)	John Milton (30)
Alfred Lord Tennyson (3)	John Donne (29)
William Wordsworth (3)	Thomas Hardy (28)

Table 13: The most frequently anthologised British authors in Portugal and Hungary between 1949 and 1974

Furthermore, a comparison of the lists of British authors anthologised in Portugal and in Hungary reveals the conspicuously small number of contemporary writers. Notwithstanding the fact that contemporaneous British authors published in Hungary

apparently outnumber those published in Portugal, the proportional relationship between twentieth-century authors and authors from earlier periods seems to be very similar. It is also important to note that Hungarian publishers often produced drama, short story and poetry collections of contemporary authors with the intention of acquainting the Hungarian reading public with the most modern literary tendencies. Readers' reports from the Hungarian publishing house, *Európa Könyvkiadó* also confirm this surmise, as do the documents of the *Kiadói Főigazgatóság* (the Publishers' Directorate).⁵¹⁴ Nonetheless, the Hungarian authorities appear to be somewhat circumspect with regard to publishing relatively unknown contemporaneous authors whose works might not be in harmony with Socialist cultural priorities. "The deader the better" policy appears to be a central principle behind the Hungarian publishing industry, as it protected the publishers from publishing works which might arouse the disapproval of either Hungarian or Soviet cultural leaders, given that the ideological approval rating of dead authors had already been well established, while the ideological positions of contemporary writers might still be undecided or in a state of flux. Furthermore, producing tried-and-trusted

⁵¹⁴ According to a press conference report of the Directorate, for example, in 1966, several novels which had been regarded problematic by the authorities were still published such as *Orlando* by Virginia Woolf, or novels by André Gide and Robert Pinget, in order that Hungarian readers should be up-to-date with the main modern Western literary tendencies. In Tóth: 346.

classics also prevented publishers from promoting writers whose acceptance by the critics or the public was still in doubt, and potentially wasting foreign currency on copyright fees. In fact, the shortage of foreign currency constituted a constant problem in Socialist Hungary.⁵¹⁵

This respect for classic literary works and highly-reputed literature from the past is also a characteristic element of Portuguese publishing politics. However, the nature of this approval of the classics differs slightly from the conservative literary taste of the Socialist politicians in Hungary. José António Gomes points out that in Portugal, several books were republished from earlier decades due to the fact that they had already evidenced that they clearly complied with the conservative principles according to which the ideological edifice of the *Estado Novo* had been established.⁵¹⁶ This authoritative belief in the value of tradition, and accordingly established reputations, might be in part responsible for Portuguese publishing houses showing less initiative vis-à-vis newer tendencies. In any event, the

⁵¹⁵ Hungarian authorities seemed to rely on the strategy of setting the problematic works aside for some years. The advantage of this delaying tactic is twofold: publishers could bide their time for a politically more favourable atmosphere when the book would be allowed to be published, and they could wait and see whether the author in question stood the test of time and received approval from the critical establishment or not. In Sándor Révész. *Aczél és korunk* (Budapest: Noran, 1997): 346-350.

⁵¹⁶ José António Gomes: 35.

political and cultural isolation of Salazar's Portugal does seem to have hindered the influence of new foreign literary trends in the cultural life of the country.

III. 3. 6. Conclusion

The comparison of the translation anthologies of the two countries in the given period reveals noticeable differences with respect to the two countries' political approach towards literature. Understandably, their opposing attitudes can mostly be ascribed to the ideological divergence of the two regimes. The production of a greater number of anthologies in Hungary, however, might also be partly accounted for by the fact that anthologies, due to their varied contents, are suited for educational purposes in ways that single works are not. The enormous number of Hungarian anthologies destined for young girls and boys as well as the collections of politically-related themes already discussed strengthens this hypothesis. Nevertheless, didactic intention is also exemplified by Portuguese anthologists such as João Gaspar Simões and Jorge de Sena. Nonetheless, their determination to introduce unknown foreign literary works to the Portuguese public appears to be a somewhat arbitrary and unique phenomenon in Salazar's Portugal, as contrasted to the mass production of state commissioned and financed anthologies in Socialist Hungary.

III. 4. BRITISH LITERATURE IN HUNGARIAN AND PORTUGUESE TEXTBOOKS

"Fichte laid it down that education should aim at destroying free will, so that, after pupils have left school, they shall be incapable, throughout the rest of their lives, of thinking or acting otherwise than as their school masters would have wished. But in his day this was an unattainable ideal: what he regarded as the best system in existence produced Karl Marx. In future such failures are not likely to occur where there is dictatorship."

(Bertrand Russell: *The Impact of Science on Society*)⁵¹⁷

III. 4. 1. Education in Socialist Hungary and Salazar's Portugal

This chapter aims to examine the role attached to literature education in Salazar's Portugal and Socialist Hungary along with the two regimes' divergent approach towards world literature versus national literature in the light of school anthologies and manuals. It will also compare the specific position of British literature in this pedagogical material as well as the two governments' different techniques in the building of a corpus of literary authors and texts.

⁵¹⁷ Bertrand Russell. *The Impact of Science on Society* (London: Routledge, 1998): 62.

Both the Portuguese and Hungarian administrations recognised, soon after their establishment, the importance of education in preserving the longevity of their regimes. Besides the press and other propaganda agencies, education was instrumental in legitimising the two regimes' political and social programmes, and thus both of them effectuated far-reaching changes in the structure and practices of their education systems:

In Hungary, from 1947 onwards the Communist Party sought every possible way to eradicate the country's existing multiple-sector educational system and introduce a uniform state system. The first step for decisive change was the bill to nationalise schools, passed by the Parliament on 16 June 1948, according to which all privately owned schools – with the exception of a handful run by religious institutions – were abolished. The previous system of four grades of primary education and normally eight grades of secondary schooling was replaced by eight grades of elementary and four of secondary education.⁵¹⁸ At the same time a new type of technical middle school was inaugurated to provide its pupils with both the technical and theoretical skills to become middle-ranking cadres in industry, agriculture and other areas of the economy. Students flooded into these secondary schools, especially those from a working-class and peasant family background.⁵¹⁹ Attendance at school was obligatory from ages six to fourteen.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Kósa: 325.

⁵¹⁹ Romsics. *Hungary*: 283.

⁵²⁰ The school-leaving age was raised to sixteen.

By contrast, in Portugal, compulsory education was reduced from five to four years in 1928.⁵²¹ Secondary education was also divided into two sectors: *liceu* (grammar school) and *escola técnica* (secondary vocational school). Similarly to the Hungarian model, the former provided a more general education, and its main function was to prepare its students for higher education, while the latter – besides some basic academic skills – offered more of a vocational training. However, since most of these schools were located in bigger urban centres such as Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra, rural areas were mostly deprived of these secondary institutions.⁵²²

In parallel with these substantial changes in the educational system, both regimes eliminated the previously diversified system of textbooks and introduced a new textbook policy, which meant that elementary and secondary schools were obliged to use the same schoolbooks. This new one-textbook system, along with a standard curriculum, made it easier for governments to centralise their control over education. Furthermore, dissident thinkers or people considered to be unreliable were removed or forced to resign from their teaching positions at secondary and university level as well. In Portugal, among others, Agostinho da Silva, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, António Sérgio, António José Saraiva, and António Henriques de Oliveira Marques,⁵²³ in Hungary, István Bibó,

⁵²¹ In 1964, compulsory education was extended to six years, and in 1973, two additional years were added.

⁵²² Rendeiro: 40.

⁵²³ Rendeiro: 46.

István Hajnal, Sándor Domanovszky, and Domokos Kosáry lost their chairs, lectureships, or academic positions.⁵²⁴

Salazar's regime as well as the Communist Hungarian regime took considerable pains to instil the official ideology in children even outside school. The Hungarian replica of the Soviet "Young Pioneers", *Magyar Úttörők Szövetség* (Hungarian Pioneers' Association) and *Dolgozó Ifjúság Szövetség* (Association of Working Youth) along with the Portuguese *Mocidade Portuguesa*, and *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* were youth organisations that were created to supervise and overlook children and young people's extracurricular activities in the spirit of state propaganda.

One of the main differences between the two regimes, however, was that while in Hungary, public education was used as an instrument for mass indoctrination, the *Estado Novo* showed a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the education of the general public. For instance, Salazar strongly believed that the constitution of elites was more important than the need to teach people how to read,⁵²⁵ and thus that most people should receive only a basic form of education, enabling them to perform their daily working routine, while secondary and higher education was naturally available only to the upper classes.⁵²⁶ Conversely, in Hungary, the regime

⁵²⁴ Kósa: 327.

⁵²⁵ J. Ameal. *Anais da Revolução Nacional* Vol. IV (Barcelos: Oficinas Artistas Reunidos, 1933): 259.

⁵²⁶ Rendeiro: 38.

set out to implant the ideology of Marxism and Leninism as widely as possible in the minds of the population, which also involved the need to increase the total number of students enrolled in secondary as well as higher education, especially through recruitment from the working class and the peasantry.

In Hungary, the reorganisation of the education system was also followed by a sharp rise in the numerical indices of school participation. By 1954 the number of students attending middle school grew to 162,461, which was much more than double the number of the school year 1946/47, which had been 72,059.⁵²⁷ The numbers of students enrolling in higher education also ballooned at rates far exceeding those of the Horthy era. By 1954 the number attending day courses at universities and colleges was three times greater than the pre-war total.⁵²⁸ It is also important to note that tuition was free for all students from age six up to university level.

Even though the *Estado Novo* was concerned with education, modernisation of its educational system was not a priority in policy making. As António Costa Pinto points out, "instead of promoting the modernisation of the school system, the *Estado Novo* controlled what it inherited."⁵²⁹ Although there was a moderate, but constant increase in the number of Portuguese secondary school students between 1930 and 1950, the numbers bear no comparison to the Hungarian ones. In 1930 the number of pupils entering middle

⁵²⁷ Romsics. *Magyarország*: 363.

⁵²⁸ Romsics. *Hungary*: 284.

⁵²⁹ Costa Pinto. "Introduction": 35.

school was 19,268, in 1940 36,467, and in 1950 48,485.⁵³⁰ As far as higher education is concerned, in 1930 7,037 students attended Portuguese universities, in 1940 9,332, and in 1950 13,489.⁵³¹

In view of these numbers, unsurprisingly the amount of the two governments' expenditure on education was considerably divergent. While in Hungary, substantial resources were poured into the school system and other cultural institutions from 1949 onwards,⁵³² the Portuguese government's spending on education remained stagnant from 1930 to 1960.⁵³³ These tendencies also reflect the degree of importance attached to education by the two administrations.

The Portuguese regime's attitude towards illiteracy is also noteworthy. Certain important figures inside the *Estado Novo* even glorified illiteracy, seeing in it traces of genuine Portuguese qualities. One reactionary deputy, for example, argued that the Portuguese nation's proudest achievements such as the Reconquest, the Discoveries, and the Restoration had been accomplished by illiterate heroes.⁵³⁴ Salazar's attitude towards

⁵³⁰ António Nóvoa. "A educação nacional." *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*. Ed. Fernando Rosas (Lisbon: Editorial Presença): 486.

⁵³¹ Nóvoa: 495.

⁵³² Romsics. *Hungary*: 232.

⁵³³ Costa Pinto. "Introduction": 35.

⁵³⁴ Maria Filomena Mónica. "Moulding the Minds of the People: Popular Education in Twentieth Century Portugal." Presented at the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal Symposium at the University of New Hampshire, USA, 22 June

general literacy also leaves much to be desired.⁵³⁵ Furthermore, reducing compulsory education by two years was hardly calculated to combat illiteracy either. Despite this general background, the government did launch campaigns against illiteracy, especially in the 1950s, which produced some results. However, no sustained effort was made to reduce mass illiteracy.

In Hungary, the illiteracy rate significantly declined, albeit from a very low level, and was practically eliminated by the 1960s.⁵³⁶ This tendency, of course, well suited the Marxist ideology, where literacy as well as education were central elements in disseminating the political vision of Marxism. Education basically sought to promote a thoroughgoing understanding of the new political system, thereby moulding people to work for the benefit of society, and to become "self-aware and disciplined [...] builders of Socialism."⁵³⁷

1979. Quoted in Gallagher: 99.

⁵³⁵ In one of his speeches, Salazar quoted a Swedish journalist who – when he heard that the government would start teaching the Portuguese to read – exclaimed "in Sweden, it was exactly this that made people unhappy." In Nóvoa: 474.

⁵³⁶ The illiteracy rate was only 7% in 1930. In Romsics. Magyarország: 177.

⁵³⁷ "öntudatos és fegyelmezett [...] szocializmus építőjévé nevelje." In Vallás- és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium. Tanterv az általános gimnázium számára. (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1950): 3.

III. 4. 2. Hungarian and Portuguese Literature Textbooks

Portugal's isolation from the rest of Europe had a profound impact on its educational policy as well. It also enabled the regime to curb access to information about the world's events. Neutrality during the Second World War may have spared Portugal from famine, death, and destruction, but it also precluded the possibility of any political challenge to the state's official ideology. Thus the *Estado Novo* resisted reforms and progress and built up an image of Portugal in its textbooks that did not reflect many aspects of the country at all. Basically, Portuguese education pivoted on the same principles from 1933 until the end of the regime in 1974.⁵³⁸

To a certain extent, the same was true of Hungarian education. Hungary's unilateral relationship with the USSR and its satellite states, and its isolation physically reinforced by the Iron Curtain at its border seriously hindered the appearance of new foreign tendencies and influences. Therefore, the selection criteria determining the choice of literary authors and texts were wholly subject to the governing ideology and political usefulness, rather than to their putative aesthetic or cultural values. Ideologised content was accordingly abundantly evident in both the Hungarian and Portuguese textbooks right from the beginning:

⁵³⁸ Rendeiro: 45-46.

In Portugal, an educational decree issued in 1936 defined the goal of literature education as "to develop nationalist feelings and mould the character of the student."⁵³⁹ Literature textbooks also echoed Salazar's three-part doctrine of *Deus* (God), *Pátria* (Fatherland), and *Família* (Family), and celebrated the virtues of rural life as an inherently national reality associated with physical and mental health and happiness. The authors and editors of school manuals and anthologies selected literary texts which they believed to be the best conveyors of the political ideology in force. The majority of the writers represented were already dead and belonged to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Teachers presented them as the masters and milestones of Portuguese literature.⁵⁴⁰

The textbooks praised João de Deus's, Augusto Gil's, and Júlio Dinis's spontaneous talent and the simplicity of their works along with Almeida Garrett's nationalistic choice of subject in his plays, while António Sardinha was a nationalist poet with a genuine patriotic talent, and António Corrêa

⁵³⁹ "desenvolver o sentimento nacional e a formação moral do aluno" In Decreto-lei nº 27084. *Diário do Governo*. 14 October 1936: 1245. Quoted in Teresa Seruya. "História Literária e Traduções no Estado Novo. Uma introdução possível." *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada, Estudos Literários—Estudos Culturais*. Vol. 2. May 2001. Universidade de Évora http://pdf-esmanual.com/books/31040/hist%C3%93ria_liter%C3%81ria_e_tradu%C3%87%C3%95es_no_estado_novo_uma_.html (last accessed 21/10/2012): 3.

⁵⁴⁰ Rendeiro: 44.

d'Oliveira was a "true poet of the land and patriotism."⁵⁴¹ It is intriguing that the small corpus of contemporary Portuguese authors did not necessarily encompass only supporters of the *Estado Novo*. Selected texts by Afonso Lopes Vieira, advocate of the right-wing movement *Integralismo Lusitano*, and by leftist sympathisers such as Alves Redol and Miguel Torga were included in several school manuals and anthologies. Their political positions were evidently ignored. Furthermore, although several novels by Eça de Queirós were blacklisted, and expelled from Portuguese school libraries for their severe social criticism and anti-religious content, works such as *O Crime do Padre Amaro*, *O Primo Basílio*, *Os Maias*, and *A Capital*, textbooks glorified the ideologically more suitable novel *A Cidade e as Serras* or the short story "O Suave Milagre" instead.⁵⁴²

In the 1950s in Hungary, the texts of the new educational decrees as well as of the freshly printed schoolbooks were all imbued with vulgar Stalinist Marxism: One of the goals of elementary schooling, for example, was "to lay the foundation of basic education, to fight against superstitions, reactionary prejudices, and ideological obsolescence",⁵⁴³ while secondary education should aim

⁵⁴¹ "[...] é um verdadeiro poeta da terra e dos sentimentos nacionais." Quoted in Irene Maria Leandro Rodrigues Fialho. "Popular e popularizante nos manuais escolares do Estado Novo." MA thesis. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1993: 189.

⁵⁴² Melo: 151-154.

⁵⁴³ "hogya megadja az általános műveltség alapjait, küzdjön a babonák, a reakciós előítéletek és minden maradiság ellen," In

to "familiarise students with the progressive and democratic traditions of national and international cultural history, to struggle against bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism."⁵⁴⁴ Another overzealous example is that that animal tales presented in an elementary textbook were organised in line with the animals' evolutionary order, an over-enthusiastic response to the Soviet suggestion that science education should be more promoted at all levels of education.⁵⁴⁵

The new corpus of literary authors was reduced to those who were considered to be in line with the assumedly progressive cultural heritage. In the Stalinist years school manuals and anthologies were confined to representing soi-disant "revolutionary" poets and writers of the past such as Sándor Petőfi, Endre Ady, Attila József, Kálmán Mikszáth, and Zsigmond Móricz.⁵⁴⁶ After Stalin's death, the politicisation of literature education significantly diminished, but Marxist-Leninist principles continued to prevail in the subsequent curricula. Nevertheless, the hegemony of Socialist Realism appeared to weaken,

Vallás- és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium. *Tanterv az általános iskolák számára*: 3.

⁵⁴⁴ "ismertesse a magyar és az egyetemes emberi kultúra és történelem haladó és demokratikus hagyományait, küzdjön a polgári nacionalizmus és a kozmopolitanizmus ellen." In Vallás- és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium. *Gimnázium*: 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Pálné Komár. "Irodalomtanításunk fejlődésének húsz éve." *Magyartanítás* 8 (1965): 55.

⁵⁴⁶ Lajos Sipos. "Iskolaszervezet, irodalomfogalom, irodalomtanítás Magyarországon." *Irodalomtanítás a harmadik évezredben* (Budapest: Krónika Nova, 2006): 22.

and the new political and cultural conditions of the *Thaw* finally allowed the insertion of information on previously less favoured authors and literary tendencies such as avant-garde movements or abstract arts in school manuals, albeit still in a slightly disparaging manner.

As can be seen, the history of Hungarian literature education during Communism was characterised by a relatively uneven pattern, which was also shaped by various historical and institutional forces. The initial Stalinist years with their dogmatic fervour were superseded by a post-1956 educational reform, which, in fact, was carried through only in the school year of 1965-1966. The most significant turning point in the course of Hungarian educational history, however, occurred only in 1978. In literature teaching, it meant that with the appearance of a radically new textbook series, literature was liberated once and for all from the status of being used as a crude political tool.⁵⁴⁷

The history of literature teaching during the *Estado Novo* can be also divided into three phases. According to António Nóvoa, the first period (1930-1936) was characterised by a complete demolition and

⁵⁴⁷ Due to the constraints of space, the period after 1974 will be excluded from our analysis. For more information on the topic, see Zsófia Gombár, "Hungarian Literature Education and Literary Theories from 1979 to the Present Day." *Actas do VI Congresso Nacional Associação Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada / X Colóquio de Outono Comemorativo das Vanguardas*, 2009. http://ceh.ilch.uminho.pt/publicacoes_online_i2.php (last accessed 21/10/2012).

restructuring of the Republican school system, while the second (1936-1947) is described as the constitution of a new nationalist educational system, where the state, backed by mass student and parent organisations and with the introduction of the *livro único* (single textbook) attempted more determinedly to employ education as an instrument for indoctrination. The third post-war period was marked by campaigns against illiteracy and also by a certain depoliticisation of the Portuguese educational system.⁵⁴⁸ With these periods in mind, the next subchapter will attempt to analyse the role and representation of British literature in Portuguese and Hungarian textbooks.

III. 4. 3. British Literature in Hungarian and Portuguese Literature Textbooks

III. 4. 3. 1. The Position of World Literature in Hungarian and Portuguese Literature Education

Before comparing the attitudes towards British literature in the two countries, it is important to call attention to the different positioning of world literature adopted in the two educational systems. Similarly to post-war Hungarian literature teaching, Portuguese literature classes concentrated only on Portuguese literature, while world literature as such had never been systematically taught. Some foreign authors may have been mentioned if they were

⁵⁴⁸ Nóvoa: 457-461.

considered to be relevant in the course of national literary history or in providing students with an international context for the Portuguese literary movements and tendencies. Familiarising students with a particular foreign literature was normally undertaken within the compass of language teaching.⁵⁴⁹

The reason for introducing world literature teaching into the new Hungarian curricula did not lie only in the Proletarian internationalist concept of Communism, but also in the fact that the new political powers intended to legitimise the presence of Soviet influence in all sectors of life, including the presence of Soviet literature in literature education. The question as to why world literature should be taught along with national literature was convincingly answered by a programmatic preface to an adult education textbook dating from 1953: The text, spattered with hackneyed quotations by Mátyás Rákosi and culture minister József Révai, argues that even the progressive traditions of national literature alone could not be sufficient for building up a new Hungarian Socialist and democratic culture. Therefore, Hungarians should rely more on the Soviet model. According to Rákosi, Hungary was a strong, esteemed and independent country only when its history was in conformity with the most progressive international tendencies. Applying Rákosi's teaching

⁵⁴⁹ The lack of international literature in literature education is, indeed, a widely acknowledged phenomenon in other countries as well. For more information, cf., among others, János Gordon Győri. ed. *Irodalomtanítás a világ kilenc oktatási rendszerében* (Budapest: Pont Kiadó, 2003).

to the field of literature, the preface concludes that the most progressive Hungarian authors and their works should not be examined separately from their international context.⁵⁵⁰

III. 4. 3. 2. The Consolidating Years in Portugal (1930-1947) and in Hungary (1949-1956)

Quoting political leaders in literature textbooks was also an established custom in Salazar's Portugal, especially in the initial years of the *Estado Novo*. On 18 March 1932, a decree published in *Diário do Governo* presented a list of 113 maxims, which were to be inserted in literature textbooks. The list contained proverbs as well as quotations from literary authors, philosophers, historians, and also by politicians such as Mussolini, Salazar, and Sidónio Pais. According to another decree dated 20 December 1932, a few quotations selected from the previous list, along with others, had to be displayed on the walls of all Portuguese classrooms and school libraries.⁵⁵¹

The majority of the maxims were used to implant obedience and respect for authority in the pupils. "Não invejes os que te são superiores, porque estes têm responsabilidades e deveres que tu ignores" (Do not envy your superiors, because they have

⁵⁵⁰ Péter Szilágyi. *Világirodalmi olvasókönyv* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1953): 3-4.

⁵⁵¹ Rómulo de Carvalho. *História do Ensino em Portugal: Desde a fundação da nacionalidade até ao fim do regime de Salazar-Caetano* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001): 738-739.

responsibilities and obligations you are not aware of) or "Se tu soubesses o que custa mandar, gostarias mais de obedecer toda a vida" (If you knew what it meant to rule, you would rather obey all your life) provide representative examples. Interestingly, several proverbs were of foreign origin such as the English proverb: "Nada fazer é fazer mal" (Doing nothing is doing ill),⁵⁵² and one also finds a great number of quotations from foreign authors such as Ovid, Leonardo da Vinci, Dante, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, La Fontaine, Molière, Rodin, and including English-language authors such as the Anglican cleric Sydney Smith, Samuel Smiles (author of an early self-help manual), Alexander Pope, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Benjamin Franklin.

Indeed, besides these quotations, it is quite difficult to find any reference to British literature in Portuguese literature textbooks published in the early 1930s, if one does not count António Feliciano de Castilho as the translator of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer's Night Dream*.⁵⁵³ Published in 1936, the *História da Literatura Portuguesa* by Agostinho Fortes and Albino Forjaz de Sampaio already includes more on British literature than only one sentence. The book deals with the Arthurian Cycle at length, and Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron and Walter Scott are also mentioned, as are Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and

⁵⁵² Cândido de Carvalho. *Leituras correntes* (Lisbon: Tip. da Emp. Nacional de Publicidade, 1930): 126.

⁵⁵³ Francisco Júlio Martins Sequeira and Manuel António de Morais Neves. *Portugal é grande. Como se prova nesta selecta literária para o 2º ciclo dos liceus* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, [193?]).

John Stuart Mill.⁵⁵⁴

In the 1940s, one of the few books containing references to British literary authors is the *História da Literatura Portuguesa* by Augusto Dias (1939), and another is *A Língua e Literatura Portuguesa* by Arlindo Ribeiro da Cunha (1941). Both books were authorised as school manuals shortly after the new educational decree of 1936 was issued. The novelty of the books is that besides the chapters on Portuguese literature, they contain separate sections on parallel foreign literary tendencies under the title *Sincronismo literário* (literary synchronism). Augusto Dias's manual is apparently a less professionally written book. Apart from the spelling mistakes in the foreign authors' names, biographical notes are normally limited only to minimal information. Besides the authors' names, birth and death dates, the only piece of information on Chaucer is that he is the father of English poetry, on Byron that he is the most famous poet after Shakespeare, and on Dryden that he is the most celebrated poet in the period after Milton. Exceptionally, Dias devoted two paragraphs to Shakespeare. Nevertheless, no further information is revealed except for the fact that the playwright's authorship is still debated, and that it was Bacon who might have been the true author of Shakespeare's plays. Swift, Defoe, and Pope are only mentioned in passing.

⁵⁵⁴ Agostinho Fortes and Albino Forjaz de Sampaio. *História da Literatura Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular Francisco Franco, 1936).

Padre (Father) Cunha's work reveals much more sophisticated scholarship. He even devotes a passage to the origin of the English language, and besides Chaucer, mentions John Gower.⁵⁵⁵ Padre Cunha also pays special attention to the English and Portuguese cultural relations wherever possible, including Walter Scott's influence on Garrett and Herculano,⁵⁵⁶ and Byron's visit to Sintra.⁵⁵⁷ In most cases, Cunha also indicates the Portuguese translator's name as in Dom Luís's translations of Shakespeare, António Araújo de Azevedo's translation of Dryden, or José Anastácio da Cunha's and the Marquesa de Alorna's renderings of Pope.⁵⁵⁸

Joaquim Ferreira in his manual, which was first published in 1939, also mentions British authors who were considered to be relevant in the context of Portuguese literature either because their works were translated into Portuguese by famous Portuguese literary figures or because they themselves represented a profound influence on Portuguese writers, referring, for example, to Byron, Walter Scott, James Thomson, and Macpherson. However, Ferreira's work appears to be ideologically far more committed to the regime than, for example, the republican Agostinho Fortes's textbook. Ferreira states, for instance, that Camões's genius exceeded the talent of all the poets of the Peninsula, and only the sublime spirit of Byron was able to

⁵⁵⁵ Cunha: 47.

⁵⁵⁶ Cunha: 429.

⁵⁵⁷ Cunha: 409.

⁵⁵⁸ Cunha: 356.

understand his poetry more profoundly.⁵⁵⁹

Even though the scope of this study does not include language teaching course books, four English course books (two Portuguese and two Hungarian ones) will be considered exceptions here because of their uniquely literary character. *Selecta Inglesa* and *British and American Writers* by P. Júlio Albino Ferreira are two books which attempt to teach English through literary excerpts and texts. The lists of authors used in the books basically correspond to the Portuguese canon of British literature of the period including authors such as Shakespeare, Byron, Macaulay, Dickens, Scott, George Eliot, and Oscar Wilde. However, the presence of poems by Chaucer, Wordsworth, Shelley, Thomas Moore, and Tennyson was uncommon under the *Estado Novo*.

As regards questions of teaching methodology, it is doubtful that the complex and rich language of the texts was adequate for pedagogical purposes. Originally, the objective of secondary language teaching in the modern languages was the same as that of the teaching of Latin and Greek, namely, to develop students' ability to read the classics of literature in the original language, which meant that traditional grammatical instruction was combined with literary text analysis. However, with the shift of language teaching methods towards a more pragmatic approach, subsequent textbooks, with a few exceptions, stopped using literary texts as exclusive

⁵⁵⁹ Joaquim Ferreira. *História da Literatura Portuguesa* (Oporto: Domingos Barreira, 1960): 350.

reading materials, and their language was also simplified and adapted more closely to children's ages and stages of language acquisition. The same tendency could be observed in language teaching in Hungary.⁵⁶⁰

In Hungary, the fact that Russian language teaching became compulsory in 1949 imposed severe cutbacks on the teaching of other foreign languages. Furthermore, as people had limited opportunities to use Western languages because of the draconian restrictions on travel and access to mass media, there was a lack of genuine learner motivation.⁵⁶¹ Therefore, it seems to be somewhat surprising that the new Hungarian government was so eager to launch a completely new course book series adapted to the new ideological concept for such a limited number of learners.

The two Hungarian language course books investigated here also relied greatly on literary texts.⁵⁶² Although the majority of authors mostly

⁵⁶⁰ *Great Britain and the USA. Past and Present* by Laura Costa Dias de Figueiredo and António Leitão de Figueiredo also contain several texts by British and American authors along with other extracts on the political and cultural structure of the two countries.

⁵⁶¹ Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf. *Language Planning and Policy in Europe Language Planning and Policy in Europe*. Vol. 1. *Hungary, Finland and Sweden* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005): 63.

⁵⁶² László Báti, René Bonnerjea, Albert Kovács, Tibor Lutter, and Éva Róna. *Angol könyv. A középiskolák III-IV. osztálya számára* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó Vállalat, 1949), János Zentai and Lajos Korenchy. *Angol nyelvkönyv III.* (Budapest:

correspond to those presented by the Portuguese textbooks, e.g. Swift, Goldsmith, Shakespeare, Dickens, Scott, Byron, and George Eliot, the Hungarian course books encompassed previously unprecedented texts and authors. Including texts by Communist authors such as the American writer Howard Fast, and even an excerpt from *The Condition of the Working Class in England* by Engels seems to be more understandable, but chapters on "Comrade Stalin's Childhood and Youth," "Comrade Rákosi Meets Lenin," and the "Internationale" in English, along with the Hungarian "Five-Year Plan" do not seem to fit the context of English language education at all.

The over-politicisation of biographical notes and the overwhelming dominance of (vulgar) Marxist readings of literary texts were not rare phenomena in the Stalinist era either. The statements on certain British authors in the two course books, in fact, bear a striking resemblance to those to be found in literature textbooks published during the same period. Shakespeare, for instance, was characterised as a playwright who was "most intimately related to the people," "the carrier of the voice of the people", and who created a "realistic rendering of the historical situation of his time: the dissolution of feudalism [...], the forecast of a definite settlement of bourgeoisie society, [and] the class conflicts of his time."⁵⁶³

Shelley and Byron were constantly categorised as

Tankönyvkiadó Vállalat, 1955).

⁵⁶³ Báti: 9.

revolutionary poets, who though originally members of the upper class, "saw all the typical faults of [their] class."⁵⁶⁴ Describing the sufferings of the poor in Capitalist society was also considered to be an asset. George Eliot's works and Thomas Hood's poem "The Song of the Shirt" (1843) were praised for showing "a true socialist spirit, a real compassion with those who sweat and work."⁵⁶⁵ The course books also contained several negative value judgments on certain authors: Thackeray, for example, was criticised because "unlike Dickens, he was unable to extend his interest to the lower classes,"⁵⁶⁶ while Dickens was not able to draw "further conclusions and could not put his finger on those main issues which were to point to the future [namely, Communism]."⁵⁶⁷ Tennyson, however, was only a court poet and no more than "the mouthpiece of Victorian imperialism."⁵⁶⁸

One of the main differences between the Portuguese and Hungarian English-language course books – besides the strong presence of historical and biographical descriptions in the Hungarian textbooks as opposed to the Portuguese ones which either lack or contain very little information on the authors – is that the Hungarian course books were explicitly used as political instruments to indoctrinate students in a very narrow set of political beliefs. Beyond the conscious selection of politically decent

⁵⁶⁴ Bálti: 43.

⁵⁶⁵ Bálti: 50.

⁵⁶⁶ Bálti: 63.

⁵⁶⁷ Bálti: 55.

⁵⁶⁸ Bálti: 72.

texts, authors and themes, the Hungarian textbook texts disseminated the official cultural line and view on British literature and literary figures. The course books used the foreign language environment to inculcate political dogmas in young readers.⁵⁶⁹ As far as Portuguese textbooks are concerned, I have not found any clear evidence pointing to the fact that English course books or literature textbooks would use authors in English, texts, or any reference on British literature in such an overtly ideological fashion. It should be added though that the references found in Portuguese textbooks are significantly less in number than the Hungarian ones, due to the fact that – as mentioned above – world literature was not part of the Portuguese literature curriculum.

It is also important to mention that the number of British authors discussed in literature textbooks and school anthologies in Hungary under the Stalinist years is remarkably limited. Basically, only five authors are accepted in the primary and secondary school corpus, that is, Thomas More, Shakespeare, Defoe, Dickens, and Shaw. Nevertheless, none of them escapes criticism: Despite their progressive stance, neither Shakespeare nor Thomas More shared a

⁵⁶⁹ One of the lessons, for instance, is an excerpt from *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* written by Stalin, which was, in fact, the official state doctrine of the USSR for decades, which appears to have absolutely no relation to English teaching other than the fact that the text was in English.

revolutionary attitude.⁵⁷⁰ Thomas More as the precursor of Utopian Socialism was praised of course, but according to the textbook writer, although More could not resign himself to a class society, he was still unable to recognise the rules of progression, and thus failed to offer any satisfactory solution.⁵⁷¹ Dickens was criticised for being liberal, and also for not being able to identify himself with the revolutionary liberation movements of the proletariat.⁵⁷² On the other hand, Shaw's bourgeois background was partly forgiven because of his friendly attitude towards the USSR.⁵⁷³

Indeed, these Stalinist textbooks have an abundant supply of examples of political zeal. According to one of the textbooks, for instance, Shakespeare enjoys more popularity in the Soviet Union where his plays are, in fact, understood at a much deeper level than in the imperialist Anglo-Saxon countries.⁵⁷⁴ As an example of such "deeper" understanding is the argument that Hamlet's downfall may be put down to the fact that, like King Lear, he withdrew himself from the masses, for without the help of the proletariat, no one can make history.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁰ Szilágyi: 140.

⁵⁷¹ Szilágyi: 122.

⁵⁷² Gusztáv Makay and György Dallos. *Magyar irodalomtörténet. I. rész* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1956): 196.

⁵⁷³ László Bóka et al. *Magyar irodalomtörténet. III. rész* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1956): 164.

⁵⁷⁴ Tibor Klaniczai et al. *Magyar irodalomtörténet. I. rész. Ideiglenes tankönyv.* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1950): 246.

⁵⁷⁵ Klaniczai: 190.

In fact, the exceptionally low number of British authors presented in the textbook corresponds very closely to the strict publishing policy of the period, which greatly hindered the publication of all English-language literatures, but, on the other hand, strongly promoted works by Russian and Soviet authors or writers from Soviet-allied countries. This tendency may also be observed in literature education. The prevailing dominance of Soviet writers in literature textbooks, figures such as Sholokhov, Tikhonov, Simonov, Fadeyev, or Pavlenko and the almost complete absence of modern Western authors are indicative of the situation.⁵⁷⁶

III. 4. 3. 3. The Reform Years

In the wake of Khrushchev's *Thaw* and the Revolution of 1956, the stridently political overtones of the textbooks significantly diminished, and the downright hostility towards Western literature also began to disappear. A certain criticism was also expressed over Stalinist sectarianism. One of the textbook writers, for example, openly disapproved of the fact that during the years of dogmatism literary products which did not conform to the principles of Socialist Realism were condemned as the decadent by-product of decaying imperialism. Nevertheless, in the following sentence, contradicting himself, the author agreed with the Stalinist stricture in part and concurred that the average production of Western literature was

⁵⁷⁶ Bóka: 122-161.

genuinely inferior.⁵⁷⁷

This strange duality of rejecting Stalinist dogmatism, while meanwhile reaffirming Socialist expectations, appears to be a recurring pattern in all literature textbooks published until the late 1970s. Even though the ideological content of these textbooks can by no means be compared to those of the Stalinist periods, the underlying concepts of the books still show several resemblances. For example, although the new textbook's definition of Hamlet's downfall no longer alludes so bluntly to the prince's class barriers, which prevented him from joining the proletariat, the argument is modified into a critique of the loneliness and isolation of a humanist thinker who, despite his immense popularity among his people, failed to join forces with them.⁵⁷⁸

There is also a considerable increase in the number of British authors, especially with regard to contemporary writers. The appearance of previously despised authors such as James Joyce or T. S. Eliot is noteworthy. Paradoxically, the space devoted to these "permitted" writers is often the same as the space given over to politically "promoted" authors. However, strict criticism is still an obligatory element of the discourse: Joyce's *Ulysses* is described as an exceptionally important contribution to contemporary literature, but, as claimed by the

⁵⁷⁷ Balázs Szappanos and Pálné Vidor. *Magyar irodalom. Irodalomtörténet. III.* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1970): 203.

⁵⁷⁸ Balázs Szappanos and Pálné Vidor. *Magyar irodalom. Irodalomtörténet. II.* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1974): 260-261.

author of the textbook, it cannot be an inspirational model in the future, since the novel fails to fulfil its social function as a work of art.⁵⁷⁹ It is also intriguing how T. S. Eliot's political conservatism is brushed away by the textbook writer, as if he intended to forestall any possible political attacks derived from the insertion of the poet in the textbook: "T. S. Eliot's conservative Anglo-Catholic loyalism is as irrelevant in evaluating his poetry as Balzac's monarchism in the analysis of his Realism."⁵⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Eliot's nihilist outlook on life at an early stage in his career, manifested in *The Waste Land*, is compared to the politically more active attitude of another *poeta doctus* Mihály Babits in the pre-war years, held up as a more progressive approach.⁵⁸¹

The habit of presenting a politically less reliable author and then interlarding the text with criticism suited the publishers' practice of annotating the "permitted" works with a preface or postscript containing an ideologically more acceptable contextualisation. This well-established custom made it possible to keep the Hungarian reading public always informed about the most current literary trends – in fact, it was one of the

⁵⁷⁹ "ennek a konzervatív, angol-katolikus kiráypártiságnak épp annyi jelentősége van Eliot költészetének megítélésekor, mint Balzac monarchista meggyőződésének realizmusa szempontjából." In László Kéry. ed. *Szöveggyűjtemény a XX. század világirodalmából a középiskolák IV. osztálya számára* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975): 135.

⁵⁸⁰ Kéry: 142.

⁵⁸¹ Kéry: 143.

governing principles of Hungarian culture policy in the Kádár era – even if they happened to slightly contradict the official state ideology.

Hungarian literature textbooks normally divided literary authors into two categories of “well” and “badly-behaved” writers.⁵⁸² As far as contemporary literature is concerned, those who recognised the Socialist ideology as a more just and developed form of life were highly esteemed, but those who did not show a particularly friendly attitude towards Communism were considered less talented. As stated by one of the textbooks, English poetry arrived at a turning point in the 1930s. Amid the decline of the British Empire, the new generation of English poets had to decide which road to follow. Their predecessors were either “langyos maradiak” (lukewarm traditionalists) like Robert Bridges, William Henry Davies, and Walter de la Mare, who still grieved for a bygone world, or the “türelmetlen képrombólók” (hot-headed iconoclasts) such as Joyce or Yeats, who searched for completely new, experimental modes of expression. Young poets including W. H. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis, Louis MacNeice, Stephen Spender and Dylan Thomas, however, chose a completely different path. Even though the textbook writer does not refer to it, it was widely known that all of these poets shared left-wing views.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² Károly Pála, Ed. *Tankönyvháború. Viták a gimnáziumi irodalomoktatás reformjáról a hetvenes-nyolcvanas években* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1991): 267.

⁵⁸³ Kéry: 96.

In another textbook, Eliot and W. H. Auden are compared with one another. Both of the poets are said to be disappointed with the Capitalist ways of the world. However, while Eliot's response is to immerse himself in erudite, obscure and deeply pessimistic poetry, Auden chooses a more constructive path, and that is, solidarity with the proletariat. According to the textbook writer, Auden made the only choice a rational person could possibly make.⁵⁸⁴

This duality is also well evidenced in the evaluation of other literary movements, e.g. the different Romantic movements. According to the textbook by Balázs Szappanos and Pálné Vidor, some German Romantic poets became disillusioned with the French Revolution and escaped from the present, taking sanctuary in the remote past or in the world of fairy tales and fantasy. Conversely, Victor Hugo and other French Romantic poets recognised the importance of class and social struggle, and used the force of the written word to fight against injustice. Following this logic, it comes as no surprise that Wordsworth and Coleridge should not be included in this textbook, while Byron and Shelley are depicted as the most revolutionary English poets.⁵⁸⁵

These Marxist textbooks denied that literature could be read in any terms other than those which rated its socialist credentials. Literature was regarded merely as a tool to exemplify certain social

⁵⁸⁴ Szappanos. *III*: 211.

⁵⁸⁵ Balázs Szappanos and Pálné Vidor. *Magyar irodalom. Irodalomtörténet. I. A gimnáziumok II. osztálya számára* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1969): 131-133, 156.

and ideological phenomena and historical changes.⁵⁸⁶ The succession of classes, namely, primitive society, slaveholding society, Feudalism, Capitalism, and Socialism – as postulated by Marx and Engels – was presented as an absolute and general basic law of history, in which literature occupied only an illustrative role: Shakespeare was a fierce critic of Feudalism, with an oeuvre pointing to the path towards the rise of the English middle class and the English Civil War. Dickens was a bitter critic of Capitalism and had a fellow feeling for Socialism. The final evolutionary stage was reached by the Social Realist artist, whose prevailing optimism showed a sharp contrast with the pessimism and decadence displayed by the revolutionary avant-garde artists of the Capitalist world. The smooth curve of literary and historical evolution might have left students with a reassuring impression of an unambiguous and straightforward world.

As far as the Portuguese literature textbooks are concerned, in spite of the fact that the *livro único* was introduced as early as 1936 in secondary and vocational school education, it came into force only in 1947 along with the post-war educational reforms. However, as Luís Reis Torgal also notes, teaching in the secondary school classroom mostly depended on the teacher, and not on the textbook in force.⁵⁸⁷ In

⁵⁸⁶ Páala: 282.

⁵⁸⁷ Accordingly, the scope of the investigation also includes a limited number of textbooks which may not have been officially authorised as a *livro único*, but were used by secondary school teachers during the *Estado Novo*.

truth, most of the teachers disregarded the *livro único*, and used textbooks published during the Republic, other unofficial manuals, or did not use any books at all.⁵⁸⁸

Moreover, a comparison between the school manuals published before and after 1947 reveals no significant difference.⁵⁸⁹ Accordingly, the list of British authors and works presented in the Portuguese textbooks published after 1947 is very similar to the one before. The textbook writers normally mention only those authors in English who are regarded to be relevant to the course of Portuguese literary history: Marquise Alorna translated poems by Macpherson, Pope, and Thomson, Almeida Garrett read works by Walter Scott and Byron. The Arthurian cycle of prose romances also appear to be a recurring subject of the Portuguese textbooks, and, in fact, the only one that is discussed at length. This is mainly due to the fact the Lancelot-Grail cycle along with other Arthurian legends had a major impact on the Portuguese cultural context as early as the thirteenth century.

Nevertheless, despite Shakespeare's long-lasting influence on certain Portuguese literary figures, he did not receive any particular attention from the textbook authors. Shakespeare is mentioned in only eight of the ninety-one literature textbooks under investigation, and none of them discuss his oeuvre. Also, Robert Southey and Henry Fielding, in spite of

⁵⁸⁸ Luís Reis Torgal. "Antero e o "integralismo" Interpretação e ideologia." *Revista de Guimarães* 102 (1992): 129.

⁵⁸⁹ Fialho: 57.

the fact that they visited and lived in the country – indeed, Fielding died in Lisbon – are mentioned only once. Although the English Romantic and Pre-Romantic poets enjoyed a relatively well-respected position in the Portuguese textbook corpus, alongside the Lake poet Robert Southey as mentioned above, Keats and Shelley receive little attention. Keats's name also appears only in one textbook, while Shelley's name occurs twice.

As far as English drama is concerned, apart from Shakespeare, the only playwright who is mentioned on a more frequent basis is Oliver Goldsmith, but he is mostly represented as a poet and novelist, not as a playwright, which again can be explained by the available Portuguese translations of his works. Even Shaw's name occurs only in one textbook, that is, *Breve História da Literatura Portuguesa* by Óscar Lopes and Júlio Martins.⁵⁹⁰

With reference to the British novel, Walter Scott appears to dominate the literary corpus of the textbooks, while Swift, Defoe, Sterne, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot are only touched upon in passing. In fact, except for Óscar Lopes's works, contemporary British authors are not represented by any literature textbooks, if we do not count Padre António José Barreiros's strange comparison between Graham Greene and Herculano in the chapter on Herculano's novel *O Monge do Cister*. According to Barreiros, "as opposed to modern writers such as

⁵⁹⁰ Óscar Lopes and Júlio Martins. *Breve História da Literatura Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Empresa Contemporânea de Edições, 1945).

[Georges] Bernanos and Graham Greene, our writer [Herculano] sees only the human in the ecclesiastic."⁵⁹¹

Besides the elevated number of British literary authors, Óscar Lopes and Júlio Martins's book contains several references to further foreign literatures as well as other artistic and cultural phenomena such as the British Pre-Raphaelites, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti, or the French Impressionists such as Monet, Manet, Degas, Renoir, and Cézanne, or Post-Impressionists such as Van Gogh and Gauguin. The book also attempts to familiarise students with the most significant literary tendencies, assiduously representing all three genres of poetry, drama, and fiction wherever possible throughout the different periods of literary history. Uniquely, it also introduces contemporary British authors such as James Joyce, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, George Bernard Shaw, and D. H. Lawrence. The significance of Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as a *cause célèbre* may be indicated by the fact that it was mentioned by Lopes, as it was by the Hungarian textbook writer and scholar László Kéry, despite the fact that the novel was prohibited in both countries.

Indeed, Óscar Lopes and António Saraiva's outstanding and renowned *História da Literatura Portuguesa* was first published in 1955, when, in

⁵⁹¹ "Ao contrário dos modernos Bernanos e Graham Greene, o nosso escritor só vê no sacerdote o homem." In: António José Barreiros. *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. Vol. 2 (Braga: Pax, 1966): 336.

fact, Óscar Lopes was arrested for political reasons. Another paradoxical fact is that that despite being banned in Portuguese classrooms,⁵⁹² the book was still one of the most emblematic works of its sort during the *Estado Novo*, and even after the change of the regime.⁵⁹³

III. 4. 4. Conclusion

It is not easy to compare Hungarian and Portuguese literature textbooks with regard to British literature, given the absence of world literature in the Portuguese curricula. As a consequence, the comparison is hardly a balanced one, comparing scattered references in the Portuguese textbooks to chapter-long analyses in the Hungarian schoolbooks.

Furthermore, a comparison between the lists of authors represented in the given textbooks may not produce reliable results, since the majority of the British authors and works referred to are included in the Portuguese textbooks because of their specific cultural relevance to the Portuguese literary sphere. Nevertheless, certain general tendencies and patterns may be observed in both the Portuguese and Hungarian textbooks.

⁵⁹² Mónica Brito Vieira and Filipe Carreira da Silva. *O momento constituinte. Os direitos sociais na constituição* (Lisbon: Almedina, 2010).

⁵⁹³ Seruya. "História": 1.

The lack of progressive change with regard to the Portuguese textbooks throughout the long years of the *Estado Novo* is quite telling. It is intriguing that Portuguese authorities did not seem to express any major concern that secondary teachers might have used textbooks dating back to the First Republic, as many new official schoolbooks also heavily drew on these old manuals. As can be seen, the Portuguese authorities did not devote as much effort to developing a new educational concept as the Hungarian culture agencies did.

Even though British literature did not particularly belong to the "promoted" sphere of Socialist Hungary, it was again used as a political tool to articulate a new ideology to Hungarian young people. Relying mainly on progressive or progressive-tending authors such as Dickens, Shaw and Dylan Thomas, the textbooks managed to create the illusion that the producers of most prestigious literature were either supporters of the left or at the very least ferocious critics of the "backward and politically undeveloped" social system they lived in. Conversely, the Portuguese textbook writers relied largely on the national literary corpus rather than on a foreign one to endorse the introspective ideology of the regime.

IV. CONCLUSION

IV. 1. Findings and Implications of the Thesis

"And if all others accepted the lie which the Party imposed – if all records told the same tale – then the lie passed into history and became truth. 'Who controls the past' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.'"

(George Orwell: *Nineteen Eighty-Four*)⁵⁹⁴

When comparing the Hungarian and Portuguese regimes' attitudes towards British literary works, their divergent attitudes towards British literature as well as world literature in general are understandably rooted in the ideological differences of the two political systems. Portugal's isolated nationalism contrasts with the Proletarian internationalism of Socialist Hungary, determining a different place for literature in their respective cultural life.

In Portugal, political control was basically founded on keeping the population in relative ignorance about other economic, social and cultural alternatives. Consequently, translations often troubled the Portuguese authorities, since they made texts available for the lower and less educated classes, unable to read foreign languages, who thus might be exposed to harmful foreign influences.⁵⁹⁵ Conversely, the fundamental aim of Hungarian

⁵⁹⁴ George Orwell. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: Brace and Company, Inc., 1949): 35.

⁵⁹⁵ Seruya and Moniz: 18.

education and culture politics was to educate and re-educate the masses so that they would come to consider the doctrines of Communism as operating in their own interest and willingly live according to their precepts in the foreseeable future. Along with education in general, culture, including literature was overtly regarded as a political tool whose capacity to indoctrinate people should be developed and extended wherever possible.

The different roles attributed to literature by the two regimes also appear evident in the light of their divergent approaches to controlling the book industry. The total control over bookselling and distribution in Communist Hungary reveals that literature indeed occupied a crucial role in the country's propaganda apparatus. By contrast, in Portugal, Salazar never really attempted to bring the publishing industry to heel, probably because he did not regard it as a powerful propaganda instrument in a country where the vast majority of the population was still illiterate. Consequently, he did not invest in it heavily.

According to Ramos do Ó, despite António Ferro's initial cultural initiatives such as the introduction of national literary prizes, Salazar's regime basically failed to establish a publishing policy that would meet its ideological principles.⁵⁹⁶ Ferro's attempts to encourage the publication of literary works had clearly foundered by the 1950s. Moreover, the political, economic and social conditions of the

⁵⁹⁶ Rosas: 416.

country did not encourage the promotion of diversified reading patterns, nor the expansion of the overall readership.⁵⁹⁷ As opposed to the *Estado Novo's* mostly small and medium-sized private publishing houses, the Hungarian book industry was under centralised control in a financial sense as well, with state subsidies completely independent of the profit motive. Consequently, a tremendous amount of money was spent on unprofitable culture throughout the whole era, while print runs and retail prices were tailored according to the assumed ideological importance and educational usefulness of the literary work in question and never according to its expected profits.⁵⁹⁸

The dominance of popular literature in the Portuguese book market may be put down to this fact, since in the absence of proper government funding, private publishing houses were forced to rely on profitable bestsellers on an almost exclusive basis. In Hungary, on the other hand, the unshakeable belief in the educational and moral power of politically reliable classics had the effect of depriving the reading public of light and generic literature.

The strong presence of classic authors in the two countries such as Shakespeare, Defoe, Swift, Dickens, and Wilde reveals a certain respect towards canonical literature. However, the two preferential attitudes towards the classics differ from each other on ideological grounds. The Portuguese conservative

⁵⁹⁷ Rendeiro: 54.

⁵⁹⁸ Takács. "Grace": 76.

valorisation of masterpieces of acknowledged literary merit is basically rooted in the Salazar's regime's inherently authoritarian nature, whereas the Communist approach mainly lies in the idealistic conviction of the didactic potential attributed to time-honoured literary works. The same attitude may be observed with respect to the censorship practices of the two regimes. Works by canonical or internationally acclaimed authors – with certain exceptions, of course – generally tended to escape censorship.

The relatively small number of contemporary British writers published in both countries is also highly suggestive. In Portugal, it can be principally attributed to the country's political and cultural isolation as well as to Portuguese publishers' financial instability, which prevented them from running the risk of loss-making publications. In Hungary, on the other hand, "the deader the better" policy protected the publishing houses from publishing works which might arouse the disapproval of either the Hungarian or the Soviet culture politicians, since the political approval rating of a finished oeuvre was well established, whereas the ideological position of a contemporary author might have been still undecided or in a state of flux.

As far as suppressed British literary works are concerned, the numerous inconsistencies of the Portuguese censorship officers and the lack of prior censorship as opposed to the censorship applied to the theatre and press imply that the censorship authorities did not seem to attach great importance

to literature and, especially to foreign literature in Portugal. Nevertheless, several British and American works were banned under the *Estado Novo* administration, such as works by Swinburne, Bertrand Russell, Carson McCullers, Erskine Caldwell, James Thurber, John Dos Passos, and William Faulkner, if they appeared to contain anything allegedly detrimental to the moral values of the state. In Kádár-regime Hungary, however, even works by problematic authors such D. H. Lawrence, Updike, or Nabokov were allowed to be published, if they were assumed to hold aesthetic or cultural value. Moreover, a comparison of suppressed English-language works in Portugal and Hungary shows that literature in English was principally banned on political grounds in Hungary, which also confirms that literature occupied a far more dominant role in the Hungarian propaganda machinery than in the Portuguese.

The political overtone of the Hungarian literature textbooks with reference to British writers further strengthens this hypothesis. It seems that despite the fact that capitalist British and American literature did not belong to the most supported areas of the Hungarian culture sphere, prestigious literature always occupied a secure place in the Hungarian literary canon because of its assumed educational value. In general, therefore, it seems that canonical British literature enjoyed a more favourable reception in Socialist Hungary than in *Estado Novo* Portugal.

IV. 2. Suggestions for Further Research

This investigation has been undertaken from a dual perspective. Although the comparison between the two countries has produced several explanatorily useful results concerning the divergent attitudes of politically opposed regimes towards literature and translations in general, the research is subject to several limitations.

First, neither Salazar's Portugal nor Socialist Hungary can be considered as representative examples of the prevailing models of dictatorship in twentieth-century Europe. The initial political and ideological affinities between the *Estado Novo* and Fascism notwithstanding, most experts on political science are reluctant to include the Portuguese case among the Fascist dictatorships, and Salazar's regime is also often cited by students of radical right-wing movements as a variation of authoritarianism due to its peripheral and exceptional character.⁵⁹⁹ Accordingly, the Portuguese approach towards culture and literature may diverge substantially from the Fascist and Nazi attitude.

In addition, under the Kádár regime intellectual freedom in Hungary was far greater than anywhere in the Eastern bloc. Furthermore, as compared to such heavily-controlled Soviet client states as East Germany or Czechoslovakia, there was relatively little overt censorship in Hungary, which was indeed

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. Costa Pinto. *European Fascism*.

a unique phenomenon in the political landscape of post-Stalinism.

Secondly, dissimilarities between the two countries, including their geographical distance, completely different languages, historical background, and other philosophical and cultural influences might suggest that other countries should be involved in the analysis such as Francoist Spain, Nazi Germany, or Fascist Italy, as well as the USSR and its satellite states. The comparison established by the dissertation might, therefore, be complemented by additional cross-national studies in order to achieve more widely-focused insights into the position of literature and translations in a twentieth-century Europe frequently shaped by dictatorial and non-democratic regimes.

It is also recommended that further research might be undertaken to investigate the impact of the decades of dictatorial rule on the subsequent production of translations and their reception in both Portugal and Hungary, as it is reasonable to assume that the effects of entrenched social systems do not disappear overnight with the change of political systems.

The need for such research is also justified by the fact that many policymakers today are still unaware of the enduring vestiges of the long-lived dictatorial regimes in their countries, and – regardless of whether they belong to the right or the left wing – may still be involuntary carriers of the legacies of only partly remodelled authoritarian

systems. The failure to face the past in detailed fashion is often the source of many ineffectual attempts to facilitate a transition from authoritarianism to participatory democracy.

This need not be an exercise dedicated to attributing blame, for indeed it is almost impossible to undo every aspect of any long-lived historical regime, and this certainly applies to the history of the *Estado Novo* or Communism in Hungary. Attitudes and habits, including those involving culture and literature, are unlikely to have changed within just one generation. Nevertheless, historical analysis and revision are necessary elements in the process of deciding which remnants of a superseded system should be maintained, and which discarded, not to say publicly condemned. Moreover, in the procedure of making accounts with an authoritarian past, the formation of systemic safeguards against the return of dictatorial regimes is intrinsic to the establishment and maintenance of a democratic regime. This dissertation provides one contribution to the still ongoing debate over both countries' recently authoritarian pasts, although it seems likely that with the invention of the Internet, hypothetical future studies of the present-day will possess markedly different characteristics. Nevertheless, whatever shape future societies take, it seems likely that vigilance will remain necessary with respect to the control of the circulation of ideas, whether in future forms of the publishing and dissemination of ideas, or in the education system.

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