

Affective Matters: Translation, Censorship, and the Circulation of “Romans-à-clef” from  
Argentina to Franco’s Spain (1960-1980)

by

Sofía Monzón Rodríguez

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

TRANSNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURES

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies  
University of Alberta

© Sofía Monzón Rodríguez, 2023

## Abstract

During the Francoist regime in Spain, literary translations into Spanish and Catalan were, along with domestic literary works, subject to the publishing guidelines established to control the cultural production and circulation of literature. Archival investigations unearthed an overlooked translation phenomenon in which a substantial flow of Argentinian-made translations was scrutinized by the Francoist censorship board. Focusing on translational exchanges that took place between Franco's Spain and Argentina during the 1960s-1980s, this dissertation explores different editions of novels written by Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, and Lawrence Durrell in translation that traveled between South America and the Iberian Peninsula and contrasts them and their receptions with the Spanish and Catalan target texts carried out domestically. Taking a combination of relational and affect-based approaches to translation production and reception, this investigation employs micro and macro levels of analysis to understand the inner workings of literary translation and its circulation in the context of censorship. It offers a thorough study of the networks of actors involved in the translation processes of the corpus of texts (rewriters, censors, editors, publishers, and readers) with the aim of tracing translation, self-censorship, institutional censorship, negotiations, exchanges, compliance, or resistance to such translation flows. After assembling the actor-networks that facilitated or resisted the translation of the selected works into Spanish and Catalan, it explores the role of "affect" in the actors' decision-making towards the texts in their different stages (i.e., source texts, translation drafts, negotiations and communication between actors, final target texts, as well as their circulation and reception). By analyzing "affective responses" recorded by the different actors during the editorial, censorial, and translational processes via extratextual and archival documents related to the source and target texts, this work follows the material traces and material existences of the texts in translation, their processes, their

becoming, their deletions, and transformations. This study seeks to track the actors, connect their networks, and understand the role of the agents involved in the circulation of the *romans-à-clef* under analysis in order to determine how and why these works were translated, and, ultimately, the conditions under which they were produced, circulated, and consumed from Argentina to Franco's Spain. It concludes with an understanding of the factors that influenced the circulation and consumption of this kind of literature in Spanish and Catalan, with a focus on the importance that affect, linguistic accessibility by means of register and tone, as well as general accessibility relating to numbers of potential consumers played in the ultimate fate of whether these books were approved or rejected by Spanish censors.

Keywords: Affect, censorship, literary translation, *romans-à-clef*, Francoism, Spain, Argentina, translation flows

## Preface

Parts of this dissertation have been published in *Mutatis Mutandis* vol. 16, no. 2 (2023) for the special issue *Traducción e interpretación (auto)censuradas en los mundos hispánicos* under the editorial work of Marian Panchón Hidalgo and Raphaël Roché with my contribution “Traducción, afecto y censura desde el mundo hispánico: *Nightwood*, de Djuna Barnes, y *Tropic of Cancer*, de Henry Miller;” in *Entreculturas, revista de traducción y comunicación intercultural*, no. 12 (2022) under the title: “Censores, traductores y editoriales transatlánticas: la circulación de *Primavera negra* de Henry Miller en España (1960-1980);” and in *Transletters: International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*, no. 4 (2020) with “The Struggles of Translating Henry Miller in Franco’s Spain: The Different Versions of *Black Spring*.” In December 2023, a book chapter direct product of this research, “A Transatlantic Flow of Spanish and Catalan *Romans-à-clef*: Publishers, Translators, and Censors from Argentina to Franco’s Spain (1960-1980),” will appear in *Translation flows: exploring networks of people, processes and products*, a book edited by Isle Feinauer, Amanda Marais, and Marius Swart and published by John Benjamins Publishing.

This thesis is an original work by Sofía Monzón Rodríguez. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Censorships in Dialogue: Translating the Subversive in Spain and Argentina (1960s-1980s),” No. Pro00103544, August 5, 2022.

## Dedication

*A Dave, a mis padres y mi a hermana por haberme otorgado este par de alas.*

*A mis tíos, Santi y Marga, por ser mis mecenas desde la infancia.*



“Surrealist Venus in Translation” by Sofia and María Jesús Monzón (2021)  
© University of Alberta – Images of Research Competition

I came to explore the wreck.

The words are purposes.

The words are maps.

I came to see the damage that was done

and the treasures that prevail.

—*Adrienne Rich*

El conflicto es mi única verdad,

la memoria una sombra que me guía.

—*Erika Martínez*

## Acknowledgments

Undertaking the herculean task of writing a doctoral dissertation is, no doubt, a solitary quest. It *is* you and your laptop. You and your notes. You and your library. You and your thoughts. For the last four and a half years, I have been rich in books, as my parents would say. But I have also been rich in people—in relationships—, those of my two loving and ever supporting families (Spanish and now also Canadian), and my friends, the ones at home and those scattered across the globe— notwithstanding the problems that the pandemic prompted. After all, it *is* never us alone: “Yo soy yo y mis circunstancias,” Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset claimed. This, I believe, thoroughly applies to translation. A translation *is* never in isolation. A translation *is* a product, yes, but it *is* always a process, a becoming. Just like we all *are*: sometimes solitary but never in isolation.

That is why I owe a great deal to all professors and fellow scholars in translation, cultural studies, and comparative literature who I deeply admire and who, throughout the last twelve years, have contributed, shaped, and enormously enriched my academic journey. In particular, special mention is due to my first muse and professor of translation, Dr. Maya García de Vinuesa; my first thesis advisor, Dr. Marisol Morales; my second thesis advisor, Dr. Carmen Valero (all three from the Universidad de Alcalá, Spain); the source of my bilingual female-poetry-inspiration, Dr. Jana Kerns-Gutiérrez (Auburn University, United States); and the guides, counselors, and superwomen of my adventure in Edmonton: Dr. Victoria Ruétalo, Dr. Lynn Penrod, Dr. Anne Malena, and Dr. Odile Cisneros (all from the University of Alberta, Canada).

Thanks also to all those who taught me and inspired me not in a classroom, but in a conference room whether in person or via Zoom: Dr. Alberto Lázaro, Dr. Carolyn Shread, Dr. Michael Cronin, Dr. Moira Inghilleri, Dr. Jeremy Munday, Dr. Pilar Godayol, Dr. Montserrat



Bacardí, and Dr. Jeroen Vandaele. Last but not least, this project would not have been what it has become if it was not for Dr. Kaisa Koskinen: first, her ground-breaking book *Translation and Affect* (2020), and second—and more importantly—the generous advice, guidance, and support she honored me with at the CETRA Translation School in the summer of 2022.

Much of the substance of this work has materialized thanks to my many research trips to the *Archivo General de la Administración* (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid). Hence, special mention is due to the archive staff, for their help, patience, and kindness has been crucial in completing this research. They truly make such projects feasible with their knowledge, encouragement, and presence. If there is any light at the archive, it is only because they carry it within. At the same time, I could not have accomplished the archival component of my dissertation without the support provided by the Isaak Walton Killam Memorial Scholarship that I received during my last two years of graduate studies in the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of Alberta.

I must not neglect to mention my infinite gratitude towards writer, journalist, poet, and translator Carmen Alcalde who—thanks to Elvira Siurana and Dr. Rosalía Cornejo-Parriego (University of Ottawa)—invited me to her humble home in Barcelona last January. Her testimony as both a translator and an agent of dissidence against Francoism has been invaluable in concluding this project.

Finally, thanks to my love, Dave Hosford, of course, for being the true companion of this venture. *Sin ti, mi caballo-fuerte celta, no habría razón, ni balanza, ni risas ni calma.* Thank you for being the best husband and editor I can ask for.

## Table of Contents

<b><u>Introduction. Travels, Translations, “Romans-à-clef:” Texts in Transformation</u></b> .....	1
▪ Censorship, Translation: Affective and Relational Matters .....	10
▪ Notes on the Archive: <i>luces y sombras</i> .....	20
<b><u>Part I. Flows of People &amp; Ideas: Translation Market in Franco’s Spain and Argentina</u></b> ...	31
Chapter 1. Approaching Francoist Censorship Through the Lens of “Affect” .....	32
Chapter 2. Cultural Identity and Literary Production under Francoism .....	39
2.1. Press Law of 1938: the Construction of the Censorship System .....	40
2.2. Press Law of 1966: Shifts in the Publishing Markets .....	44
Chapter 3. A Transatlantic Connection: The Case of Argentina’s Publishing Market .....	50
3.1. Networks of Agents in Latin America: Editors and (Re)writers in Argentina .....	51
3.2. Decree 115 of 1958: the Case of Argentina’s Literary Censorship (1958-1983) .....	57
<b><u>Part II. Behind the Translation Flow: Actors and Networks</u></b> .....	63
▪ Description of the Archival Funds .....	69
▪ Corpus of Texts .....	72
Chapter 4. Writers and Rewriters: Visibility, Notoriety, Anonymity .....	76
4.1. Henry Miller and His Translators .....	76
4.2. Anaïs Nin and Her Translators .....	91
4.3. Lawrence Durrell and His Translators .....	101
Chapter 5. Furthering the Networks I: Publishers, Editors, and Distributors .....	113
5.1. Circulating Selected “Romans-à-clef” between Argentina and Franco’s Spain .....	113

5.1.1. Lawrence Durrell's <i>Justine</i> and <i>Balthazar</i> .....	113
5.1.2. Henry Miller's <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and <i>Black Spring</i> .....	117
5.1.3. Anaïs Nin's <i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> and <i>Ladders to Fire</i> .....	120
5.2. Publishing Actors behind the Translation Flow: Emerging Translation Spaces ....	122
5.2.1. Readability, Expansion, Opportunity: Argentine-Born Publishers .....	125
5.2.2. Challenging the MIT: Persistence, Conformity, Dissident Intellectuals ...	130
Chapter 6. Furthering the Networks II: Tracing the Readers' Affective Responses .....	141
6.1. Defining the Readers and Their "Affective Interactions" .....	142
6.2. First Readers: The Censors .....	147
6.2.1. Censors' Affective Responses to the "Romans-à-clef" .....	150
6.2.2. Inherited Anxieties and Influences .....	165
6.3. Second Readers vs. Third Readers .....	170
6.3.1. A Double Standard: Books for "Minorities" .....	170
6.3.2. Critics' Affective Responses to the "Romans-à-clef" .....	173
<b><u>Part III. "Romans-à-clef" in Transformation: Affect, Censorship, Translation</u></b> .....	179
Chapter 7. On Sex and Sexuality: The Body, Female Sexuality, Pornography .....	188
Chapter 8. On Homosexuality and Lesbian Eroticism .....	240
Chapter 9. Between Sin and Disgust: Other Taboo Topics .....	267
9.1. On Bodily Wastes .....	269
9.2. On Prostitution .....	282
9.3. Other "Sinful" Matters .....	293

**Conclusion. Translating & Censoring Literature: Towards an “Affective” Approach .... 320**

**Bibliography ..... 338**

▪ Primary Sources ..... 338

▪ Works Cited ..... 339

## List of Tables

Table 1: Spanish and Catalan editions of Miller’s <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> (60s-70s) .....	73
Table 2: Spanish and Catalan editions of Miller’s <i>Black Spring</i> (60s-70s) .....	73
Table 3: Spanish and Catalan editions of Nin’s <i>Ladders to Fire</i> (60s-70s) .....	74
Table 4: Spanish and Catalan editions of Nin’s <i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> (60s-70s) .....	74
Table 5: Spanish and Catalan editions of Durrell’s <i>Justine</i> (60s-70s) .....	75
Table 6: Spanish and Catalan editions of Durrell’s <i>Balthazar</i> (60s-70s) .....	75
Table 7: Examples of censors reporting “pornographic” content in the “romans-à-clef” .....	153
Table 8: Examples of censors reporting “modern love” and homosexuality in the “romans” .....	156
Table 9: Examples of censors reporting blasphemous content in the “romans-à-clef” .....	161
Table 10: References to the body and sexuality in Miller’s <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> & translations .....	190
Table 11: References to the body and sexuality in Miller’s <i>Black Spring</i> and translations .....	197
Table 12: References to the body and sexuality in Nin’s <i>Ladders to Fire</i> and translations .....	207
Table 13: References to the body and sexuality in Nin’s <i>A Spy in the House</i> & translations .....	215
Table 14: References to the body and sexuality in Durrell’s <i>Justine</i> and translations .....	226
Table 15: References to the body and sexuality in Durrell’s <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	231
Table 16: References to homosexuality and homoeroticism in Nin’s <i>Ladders</i> & translations .....	244
Table 17: References to homosexuality and homoeroticism in Miller’s <i>Tropic</i> & translations ..	251
Table 18: References to homosexuality in Durrell’s <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	259
Table 19: References to bodily wastes in Miller’s <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and translations .....	270
Table 20: References to bodily wastes in Miller’s <i>Black Spring</i> and translations .....	277
Table 21: References to bodily wastes in Durrell’s <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	279

Table 22: References to prostitution in Durrell's <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	284
Table 23: References to prostitution in Durrell's <i>Justine</i> and translations .....	288
Table 24: References to prostitution in Miller's <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and translations .....	289
Table 25: References to blasphemous content in Nin's <i>A Spy in the House &amp;</i> translations .....	295
Table 26: References to blasphemous content in Miller's <i>Black Spring</i> and translations .....	295
Table 27: References to blasphemous content in Miller's <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and translations ....	297
Table 28: References to blasphemous content in Durrell's <i>Justine</i> and translations .....	298
Table 29: References to abortion in Nin's <i>Ladders to Fire</i> and translations .....	300
Table 30: References to abortion in Miller's <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and translations .....	301
Table 31: References to abortion in Durrell's <i>Justine</i> and translations .....	302
Table 32: References to adultery in Nin's <i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> and translations .....	303
Table 33: References to adultery in Nin's <i>Ladders to Fire</i> and translations .....	305
Table 34: References to suicide in Nin's <i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> and translations .....	307
Table 35: References to suicide in Miller's <i>Tropic of Cancer</i> and translations .....	307
Table 36: References to suicide in Durrell's <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	307
Table 37: References to pederasty in Durrell's <i>Balthazar</i> and translations .....	309
Table 38: References to pederasty in Nin's <i>Ladders to Fire</i> and translations .....	310
Table 39: References to incest in Nin's <i>Ladders to Fire</i> and translations .....	310
Table 40: References to incest in Nin's <i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> and translations .....	312

## List of Files from AGA

- Censorship Files

Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*

File 2791-67, catalogue 21/18052  
 File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214  
 File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812  
 File 5179-76, catalogue 73/05474  
 File 11308-77, catalogue 73/06309  
 File 1100-77, catalogue 73/05917  
 File 14186-77, catalogue 73/06405  
 File 7241-78, catalogue 73/06647  
 File 1620-79, catalogue 73/06874  
 File 3661-79, catalogue 73/07213

Henry Miller's *Black Spring*

File 592-67, catalogue 21/17876  
 File 5279-69, catalogue 66/03099  
 File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214  
 File 11111-78, catalogue 73/06759  
 File 8643-79, catalogue 73/07026  
 File 9059-79, catalogue 73/07035  
 File 2556-80, catalogue 73/07188  
 File 11244-81, catalogue 73/07693

Anaïs Nin's *Ladders to Fire*

File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873  
 File 9211-65, catalogue 21/16873  
 File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626

File 6564-71, catalogue 73/00985

Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love*

File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873

File 9211-65, catalogue 21/16873

File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626

File 3557-68, catalogue: 21/18909

File 3170-69, catalogue 66/02838

Lawrence Durrell's *Justine*

File 338-63, catalogue 21/14359

File 4833-65, catalogue 21/16388

File 402-65, catalogue 21/15826

File 10432-69, catalogue 66/03531

File 9807-70, catalogue 66/06098

File 10422-77, catalogue 73/06279

Lawrence Durrell's *Balthazar*

File 338-63, catalogue 21/14359

File 4832-65, catalogue 21/16388

File 401-65, catalogue 21/15826

File 11447-70, catalogue 66/06244

File 4578-78, catalogue 73/06575



- Imported Books Files

Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*

File 2213-62, catalogue 66/6440

File 2226-62, catalogue 66/6440

File 195-63, catalogue 66/6441

File 1512-63, catalogue 66/06448

File 1539-63, catalogue 66/06448

File 919-63, catalogue 66/6445

Henry Miller's *Black Spring*

File 956-64, catalogue 66/6456

File 984-64, catalogue 66/6456

File 1093-64, catalogue 66/6457

File 1156-64, catalogue 66/6457

File 1170-64, catalogue 66/6457

File 41-65, catalogue 66/6459

File 498-65, catalogue 66/6461

File 832-66, catalogue 66/6471

File 1751-66, catalogue 66/6476

File 117-67, catalogue 66/6477

File 321-68, catalogue 66/6489

File 1500-68, catalogue 66/6497

File 160-69, catalogue 66/6501

File 484-69, catalogue 66/6503

File 568-69, catalogue 66/6503

File 889-69, catalogue 66/6505

File 716-72, catalogue 66/6535

File 738-73, catalogue 66/6546

File 545-74, catalogue 66/6558

File 1201-74, catalogue 66/6563

File 1299-74, catalogue 66/6563

File 1603-74, catalogue 66/6565

File 1733-74, catalogue 66/6566

File 1760-74, catalogue 66/6566

File 1775-74, catalogue 66/6566

File 873-75, catalogue 66/6574

File 1022-75, catalogue 66/6575

File 1076-75, catalogue 66/6575

File 1165-75, catalogue 6576

File 214-76, catalogue 66/6581

File 533-76, catalogue 66/6583

File 993-76, catalogue 66/6586

Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love*

File 613-73, catalogue 66/6545

File 1211-74, catalogue 66/6563

Lawrence Durrell's *Justine*

File 4216-60, catalogue 21/12904

File 2183-61, catalogue 21/13275

File 1052-63, catalogue 66/06446

File 1248-63, catalogue 66/06447

Lawrence Durrell's *Balthazar*

File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434

File 1052-63, catalogue 66/06446

File 1248-63, catalogue 66/06447

File 564-64, catalogue 66/06454

File 562-64, catalogue 66/06454

## **Introduction. Travels, Translations, “Romans-à-clef:” Texts in Transformation**

Among the plethora of starting points I have considered to begin the present dissertation—from the now very recurrent metaphor of literary translation as voyage (texts traveling between systems or, rather, “texts traversing systems”),<sup>1</sup> to literary translation as creator of spaces, or translation as a (re)productive, (re)generative, rebellious, desired act, a catalyst for change—, I have shuffled multiple theories prior to arriving to the idea of “affective translation flows.” A vast percentage of the data presented in this document has materialized through different ways: This thesis is, largely, the culmination of years of documentary research, attending conferences, and building my own “network” of translation scholars in an effort to remain in-touch with the latest theories and coming “turns” in the field of Translation Studies. Lastly, this dissertation is also the result of two upcoming book publications which, during the process of researching and writing them, brought to light novel approaches that have made me move far beyond the directions I had *a priori* imagined: *Translation Flows: Exploring Networks of People, Processes and Products* (Benjamins 2023) and *Translation and Relational Thinking* (Palgrave 2024).

Although many have been the theories and various the methodological approaches I have contemplated for this research, the object of analysis has never been under doubt; it has remained the only clear variable. No ontological crisis regarding what kind of texts to study. That is to say, a kind of translation “fixation” with censored translations and retranslations,<sup>2</sup> translations of erotic

---

<sup>1</sup> I borrow the idea of “texts traversing systems” from Carolyn Shread (2008) who, back in 2019’s Nida School of Translation, greatly inspired me to pursue a more philosophical exploration for my research. The metaphor of translation as voyage has been developed by several scholars, however, in the present work I follow closely Carmen África Vidal’s notion of translation as a nomadic writing, a rhizome (2012, 2018). Lastly, in terms of “desire,” I draw on Patricia Willson’s concept of *translaturire* (2019). She takes Roland Barthes’ “Vouloir-Écrire” and applies it to the translator’s desire to appropriate and rewrite the source text.

<sup>2</sup> I purposely use the term “fixation” following Lawrence Venuti’s worldview, as discussed in a keynote speech given at the University of Calgary, entitled: “On a universal tendency to debase retranslations or the instrumentalism of a translation fixation,” on February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2022. Although Venuti describes “fixation” and “instrumentalism” as

writing, highly affective translations, translations done—at times *undone*—during the last two decades of the Francoist regime in Spain (1960s-1970s). What is more, translations in process, translations full of traces and gaps that inform us of the conditions and causes of their changes and transformations. In other words, fragmented texts. For, what is translation but, like Edwin Gentzler and Maria Tymoczko remind us in *Translation and Power*, “a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication—and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes” (xxi). My interest in outlining said transformations—the “becoming”—of the translations under analysis with the aim of identifying the components that affected their production and reception (actors and their networks together with cultural, sociological, linguistic, political, and economic factors) has finally taken form by applying several conceptual tools borrowed from cultural studies, namely Affect Theory (Clough and Halley 2007; Gregg et al. 2010—following Translation Studies scholar Kaisa Koskinen’s publication in 2020); and the social sciences, primarily Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theory of cultural production (1993); and, to some extent, certain ideas pertaining to Relational Thinking and Social Network Analysis (SNA), inspired by Bruno Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (2005).

How I got myself immersed in this “processual way of thinking” when it comes to translation has to do with findings from previous archival research. In analyzing an array of literary translations in circulation during Franco’s dictatorship in Spain (1939-1975), I observed an

---

damaging habits in translation history and translation research historically (*Contra Instrumentalism*, 2019), the use of “fixation” here is more in line with his idea of a “provocation” that ignites thought. Indeed “fixation” might come to mean quite the opposite in my dissertation: I do not reject *retranslations* to favor one particular *translation* over another—that is the fixation he is critical of—on the contrary, retranslations constitute the corpus of texts studied and analyzed herein and all are valued and contrasted according to their sociological contexts. My fixation thus lies in retrieving translations and retranslations carried out during the 1960-1980s in Argentina and Spain in order to assess the disparities between them and investigate the reasons and agents that caused their production, reception, and transnational circulation.

overlooked translation phenomenon that connects two translation markets across the globe. In the 1960s, a substantial flow of Argentinian-made translations was scrutinized by the Francoist censorship board officially located in Madrid. During the Francoist regime, literary translations into Spanish and Catalan were, akin to domestic literary works, subject to the publishing guidelines established to control the cultural production and circulation of literature. Oftentimes the translation drafts were deemed pernicious according to the regime's moral, cultural, and religious values and, as a result, denied for publication. On occasion, the publishers would try to go further and negotiate editorial and translation choices with the censors in such a way that the texts resulted in extremely manipulated versions, if allowed for publication at all.

However, if the book under scrutiny was a translation done and already circulating in Argentina—or elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world for that matter—negotiations with the censors were nonexistent and the importation of the book in question would be either accepted or denied in Franco's Spain. In cases of rejection, the local publishers with a taste for world literature often sought to take this opportunity to try to get their own editions published.<sup>3</sup> One way or another, all works were reviewed prior to publication up until 1966 when a new Press Law was passed, modifying the previous censorship regulations first established in 1938 to one of a preemptive kind. Hence, local translations were also affected and shaped by the agents appointed by the regime. This, as a whole, made the act of translation arduous for both foreign and domestic productions, and the translation processes long and tedious for translators and publishers who had

---

<sup>3</sup> I shall clarify that, during Francoism, the Catalan territories were politically subdued by the regime. The censorship system was centralized under the Ministry of Tourism and Information in Madrid. Censorship laws thus applied to publications in both Spanish and Catalan, as well as all literary imports and publications regardless of language. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will refer to Spain as a historical country, by using the national borders as they were drawn and maintained during the dictatorship.

to deal with the regime's censorship apparatus in a more direct manner (Rabadán 2000; Gómez 2006).

Beyond my previous findings, the wealth of recent scholarship interested in unearthing hidden or silenced narratives of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) shows a tendency to revisit the 20<sup>th</sup>-century literary production and to question the canon inherited. In his chapter for the book *Memoria y testimonio. Representaciones memorísticas en la España contemporánea*, Javier Sánchez Zapatero claims that “the silence and distortion that characterized [the corpus of literary works] during the dictatorship altered the canon in such a way that, more than thirty years after the dictatorship's end, it still seems difficult to offer a normalized reading of its works” (90, my translation). I argue that not just the national literary canon was affected, rather the silence and distortion Sánchez Zapatero mentions likewise altered the reception and canonization of world literature by means of translation. From the field of Translation Studies, and taking an interdisciplinary, sociological approach that investigates the power relations, ideology, the role of the agents, and the affect that both literary translation and censorship entail due to their productive and affective nature, I shall replicate Sánchez Zapatero's notions of “silence” and “distortion” and apply them to the translation field of the last two decades of Francoism.

Hence, this project emerges from both a personal interest to find answers for the questions that arose from previous research involving archival inquiry and the topicality of the subject. In line with Sánchez Zapatero's notes, Jordi Cornellà-Detrell published an alarming article in 2019 stating that many censored literary works translated during the Francoist dictatorship are still circulating and being reissued in Spain without a complete translation that includes the censors' cuts and/or notes of the translators' self-censorship upon it. Nor do these reissued versions still in

circulation come complete with accompanying notes exposing the censored passages and explaining the context in which they were censored.<sup>4</sup> Cornellà-Detrell denounces that:

with no one under the age of 40 even alive during the dictatorship years, few people are even aware of the problem. Public libraries are encouraging people to read thousands of volumes without realising they are censored. Many of these texts have been imported to Latin America, sometimes even being republished in different countries with their censored parts intact. It means that a fairly large proportion of the world's population is being routinely denied access to literature as it was intended to appear. ("Invisible Legacy")

Addressing this issue "as a matter of urgency," as Cornellà-Detrell describes, not only urges for a descriptive or historical investigation of the censored translations during Francoism, but it also requires scholars to think of literary translation in a relational and processual manner in order to tackle the major topics that surround literary and cultural circulation. This exploration seems relevant if we consider Susan Bassnett's claims when she asserts that literary and cultural studies are experiencing a *translational* turn that aims to describe cultural encounters when literature and translation cross different boundaries and times ("From Cultural Turn" 72, emphasis added). Similarly, proponents of the historiography and history of translation also see this kind of research as very much necessary, as Julio-César Santoyo points out in "Blank Spaces in the History of Translation:"

Gaps, holes, blank spaces ... and *mistakes*, too, which must absolutely be amended— little pieces in the mosaic which definitely do not belong to it. In fact, one of the most important

---

<sup>4</sup> As I define in Part I and Part II, in most cases, the omitted or self-censored passages relate to sexual and feminist content, political connotations that could seemingly oppose the foundations of the Francoist regime and the morale they wanted to shape in the Spanish society, and criticism against the Catholic faith and its dogmas.

tasks of today's historians is to denounce, correct, and eradicate the serious mistakes that have slipped into a good number of present-day texts. (Santoyo 30)

In line with Santoyo and other “translation historians,” Christopher Rundle argues that a historical approach to translation allows researchers to make significant contributions “to our understanding of any historical context where the politics of culture become bound up with the politics of nationalism” (“Translation and Fascism” 29). Rundle has investigated the production of translations under fascism in Italy and perceives that “[a]ny nationalist enterprise has to define its relationship with the foreign; a process in which culture plays a fundamental role. And, to the extent to which this will also involve the acceptance or rejection of cultural exchange, translation will inevitably become significant” (Ibid.). Having this in mind, I propose that the case of the 1960s-1980s Spanish translation field in contrast with its coetaneous counterpart in Argentina be presented as a compelling case study to delve into matters such as the transnational circulation of disruptive and “erotic” literature and its censorship, while exploring the networks of actors involved in such translation flows between both countries. With this, I aim to underscore how the publishing practices of the time not only altered the literary and translation fields during the years of the dictatorships by means of silencing and distorting mechanisms, but also perpetuated a cultural legacy that, in some cases, still lingers in spaces such as translations and the canon—as Cornellà-Detrell and Sánchez Zapatero respectively expose.<sup>5</sup>

Nonetheless, following the line of work proposed by scholars such as Patricia Willson—for whom, “there is the text, but there is also a network of relationships, configuration of forces at a

---

<sup>5</sup> Although it is true that censorship cannot be simply limited to a practice that is carried out in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, for it is wholly complex and its implications slippery (Wolf and Fukari 45), I consider these factors as crucial actors that shaped the Spanish and Argentine literary fields during their respective dictatorships and, therefore, their post-dictatorship cultural outcomes, for both countries experienced a highly ideological control of the local and global cultural production.



given moment. Translation as a practice tends to resist approaches that are fully systematic: there is always a residue left outside of descriptivism” (*Página impar* 16, my translation)—a descriptive or mere historical investigation of the censored translations and the translation flows is not sufficient. As I explain later in this introduction, in “Notes on the Archive: *luces y sombras*,” I shall go beyond the institutional archives in order to find connections between the agents involved in the translations as well as the textual transformations of the works under analysis.<sup>6</sup> However, in addition to this archival approach that aims to shed light to the history and biography of my corpus of translations (its genealogy, in other terms),<sup>7</sup> it is mandatory to incorporate a critical layer of analysis that helps me understand the changes, alterations, the reception, and circulation of said works in the dictatorial contexts of Spain and Argentina.

That is why I propose the intersection of archival inquiry and affect theory in order to surmount a solely descriptive approach to my analysis. Such a combination of methods is deemed necessary to fully comprehend how the translated texts changed: from their first conception (i.e., drafts found at the archives), to how they—in the case of the Argentine editions—traveled to the Iberian Peninsula (i.e., in an official or clandestine manner). This way, I shall be able to trace their transformations and processes until they reached the final approval for publication and definitive

---

<sup>6</sup> In his inspirational piece “Humanizing Translation History” (2009), Anthony Pym reflects on how the descriptive approaches of the discipline are required to undertake an ethical or humanizing turn that allows researchers to go beyond mere enunciative contributions. “Failing any of those human dimensions [those of the translator and other agents], in the absence of even a hint of humanistic ethical concern, the actual ideological message coming from catalogue annotations and abstract two-force systematic studies” does not help us understand the ethical issues involved in the process of translating (30). A similar notion has been outlined by Jeremy Munday; for whom the scope of descriptive Translation Studies in isolation “is inevitably limited if they do not seek to combine analysis of the translated product with an investigation of the translation process” (Munday, *The Role of Archival* 132).

<sup>7</sup> Also referred to as “archaeology” of translation in Paul St-Pierre (1993) and África Vidal (2018). “La historiografía y la traducción quieren obligarnos, desde las últimas definiciones propuestas por las nuevas líneas de investigación, a que nos adentremos críticamente en la realidad sin recetas ni fórmulas preconcebidas; sólo a partir de arquitecturas complejas donde instalarnos a pensar por los caminos de la *arqueología* y la *genealogía*, que nos llevarán a pequeños recovecos en los que apoyarnos pero sin asideros firmes, para al menos conseguir que el pensamiento tenga lugar” (Vidal 34, emphasis added).

reception in Spain, once having passed through the censorship filter and through the many hands of the cultural and editorial agents. In order to provide a definition of “agent”, as I understand the term and its boundaries vary according to different theories, I draw from John Milton’s and Paul Bandia’s volume *Agents of Translation* (2009), for whom “agent” refers to all intermediaries or mediators between translator and reader who are involved in the translation process and alter the final product. In Part II, however, due to the nature of its chapters seeking to explore sociological theories such as the Actor-Network paradigm, I have been more drawn to use the term “actor.” Nevertheless, from this point forward, both terms will be used in an interchangeable manner.

Lastly, to investigate the flow of translations and the network of actors who facilitated or resisted it, I have chosen a corpus of texts that will allow me to explore the matter further. My corpus encompasses several editions of “romans-à-clef” written by the famous trio, Henry Miller (1891-1980)—*Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*—Anaïs Nin (1903-1977)—*Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love*—, and Lawrence Durrell (1912-1990)—*Justine* and *Balthazar*—, that traveled from Argentina to Spain in translations carried out during the 1960s-1980s by Mario Guillermo Iglesias, Patricio Canto, and Aurora Bernárdez, in contrast with the domestic translations into Catalan done by Jordi Arbonès, Manuel de Pedrolo, and Manuel Carbonell; and the Peninsular Spanish editions authored by Carlos Manzano, Carlos Bauer/Julián Marcos, Carmen Alcalde/María Rosa Prats, and David Casanueva.

Simply put, the French term *roman-à-clef* means “novel with a key” and refers to “a novel that has the extraliterary interest of portraying well-known real people more or less thinly disguised as fictional characters” (“Roman-à-clef”). However, for the purpose of this dissertation, I draw a more distinct definition from Sean Latham’s *The Art of Scandal: Modernism, Libel Law, and the Roman à Clef* (2009) who argues that,

the roman à clef is a reviled and disruptive literary form, thriving as it does on duplicity and an appetite for scandal. Almost always published and marketed as works of pure fiction, such narratives actually encode salacious gossip about a particular clique or coterie. To unlock these delicious secrets, a key is required, one that matches the names of characters to the real-life figures upon whom they are based ... Dismissed by Henry James as a mere “tissue of personalities,” the roman à clef profoundly troubles any easy attempt at categorization since it must be defined, in part, by its duplicity. (7-9)

The three authors have been chosen based on the information found in the censorship files at the Archivo General de la Administración in Spain.<sup>8</sup> For example, the censors’ reports on one of these authors would often include mentions of the other two. Additionally, while the publishers would request to publish them individually, in some instances they were put in the same collections.<sup>9</sup> The subject matter of their works—from erotic and sexually explicit content to their characteristic semi-autobiographical, disruptive narrative, hence “roman-à-clef”—,<sup>10</sup> and the authors’ personal relationships altogether make them an ideal group to be studied through the intersection of translation, censorship, and affect. For, emotions and affect are indeed profoundly connected to fascist and authoritarian regimes, especially one as pervasive and long-lasting as Francoism. As Carlos Varón puts it: “Reconsideration of the past provokes *passionate* debates, and public expressions of mourning for personalities associated with the Republic or Francoism are constant objects of debate” (187, emphasis added).

---

<sup>8</sup> General Archive of the Administration (AGA henceforth) is the Spanish national archive building located in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid.

<sup>9</sup> An example of this is Aymà’s “Col·lecció Tròpics” containing Miller’s *Black Spring* [*Primavera Negra*], Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* [*Escala cap al foc*], and Durrell’s *The Alexandria Quartet* [*Quarteto de Alejandria*] into Catalan.

<sup>10</sup> I shall emphasize that, for the purpose of this dissertation, the selected novels are put under the umbrella term “roman-à-clef.” Although I am primarily building on Latham’s definition, I purposefully make this term my own to include the novels and translations of the three writers herein studied: Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, and Lawrence Durrell.

### Censorship, Translation: Affective and Relational Matters

Having succinctly framed the historical context, writers, and rewriters under analysis, it is now pertinent to present the theoretical framework of my dissertation. Historically, literature has been perceived as a device powerful enough to influence readers with the ideology that it conveys within. Thus, it has been subject to censorship in different times and cultures (Seruya and Moniz 2008). The subversive feature that literature embodies and the affect that it awakens in governments and other influential institutions has, by extension, an unavoidable impact on literary translation (O’Leary and Lázaro 2011; Tymoczko 2003). In Latin, the term “to censor” designated two different meanings: first, “to count, to take a census, to rate;” second, “to opine, to value, to decree” (Lázaro, *H. G. Wells* 17, my translation). Translation scholars such as Denise Merkle and Christopher Rundle trace censorship back to the classic Greek and Roman civilizations, where appointed magistrates were “responsible for supervising public morality” (Merkle, “Translation and Censorship” 239).<sup>11</sup> Merkle notices that “whether preventive, punitive or structural, all censorships involve control and are considered to be an effect of power, associated with a negative image of repression of free speech ... creativity and freedom ... [it] impacts social interactions and communications, while translation is a social, communicative act” (249).<sup>12</sup> Such a coercive and powerful force performed by the state and its institutions usually enhances self-censorship, which represents the suppression of certain aspects of a text carried out by translators and other translation agents according to their ideology and morals. The use of this strategy reflects the target culture

---

<sup>11</sup> During the Ancient Rome these were the chief powers of the Republican Roman Office of Censor, the magistrate in charge of both completing the senatorial roll and enforcing public morals.

<sup>12</sup> Francesca Billiani also defines censorship as “a coercive and forceful act that blocks, manipulates and controls cross-cultural and transnational interactions in a variety of ways and to varying degrees. It depends, largely but not exclusively, on the imposition of a certain ideology, or a set of rules, by a hegemonic power over a group or groups that may be considered subaltern within a particular historical or political context” (“Censorship” 56). On the other hand, Allan Keith and Kate Burridge define censorship as “the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is condemned as subversive of the common good” (13).

and its ideology, as well as the translator's own ideology (Lefevere 1992; Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002).

Ever since the creation of the “Manipulation School,”<sup>13</sup> scholarly works have claimed that the translators' performance can be affected by the surrounding agents and institutions, to the extent that these can shape the translators' strategies to fit in the dominant ideology of the target cultures (Hermans 1985; Bassnett and Lefevere 1990).<sup>14</sup> Similarly, questions related to manipulation and the phenomenology of censorship are being discussed with a Bourdieusian sociological perspective, in part due to the limitations found in previous frameworks such as the polysystem theory “which had given descriptive translation studies its first foundations” (Buzelin, “Unexpected” 194).<sup>15</sup> For example, scholars such as Gentzler and Tymoczko (2002), Francesca Billiani (2007), and Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (2007) have analyzed the implications that power exerts over translation to conceive the idea of structural censorship as a set of ideological characteristics native to the translator's cultural context.<sup>16</sup> Under this logic, Billiani

---

<sup>13</sup> Theo Hermans, André Lefevere, and Susan Bassnett are the translation scholars who first considered the role of ideology and patronage in the translation system, and who furthered Itamar Even-Zohar's famous polysystem theory. Bassnett claims that polysystem theory was viewed as a seminal theoretical framework used by scholars seeking to rethink “traditional literary history through a lens that puts translation into sharp focus, and it also emphasised the ideological dimensions of translation” (“From Cultural Turn” 70). Culture and ideology impact literary translation. The academics of the Manipulation School addressed the issue by considering the translated text and its cultural context as an interlinked entity, therefore regarding translations as products of the culture in which they take place.

<sup>14</sup> André Lefevere goes further and, in *Translation, Rewriting & the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), states that translations are forms of rewriting that depend on various factors, such as political institutions or ideology. For that reason: “[a]ll rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way” (vii). He classifies the aspects that have an impact into literary translation in three different groups. The first one is constituted by professionals who operate within the literary system (i.e., editors, translators, reviewers). The second one is composed by the controlling classes outside the literary system (i.e., governments, dictators, lobbies). Finally, the last group is formed by the dominant poetics. Therefore, the ideology of each of these groups has a strong influence on the resulting translations (vii).

<sup>15</sup> For Buzelin, the limits found in polysystem framework have to do with “the lack of consideration for agents involved in the translation process ... the somewhat deterministic character of this theory ... and the theory's bias towards contextual rather than cognitive aspects of translation” (“Unexpected” 195).

<sup>16</sup> Their respective works—*Translation and Power* (2002), *Modes of Censorship and Translation: National Contexts and Diverse Media* (2007) and *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (2007)—are examples of applications to the study of ideology and power in translation.

points out that “both censorship and translation establish a power structure that sustains and shapes their respective, often intertwined operational modes” (*Modes of Censorship* 4). Therefore, I believe that the impact that the translator’s intervention has on literary translation can be identified in novels with highly affective or controversial content, e.g., sexual language, religious, political, scatological, or other taboo references.

According to Ana María Rojo (2018), readers attest the emotional impact of a translation. However, I will argue that, in the case of Spain during Francoism (1939-1975), the official censors appointed by the regime had access to any translation prior to its publication, which made them the “first readers” and judges of the books vying for circulation. In addition to this, Séverine Hubscher-Davidson (2018)—a leading scholar in the subfield of “emotions” in translation—claims that “the majority of studies ... are overwhelmingly concerned with how emotional material or emotive language is being translated” (2). Hubscher-Davidson’s notions point out that emotions are very much involved in the translator’s decision-making and problem-solving behaviours and highlights three different areas where emotions influence translators: these being “emotional material contained in source texts, [the translators’] own emotions, and the emotions of source and target readers” (2). Definitely, the wealth of scholarship on the salient topic of affect and affective theory within cultural studies and the social sciences is bound to impact the field of Translation Studies, too.

Considering that censoring, writing, and translating are by definition affective acts (i.e., all combine power, dominant ideology, manipulation, and the adaptation/rewriting of the other),<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> “If affect is an essential element of language, it is easy to argue that affects and affect modulation also play a role in all writing, reading and, therefore doubly so, in translating (Davou 2007)” (as cited in Koskinen 33). A similar notion was brought to the fore by Douglas Robinson in *The Translator’s Turn* (1991) with their “somatics of translation” and a shift towards phenomenology, feelings, and the body.

studying the intersection of censorship and translation of foreign works into Spanish under two different authoritarian regimes offers the unprecedented opportunity to do research in translation through the lens of affect theory. That is, underlining the interplay between translated literature, the emotional, and the political, especially when addressing literary works so famously disruptive, sexual, and affect-loaded as those by Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, and Lawrence Durrell. To illustrate this, I take into consideration affect theory, very much inspired by Kaisa Koskinen's *Essays on Sticky Affects and Translational Affective Labour* (2020), with the aim of decoding how "affect" can be understood as key factor that operated and conditioned the translational processes and exchanges that took place between the two censorship systems, their publishing houses, and the translators' choices. Like Koskinen, I believe that affect contains social and interactional elements—relational I would claim—not merely cognitive or neuropsychological ones, which I found was more the case in previous affect or emotion-oriented studies in translation.<sup>18</sup> Akin to Koskinen, I am of the opinion that contextual aspects that are sociological, cultural, and political become more noteworthy when looking at issues such as institutional manipulation, translator's agency, and the relationships between author, translator, and the other agents/actors involved in the translation process.

For Koskinen, "the understanding of affect as an interface between the self and the environment emphasizes the dynamic interplay of more or less conscious psychobiological inner processes and our surroundings and social interaction" (6). Therefore, I believe that this approach to translation emphasizes how translators are part of an interconnected web of agents and relations

---

<sup>18</sup> Koskinen's approach to affect and translation focuses "on social and interactional aspects more than on neuropsychological, cognitive or individual ones. Parallels to sociology are therefore a good place to start ... The affective side of translatoriality is a multifaceted issue with permanent relevance and fascination, but it is also a pressing topic ... I am returning to ... issues such as translators' agency, workplace culture, institutional translation practices and retranslation specifically and explicitly from the point of view of affect" (Koskinen xi).

in their contexts, very much in line with scholars who turn to similar process-oriented types of research, for example H el ene Buzelin (2005), Anna Bogic (2010), Mar ıa C ordoba Serrano (2013), Szu-Wen Kung (2015), and Tom Boll (2015), who take from Latour’s “sociology of associations” (Latour 9). Under this processual and relational lens, a thorough study of the networks of agents/actors, the translators’ social interactions, as well as the material processes inserted in the texts provides data that “should enable us to get a better idea of who participates in the translation process, how they negotiate their position, and of how much and where translators ... *comply with or contest norms*” (Buzelin, “Unexpected” 205, emphasis added). In addition, what I am interested in taking from Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is the idea that, under this framework, “actors are proactive ‘mediators’ rather than passive intermediaries; their actions and interactions, propelled by specific motivations, shape the product ... in sometimes unpredictable ways” (Munday and Blakesley 6) and, more particularly, the overarching idea coined by this theory that the researcher must “follow the actors” (Latour 12), not just the products or “artefacts” in Latour’s lingo.<sup>19</sup> In my view, Koskinen, nevertheless, furthers this sociological paradigm and engages in a comprehensive—much more philosophical—“sociocultural theorization of the roles of affect in translatorial activities” (Koskinen 6), a line of research that I herein try to pursue.

Additionally, much like Buzelin, Koskinen is indebted to translation scholars who have built on the sociology of translation, by rethinking translation as a “social practice,” as referred to by Michaela Wolf (2002; 2007), and academics such as Anthony Pym (2009) who advocate for a “humanizing” movement in Translation Studies. The shift in the study of the translators’ role and

---

<sup>19</sup> “ANT views social interactions as fluid and dynamic. The main methodological principle of the ANT-inspired research is to follow actors (Latour 1987). The researcher does not impose any schemata on the observed phenomena. That is why the term ‘network’ is preferred to ‘system’ which would imply a preconceived structure. Social networks depend on the relations negotiated by actors within a project ... Applied to studying translation studies, this approach has proved productive in allowing the researcher an insight into translation projects in terms of the distribution of responsibilities, influences and roles assumed by different actors, not only translators” (Tyulenev).



their performance in relation to censorship, self-censorship, and matters such as power and agency are presently much debated topics. In the last two decades, numerous scholars have incorporated ideas that aim to extend the models previously provided by André Lefevere and Theo Hermans, by directly tackling the translators' role, their agenda, and conscious positioning in the translated text through the concepts of 'resistance,' 'responsibility,' 'advocacy' (for instance, Mona Baker, Maria Tymoczko, or Lawrence Venuti). For the purpose of this research, however, I am more predisposed to follow Koskinen's interdisciplinary framework, for, in the end "[w]hat remains constant is a sociological perspective: how affects affect translation, how translation as a social practice is affectively scripted, how translations are borne out of an affective engagement in translating and also produce affects in reception, and how also these are often normatively and affectively scripted" (Koskinen 11).

Let us now describe the slippery concept of "affect" and how it will be explored in this dissertation. As stated above, I make use of Koskinen's philosophical approach to the intersection of affect and translation. Her definition proposes the modish topic of "affect" as an eternal human question, a condition—I argue—, that is very linked to Baruch Spinoza, Gilles Deleuze, Brian Massumi, and Sara Ahmed's critical theories. For Koskinen, affect is "a body-mind complex that directs a person towards a desired state of affairs through a process of change" (Koskinen 16). This way, "[a]ffects are ... bodily grounded. We can only be affected by what our sensory systems register, and this is constrained by both our bodily capacities and our material location" (179). In her book, Koskinen includes the following, very illustrative, definition of "affect," taken by Highmore (118, as cited in Koskinen 17):

Affect gives you away: the telltale heart; my clammy hands; the note of anger in your voice; the sparkle of glee in their eyes. You may protest your innocence, but we both know, don't

we, that who you *really* are, or *what* you really are, is going to be found in the pumping of your blood, the quantity and quality of your perspiration, the breathless anticipation in your throat, the way you can't stop yourself from grinning, the glassy sheen of your eyes. Affect is the cuckoo in the nest; the fifth columnist out to undermine you; your personal polygraph machine.<sup>20</sup>

More plainly, affect is how what we have inside reacts to what is outside. In literary translation, such a reaction—that “affect”—needs to travel across linguistic but also cultural and normative boundaries. Thus, I can't help but think about how affect interferes specifically when translating under a coercive cultural environment triggered by a censorship apparatus—e.g., the censorship system of books established under the Francoist dictatorship in Spain, as well as the politically unstable context of Argentina in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—since, Koskinen claims:

any manipulative decision-making will also have an effective layer: issues such as self-censorship of taboo elements will entail a negotiation of the affective elements in the source text, the translators' and other agents' personal and professional stances towards them, the values, rules, norms and expectations of the receiving context and the affects involved in the reception of the target text. (7)

Such a negotiation of affective elements in the source texts of the “romans-à-clef” under analysis—elements that entail an array of sexual vocabulary, descriptive accounts of sexual encounters, multiple instances of womanly desires, obscenity, taboos pertaining to the body, etc.—happen, as

---

<sup>20</sup> Other scholars such as as Thomas Blake underline a similar notion: “While an emotion, in a cognitive context, constitutes a multicomponent phenomenon that gives rise to a feeling (phenomenological tone) experienced by an individual, affect is understood here as a pre-ontological energy linked to conatus, to an unintelligible domain from which feelings and emotions emerge. In the twentieth century, the social sciences generally speak of ‘emotion,’ the biological sciences of ‘affect,’ but ‘affect theory’ prioritizes ‘affect’ for the humanities by seizing upon a return to Spinoza as an opportunity to deepen the anti-Platonism of twentieth-century phenomenology” (Blake 212).

explained by Koskinen, not only between the translator and the text (at a personal, direct level), but also between the translation product and the agents who read it and judge prior to publication. Hence, all agents will be involved in a decision-making that surpasses the translation choices made by the translator in an effort to make the text palatable for the target audience according to the cultural and literary guidelines and level of acceptability. At this level, self-censorship is performed. Above all, nevertheless, the censors, as agents appointed to safeguard the regime's values and preferences, are arguably the ones who will most strongly react to the sexual or scatological affect present in the novels, as I explain in Parts II and III of this dissertation. Then, the negotiations on the translated text continue between the agents, and only then do the transformations occur. In my opinion, it is by tracing these transformations that the notion of affect, as defined by Koskinen, "can lend us new and valuable viewpoints into translating and into the reception of translations" (25).

Going back to the introduction, I ought to pick up the idea of translation as more than a communicative act, for it is a transfer, a voyage, a *flow*. Scholars such as Hubscher-Davidson define translation as a mode of expression (166). Expressing emotions in writing, is "undoubtedly something that [literary] translators will do in the course of their career ... [the] translated text production is unlikely to be entirely devoid of the translator's voice, style, and other personal touches ... [Thus] target texts are mixed products, 'coloured' by translators, and can be said to contain expressed emotions of both source authors and translators" (166). The affective layer finds its place in translation, that much is obvious by now, through the multifaceted acts of, first, reading then interpreting and, lastly, translating, that is to say, rewriting the source text in a different language, for a different culture and audience. So here comes the puzzle: all these acts, put together in the product of a translation, will afterwards affect other readers who will develop different

reactions towards it. In other words: they will be *affected* by the *affect* contained in the translated text that was, at the same time, *affected* by the source text, the translator's own hand, and the censorship performed by the agents involved in the translation process, depending on how they all were *affected* by those texts and drafts before publication.

And let us not forget about norms—norms that apply to both censoring and translating—especially in the context of censorship brought about by dictatorships. As Koskinen suggests, norms “have a strong affective embedded in them. The affective and the normative engage in a complex interplay, where emotions produce particular behaviour and that behaviour in turn produces emotions. Both norm compliance and norm breaches induce affective appraisals from all parties involved” (8). This is, clearly, the case of one translating under the context of censorship or a closed system. Additionally, the idea of norms as introduced by Koskinen draws a parallel from Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. For scholars such as Daniel Simeoni (1998), translation norms are internalized by the translators, as a set of values and guidelines they shape through their personal history, experience, and with training in a particular field (Simeoni 12).<sup>21</sup> Theo Hermans similarly reminds us that “intercultural traffic”—in my case the importation, translation, and circulation of “romans-à-clef”—

takes place in a given social context, a context of complex structures, including power structures. It involves agents who are both conditioned by these power structures or at least

---

<sup>21</sup> In “Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework,” Theo Hermans extensively reflects of the nature of norms and, drawing also from Bourdieu's theories, explains how they interfere in the translation process. For him norms are “psychological and social entities. They constitute an important factor in the interaction between people, and as such are part of every socialization process. In essence, norms, like rules and conventions ... have socially regulatory function” (26). Because translation involves different agents, “[t]he translative operation is a matter of transactions between parties that have an interest in these transactions taking place. For those involved in the transfer, the various modalities and procedures that go with it presuppose choices, alternative, decisions, strategies, aims and goals. *Norms play a crucial role in these processes*” (27, emphasis added).

entangled in them, and, who exploit or attempt to exploit them to serve their own ends and interests, whether individual or collective. The power structures cover political and economic power but also, in the field of cultural production, those forms which Pierre Bourdieu calls ‘symbolic power’. The agents, faced with an array of possible options, have to make choices and decisions about how to proceed. (Hermans, “Norms” 27)

Thus, due to the normative character of the periods I study (authoritative, pseudo-fascist dictatorial regimes in Europe and Latin America), the agents involved in inducing affective appraisals when referring to the circulation of translated literature are a) the censors employed by the institutions in power, b) the publishing houses and their editors with a taste for foreign literature, c) the translators interested in reproducing the works of their admired authors in their national languages, and d) the target readers as the final link vying to consume and be affected by those translated/manipulated novels.

By studying literary translation as a process and through the analysis of the translation production within and between the translation field of Spain and Argentina during 1960s-1980s, “affect” is then presented as a compelling framework to study the networks, relationships, and connections upon which the social is constructed and manifested, giving rise to bigger social and cultural events, as I will try to demonstrate in this dissertation. Accordingly, an affective turn enables us to overcome previous formalist limitations for, as noted by Mabel Moraña in *El lenguaje de las emociones*, “they dismiss the emotional aspect and marginalize the material component, aspects that the ‘affective turn’ allows us to reclaim and potentiate” (317, my translation). Taking “affect” as a starting point to not only consider the materiality of the translated editions but also the role and positioning of the translators and other agents in them will help me formulate a theoretical-philosophical redefinition to the study of the cultural production of late Francoism.

Notes on the Archive: *luces y sombras*

A trend among recent studies within the discipline is to include archival research to approach the History and Memory of Translation by retrieving primary and secondary sources pertaining to the translation process, thus, emphasizing the role of the translator and the relationships between the actors involved in their production and circulation (Pym, 2009; Munday, 2013). According to Jeremy Munday, archival and manuscript materials need to be used as a research method to investigate the construction of translations and the translation process, as he considers how “[s]uch material has been drastically underexploited in Translation Studies to date ... [Therefore] archive material facilitates the reconstruction of translational norms and provides a bridge between what, for Toury (1995, 65), are the two major sources for their study” namely the textual sources and the extratextual sources (Munday, “The Role of Archival” 125). The textual sources correspond to the translations *per se*, which in Gideon Toury’s words are “primary products of non-regulated behavior” (Toury 65). The extratextual sources are related to the “statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity” (65).

Even though Toury dismisses the extratextual sources for descriptive studies, as “partial and biased, and should therefore be treated with every possible circumspection” (65), I agree with Munday when he asserts that extratextual sources are worthy of consideration when investigating the process of translation, in his words: “They are interim products which offer crucial and more direct access to the creative process that is literary translation and provide written evidence of the translator’s decision-making” (Munday “The Role of Archival” 126). A parallel notion has been outlined by Sergia Adamo, who also acknowledges the lack of this type of research in Translation Studies:

Catalogues, archives, libraries dedicated to translation are rare if they exist at all; records of translator's experiences have not often been conserved and passed on. Translators are only in a few cases easily identifiable individuals whose experiences left clear records that we still have access to; consequently, the records sometimes have to be searched for elsewhere than in traditional sources and recognized archives. (Adamo 92)

In this vein, I engage in relational, archive-oriented research that parses translations carried out in different times and places in order to understand how the institutions, the translators, and other agents involved in the circulation of foreign literature affect its reception and production. By approaching the interdisciplinary study of censorship in translation from the perspective of an affective exchange, while featuring archival research, I am carrying out a unique comparative project that examines the circulation of translated literature between Spain and Argentina during the 1960s-1980s. Carrying out a project that combines archival research and textual analysis of different translations produced in two critical periods of Spanish and Argentine history will help me find the answers for my central questions, as Billiani describes:

By analysing the narratives encapsulated in the correspondence between different cultural agents, we can understand how a community negotiates its own identity and textuality as well as its cultural aesthetic paradigms, which, in the specific case of translations, can act as either subversive or conservative forces ... archival material gives a clear insight into the way in which discourses are produced and circulated, thereby placing the study of translation in its cultural and national context. (*Modes of Censorship* 5-6)

This way, my project aims to understand how both systems exerted control over the circulation and domestic consumption of cultural and literary production, as well as the lasting effects they

left behind. I consider the documentary materials surrounding my case studies with the objective of recreating a concrete corpus of translations and the documents produced in the process of translating and circulating the selected novels in Spain and Argentina. They are divided into three groups: archival material (censorship and import files collected from the Archivo General de la Administración in Madrid), reception of the works that encompass my case studies (literary reviews, journal articles, publishers' and translators' notes and interviews), as well as correspondence between the actors: publishers, authors, translators, and the censorial apparatus. Unlike other scholars working with censorship and translation, I go beyond a mere archival inquiry to contrast the different editions of the novels issued in both countries, seeking to understand why certain translations produced in Argentina were imported and sometimes circulated in Spain, whilst domestic translations were censored or rejected.

Katerina Stredová has recently analyzed the connections between the application of these archival methods and Bourdieu's sociological approaches to cultural production "in particular from his concept of an individual's habitus and of a field as a dynamic space in which this habitus is formed," and she perceives how insightful Bourdieu's notions become for the "study of archival materials when addressing the impact of censorship on translation" (511). She has brought to the fore Francesca Billiani's studies on censorship and translation from a sociological perspective, as she has asserted that "[using] Bourdieu's reflections, we can deduce how textual manipulations can be explained in greater depth if interpreted as a result of those dialectic relations that produce constantly changing habitus circulating in a certain field" (Billiani, *Modes of Censorship* 9).<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Billiani furthers the sociological approach to censorship and translation in her article, "Renewing a Literary Culture through Translation: Poetry in Post-War Italy" where she explicitly claims that one must "[c]onsider the editorial choices in the selection of texts and contributors, the role played by translations within the market, and the way in which the dialogue between publishers and translators can be reconstructed. These are central factors for any historiography of translation and for the analysis of the power relations underlying intervention in any translation context" (139).



According to Stredová, these works are valuable examples of how employing archival material combined with “methods of source criticism”—such as Munday’s use of ‘microhistory’—“can still be beneficial for researchers-translation scholars” (Stredová 511).

Using the Spanish General Archive of the Administration (AGA henceforth), some researchers have already offered a national, descriptive view on how the censorial apparatus operated during Francoism in relation to the domestic literary production, for example: Abellán, *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)* (1980); Cisqueña, *La represión cultural en el franquismo: diez años de censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa (1966-1976)* (2002); Ruiz Bautista, *Tiempo de censura: la represión editorial durante el franquismo* (2008); and Fernando Larraz, *Letricidio español. Censura y novela durante el franquismo* (2014). There have also been those who have focused their studies on certain foreign authors in order to shed light on how the censorship system affected their reception throughout the twentieth century. For instance, Lázaro’s *H. G. Wells en España, estudio de los expedientes de censura (1939-1978)* (2004); LaPrade’s *Censura y recepción de Hemingway en España* (2005); Vandaele’s *Funny Fictions. Francoist Translation censorship of two Billy Wilder films* (2015); Olivares’ *Graham Greene’s Narrative in Spain: Criticism, Translations and Censorship (1939-1975)* (2015); and more recently, the work of Godayol and Taronna, *Foreign Women Authors under Fascism and Francoism: Gender, Translation and Censorship* (2018).<sup>23</sup> Overall, most of the aforementioned works contain case studies that examine certain authors and works censored under Francoism, which, although very detailed and well-informed, may fall into the category of a mere reception analysis within the

---

<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in the last years, several scholars have directed their attention to the Catalan translation panorama during the years of Francoism. Some seminal publications that analyze different case studies regarding the reception of certain authors in the Catalan market are *La traducció catalana sota el franquisme*, by Bacardí (2012) and *Traducció i censura en el franquisme*, by Vilardell (2016), to name but a few.

context of Spain, in which case the question of the translator's position still remains neglected, as well as the matter of how and why translations from the South American continent travelled and circulated in Spain.

Furthermore, from 1997 to 2017 members of the TRACE<sup>24</sup> project have compiled a large translation corpus following decades of investigating the history of translations in 20<sup>th</sup> century Spain through the analysis of the censorship files held in the AGA. Such an inspiring and ambitious project paid special attention to the language combination of English-Spanish. Its principal goal is “to carry out a descriptive study of translation practices in 20<sup>th</sup> century Spain and to look for explanations about the current translation behaviour.”<sup>25</sup> This research group has contributed tremendously to the Descriptive Translation Studies in the Spanish translation panorama and continues to enhance the study and teaching of the discipline with a focus on the history of translation.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, most of the publications that have emerged from the TRACE project, once again, remain on a descriptive level of the translation practices during Franco's Spain, hence the works lack a deep understanding of the relations between censors, translators and publishers, as Anthony Pym criticizes:

the actual social actors (the ‘censors’ and the ‘petitioners’) only appear as a series of codified texts modifications. When analysis remains on that level, we are really no closer to understanding why certain translations are the way they are, we have tremendous

---

<sup>24</sup> TRACE is the acronym of *TRAducciones CEnsuradas*.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from the TRACE Project website, see: <https://trace.unileon.es/en/research/goals-2/>

<sup>26</sup> The most important publications pertaining to censorship and translation during Francoism are: Rosa Rabadán's *Traducción y censura inglés-español, 1939-1985* (2000); Cristina Gómez's “Translation and Censorship Policies in the Spain of the 1970s: Market vs. Ideology?” (2008) and “Traducción y censura de textos narrativos inglés-español durante la España franquista: algunas prácticas traductorales” (2012); Sergio Lobejón's “El catálogo TRACEpi (1939-1978): la traducción de poesía en inglés vista a través de la censura franquista” (2009); and Marta Rioja's “English-Spanish Translations and Censorship in Spain 1962-1969” (2010).

difficulty relating the textual to the social ... and we are certainly a long way from understanding the ethical issues involved in the imposition of a centralized Catholic state morality. Quite different conclusions might have resulted from a few case studies on who the censors were, who the translators and intermediaries were, and what social networks (extending in many cases beyond the national system of texts) brought the two sides to the metaphorical negotiations table. (“Humanizing Translation” 29)

On the other hand, embarking upon the study of censorship in 20<sup>th</sup> century Argentina, compared to that of Spain under Francoism, has proven not to be an easy enterprise mainly due to the difficulty of collecting “official” archival materials to analyze but also due to the perils of international travel during the pandemic. Unlike the detailed bureaucratic system that the Francoist regime organized—which is available today at the AGA under the catalogue *Cultura-Expedientes de Censura de Libros*—, Argentina “did not count with a centralized censorship office that established the official practices to follow, or a recognized administrative organization” (Avellaneda 13, my translation). Consequently, Argentina’s scarcity of files and official documents regarding the censorial activity of literature and translations when compared to Spain indicates that the bureaucratic process that occurred there was rather clandestine, and that many of the materials that dealt with these circumstances were either destroyed after the regime’s downfall in 1983 or were never filed in the first place.

The main scholars who have conducted investigations into the censorship apparatus in Argentina are Avellaneda, *Censura, autoritarismo y cultura, 1960-1983* (1986); Ferreira and Ruiz, *Una historia de la censura: violencia y proscripción en la Argentina el siglo XX* (2000); Farvoretto, *Alegoría e ironía bajo censura en la Argentina del Proceso (1976-1983)* (2010); and Gociol and Invernizzi, *Un golpe a los libros* (2010). These publications offer a general introduction

of censorship practices in Argentina throughout the 20th century. In addition, I have encountered some interesting works that approach translation matters through the lens of the history of translation in twentieth-century Argentina and will help to constitute my starting point in the contrastive study of censorship and translation in relation to Franco's Spain. Some examples are Willson's *La Constelación del Sur: traductores y traducciones en la literatura argentina del siglo XX* (2004); Barcellandi's "Dictatorships, censorships, and translation in Nazi Germany (1933-45), Argentina (1976-83), and Brazil (1964-1985)" (2005); Lafarga and Pegenaute's *Aspectos de la historia de la traducción en Hispanoamérica: autores, traducciones y traductores* (2012); and Guzmán Martínez's *Mapping Spaces of Translation in Twentieth-Century Latin American Print Culture* (2021).

Notwithstanding the documentary materials that the archive offers, using it in isolation as a space of historical truth that allows us to reconstruct—in the case of my research—translation processes, editorial and translatorial practices, as well as cultural productions can present certain problems. First, in the case of Spain, despite the AGA store of a very extensive catalogue of materials pertaining to censorship (e.g., censorship files of books, files of importation of books under Francoism), I have oftentimes found silences and omissions in the files (mislaidd documents, books' drafts missing, letters not filed, etc.). The institutionalization, selection, and organization of official documents is not an exact science. As suggested by Juan Carlos González Espita, the "absence or presence [or a document or file in the archive] relates to the usefulness or convenience that it represents to those in charge of organizing the archive" (González 17). Because "[i]n the archive there would be an 'originary lack' that constantly begs for complementation" (23).

In fact, in regard to the national archive AGA pertaining to the Francoist censorship system, Francisco Rojas (2013) asserts that "since dissident publishing houses usually operated

underground, official data can only be taken as orientational and, under no circumstance, be read verbatim without being contrasted” (my translation). Therefore, a supplementarity is needed, as the archive “hides, veils, and buries as part of a never-ending fluctuation” (González 25), or as Jacques Derrida reminds us in his seminal piece *Archive Fever*, “the archive [*arkhé*] is made possible by the death, aggression, and destruction drive, that is to say also by originary finitude and expropriation” (Derrida 94). Moreover, in *History in Transit*, Dominick LaCapra also reflects on the problems of the archive and posits that files and archival materials are “prior constructions” rather than “a stock of raw material or series of mere facts ... [what they contain] is preselected and configured in certain ways, for example, in terms of state interest or the interests of other institutions ... that create and manage archives, often suppressing and getting rid of embarrassing material” (25). Following these propositions, África Vidal Claramonte highlights how “archives are a reflection of those who make history and those who are silenced” (*La traducción* 41, my translation). Hence, for both Vidal and LaCapra, history—lowercase—needs to always be *in transit*, “open to pluralism and all the voices that have formed it” (Vidal, *La traducción* 41; LaCapra 2). This pluralism of voices, accounts, and *historias* [stories] is, precisely, what I seek in this dissertation.

Second, I am aware that a descriptive approach to the analysis of the Argentine censorship system presents certain limitations as to how and where to find the archival data needed. Whereas the source materials that touch on Spanish censorship comprise different case studies that parse the reception and translations of several authors during Franco’s regime, the reference works on Argentina’s sociopolitical context are far more general, since it has been more difficult to come across case studies like the examples provided for the Spanish cases. Specifically, this research scarcity, the “silences,” in regard to the question of power and translation in twentieth-century

Argentina is one of the issues that has motivated my line of study, as I connect it with the translation panorama in Spain and the transnational circulation of materials that existed between the two countries during the 1960s-1980s.

Consequently, a descriptive approach to the data found in the archives regarding the censored translations and the translation flows under analysis offered invaluable information that set this project in motion. Thus, I first delved into the AGA archive in order to collect the data about the source and target texts, which allowed me to begin to form the connections between the agents who intervened in the translations. However, this methodology alone was not satisfactory enough to complete my dissertation. As defined in the previous section, I sought to go beyond the institutional archives to find connections between the agents involved in the translations as well as the textual transformations of the works under analysis. Therefore, in order to further this archival approach, I incorporated a critical layer of analysis that helped me understand the changes, alterations, the reception, and circulation of said works under the contexts of Franco's Spain and Argentina. These factors led me to an interdisciplinary crossroad of archival research, affect theory, and relational thinking in order to overcome a solely descriptive approach to translation and censorship. I believe this will open my work to original research venues and generate new spaces of analysis in literary translation, by emphasizing not only the history and memory of the discipline, but also its more sociological and even philosophical branches.

After having introduced the main topics to be tackled in this dissertation and laid out the methods of analysis and data collection to carry out the study, I now offer a brief overview of the sections and chapters comprised in my work. First, in order to understand the translational exchanges that took place between Franco's Spain and Argentina, it is important to have a solid understanding of historical context of Francoism, its cultural relationship with Argentina, the

translation field within the two nations, the censorship regulations established, and the shifts that the publishing markets experienced during the second half of the twentieth century. That is why Part I, encompassing Chapters 1, 2, and 3, offers a macro-history that seeks to explain the flows of ideas and intellectuals contributing to the circulation of translations between Spain and Argentina from the Spanish Civil War to the Argentine Military *Junta* (1936-1983). In addition to presenting the historical contexts of which the corpus of selected translations were products, this section also sets the basis for the exploration of the phenomenon of censorship through the lens of affect theory, a line of research pursued throughout the dissertation.

Part II (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) provides a micro-historical study of the actors-networks involved in the translation flows I describe; those who enabled or resisted them. Focusing on three case studies—the works of Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*, Anaïs Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love*, and Lawrence Durrell’s *Justine* and *Balthazar* together with their Spanish and Catalan translations made in Argentina and Spain—I present the archival sources gathered from the Archivo General de la Administración in Madrid, which allows me to map out and evaluate the publishing operations that took place between domestic and South American publishers with the censorship board during the 1960s-1980s in regard to the cases under scrutiny. In this central section I show how, by employing archival documents and extratextual materials surrounding the translations, one can trace and study the “affective interactions” that the actors experienced with the texts, interactions that, I argue, in different ways affected the translation final products and their circulation in late Francoism but also in the Spanish-speaking world at large.

Finally, Part III (Chapters 7, 8, and 9) provides a textual analysis of the source and target texts in English, Catalan, and Spanish (both Castilian and Argentine editions, when available). Far

from undertaking a solely descriptive approach to describing the translation strategies employed by the different translators, I explore the actors' affective interactions and reactions defined in Part II together with the materiality of the texts in a contrastive manner. That is, I study the changes, transformations, omissions, and alterations contained in the final translations according to three selected themes already identified by the Francoist censors: "sexuality and pornography," "homosexuality and lesbian eroticism," and "sinful and other taboo topics." By contrasting the selected passages in translation, I not only identify differences in treatment by the censors, translators, and publishers during the transformation process, i.e., instances of self-censorship, one novel being approved at the expense of another, etc. but also, I ultimately speculate on what could account for such differences, decisions, and receptions.



**Part I. Flows of People and Ideas: the Translation Market in Franco's Spain and Argentina**

“What matters about the past is its unfinished business, which requires critical reflection  
and action in the present.”

—Jo Labanyi, “Memory and Modernity”

One of the many questions to approach the nature and consequences of the transatlantic flow of translations I study revolves around the notion of how much the censorship system of the receiving country could have affected the imported editions and whether they were held to a different censorial standard than the translations produced domestically, both in Catalan and Spanish. However, in order to understand the repercussions of said translational circulation, one has to first think of the historical context of Francoism, its cultural relationship with Argentina, the translation field within the two nations, the censorship regulations established, and the shifts that the publishing markets experienced during the second half of the twentieth century. In Chapter 1 of this section, I approach Francoism and its censorship system through the lens of affect theory. In Chapter 2, I focus on the establishment of the censorship apparatus, the different Press Laws that affected the book industry and the main struggles that translation underwent under the Francoist dictatorship. Finally, Chapter 3 explores the cultural connections with Argentina in terms of flows: flows of people emigrating to Latin America during and after the Spanish Civil War, flows of intellectuals and ideas across the Atlantic and, as result, the shifts in the Argentine publishing market in the mid-twentieth century that contributed to the importation of translations into Spain.

## **Chapter 1. Approaching Francoist Censorship Through the Lens of “Affect”**

It is plain to any who study fascism that it is a system of government that has an almost unique ability to evoke a strongly emotive response in any who live under it, study it, or even speak about it. To many, the mere mention of the word “fascism” is enough to elicit a strong affective response, and the legacy these regimes have left on our collective consciousness (from literature, film, to historical memory and oral accounts) is a clear indicator of affect in action. Even though emotions and affect are deeply intertwined with fascist and authoritarian regimes—for example, Martha Nussbaum (2013) shows how, historically, fascism mobilizes emotions in benefit of its politics—to my knowledge, no one has yet explored the intersection of affect and the Francoist censoring of literature. That is precisely why, during the process of researching and writing this project, the topic of affect has become so appealing.

The Spanish nationalist movement began after the *fin de siècle* colonial dismantlement, backed up by a pessimistic appraisal of the nation that appealed primarily to military officers and conservative politicians (Mar-Molinero and Smith 18-19).<sup>27</sup> As a whole, the historical context of the dictatorship led by General Francisco Franco is one full of affective matters: national pride, national symbolism, militarism, nostalgia for the former Empire, revival of foundational myths such as the *Reconquista* and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, etc. (Richards, “Constructing” 151).<sup>28</sup> During the early years of the dictatorship, the nationalist discourse was enforced both

---

<sup>27</sup> “The Right fashioned its own national discourse, which drew on nineteenth-century Catholic traditionalism, and then integrated twentieth-century fascist thought. It eulogised the *Reconquista* and the conquest of the Americas, during which Spain (seen almost exclusively in terms of Castile) fulfilled her destiny by spreading the Christian, Catholic faith” (Mar-Molinero and Smith 20).

<sup>28</sup> The affective discourse that shaped the Francoist nationalist identity can also be understood, in Benedict Anderson’s words, as the regime’s “emotional legitimacy” (Richards, “Constructing” 4).

legally and by force through “autarky combined with the institutionalised violence ... utilised as weapons in the fight to cleanse Spain of decadent, foreign influences, and la[id] the basis for a triumphal rebirth of Spain as a powerful, unified, Catholic state” (Mar-Molinero and Smith 20).<sup>29</sup> Francoism fought for the resurgence of *la Patria*, in Michael Richards’ words (“Constructing” 149), also referred to as the “New Spain,” and did it by employing several mechanisms.<sup>30</sup> One of them being the censorship of books, press, and any other cultural production whether created locally or abroad in order to free the nation of anything perceived as threatening or “abject” by the standards of the regime.<sup>31</sup>

I thus propose that an affective turn to Francoist censorship, following the models proposed by scholars such as Brian Massumi, Sara Ahmed, Sianne Ngai, and Jonathan Flatley, can help one understand how said nationalist emotions and affect-eliciting symbolism within the Francoist discourse—“sticky associations” in Ahmed’s terminology (*Cultural Politics*)—shaped the cultural production and reception of foreign works under Francoism through the agents involved in the translation processes and its circulation. According to Ahmed, “the words [for emotions] are not simply cut off from bodies, or other signs of life ... the work of emotion involves the ‘sticking’ of signs to bodies: for example, when others become ‘hateful’, then actions of ‘hate’ are directed

---

<sup>29</sup> “The country was to be ‘re-made’ in the image of the myth of Franco’s Crusade to save ‘Christian civilisation’ as represented by Catholic Spain. Accordingly, the symbols utilised by Francoism were borrowed from the fifteenth-century era of Ferdinand and Isabella when Spain had previously triumphed over ‘malignant foreign powers.’ The notion of expulsion was once again to be extremely important, at several levels, during the Franco era” (Richards, “Constructing” 150).

<sup>30</sup> “Although the vision of the nation in Spain after 1939 was often contradictory, there were a limited number of features which were a constant part of the ideological framework around which the ‘New Spain’ was to be constructed (Viver Pi-Sunyer 1980). These were, first, an ‘organicist’ understanding of the *Patria* itself; that is, Spain had to be a ‘natural’ entity, a ‘living organism’, composed of a collectivity which shared this particular understanding of the Fatherland ... organicism was central to the belief-system of Francoist military officers (Losada Malvárez 1990:82)” (Richards “Constructing” 150).

<sup>31</sup> In Julia Kristeva’s words, “abject” is that which “disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite ... Abjection ... is immoral, sinister, scheming, and shady: a terror that disassembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter instead of inflaming it, a debtor who sells you up, a friend who stabs you” (*Powers* 3-4).

against them” (*Cultural Politics* 13), which, I argue, is how censorship operated under Francoism.<sup>32</sup>

An initial step towards an affective approach to the Francoist censorship of books can be perhaps found in Hans-Jörg Neuschäfter’s seminal work *Adiós a la España eterna. La dialéctica de la censura ... bajo el franquismo* (1994). In order to analyze the discourse of censorship, Neuschäfter draws on Freud’s *Die Traumdeutung* when comparing one’s “oneiric censorship” with literary censorship.<sup>33</sup> For Freud, censorship has a dialectic character that is “determined by the contradiction between, on the one hand, concealment/disguising, and discovering/revealing, on the other” (Neuschäfter 55, my translation).<sup>34</sup> This means that “dreams and literature tend to communicate ‘indecent’ matters, but they can’t do it explicitly due to their respective censorship instances ... censorship hinders communication but also stimulates the imagination to seek ways to slip past it” (56, emphasis added). Taking into consideration that, for Freud, censorship happens first at the unconscious level, just like dreams, the connection with affect as explained in the introductory section “Censorship, Translation: Affective and Relational Matters” of this dissertation, therefore, appears justified. Another key aspect in Neuschäfter’s quotation is the use of “indecent matters,” which for the Francoist censors translated to topics related to sex, sexuality, the female body, or anything they perceived as salacious or simply improper according to the moral

---

<sup>32</sup> “The attribution of feeling to an object (I feel afraid because you are fearsome) [the translated texts, in my study] is an effect of the encounter, which moves the subject away from the object. Emotions involve such affective forms of reorientation” (Ahmed, *Cultural Politics* 8).

<sup>33</sup> “Freud, who never really developed a coherent account of the affects, often treated them as the quantitative energy stemming from the drives, a kind of undifferentiated *intensity* that is given form and content by the ideas or objects to which they were attached” (Flatley 13, emphasis added).

<sup>34</sup> All quotations from Hans-Jörg Neuschäfter’s *Adiós a la España eterna. La dialéctica de la censura ... bajo el franquismo* (1994) are my translation unless otherwise indicated.

and social order imposed by Francoism through a set of extremely affective and “sticky” values and dogmas:

Souls needed to be made strong in order to overcome dangerous bodies; martyrs of the “Crusade” became moral effigies, symbols of eternal truths: the countryside, as the repository of healthy virtues, was supposedly to be given “new life” to close off and surround “unhealthy” cities, and the labouring masses were to be regimented in a rigidly hierarchical state-union structure. (Richards, *Time of Silence* 68)

Furthermore, Sara Ahmed has also gone back to Freud to explain how emotions operate at an unconscious level. For Ahmed,

what is repressed from consciousness is not the feeling as such, but the idea to which the feeling may have been first (but provisionally) connected. Psychoanalysis allows us to see that emotions such as hate involve a process of movement or association, whereby “feelings” take us across different levels of signification, not all of which can be admitted in the present. (*Cultural Politics* 44)

Under this psychoanalytical logic of associations, “emotions work as a form of capital: affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity but is produced as an effect of its circulation” (45). Similarly, other affect/emotion theorists such as Lawrence Grossberg and Brian Massumi understand affect as a form of energy or intensity embedded in people’s experiences, relations, and identities (Harding and Pribram, *Emotions* 17). For them “[a]ffect, then, becomes one of the means by which power is constituted, mobilised, circulated and performed ... it operates directly in the circuit of power relations” (Ibid.).

What I am interested in taking from this approach is the relationality it entails, as explained by Jonathan Flatley: “where *emotion* suggests something that happens inside and tends toward outward expression, *affect* indicates something relational and transformative” (12, emphasis in the original). In fact, for the purpose of my research, the term “affect” appears more all-encompassing than what “emotion” covers, for example, in Ahmed’s worldview. I am then determined to employ the umbrella term of “affect,” following translation scholar Kaisa Koskinen’s positioning within the debate,<sup>35</sup> who, at the same time, has been largely inspired by Eugenie Brinkema’s *The Forms of Affect* (2014)<sup>36</sup>. Additionally, in a previous publication, Koskinen also draws from Margaret Wetherell and defines affect as “embodied meaning-making,” that is, the “participants’ emotional and bodily-experienced response to an interpretation of their lived experience, as a hinge between the self and the world ... while affect involves the body and emotions, it does not stand in polar opposition to reason or cognition” (Hokkanen and Koskinen 82).

I argue that affect can be studied not only between the translator and the source text, i.e., in the translation choices, but more importantly, between the source text, the translation drafts, the censors, and other agents such as publishers, editors, literary critics, and the readers; that is, all agents involved in the transformation of the texts under analysis herein. Hence, the relational—

---

<sup>35</sup> “Currently, there is no general theory of affect (although there is something called affect theory both in cultural studies and psychology), and it is thus perhaps not too surprising that there is no shared understanding of affect within translation studies either, or necessarily a need for one. Affects are muddy, vague and hard to capture (as soon as a bodily felt affect is verbalize, for example, one can argue that it is no longer an affect but something else). Affects can be seen as either individual or collective, and they are a shifting and changeable phenomenon rather than an absolute, on/off switch; a process rather than a fixed position ... But the notion of affect can lend us new and valuable viewpoints into translating and into the reception of translations” (Koskinen 25).

<sup>36</sup> “While the etymological trajectory of emotion gestures at moving out, emission, and migration (e-movere)—and therefore evokes a communicative, transferential relationship—‘affect’ etymologically allows for a proliferation of concepts related to forces that act on themselves. Derived from the Latin *affectus* (a completed action) and the verb *afficere* (to act upon), ‘affect,’ according to the first definition in the Oxford English Dictionary, is ‘the way in which one is affected or disposed; mental state, mood, feeling, desire, intention’ ... ‘Affect’ thus invokes force more than transmission, a force that does not have to move from subject to object but may fold back, rebound, recursively amplify” (Brinkema 24).

rhizomatic—nature of affect offers substantial insight into how to rebuild the networks of agents that shaped the reception of Henry Miller’s, Anaïs Nin’s, and Lawrence Durrell’s novels in Francoist Spain and, what is more, how to trace the transformations performed in the translations under analysis.

Precisely, I am greatly inspired by Flatley’s ideas of an “affective map,” as I try to connect relational thinking with affect theory and apply them to the study of censored translations.<sup>37</sup> Flatley describes the “affective map” as a valuable method to establish a mobile territoriality of study and does so by borrowing the concept of “rhizome” as coined by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*. I find this framework very productive as I investigate, on the one hand, the agents’ affective responses to the material translation drafts that were submitted to the Francoist censorship board as well as the translations that traveled from Argentina to the Peninsula with the aim of being officially imported and circulated. Ann Cvetkovich also uses a similar methodological approach, that of an “archive of feelings,” in which cultural artefacts can be read as “repositories of feelings and emotions, which are encoded not only in the content of the texts themselves but in the practices that surround their production and reception” (Cvetkovich 7).

On the other hand, this relational way of thinking—i.e., building a rhizomatic “affective map” or “archive of feelings”—allows one to explore the processes that the translated texts underwent, while I trace the connections and relationships of the agents who partook in said translations. For Flatley, and in relation to Deleuze and Guattari, “the rhizome refers to a map that must be produced or constructed, is always detachable, connectable, reversable, and modifiable,

---

<sup>37</sup> For Flatley, “the affective map is not a stable representation of a more or less unchanging landscape; it is a map less in the sense that it establishes a territory than that it is about providing a feeling of orientation and facilitating mobility” (7).

with multiple entrances and exits, with its lines of flight. The tracings are what must be transferred onto the maps and not the reverse” (Flatley 78). Such an approach fills in the originary gaps in my research, as it was initially hard to fully couple ideas coming from affect theory and the sociology of translation and utilize them in my analysis of censored translations under Francoism.



## **Chapter 2. Cultural Identity and Literary Production under Francoism**

Ever since the dissolution of the dictatorship in 1975, the topic of censorship under Francoism has been discussed at length in the seminal works of Manuel Abellán (1980), Hans-Jörg Neuschäfter (1994), Georgina Cisquella et al. (2002), and Eduardo Ruiz Bautista (2008), among others. Any study of the cultural and literary production during Francoism must acknowledge the repressive nature of this period, especially towards the dissenting voices of those ideologically more in line with the Republican side during and after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). From its inception, the Francoist regime adopted a “passionate,” nationalistic, and patriotic rhetoric in their efforts to unite Spain and “as the basis for incontestable unity and cohesion” (Delgado 276). By means of ultra-nationalistic and patriotic rhetoric represented by the dogmatism of God, Fatherland, and Family, the regime sought to be in complete control of dictating what was best for “its protégés, by assuming the role of a father who provides and takes care of his minors” (Neuschäfter 46). With this paternalistic, saviour complex in mind, the Francoists saw themselves obliged to “control all intellectual and communicative relations between the members of the nation” (Ibid.).

In her analysis of patriotism and other political emotions related to the idea of “nation,” Nussbaum underlines that “[p]atriotic emotion seeks devotion and allegiance through a colorful story of the nation’s past, which points, typically, to a future that still lies in doubt. Indeed, the idea of a nation is, in its very nature, a narrative construct” (*Political Emotions* 210). This very idea of nation-building or, better, a return to the golden age of the Spanish Empire requires the construction of an affective narrative that can be molded and controlled by the State and its institutions; hence, a censorship apparatus is created. In Judith Butler’s words: “censorship is a

necessary part of the process of nation-building, where censorship can be exercised by marginalized groups who seek to achieve cultural control over their own representation and narrativization” (132).

### 2.1. Press Law of 1938: the Construction of the Censorship System

In the case of Francoism, the nationalists seized power through a *coup-d'état* that led to the Spanish Civil War, and Francisco Franco was proclaimed “Head of the Spanish Government and the Highest General of the Spanish Armed Forces” (Rioja 2, my translation) several months into the conflict, on 29 September 1936. During the war, two regulations were passed regarding the censorship of printed materials on 22 and 29 April 1938. The first one pertained to newspapers and periodical publications, known as Minister Serrano Súñer’s Press Law, whereas the second law “required prior censorship for any book published in or imported into Spain” (Larraz, *Letricidio* 58, my translation). The wartime censorship system was not dismantled once the *nacionales* completely secured power after winning the war. On the contrary, the apparatus became more centralized and pervasive during the first decade of the dictatorship (Ruiz Bautista 73, my translation). In Butler’s classification of institutional censorship, this corresponds to the stage in which the established dominant power “seeks to control any challenges posed to its own legitimacy” (132). Hence, it can be argued that the censorship system remained operative until the end of the regime for the State to preserve the “official” historical narrative and control the cultural production, this way shaping the “codification of memory” within the nation (Ibid.).

According to Neuschäfter, Francoism was built on the pillars of “authoritarianism, machismo, and religious mysticism” (75). Once in power, Spain became “*huis clos*, and silence

became the citizen's primary duty. All had to submit to *the one and only* will that obeyed the guidelines of imperialist tradition, fascist totalitarianism, and the Catholic doctrine ... where the 'truth' replaces 'freedom'" (46). The censorship system exerted legal pressures to conform to the national regeneration belligerently brought about by the regime's hegemonic view of Spanish culture and identity, that of *Hispanidad*—another highly-affective notion—, also affecting freedom of press, for “journalists were, in effect, state functionaries charged with maintaining the regime's monopoly of ideas” (Richards, *Time* 10). Neuschäfter also claims that everything was subject to censorship: “from daily sports chronicles in press to a little poetry book, from a novel to an essay in a specialized journal, from a script to a stage play, from the editorial to the newspaper ad” (Neuschäfter 48). In *Un viaje de ida y vuelta*, Antonio Lago Carballo et al. include a passage the Cámara Oficial del Libro sent to the Spanish publishing houses in September 1939, regarding the topic of “banned books:”

Banned books can be divided into two groups: those banned in a definitive and permanent manner and those temporarily banned. To the former belong works contrary to the national movement, anti-Catholic, theosophical, occultist, Masonic, books attacking befriended countries, books written by authors named enemies of the new regime, pornographic and pseudo-scientific-pornographic works and those popularizing sexual themes, anti-war, anti-fascist, Marxist, anarchist, separatist, and so forth. (38, my translation)<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, the censorship apparatus under Franco's regime was not monolithic. Rather, “different types of cultural products were overseen by separate branches of the administration,

---

<sup>38</sup> “Los libros prohibidos pueden dividirse en dos grupos: los prohibidos de un modo definitivo y permanente y los prohibidos temporalmente. A los primeros pertenecen las obras contrarias al movimiento nacional, las anticatólicas, teosóficas, ocultistas, masónicas, las que ataquen a países amigos, las escritas por autores decididamente enemigos del nuevo régimen, las pornográficas y pseudo científico pornográficas y las de divulgación de temas sexuales, las antibelicistas, antifascistas, marxistas, anarquistas, separatistas, etcétera” (Lago Carballo 38).

with specific legislation and internal directives put in place and tailored to the particularities of the reviewed texts” (Lobejón et al. 94). In regard to the editorial issues and the censorship system, Eduardo Ruiz Bautista identifies three stages within the dictatorship: Francoism I (1936-1945), Francoism II (1945-1966), and Francoism III (1966-1976). Francoism I was managed by a Falangist elite who “put censorship of books at the service of its ideal of culture” (Ruiz 73, my translation). To secure material support during the Civil War from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the budding regime adopted several overtly fascist features, including broad censorship measures. The general criteria for a text to be banned was: “Any kind of immoral concept or Marxist propaganda, anything which implies a disrespect for the dignity of our glorious army, any attack against the unity of our mother country, a disrespect for the Catholic religion or, in short, anything opposed to the meaning and goals of our Glorious National Crusade” (Pegenaute 87).

Amid the Spanish Civil War, the first censorial body was established in 1937 in order to deal with cultural production and war propaganda: *Delegación de Estado para Prensa y Propaganda*. This organization had a normative nature and offered a paradigm of what publishing houses might or might not distribute; a type of censorship known as compulsory and preventive, since the books were examined prior to publication with the passing of the Press Law of 1938. First, the publishers had to send the book they wanted to issue to the *Delegación*. Once there, the censors wrote a report analyzing the content of the book. The resolution was then attached to that report and, ultimately, it was sent to the publishing house together with the final decision.

Following Abellán’s extensive study, Pilar Godayol notices that the two critical aspects censors were in charge of safeguarding were “the untouchability of the system and the obligatory respect for the ideological principles of Francoism, which continued throughout the dictatorship; ... [and] the subjection of the people to a Catholic moral code” (“Depicting Censorship” 100). The

mid-1940s and 1950s were an extremely strict period in regard to literary censorship. Minister Arias Salgado was proclaimed chief of the censorship board in 1951 and, with it, the Ministry of Information and Tourism that would deal with censorship matters until the end of the regime was established.<sup>39</sup> As post-war Spain became increasingly inward-looking and isolated from the international community, the object of censorship shifted from the ideological battleground of the 1930s and combating Marxist propaganda to focus increasingly on issues perceived to threaten the morality and societal cohesion of Spain. During this stage, the Catholic elite exerted a marked influence on the regime and, thanks to the introduction of a religious adviser into the censorship boards, applied increased control over the censorship system. Topics related to immorality (for instance: sexuality, blasphemy, suicide, or any other religiously motivated taboo) were harshly persecuted and censored, forcing authors, translators, and editors to perform severe self-censorship.

Nevertheless, “Francoist censorship was always vague and arbitrary and the criteria used were never compiled systematically” (Godayol, “Depicting Censorship” 100) or more accurately, as Neuschäfter observes, “the strict coherence [of the first censorial stage] gave way to an increasingly flexible casuistry, by far more arbitrary and complex, which increased the possibilities of circumventing or deactivating the censorship with guile” (Neuschäfter 48). Additionally, during the first two stages of Francoism publications written in Catalan, Galician, and Basque were completely prohibited, “with some exceptions, such as poetry or religious texts” (Godayol, “Depicting Censorship” 100).<sup>40</sup> Through the censorship system, Francoism exerted a cultural

---

<sup>39</sup> The institutional nature of this ministry had an ideological and economic outreach. In other words, a propaganda body for both culture and tourism (Rojas).

<sup>40</sup> “From 1939 onwards ... the new authorities proclaimed that they would not prohibit the informal and private use of the language, but they endeavored to make it disappear from public life, including the administration, the Church, performances, and, needless to say, books and magazines, to the point where they even destroyed a harmless church

control, homogenization, and centralization in order to construct the desired national space of *Hispanidad*, as Colin Williams and Anthony D. Smith observe: “By ‘building a nation’ out of a common territory, nationalist elites inevitably strengthen the state and its control over outlying areas through the processes of bureaucratic centralization and standardization based on a common culture administered uniformly over a given territory” (511). The concept of *Hispanidad* or “*lo castellano*” was therefore forcefully extolled as the patriotic rhetoric of Francoism and “anything challenging this was considered dangerously subversive” (Mar-Molinero 81), thus, censored.

## 2.2. Press Law of 1966: a Shift in the Publishing Markets

The rigid measurements employed in the first two decades of the dictatorship were prone to change during the 1960s, especially in regard to foreign books via translation and publications in languages other than Castilian.<sup>41</sup> In this period, the regime began to cautiously embrace liberalism and attempted to offer a modernized image of the nation in terms of policy, economy, and culture. This ultimate need for flexibility was reflected on the censorship system through the establishment of a new law, *Ley de prensa e imprenta*, passed on the 18th of March 1966 by the new minister of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne.<sup>42</sup> In this stage, a more liberal section of the censorship board led by the General Director of Information, Carlos Robles Piquer, clashed with

---

bulletin in a small town and fined those who did not comply with the strict rules of the new regime or intimidated them with threats of reprisals” (Massot i Muntaner 6, my translation).

<sup>41</sup> “[I]n 1966 the dictatorship relaxed its attitudes a little with the passing of the so-called Freedom of Expression Law, which removed the stricter forms of censorship in favour of prior, self-censorship. As a result, private organisations were now allowed to teach mother-tongue languages other than Castilian, and publishing was once more permitted in these” (Mar-Molinero 81).

<sup>42</sup> One of the most notorious change in the censorship system brought about by Fraga as new Minister of Information, save the new requirement of “*consulta voluntaria*,” was a nomenclature change for the branch of the MIT, called “*Sección de Inspección de Libros*” [Department of Book Inspection] under Arias Salgado and, since 1962, known as “*Orientación Bibliográfica*” [Bibliographic Orientation] (Rojas); a term that, *a priori*, carries a less distressing connotation than “inspection.”

the reactionary and religious factions who saw themselves as the true preservers of the “legitimate, true moral and ideological order of the regime” (Jané-Lligé, “Traducció narrativa” 84, my translation). Among those critics, Luis Carrero Blanco was known for mobilizing the more reactionary sectors of the regime towards the expected liberalization that Fraga’s Press Law sought to foster. In his words:

The situation of the Press and all the organs of information in general, including books, must be thoroughly corrected. It is producing a serious moral, religious, and political deterioration. All the bookstore windows are ... cluttered with Marxist works and novels containing the most unrestrained eroticism ... The damage being done to the public morality is dangerous and it must be stopped.<sup>43</sup>

The regime then granted the publishers with certain formal liberties, a kind of “responsible freedom,” although this concept is quite contradictory during a still operative censorship system, as it appears in a draft from the MIT:

The mission of civil censorship ... is not to suspend every work that could be dangerous, especially if it is only dangerous in the opinion of those who are more timorous than discreet. The Spanish peoples must become accustomed to choosing their own readings for themselves; they cannot expect the State to direct their consciences. State censorship is limited to preventing the circulation of books that directly challenge the Catholic dogma, the legitimacy of the National Uprising; or directly offend the Catholic Church, the first

---

<sup>43</sup> “La situación de la Prensa y en general de todos los órganos de información, incluyendo el libro, debe ser corregida a fondo. Está produciendo un positivo deterioro moral, religioso y político. Todos los escaparates de las librerías están ... abarrotadas de obras marxistas y de las novelas de erotismo más desenfadado ... El daño que se está haciendo a la moral pública es grave, y hay que ponerle fin” Carrero Blanco’s message to Franco, 10th of July, 1968. In López Rodó, Laureano, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía* (1977), as cited in Rojas.

Magistracy of the State; or advocate communist ideology, or only aim at pornographic incitement. In such borderline cases, censorship is implacable, except for the very rare, minimal failures ... *The official censorship is, therefore, a frontier; but not a guardianship* .... The Spanish public opinion must be perfectly aware that a censorship authorization is not a positive recommendation of a work. No one should feel obliged to take for good what is only permitted or tolerated. *Along official censorship ... there must exist self-censorship of the adults themselves*, men by definition free and, hypothetically, in possession of already formed criteria. (Ibid., emphasis added)<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, in terms of religious censorship, the MIT, by highlighting the citizens' moral responsibility, entrusted publishers to "reject publishing and selling certain books. It is on the Catholic editor to abstain from launching certain works into the literary market" (Rojas, my translation). Books included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* were, by extension, banned.

Conversely, in terms of cultural production, Godayol contends that the Press Law of 1966 "was not a complete opening, but it meant a certain 'liberalization' of the censorship, coinciding with the economic growth and the expansion of international tourism of the 1960s" (99). However,

---

<sup>44</sup> "Consideraciones sobre el ejercicio de la censura civil de libros", signed by Faustino García Sánchez-Marín, *Jefe de la Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica*, 02-V-1963, in response to "Escrito dirigido al Sr. Ministro", signed by several people in Barcelona [a document that delves into] the authorization of books on communist propaganda and pornographic works according to the Ministry of Information and Tourism in a letter sent to Carlos Robles Piquer, Director General de Información on the 25th of April, 1962. AGA, Sección Cultura, Caja 21663" (as cited in Rojas, my translation). The original quotation reads as follows: "La misión de la censura civil ... no es suspender toda obra que pueda ser peligrosa, sobre todo si solamente es peligrosa a juicio de personas más timoratas que discretas. Las gentes españolas se han de ir acostumbrando a elegir por sí mismas sus propias lecturas; no pueden esperar que el Estado se ocupe de dirigir sus conciencias. La censura del Estado, en cuanto censura, se limita a impedir la circulación de libros que impugnen directamente el dogma católico, la legitimidad del Alzamiento Nacional, o que ofendan directamente a la Iglesia Católica, o a la primera Magistratura del Estado, que propugnen la ideología comunista, o que sólo se propongan la incitación pornográfica. En tales casos límite, la censura es implacable, salvo los fallos mínimos, rarísimos ... *La censura oficial es, pues, una frontera; pero no una tutela* .... La opinión pública española debe hacerse cargo perfecto de que una autorización de la censura no es una recomendación positiva de una obra. Nadie tiene por qué sentirse obligado a tomar por bueno lo que solamente es permitido o tolerado. Al lado de la censura oficial ... *debe estar la autocensura de los propios adultos*, hombres por definición libres y por hipótesis en posesión de criterios ya formados" (Ibid.).



Neuschäfter argues that the liberalization took on an economic dimension more than a cultural one and, because of this, “the censorship, instead of lowering its pressures, shifted contrary to the economic interest” (Neuschäfter 54). In this case, I agree with the latter, for, as I show in Part II, publishers such as Aymà that repeatedly appealed the censors’ decisions on a publication would precisely argue about this so-called liberalization. Furthermore, the previously compulsory requirement of “prior permission” was rebranded as “consulta voluntaria.”<sup>45</sup> This meant that the publishers had to voluntarily apply for permission to publish a book, although the dynamics were practically the same: censors examined the book in question and estimated whether the book could be published or not. What is more, with the new Press Law of 1966, it became the norm that “publishers were compelled to self-censor their publications to limit the economic impact of an adverse decision, a sequestered book or a lawsuit” (Lobejón et al. 65).<sup>46</sup>

An interesting remark recently pointed out by some authors is that once the regime opened up, and despite the censorship system, translation of foreign works “became one of the components of *social change*, backed by various anti-Francoist left-wing publishers” (Godayol, “Depicting Censorship” 96, emphasis added). Cornellà-Detrell also declares that the Spanish and Catalan translation fields were shaped throughout the regime in relation to the socio-economic changes that the country underwent through the decades. In relation to this, Josep Massot i Muntaner claims that Edicions 62 was the first big Catalan publisher “playing a major role in publishing of all kinds of translations ... although they were naturally affected by the censorship, they also benefited from

---

<sup>45</sup> In this context, “consulta voluntaria” means “voluntary application.” Censorship scholars refer to it as “voluntary consultation” in English (Pegenaute, Gómez, Godayol, to name a few). Since it is a legal term product of the context of the Francoist censorship and I do not find the English translation in use satisfactory, I will adhere to the use of the Spanish nomenclature in my dissertation.

<sup>46</sup> As Lidia Falcón claims in a published interview: “The *consulta voluntaria* was a real trap, since no editor dared to edit a text knowing that the censors had objections to it, because they knew that the conflict could end up with the company dismantled” (de Tena 144, my translation).

the tolerance that some government men in Madrid advocated for in an attempt to offer a fictitious image of freedom and pluralism abroad” (7, my translation). Naturally, allowing Catalan publications back into the editorial market led to a boom in their book industry—Aymà being one of the publishers that experienced a notable growth in the 1960s and 1970s—in the words of Jordi Jané-Lligé: “Edicions 62, the resumption of Aymà/Proa and the ‘A tot vent’ collection, the creation of new Catalan collections in existing publishing houses ... are some of the indisputable signs of this transformation” (“Traducció narrativa” 75, my translation). This, together with the “fictitious freedom” in disguise of tolerance referenced by Massot i Muntaner in regard to Catalan publications, has to do with the fact that Catalan was a minority language, therefore, there were fewer readers who could in fact consume those editions.<sup>47</sup> Oftentimes, this made censors more willing to consider Catalan translations for publication, whilst they outright rejected them in Spanish; such is the case of some of Henry Miller’s novels translated into Catalan.

Contrary to what Neuschäfer infers, Cornellà-Detrell asserts that “there were no numerous originals awaiting publication, and this explains why the cultural awakening relied heavily on imported texts ... The paradox, typical of cultures in crisis or in the process of establishing themselves, is that this could only be achieved by adapting massive amounts of foreign works” (“The Afterlife” 132).<sup>48</sup> Cornellà-Detrell’s theory is proven to be right as soon as one analyzes the enormous amount of petitions to import foreign literature during the 1960s and 1970s, notwithstanding the rigid control established by means of censorship machinations. Describing

---

<sup>47</sup> Jané-Lligé illustrates this through a censorship file regarding Marcel Proust’s *Un amor de Swan* submitted to the board by publisher Aymà in Catalan translation. The censor’s report authorizes the publication of the novel claiming: “I mean that this author should be looked at with the shotgun down and the safety on. Why waste gunpowder? *And if it written in a dialect, all the better*” (“Traducció narrativa” 88, my translation, emphasis added).

<sup>48</sup> See Bacardí and Jané-Lligé: “The space given to translations of foreign novels in the publishing catalogs of those years must therefore be understood as a response to what was considered a deficit that, apart from the commercial income, promised to bring in a market completely virgin” (Jané-Lligé, “Traducció narrativa” 78, my translation).

this phenomenon from the perspective of the dissenting publishing houses, Francisco Rojas Claros has looked at different bookstores' catalogues and noticed that in the late 1960s and 1970s, once established the new Press Law of 1966, some so-called left-wing bookstores started to be filled with "hitherto unthinkable titles: the catalogs of these avant-garde publishers are full of significant works that were published in successive editions and large print runs—works by prestigious authors of international and unquestionable quality" (Rojas, my translation).

For Rojas, these findings are a sign of intellectual dissidence: "far from bending to the will of the censorship system but without ever leaving the legal channel (or almost never), [they] stood up to power and refused to collaborate, despite the well-known risks" (Ibid.). The institutional response to this phenomenon was, coincidentally, a more repressive censorial scrutiny for books submitted to "consulta voluntaria," despite its initial appearance of liberal, opening measures. Hence, there were publishers and bookstores that navigated the system in a semi-clandestine manner: "certain bookstores would sell [smuggled] books to regular customers in a special room at the back of the store, commonly known as 'the hell'" (Ibid.). For this reason, while illustrational and valuable as a starting point in my investigation, the institutional censorship documents stored at the AGA—having been filed by the censorship official agents—do need to be contrasted beyond the archive, as Rojas reminds us.

### **Chapter 3. A Transatlantic Connection: The Case of Argentina's Publishing Market**

Pedro Henríquez Ureña has claimed that until 1936, Madrid had been the “cultural center on which the unity of the Spanish language in America was based; now [this was written in the late 1940s] this cultural direction is divided between Mexico and Buenos Aires as the main centers of editorial production” in the Spanish-speaking world (cited in Pagni 10, my translation). Scholars have noted that the importation of Argentinian-made translations was indeed a frequent practice after the Spanish Civil War because of the economic and cultural struggles that the conflict caused in the country (Gómez, “Censorship in Francoist Spain” 128). The Latin American translation market in the 1940s and 1950s was very prolific, with Buenos Aires holding the editorial hegemony within the Spanish-speaking world,<sup>49</sup> in words of Patricia Willson: “Buenos Aires was the editorial mecca of Latin America ... it was the golden age for the Argentine book: during this period, Sur and other publishers based in Buenos Aires exported their books to other Latin American countries and Spain” (*Página impar* 92, my translation) and, according to Alejandrina Falcón, that “golden age” for the Argentine letters will start in 1938 (“Meridiano” 110).

The Spanish Civil War, subsequent Francoist dictatorship, and censorship system sank the Peninsular book industry to such a “crisis that it no longer could provide for the Latin American market” (Petersen, “Las traducciones” my translation). Consequently, Spain’s weak position in the literary and cultural global field, after almost two decades of Francoism, allowed Latin American publishing houses to fill such a significant void: “With this opportunity, not only the old publishing

---

<sup>49</sup> “The figures provided by García (1965: 59) illustrate this phenomenon: in 1937, 817 books were published in Argentina; 1,729 in 1938; 3,778 in 1942; and the amount reached 5,323 in 1944” (Pagni 10, my translation).

houses adapted part of their activity to cover for the external market, but also new firms were built up, which, in some cases, turned into the most dynamic and innovative publishers that Argentina ever had” (Ibid.). Publishers such as Santiago Rueda, Emecé, Losada, and Sudamericana are examples of this. These firms contributed to the export of more than 40% of the Argentine literary production during the 1940s, of which 80% were bound to the Iberian Peninsula. In José Luis de Diego’s words: “In 1952, Argentina registered 276 books per million of citizens ... whilst Spain only recorded 119” (47).

### 3.1. Networks of Agents in Latin America: Editors and (Re)writers Shaping Argentina

According to Cornellà-Detrell, 80 percent of the imported books that arrived in Spain for circulation during Francoism came from Argentina and were mostly translations (“El terratrèmol” 98). There are many reasons for this phenomenon. As mentioned above, the Spanish Civil War was economically and culturally devastating for the nation. Many publishers, writers, translators went into exile due to the outcomes of the war. Those who travelled across the Atlantic established themselves in Latin America, and what is more, “[a]pproximately 35,000 Spanish Republicans sought asylum on the American continent ... among them was part of the political, intellectual, and scientific elite of Spain in the first third of the 20th century” (Pagni 77, my translation). Hence—in part due to the emigration of Spaniards fleeing the conditions of post-war Spain—a number of publishing houses emerged in places such as Argentina and Mexico (Gómez, “Censorship in Francoist Spain” 132). One such publisher, Edhasa (Hispanic-American Publisher and Distributor), was established in Argentina by Antonio López, a Catalan exile who had worked closely with Editorial Sudamericana (“La editorial”). Naturally, the global events that led to the

mass emigration of Europeans to Argentina, together with the industrialization of the book production in Buenos Aires, the professionalization of publishing tasks as well as the roles of the literary agents (including translators, editors, writers, critics, etc.), the increase in the national literacy rate,<sup>50</sup> and the establishment of networks of intellectuals supported by journals such as *Sur*, *La Nación*, or *Crítica* were key aspects for the industry to flourish (Falcón, “Meridiano” 110-112).

Andrea Pagni has studied how the European events of the 1930s affected the cultural production of countries such as Mexico and Argentina. For instance, in the mid-1930s, Argentina also increased the importation of books, which, for Pagni, was linked to the political conflicts taking place in Europe—i.e., Europe on the verge of war, the alarming spread of fascism—and how Latin American intellectuals reflected upon the international issues. Jorge Luis Borges himself spoke about how the European events were felt and created conflict in the South Cone:

Everything that has happened in Europe, the dramatic events there in recent years, has resonated deeply here. The fact that a given individual was on the side of Franco or the Republic during the Spanish Civil War, or was on the side of the Nazis or the Allies, was in many cases the cause of serious disputes and estrangements. (Pagni 426)

Likewise, the exile of Spanish Republicans shaped the cultural institutions of the receiving countries, particularly in Mexico and Argentina, and redefined the relationships between

---

<sup>50</sup> According to Falcón, one of the most remarkable sociocultural phenomena that facilitated the growth of the editorial industry in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Argentina was an “increase in the literacy rate as well as a notable consumption of newspapers, magazines, and publications of all kinds. In fact, the literacy rate reached 88% in the whole country and 93% in Buenos Aires; and, on the other hand, such a readership rate accompanied or encouraged the emergence of learning and sociability spaces parallel to public and private schools” (“Meridiano” 112, my translation).

intellectuals, the national States, and the cultural policies that impacted the translation field (Pagni 11).

There are also geographic factors that explain the changes in Argentina's 20<sup>th</sup> century cultural and literary production. The booming editorial market in Latin America during the 1930s and 1950s led to the creation of commercial and intellectual networks in the South Cone, with Buenos Aires as the new cultural capital of the Hispanic world. Gómez points out that the geographical proximity with North America also made it so countries such as Argentina were favored to translate literary works into Spanish ("Censorship and narrative" 430). The financial interests regarding this phenomenon can be linked to the precarious condition of the literary market in Spain due to the strict censorship regulations, particularly those of the first decades of the Francoist dictatorship, as shown in Chapter 2. The isolationism that the Francoist regime sank Spain into facilitated new relationships between American and European publishers with Argentina and Mexico. This led to the proliferation of translations made in Argentina and their circulation in other Spanish-speaking countries, even Spain, although in the case of the latter, the Argentine editions also had to pass through the censorship filter prior to circulation.

In addition, the Argentine journal *Sur* created by Victoria Ocampo in 1931 performed a remarkable editorial job by promoting translations of contemporary,<sup>51</sup> foreign works thanks to the recurrent collaborations of "authors-translators-critics" such as Jorge Luis Borges, Victoria Ocampo, José Bianco, Julio Cortázar, etc.<sup>52</sup> In Willson's words: "from the mid-1930s and during

---

<sup>51</sup> "In 1931 the magazine *Sur* entered the Argentine cultural scene and, in 1933, they created a homonymous publishing house. All the critical works on *Sur* mention the centrality of translation in Victoria Ocampo's cultural project, with a distinguishable peak during the first Peronism (1945-1955)" (Falcón and Willson 8, my translation).

<sup>52</sup> "The creation of new publishing houses towards the end of the 1930s allowed for several displacements of writers and translators linked to *Sur*, thus configuring a true active network that introduced foreign literature into the national literature ... Translators who had worked for one publishing house became editors of foreign literature collections in other publishers or wrote prologues for translations, and vice versa" (Willson, *Constelación* 240, my translation).

the 1940s and 1950s, translation [in Argentina] was particularly intense and incorporated works that were circulating in other literatures” (*Página impar* 91, my translation). What is more, scholars such as Willson and Falcón note how *Sur*’s translation projects were crucial for the Argentine literary field at large, especially in regard to the role of the translator:

Throughout the years, the magazine dedicated some of its issues to French, American, Italian, and Japanese literature, in addition to publishing reviews upon the appearance of translated foreign texts in Argentina. Both the translations published by the magazine and the publisher seem to have a golden rule: mentioning the name of the translator. (Falcón and Willson 8, my translation)

It is then safe to claim that both Argentina and Catalonia (due to their status of “young literatures”) and also Spain during the early stages of the Francoist dictatorship (due to very little local production) are contexts in which literary translation can be viewed as “a compensatory mechanism that shows what [the literary field] was lacking, in other words, [translation] reveals a lack or a dissatisfaction” (47).

Nevertheless, in order for Argentina to meet this increased demand caused in part by the dearth of cultural production in the Peninsula, publishers and editors created a strategy of linguistic homogenization for literary translations in order to provide for the new vast and transatlantic markets: a *koine*, “a language of pan-Hispanic reach ... a deliberated and ‘neutral’ language ... that obeys to an imaginary of decorum in the expressions, by which a cultured register—lightly archaizing—is capable of saving local differences” (Willson, *Página impar* 103, my translation). This “neutral Spanish” was employed to create a hegemonic position for Argentine translations at the time which, according to Laura Fóllica, was clearly linked to the commercial interest of the



cultural production in the global market (252).<sup>53</sup> See, for example, some of the editorial guidelines for translation agents publishing in Argentina, such as Editorial Katz:

It should be noted that our books are addressed to the Spanish-speaking public at large, not just the local public. Therefore, special care must be taken not to use localisms and to seek the most satisfactory solutions in terms of familiarity with the various words by the different groups of speakers. (Fólica 253, my translation)

Or, according to the guidelines established by Editorial Ateneo, “a neutral Spanish should be prioritized, avoiding Argentine terms, since the books circulate in Latin America and Spain ... With some exceptions, refrain from using *vosotros*” (Ibid.). At the same time, outside the translation field, Argentina embraced the *rioplatense* dialect. Hence, the dialectal unification that translations had to undergo was severely criticized by many *rioplatense* writers—Borges among them—, yet it made the Argentine literary monopoly possible, to the extent that many Argentinian-made translations were requested to be imported to Spain. Despite the “homogenization” that national publishers advocated for, many Peninsular critics harshly rejected the South American editions, as the Spanish writer exiled in Buenos Aires, Francisco Ayala, observed in his essays on translation: “From Spain, they wanted to veto [Latin American editions] pretending to do so for the sake of the purity of the language, when in reality the real interest was economic” (cited in Pegenaute, “El pensamiento”). I would contend, though, that, on top of said monetary interest for both countries, there was indeed a widespread misconception in Spain regarding South American translations, for comments incurring in the idea that “to be good, translations into Spanish must be

---

<sup>53</sup> “It is not a spoken variety, but a variety only present in cultural products intended for wide circulation (subtitling, dubbing, editorial translation, etc.) imposed by cultural companies (distributors, post-production services, publishing houses, mass media, etc.)” (Fólica 252, my translation).

done by Spaniards”—to copy Ayala’s criticism of such belief—were recurrent in the censors’ reports, the translators’ notes, as well as in an array of literary reviews produced under Francoism. Despite Ayala’s contention that this hostility to Argentine translations was purely economic this is not reflected in the primary sources, where the “superiority” of the Castilian dialect is still clearly entrenched in the minds of censors, editors, and some critics alike. Thus, the motivation of this hostility must also be understood through the lens of Spanish nationalism/exceptionalism that prevailed during the Franco dictatorship, while favouring a clear predilection for *lo castellano*, as I further explain in Chapter 6.

In the same vein, Gómez explains that the practice of reprinting and circulating South American editions in Franco’s Spain meant that they “could be relatively cheaply imported” (“Censorship in Francoist Spain” 132), instead of commissioning a new translation made locally. Conversely, Cornellà-Detrell indicates that during the first Francoism it was extremely hard for local publishers to obtain the translation rights of foreign works, due to the lack of money to buy them, on the one hand, and due to the little access to supply all the materials needed to print, on the other: “due to the commercial isolation of the Allies, printers could not buy machinery or spare parts ... there was no paper or it was of very poor quality” (“El terratrèmol” 98). After studying the censorship and import files, I will argue that the question of cost of production as defined by Gómez is merely a contributing factor, for this matter can also be boiled down to a copyright issue, i.e., the Argentinian publishing houses held the translation rights, hence, it was easier and more cost-efficient to use their translation or, perhaps, their only choice left in the midst of a copyright struggle. I, nonetheless, delve into these matters of linguistic and economic nature in Part II of this dissertation, by primarily employing the censors’ reports, letters between publishers and the censorship board, and the translators’ notes when available.

### 3.2. Decree 115 of 1958: the Case of Argentina's Literary Censorship (1958-1983)

The twentieth century in Argentina, almost parallel to the case of Spain, is a long episode of conflicts and ideological struggles. The years of *El Proceso* (1976-1983) are some of the most repressive and violent in the history of Argentina, but as far as the control of books and cultural production is concerned, it is important to consider the *coup d'état* led by General José Evaristo Urriburu in 1930. The coup commenced what came to be known as the “infamous decade” and set the precedent for Argentina's political future with a series of coups and subsequent dictatorships that alternated power with Peronists until almost the end of the century. According to Andrea Pagni, the militarism that began in the 1930s gave rise to the “development of a Catholic-nationalist intellectual faction and, concurrently, a consolidation of the intellectuals that were alienated under the banners of anti-fascist internationalism” (12). This is key in understanding how the events unfolded in Argentina, which Pagni connects to the rise of Peronism in the 1940s, a type of nationalist populism that “managed to attract a restricted sector of the intellectual field, [and] generated an increase in critical potential in the opposite faction” (Ibid.). Is it then, in the midst of an environment of Peronism and its third-position-ideology, when the Argentine book and translation industries began to take off, as it has been discussed earlier in this chapter. However, Peronism—another ideological movement worthy of being studied under the lens of affect—created contrary reactions within the Argentine people since its inception, as Victoria Ruétalo notices in *Violated Frames* (2022).

Therefore, the historical-political context of the Argentina-made translations I analyze in this dissertation is, to say the least, quite tumultuous. For example, Henry Miller's translations were published only months before the presidency of Arturo Illia (1963-1966), which were years of extreme political instability triggered by the fall of Peronism in 1955, having been overthrown

by a coup that brought about the *Revolución Libertadora*. It was a paradoxical period that alternated temporary military mandates alongside democratic appearances, presided over by Arturo Frondizi and José María Guido. After this, Arturo Illia remained in power until 1966 when he was overthrown by the second military dictatorship that lasted until 1973. Even though when the Argentine translations of Henry Miller's and Lawrence Durrell's novels were published—Anaïs Nin's case is a different story, as I describe later in Part II—Argentina did not have an official censorship apparatus during these early years, the first military dictatorship established in 1955 had incorporated a system of cultural repression akin to the one established during the early years of Franco's regime in Spain. In fact, as Falcón highlights, by then, the “golden age” of the Argentine publishing industry was already over: “it is still under debate whether it ended in 1944 or in 1953” (“Meridiano” 110).

According to historians such as Andrés Avellaneda, Judith Gociol, and Hernán Invernizzi, the 1958 Decree was the trigger that started true editorial and cultural censorship in Argentina. The Decree laid the foundations and guidelines for the military to persecute any publication of a Marxist, immoral, or subversive nature (Avellaneda, *Censura* 15; Gociol and Invernizzi 64). The guidelines, as a whole, are highly reminiscent of the ones established by Francoism amid the Spanish Civil War. During the periods of dictatorship, and similar to the process that Spain underwent, Argentina developed a complex mechanism of institutional censorship that was established in the midst of an epoch of continuous political and social unrest. A close analysis of the censorship system established when the *Junta Militar* took over power in 1976 reveals that certain ideological characteristics in terms of cultural repression, anti-communist sentiment, and the obsessive control of subversive materials were imitations of the first Francoist decades.

Scholars agree that the harsh censorship that Argentina endured during the last dictatorship, known as the years of *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional*, was not suddenly established when the *Junta Militar*—led by Jorge Rafael Videla with the objective of overthrowing the third term of the Peronist government—took over power through a military coup on the 24th of March 1976. Cultural control was a recurrent feature already initiated during previous military dictatorships, namely the *Revolución Libertadora* (1955-1958), led by Pedro Eugenio Aramburu and Isaac Rojas, and the “Revolución argentina” (1966-1973), headed by Juan Carlos Onganía, during which the country started to experience harsh repression in terms of censorship, especially towards Peronism (Romero and Brennan 131-215). Although the dictatorships were interrupted and are differentiated periods, Argentina was for almost four decades (1950-80s) a systemically repressive society and experienced a prolonged period of political instability in which censorship was an ongoing practice. A trigger for many historians was the decree issued on the 8th of January 1958, in which the military first set the basis for their battle against a more general political subversion, immorality, obscenity, and Marxist ideology. Later, the last dictatorship would utilize the same set of measures for their renewed censorship apparatus.

The Decree 115, passed at the *Municipalidad de la ciudad de Buenos Aires* in 1958, underlined three criteria pertaining to the classification of printed works after publication: first, books could be labeled as highly “immoral and obscene,” in which case their circulation and sale would be prohibited and the works in question were to be submitted to the judiciary (the organism that determined if the description of obscenity would apply). The second criterion was “immoral material” and works that fell into this category were also banned from circulation and sale. The third criterion applied to “material for limited display” and, as its own name indicates, this meant that the book could not be shown in a bookstore’s window or openly displayed to the public

(Avellaneda, *Censura* 15). Even though there was not a centralized institution that operated and enforced censorship, Alejandrina Falcón identifies “some highly visible actors who, like the famous Catholic prosecutor Guillermo de la Riestra, became champions of public morality” (“Hacia el hondo” 84).

Two more decrees were created prior to the last military dictatorship’s establishment: The Decree 2345/71, which started a qualifying board to prevent the importation of “pornographic and subversive” works into the country (37), as well as Law 20.840, another important regulation pertaining to censorship issues passed in 1974. This law was more commonly known as “ley antesubversiva” because it was meant to prohibit and punish any act that went against the constitutional order. Once the military took power in 1976, they added a new item to the existing Law 20.840, afterwards Law 21.272: “an author who offended the dignity of the armed forces could be imprisoned for up to ten years” (Gociol and Invernizzi 64). The office in charge of passing the legal decisions regarding the censoring of books was the *Dirección General de Asuntos Jurídicos*, a branch within the Ministry of the Interior. On the other hand, the *Dirección General de Publicaciones* managed and developed censorial policies. Judith Gociol and Hernán Invernizzi include a very detailed repertoire of the guidelines that the *Dirección General de Publicaciones* conformed on the 2nd of May 1979. An example of this are the three different classifications (*fórmulas*) that applied to books in regard to their ideology: “*Fórmula* I, no ideological references against the principles of our National Constitution. *Fórmula* II, with ideological references against the principles of our National Constitution. *Fórmula* III, it promotes ideologies, doctrines or political-economic-social systems that go against the principles of our National Constitution” (69).

Overall, Argentina developed a preventive, punitive type of censorship that allowed the system to exert a less overt form of control when compared to the prior to publication censorship

mechanism established in Franco's Spain. It was an oblique, indirect, and very secretive system of control, a key factor as to why their censorship system achieved a high level of ubiquity, for it could be everywhere and nowhere at the same time, hence creating fear not only in publishers, authors, and translators, but also among the general population. Similarly, the Argentine censorship apparatus was not as centralized as the Francoist one, because, even if the policy of books' control was intended to be homogeneous and applicable to the whole country, as established by the Ministry of the Interior, the different provinces had their own legal autonomy to censor materials.<sup>54</sup> Censorship, thus, existed both locally and nationally. As will be shown in the analysis of Argentine translations in Part III of this dissertation, this environment of fear and punitive enforcement would create the conditions in which the act of self-censorship became more and more normalized.

In short, the social and political instability that Argentina witnessed during the entire twentieth century—and together with the successive number of military governments—triggered the strict control upon books and culture that the *Junta Militar* of 1976 overtly enforced: “The years of limited political freedom, cultural repression and military coups are crucial to understand to what extent the national life and cultural production were affected” (Avellaneda, *Censura* 13). As a result, the censorship and cultural persecution provoked a stark crisis in the Argentine book market, which, as Willson explains, led to “an accidental flow of Argentine exiles working in the Barcelona book sector, not just translating, but also carrying out commissioned writing” (*Página impar* 134, my translation). By employing censorship mechanisms, the military turned the literary and cultural system of the country into a truly terrifying environment where writers, translators,

---

<sup>54</sup> Hence, “sometimes a book was censored in one of the provinces but not in others [although] typically when a book was censored in one of the provinces, the measure spread to other provinces as well” (Barcellandi 61).

and publishers were forced into self-censorship, silence, or even exile to avoid the sanctions carried out by the state.

All in all, the sociopolitical contexts of the Spanish and Catalan translations under analysis were shaped by decisive shifts that evolved in conjunction with the expansion and decline experienced by the editorial markets in twentieth-century Spain and Argentina. Connections and exchanges have been, therefore, defined with the aim of better understanding the dynamics and power relations under which the translation flows from Argentina to Spain occurred. In this vein, Argentina showed a distinct expansion in the 1940s and 1950s in regard to the editorial market, book industry, and field of literary translation in a time where cultural production in Spain was subdued by the censorial policies of Francoism. Eventually, however, fortunes would reverse and sociopolitical changes brought about by the progression of the Cold War, national forces against Peronism, and the rise of militarism and fascism via the military coups in Argentina once again shifted the cultural and literary panorama in the Spanish-speaking world: while Spain prepared for its Transition to democracy in the late 1970s, Argentina left behind its golden years of intellectual production, entering a state of violence, silence, and repression.

Taking on Ortega y Gasset's famous philosophical principle in *Meditaciones del Quijote* (1914), “yo soy yo y mi circunstancia, y si no la salvo a ella no me salvo yo”—“I am myself plus my circumstance, and if I cannot save it, I cannot save myself” in Evelyn Rugg and Diego Marín's translation (1961)—translation can be understood following the same logic. Translation is the translation and its circumstances; if we don't understand them, we won't understand the translation. Having the sociopolitical contexts of Franco's Spain and Argentina in mind, I will proceed with describing the specificities that pertain to each of the source and target texts included in my corpus in Part II and Part III of this dissertation.



## **Part II. Behind the Translation Flow: Actors and Networks**

“To translate a foreign writer is to add to your own national poetry; such a widening of the horizon does not please those who profit from it, at least not in the beginning.

The first reaction is one of rebellion”

—Lefevere, *Translation, History, Culture*

I open this section with Lefevere’s words to highlight his assertion regarding literary translation. Translation is, or can be, a true act of rebellion. More so when the target context of which a translation is the product of is immersed in such a closed cultural system as the one Spain underwent during the years of Francoism. Writing, translating, and, by extension, reading could then be considered acts of rebellion and subversion against the *status quo*—“political acts” as Vidal reminds us (1996)—and as such, they entail affective interactions with the texts; interactions that, I argue, affect the translation products and that can be traced through the agents and actors participating in the process of translating and circulating the texts in question.

As it has been shown in the previous section, publishers had many difficulties printing in Franco’s Spain due to the censorship apparatus established by the regime. Thanks to the measurements launched during the second half of the sixties, cultural and editorial politics experienced a transformation triggered by a number of reasons, from economic to social and political. Hence, the novels comprised in my corpus of texts have been chosen to serve as particular case studies that will help draw conclusions regarding the importation of translated literature

during the final stage of Francoism, especially works that traveled from Latin America to the Peninsula. The aim of this section is to identify and evaluate the editorial operations that took place between domestic publishers and the censorship board during the 1960s-1980s in regard to foreign literary works that were translated and already published in other Spanish-speaking countries, customarily Argentina and Mexico, as well as the procedures experienced by domestic publishers in their attempts to produce their own versions.

The texts in my corpus have been chosen primarily due to the sexual component that is integral to them. *A priori*, one would expect anything containing sexual references not well regarded by the Francoist censorship, since, as already described in Part II, Catholic morality played a crucial role in catalyzing the cultural production throughout the entire dictatorship, notwithstanding the country's sociopolitical transformations after the Press Law of 1966. Nevertheless, a preliminary archival study shows a vast number of files relating to the writers Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, and Lawrence Durrell, from 1962 to 1981, in particular their following novels, respectively: *The Tropics* (1934-1937), *Cities of the Interior* (1946-1959), and *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957-1960).

With the high number of files encountered comes the question of how to organize the archival data and how to map it out in order to finally draw conclusions from it. I have been largely inspired by the sociological works in translation carried out by H el ene Buzelin (2005), Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (2007), Gisele Sapiro and Johan Heilbron (2007), Ana Bogic (2010), Mar a C ordoba Serrano (2014), Szu-Wen Kung (2015), Tom Boll (2015), and Wenyan Luo (2020),<sup>55</sup> while simultaneously considering the paradigms and implications of using archival and

---

<sup>55</sup> Similar approaches had previously been taken by Simeoni (1998), Heilbron (1999), Gouanvic (2005), and Inghilleri (2005).

extratextual materials as posited by Anthony Pym (2009), Francesca Billiani (2007), and Jeremy Munday (2013), already defined in Section “Notes on the Archive,” of this dissertation.

On the one hand, centered in the global book market and the cultural, literary, and translation fields, Gisele Sapiro approaches her research by implementing a Bourdieusian sociological framework that combines qualitative analysis based on archival materials, interviews, observations, and other surrounding documents regarding the translations she studies. She claims that this type of relational approach to literary production and translation “makes a contribution to the history and sociology of publishing, a research area which has long remained confined within national boundaries” (cited in Rundle, “Historiography” 234). On the other hand, other translation scholars have been proponents of similar interdisciplinary methods to do research in translation that go beyond Bourdieu’s theoretical applications and combine them with other sociological, perhaps more “relational” explorations.

For example, H  l  ne Buzelin and Ana Bogic employ Bruno Latour’s sociological framework to examine the translation process and its “manufacture” by bringing to the forefront historical documents and artefacts in order to understand the “translator-publisher dynamic through the reading of letter correspondence and by applying Bruno Latour’s sociological framework in order to arrive at more detailed and comprehensive conclusions” (Bogic 175). The interest in studying the becoming and process of translations lies in featuring the role of the agents and “actors who participate in the making of the text but whose actions and practices have so far received little attention” (Buzelin, “Translations” 141). In this vein, thinking of translation “from the viewpoint of a work’s manufacture allows for documenting the editorial and revision work done on the manuscript delivered by the translators” (Ibid.).

Buzelin's, Bogic's, and Córdoba Serrano's takes on Latour's "sociology of associations"—as developed in his Actor-Network Theory (ANT)<sup>56</sup>—have inspired me to gather documentary materials beyond the censorship and import files, such as correspondence between the actors involved: publishers, editors, literary agents, literary critics, etc., with the purpose of tracing and mapping their connections and relationships. For, as Córdoba Serrano reminds us, an ANT-inspired study in translation seeks to locate and examine:

how the multiple actors involved in completing a literary translation project—publishers, translators, revisers, but also scouts, literary agents, readers, subsidizing agencies, cultural attachés, and critics—negotiate their different viewpoints, interests and power positions, in order to bring a translation project to life. Interviews, participant observation, but also close examination of translation contracts, correspondence between different actors, translation drafts and article reviews are used to trace the emergence and completion of a translation project. (Córdoba Serrano 8)

In this vein, ANT seeks to study associations that result from social forces (Bogic 181). Furthermore, the important concepts underlying this theory are "actor," "network," "intermediaries," and "mediators." An "actor" is "something that acts or to which the activity is granted by others" (Latour 16).<sup>57</sup> In this vein, an actor "is made to act by a large star-shaped web

---

<sup>56</sup> "While originally conceived to account for the way that science "is done" (Latour and Woolgar 1988: 19), it has since been adapted to the study of numerous spheres of production and power (other than those of knowledge) – from the functioning of private businesses to the operation of financial markets and courts of law" (Buzelin, "Translations" 136). For further explorations on ANT, see Latour's *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (2005 p. 5).

<sup>57</sup> It is important to address that, in terms of theories and definitions within ANT, there are various approaches and understandings according to different interpretations: "A major difficulty when introducing the theory is that ANT is in constant development theoretically, meaning that different researchers may have given different definitions of some of the concepts in various scales of application. The ways to present the ideas and concepts, therefore, include choosing or adopting the most suitable definition" (Luo 8).

of mediators flowing in and out of it” (Latour 217). A “network” constitutes the traces of the actor and scholars can use it as a tool for description. The two components together form, in Bogic’s words,

a unified concept that is conceived as a star-shaped web intertwined with other actor-networks, influenced by them, but not compelled by them—it always comes down to a choice. Put within the context of the case study, the translator would then be seen as an actor-network intertwined with editors, publishers, critics, source-text authors, source texts, translations, letters, reviewers, readers, etc. as other actor-networks, and all of their associations could be traced to reveal their ‘constantly shifting interactions’ (Latour 2005: 68). (182)

Additionally, “intermediaries” can be understood as the “actants that transport meaning or force without transformation,” whereas “mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry” (Ibid.). ANT sees interactions between the actors and networks as unpredictable and rejects assumptions, that is why this theory centres on tracing the actors in order to follow associations. Taken this way, I argue that ANT offers parallels to a Deleuzian rhizomatic method of analysis to undertake sociological research in translation.

Nonetheless, assumptions are sometimes inevitable or somewhat hard to avoid when dealing with not only dictatorial regimes and contexts of institutional censorship (namely the notions of power, ideology, patronage, bias, agency) but, more importantly, when it comes to “history.” In other words, the historicity or historical component implicit in my research entails that it is done “already ‘after the fact’, and therefore, the ethnographic approach of interviewing and interacting with the observed by the researcher is limited to the historical documents” (Bogic

183). Archival materials such as letters, published interviews, translators' notes, and correspondence between the actors involved in the translation processes are the documental sources I ought to trace:

Reading the letters then is equivalent to following the actors. The tracing of their movements and interaction with each other can be mapped out. Their working together can be viewed as the process of "translation" where both the translator and the publisher are mediators who are changing the input. The letters and this research based on the letters treat the translator as the focal point: the actor whose movements are being traced while significant attention is paid to the object, or the target text. (184)

Thus, the analysis of the censorship files and importation of books, in combination with extratextual sources such as translators' notes, interviews, letters, and correspondence between the translation agents—actors in ANT framework—and the censors is paramount to pinpoint the actors who participated in the translations and editions that comprise my case studies.

To sum up, by following their contributions and connections, I shall be able to assemble the actor-networks that affected the translations of Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's novels and determined their circulation and reception in Spain during the 1960s-1980s. After locating and defining the relations and networks, studying and connecting the "affect" in the editorial, censorial, and translation decisions is next, for the historical materials and documents I have found by employing a sociological and relational method of analysis—Latour's "find the actors" not just the "artefacts"—lead me to explore the affect in the actors' decision-making towards the texts in their different stages (i.e., source texts, translation drafts, final target texts, and their circulation), in accordance to their social contexts.

### Description of the Archival Funds

Before presenting the findings from the AGA, I offer a brief description of the files consulted at the archives. The materials extracted from the AGA are divided into two main groups: files of “Book Censorship”—censorship files henceforth—and files containing “Imported Books,” both under the fund “Culture.”<sup>58</sup> The censorship files contain invaluable information regarding the censorship operations. Prior to the Press Law of 1966, all printed materials were to first be scrutinized by the censorship board, that is, since the first publishing guidelines were established under the Press Law of 1938. During this period of time, publishers mandatorily sent their books to the censors for approval prior to dissemination. Therefore, censorship files from 1938 to 1966 consist of documentation sent by the publishers with the information of the books to be approved for publication (at times a publisher’s letter could be accompanied by drafts and galley proofs), the censors’ reports, their response to the publishers, and any further interaction with the publishers via formal correspondence.

After the passing of the 1966 Law pertaining to printed materials, censorship shifts into one of a pre-emptive kind. Publishers were no longer obligated to submit their publications for review. However, publishing houses were still subject to sanctions and severe fines, should a work be denounced or reported to the board. Therefore, what at first was seen as a liberalizing measurement in the interest of “freedom of press” ended up being a double-edged sword for publishers. Many resorted to always submitting their editions for approval, as it was stipulated before 1966, which in the end made bureaucracy just as tedious for both publishers and censors. Files pertaining to “*consulta voluntaria*” are composed of the publisher’s application by which they

---

<sup>58</sup> Fondo “Cultura.” For a list with all the files consulted at the archive, see List of Files from AGA pages xv-xviii.

submitted a book for approval (a letter with information of both the book(s) and the publisher, e.g., title, print run, price, pages, etc.), and oftentimes the book in question was also included. In the case of a translation, if the publisher was asking permission to translate and publish the work, they would first send the source text and a document with the translation information (in cases of having a contract with the translator). In some cases, the publishers would send the translation draft, its galley proofs, or cover, if any.

Nevertheless—in my experience handling an array of files and reports pertaining to probably more than fifty novels—the publishers did not always submit a translation draft at this stage; I have witnessed that, in many occasions, they awaited the board’s verdict prior to carrying out the translation.<sup>59</sup> Generally, censorship files contain, as previously, the censors’ reports on the book and the final resolution, which was the official document that the board sent to the publishers, along with important information regarding censorial guidelines that had to be applied for the book to be considered again, i.e., which pages should be erased, censored, softened, etc., or recommendations of the kind. In cases such as the files regarding the novels under analysis, the publishers would send a letter appealing the resolution with the aim of persuading the censors to reconsider and change their verdict. Additionally, legal documents such as court judgements can also be found in the censorship files in cases where a book in circulation was reported.

---

<sup>59</sup> Rojas coincides with my suspicions: “First, [publishers submitted] the original for “consulta voluntaria” either handwritten or typed. Second, [they resubmitted] the complete galley proofs, including covers and dust jackets. And third, [they handed in] the six copies for preliminary deposit, where the work was examined once again. If the work to be published was a translation, a copy of the book in the foreign language had to be submitted for “consulta voluntaria” in the first place, and later a translation of the work, following the abovementioned steps. Evidently, none of this served to speed up, in practice, the ministerial procedures for the publication of a book, since, essentially, the same dynamics that were in order in times of Arias Salgado were maintained, hence, the new procedures guaranteed a very strict control, which was the ultimate goal. In any case, the process became more dynamic, taking some serious effort on the part of the ministerial staff” (Rojas).



Files with information about the importation of books (i.e., books published abroad) that belong to the first decades of the regime are generally found in the censorship files catalogue, too. Lobejón asserts that “imported books, including original Spanish and foreign-language titles, as well as translations, underwent the same bureaucratic process as those produced in Spain” (102) up until 1966. After this date, most import files can be found in a different catalogue of the AGA. Publishers usually sent a list with all the titles they sought to import. Archiving all the information in a detailed manner supposes almost an impossible task given the huge volume of books that were requested for importation, especially throughout the last stage of the dictatorship.

The procedure to import a book was *a priori* simpler than the actual publication of it; it implied sending a list with the books to be imported. Sometimes the censors wrote a brief note on the very same page: a “yes” for authorized, a “no” for a rejection. Overall, the lack of detail in these files is, to say the least, frustrating, as the only information pertaining to an imported book is the importing company (distributor), book title, author and publisher and, occasionally, the place of publication. I have seldom seen the name of the translator in the files, which can at times complicate the finding of the translation in question for further analysis, as is the case for several editions of the novels that constitute my corpus, what results in a mandatory search in other sources and repositories: the Spanish National Library (BNE) and online, worldwide catalogues such as *Worldcat.com*. In addition to what I have encountered in the import files consulted for this and previous research, Lobejón et al. have also noticed that sometimes these documents could present:

a brief justification of the decision next to the rejected titles, and, in the case of previously denied imports, the date of the prior review ... Once a title was cleared for import, it was assigned a registration number. The administration would then proceed to notify the

publisher of which works, translated or otherwise, were authorized and which were banned and would therefore have to be returned to their countries of origin. (107)

Finally, what is significant about the importation of books during Francoism is that the distributing companies that asked to introduce books into the country would do it in very small numbers, to the point that, many times, the files indicate that there was only one request per submission (Ibid.).

### Corpus of Texts

In order to illustrate the encounters the novels defined in my corpus had with the censorship board, the following tables show the books submitted for importation or publication, whether they were accepted or rejected by the MIT, and metadata regarding the editions as follows: title, translator, publisher, language (Lang.), number and years of requests submitted to import or publish the book, whether it was an importation (Imp.), whether it was accepted and, lastly, the year of publication, if any. Yellow highlights indicate books for importation. The tables are presented in chronological order in relation to the target texts' date of publication: *The Tropics* (1934-1937), *Cities of the Interior* (1946-1959), *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957-1960). Such order neither corresponds to the dates in which the Spanish publishers or distributors asked for permission to import the English novels and/or the Argentinian-made translations, when extant, nor corresponds to the dates of the requests submitted for the translations to circulate after being edited domestically, whether in Spanish or Catalan. Conversely, Durrell's *The Alexandria Quartet* were the first novels under scrutiny by the censors (1961-1976), followed by Miller's *The Tropics* (1962-1977) and Nin's *Cities of the Interior* (1965-1978). The reasons behind this, far from being accidental, can be explained by the role that the Argentinian translation market played during late Francoism.

*From Henry Miller's The Tropics (1934-1937)*

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
<i>Trópico de Cáncer</i> (1962)	Mario G. Iglesias	Ediciones S. Rueda	SPA Arg	56 (1962 -1976)	Yes	Yes (1963)	n/a
<i>Trópico de Cáncer</i> (1962)	Mario G. Iglesias	Aymà	SPA Arg	1 (1967)	Yes	No (1967)	n/a
<i>Tròpic de Càncer</i> (1967)	Jordi Arbonès	Aymà	CAT	1 (1975)	No*	No	1977
<i>Trópico de Cáncer</i> (1962)**	Mario G. Iglesias	Edaf	SPA Arg	1 (1976)	No **	No	1976
<i>Trópico de Cáncer</i> (1977)	Carlos Manzano	Alfaguara/ Bruguera	SPA	8 (1977 -1982)	No	Yes	1977

Table 1: *Tropic of Cancer* – Henry Miller (1934) Paris: Obelisk Press.

\* Although Aymà was a publishing house located in Barcelona, the translator into Catalan of Henry Miller's works, Jordi Arbonès (1929-2001), was a Catalan-born writer who actively translated from Buenos Aires, where he lived most of his life. Therefore, his translations were in fact sent to Spain from South America.

\*\* In this case, Iglesias' *Trópico de Cáncer* was included in the collection *Novela eròtica*, Edaf's edition (1976).

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
<i>Primavera negra</i> (1964)	Patricio Canto	Ediciones S. Rueda	SPA Arg	35 (1964 -1975)	Yes	No	n/a
-	(no translation)	Aymà	CAT	1 (1967)	No	No	-
<i>Primavera negra</i> (1968)	Jordi Arbonès	Aymà	CAT	2 (1969- 1970)	No	w/ changes	1970
<i>Primavera negra</i> (1970)	Carlos Bauer y Julián Marcos	Edhasa	SPA	1 (1970)	No	w/ changes	"Silencio"*
<i>Primavera negra</i> (1970)	Carlos Bauer y Julián Marcos	Alfaguara/ Bruguera	SPA	1 (1978)	No	w/ changes	1978

Table 2: *Black Spring* – Henry Miller (1936) Paris: Obelisk Press.

\* The terminology for this legal action was "silencio administrativo" [administrative silence], by which the censorship board would terminate the legal process for a book to be published, leaving the publication of the book up to the discretion of the publisher. I discuss this ambiguously worded procedure on page 115 (Chapter 5).

*From Anais Nin's Cities of the Interior (1946-1959)*

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publish</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
-	(no translation)	Aymà	SPA	1 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
-	(no translation)	Aymà	CAT	1 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
<i>Escalas hacia el fuego</i> (1971)	David Casanueva	Aymà	SPA	1 (1971)	No	Yes	1971
<i>Escales cap al foc</i> (1976)	Jordi Arbonès	Aymà	CAT	-	No	Yes	1976

Table 3: *Ladders to Fire* – Anais Nin (1946; 1959) Gunther Stuhlmann NY.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
-	(no translation)	Aymà	SPA	2 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
-	(no translation)	Aymà	CAT	2 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
<i>Una espia a la casa de l'amor</i> (1968)	Manuel Carbonell	Edicions Proa*	CAT	2 (1968-1969)	No	-	“Silencio” 1968
<i>Una espia en la casa del amor</i> (1968)	Carmen Alcalde y M <sup>a</sup> Rosa Prats	Aymà	SPA	2 (1968-1969)	No	-	“Silencio” 1969
<i>A Spy in the House of Love</i> (1954)	n/a**	Penguin Books	EN	4 (1973-1978)	Yes	Yes	n/a

Table 4: *A Spy in the House of Love* – Anais Nin (1959) Gunther Stuhlmann NY.

\* In 1962 Aymà acquired the funds of several publishers, Edicions Proa among them, and continued to edit their publications (“Societat Anònima”).

\*\* No translator for it is Nin’s original, edited by Penguin Books in 1954.

*From Lawrence Durrell's The Alexandria Quartet (1957-1960)*

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
<i>Justine</i> (1960)	Aurora Bernárdez	Sudameric.	SPA Arg	25 (1962- 1975)	Yes	No	n/a
<i>Justine</i> (1961)	n/a*	Pocket Books	EN	1 (1961)	Yes	No	n/a
-	(no translation)	Aymà	CAT	1 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
-	(no translation)	Plaza y Janés	SPA	1 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
<i>Justine</i> (1969)	Manuel de Pedrolo	Aymà	CAT	1 (1969)	No	w/ changes	“Silencio” 1969
<i>Justine</i> (1960)	Aurora Bernárdez	Edhasa	SPA Arg	4 (1970- 1977)	- **	w/ changes	“Silencio” 1970

Table 5: *Justine* – Lawrence Durrell (1957) New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc.

\* No translator for it is Durrell's original, edited by Pocket Books in 1961.

\*\* A comparison between the two Spanish versions show that Edhasa indeed utilized Aurora Bernárdez's translation (Buenos Aires, 1960).

<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Lang.</u>	<u>Requests</u>	<u>Imp.</u>	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Publication</u>
<i>Balthazar</i> (1961)	Aurora Bernárdez	Sudameric.	SPA Arg	32 (1962)	Yes	No	n/a
<i>Baltasar</i>	(no translation)	Aymà	CAT	1 (1965)	No	w/ changes	-
<i>Balthazar</i>	Aurora Bernárdez	Edhasa	SPA Arg	5 (1961- 1978)	-	w/ changes	1970
<i>Baltasar</i>	(no translation)	Plaza y Janés	SPA	1 (1965)	-	w/ changes	-
<i>Balthazar</i> (1983)	M. de Pedrolo	Aymà	CAT	-	-	Yes	1984

Table 6: *Balthazar* – Lawrence Durrell (1958) New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc.

## **Chapter 4. Writers and Rewriters: Visibility, Notoriety, Anonymity**

In addition to choosing the three authors due to their personal relationships, literary similarities, and them being contemporaries of one another, they all have Europe in common as the locus of many of their “romans-à-clef.” Correspondingly, the three writers spent long periods of time in the same continent, hobnobbing with bohemian artists and intellectuals. Henry Miller was for years the epitome of the *avant-garde* American expat in pre-Second-World-War Europe: a surrealist, penniless author who made his bones as a writer in Paris. Anaïs Nin was born in France to Spanish-Cuban parents. She lived in several countries, such as Cuba, France, and the United States. Lawrence Durrell was born in colonial India to British parents. He traveled the world and lived in many places: England, Egypt, Greece, Argentina, and France. They all met in the Parisian Villa Seurat in 1937 and shared correspondence for the remainders of their lives. Together with a group of international intellectuals, they were known as the Villa Seurat Circle.<sup>60</sup>

### **4.1. Henry Miller and His Translators**

Henry Miller was born in Manhattan, New York in 1891 and died in 1980 in Los Angeles, California. An American expat who lived his life to the fullest in decadent Paris of the 1930s, Miller embodies the twentieth-century scandalous writer par excellence.<sup>61</sup> His life and work are

---

<sup>60</sup> “Some intellectuals and writers associated with Paris in 1930s that had connections with Miller, Nin, and Durrell were Brassai, David Edgar, Michael Fraenkel, Hilaire Hiler, Walter Lowenfels, June Miller, Conrad Moricand, Alfred Perlès, Man Ray, Hans Reichel, and Betty Rya. See, *Nexus: The International Miller Journal*. <https://nexusmiller.org/>

<sup>61</sup> “Expatriates Hemingway, Dos Passos, e.e. cummings, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and Henry Miller emigrated to Paris in the interwar period to write their works, finding a sort of extraterritoriality there, precisely because the realist American literary field was not yet autonomous, existing only in an embryonic state, and because literature was

highly interconnected, a fact that is reflected in his novels and essays, which are particularly loaded with witty, autobiographical content. Miller authored a long list of books, among them the famous and polemical trilogy “*The Tropics:*” *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), *Black Spring* (1936) and *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939), all published by Obelisk Press in Paris. Miller’s works cannot be understood without acknowledging his many relationships, his networks of artists, lovers, the thousands of letters he received and wrote, and, above all, without taking into consideration the criticism that—since his very first publications in France—turned his reputation into something equally praised and reviled. His criticism towards American capitalist society, his numerous denunciations of cynicism and human hypocrisy written in an irremediably indomitable style, carefree and full of character made Miller an author who wrote free of the encumbrance of the taboo. Miller wore many hats: those of a philosopher of the mundane, a madman, prophet of the unspeakable, father of the nauseating and the abject. Therefore, Miller’s novels make a perfect candidate for this study.

To “chronicle” her friendship with Henry Miller in *The Devil at Large* (1993), American writer Erica Jong highlights what for her are the most remarkable characteristics in Miller’s narrative:

He is more honored in France than in his own country. His writing is full of imperfection and humbug. But the purity of his example, his heart, his openness, will, I believe, draw new generations of readers to him. In an age of cynicism, he remains the romantic, exemplifying the possibility of optimism in a fallen world, of happy poverty in a world that worship Lucre. (27)

---

entirely subject to the dictates of the economy and of politics, as evident in the ban on the distribution of their works in the US” (Gouanvic 153).

Another famous critic of Miller's novels was his dear colleague and friend Lawrence Durrell, who deeply admired his prose. In *The Best of Henry Miller* (1960), Durrell dreamt that one day Miller's cathartic and extraordinary style would be understood. For him, Miller was a visionary, one of the greatest writers in English language: "His work ... is simply one of the great liberating confessions of our age, and offers its readers the chance of being purged 'by pity and by terror' in the Aristotelian way. It offers catharsis" (Durrell ix). A similar conception of Miller's works was defined by Deleuze and Guattari in *The Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1983). The French philosophers saw Henry Miller as a true "theorist of *desire*," a writer who knows how to "scramble the codes, to cause *flows* to circulate, to traverse the desert of the body without organs ... overcome a limit ... shatter a wall, the *capitalist barrier*" (133).

On numerous occasions, Miller was forced to tackle criticism towards his novels, as he dealt with censorship, trials, and denunciations worldwide. Defending himself from the accusations of obscenity that frequently fell on his works, Miller repeatedly declared that his work was not about sex, but about sexual liberation: "*I am against pornography and for obscenity*" (Durrell x, emphasis in the original).<sup>62</sup> Durrell's edition includes a final section with letters, historical events in the author's life, and different denunciations of his controversial work under the title *Defense of the Freedom to Read*. The book contains a record regarding the confiscations of his novels in Norway (in translation), in which they are described as "obscene." Furthermore, Miller's appeal to the Norwegian Supreme Court is also attached. What is striking in said appeal is, however, the curious clarification that the author makes about the translation of his novel *Sexus* in that country: "If occasionally I was obliged to roll with laughter—partly because of the inept translation, partly because of the nature and the number of infractions listed—I trust no one will

---

<sup>62</sup> For a more critical, less eulogizing, approach to Henry Miller's narrative, see Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970).



take offence” (372). It seems like Miller himself was fully aware that his novels were “traveling” in translation and most likely knew of the outcomes of many of them, from their first editions in the 1930s till the 1960s that Durrell’s work was published—and beyond, in the case of countries such as Spain:

What I had forgotten is that the most important books, the most revelatory, are banned in English-speaking countries. Excerpts are given herein from some of these books, such as *Tropic of Cancer*, *Black Spring*, *Sexus* and *The World of Sex* ... The selections from the banned books are, of course, innocuous, and therefore somewhat misleading ... Many of these works now exist in translation but, in the case of the banned books, their importation is still prohibited, no matter the language. (xv)

The English-speaking publisher based in Paris, Obelisk Press, published *Tropic of Cancer* in 1934 and, two years later, *Black Spring* appeared. In 1938, the U.S. Government banned *Tropic of Cancer*, on the grounds of immorality. Until 1961, all his novels were banned from entering the US border.<sup>63</sup> Even when the ban was lifted, his work continued to be labeled “obscene” by the pro-censorship, Catholic, and anti-pornography group called Citizens for Decent Literature (“Citizens”). After almost thirty years of controversy, censorship, and criticism, the novels finally managed to be published in the United States in 1961 and 1963, edited by publishing house Grove

---

<sup>63</sup> In 1960, Miller wrote in a letter to his friend, American publisher Barney Rosset: “It is not enough ... to win the privilege of reading anything one pleases—usually more trash—but to obtain the right to read books which are distasteful, obnoxious, insidious and dangerous not only to public taste but to those in power. How can the people wrest such rights and privileges from their appointed representatives when they do not even suspect that they are living in a state of subjugation? When they imagine themselves to be a “free people”? To win a legal battle here or there, even if sensationally, means nothing. One does not acquire real liberty through these operatic victories” (Rosset). Little did he know that the censoring of his books would linger for a few more decades in places such as Franco’s Spain.

Press, though not without court involvement.<sup>64</sup> As mentioned above, most of Henry Miller's works were banned in several countries.

Let us now move to the reception Henry Miller had in Spain and Latin America by means of the Spanish and Catalan translations of *The Tropics*. In the Spanish-speaking world, the first Spanish edition of *Tropic of Cancer* was published in 1962 in Buenos Aires, translated by Mario Guillermo Iglesias, edited by Ediciones Santiago Rueda, and distributed across Latin America. Biographical notes on Mario Guillermo Iglesias are scarce or non-existent. A preliminary search indicates that he translated several novels by Henry Miller into Spanish: *Tropic of Cancer* (*Trópico de Cáncer*, Ediciones Rueda 1962), *Tropic of Capricorn* (*Trópico de Capricornio*, also Rueda 1962), and *Sexus* from the *Roxi Crucifixion* series (*Sexus*, Rueda 1968). In “Las traducciones de Santiago Rueda,” Lucas Petersen mentions Iglesias' name and confirms that people who were involved in the publishing house Rueda during the 1960s could not, in fact, remember this person: “Something strange can be noticed with Miller's translations: an unknown translator appears (who neither Rueda Jr. nor Palacios More can remember and of whom no records can be found): Mario Guillermo Iglesias” (Petersen). For Petersen, given that Iglesias translated Miller's most controversial works, the translator could have been hidden behind a *nom de plume*, hence the dearth of information regarding him. Other than the three novels by Miller, there is no additional record that leads us to any other translation or publication signed by the name of Mario Guillermo Iglesias. As detailed in Table 1, Iglesias' edition was also requested for importation in Spain a total

---

<sup>64</sup> For more information on *Tropic of Cancer*'s publication in 1961 by Grove Press and the “obscenity trials”—in *Grove Press, Inc., v. Gerstein*, citing *Jacobellis v. Ohio*—see Miller's and lawyer Elmer Gertz's correspondence published in *Henry Miller: Years of Trial & Triumph* (1978).

of 56 times from 1962—year of the translation’s publication in Argentina—until 1976, although not all requests were approved.

Miller’s works were also translated into Catalan, beginning with Jordi Arbonès translation of *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* in 1967-1968. The translations were submitted to the Francoist censorship board by publisher Aymà. Whilst his translation of *Black Spring* was approved for circulation in Spain in 1970—after several handlings with the censors—his rendering of *Tropic of Cancer* was not authorized for publication until 1977. Jordi Arbonès was a Catalan writer and very prolific translator.<sup>65</sup> He was an avid reader and passionate advocator of twentieth-century English and American literature. Particularly, Arbonès was a fervent admirer of Henry Miller’s *oeuvre*. Through Miller’s prose, he discovered Lawrence Durrell and Anaïs Nin. In 1956 he moved to Buenos Aires, Argentina, to work as a proof-reader for publisher Poseidón and, soon after, he started his activity as translator for both Spanish and Catalan (Pijuan “Jordi”). During this time, he joined the cultural-community centre “Casal de Catalunya”—also known as Casal Català<sup>66</sup>—in Buenos Aires in order to preserve “his Catalan identity” and participated in the foundation of the cultural project “Obra Cultural Catalana” in 1966 (Bahima y Toha 177). After publisher Poseidón ceased business, Arbonès became a free-lance translator and undertook translations commissioned by publishers Emecé and Paidós (178).

Arbonès was well-connected with an array of Catalan writers and intellectuals, such as Manuel de Pedrolo (who also translated some novels by Miller’s and Durrell’s, see 4.3.) and Joan Oliver (Aymà’s editor), who commissioned many of his translation projects, *The Tropics*, among

---

<sup>65</sup> “He has translated more than 150 works. To honour his legacy, the Facultat de Traducció i d’Interpretació de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona created the ‘Càtedra Jordi Arbonès’” (Bahima y Toja 165, my translation).

<sup>66</sup> Founded in 1940, El Casal Català is a cultural centre created by the Catalan community in Buenos Aires. It is located on Chacabuco Street 863 in San Telmo. For an in-depth study, see Lucci 198-209.

them. According to Alba Pijuan i Villaverdú, Arbonès translated 48 works into Spanish and 89 into Catalan, many of them were literary classics in English language, for instance:

Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, Robert Louis Stevenson, Charlotte Brontë ... Edgar Allan Poe, Herman Melville, George Elliot, Henry James, John Steinbeck, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, nine of Henry Miller's novels ... D. H. Lawrence, Somerset Maugham, Vladimir Nabókov, Anaïs Nin ... Raymond Chandler, Ross MacDonald ... Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller ... and C. S. Lewis ... His translations have been awarded several prizes in 1980s and 1990s. ("Jordi," my translation)<sup>67</sup>

Moreover, in her detailed study on Arbonès legacy as a translator, Victòria Alsina has pointed out that from the 1960s onwards Jordi Arbonès translated:

11 books by Henry Miller (of which 9 have been published); before that, only 1 of Henry Miller's novels had ever appeared in Catalan (*Devil in Paradise*, translated in 1966 by Arbonès's friend, the Catalan writer Manuel de Pedrolo ... Then, 3 other books have been translated; which means that out of a total of 13 different translations of Henry Miller that are available today in Catalan, 9 (70%) are Jordi Arbonès's work. (379)

In addition to writing and translating, Arbonès also collaborated with *Revista de Catalunya*, where he published literary articles and reviews of his most admired authors and whose novels he had translated into Catalan.

---

<sup>67</sup> For an in-depth biography of Jordi Arbonès, see Victòria Alsina's "Jordi Arbonès i Montull: Translating in difficult times" (2005) and Alba Pijuan's "Entrevista a Jordi Arbonès" (2004) and "*Dossier. Traduir de lluny. El llegat de Jordi Arbonès*" (2005).

During his Argentinian years, he translated Henry Miller's novels during late 1960s. While translating *Black Spring* in 1967, he contacted Miller via letter, which resulted in a very curious correspondence that lasted for several years. Their letters are stored at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona's archive (UAB) and offer valuable insight into both their relationship and the translator's reflections and anxieties regarding his translational task. In July 1967, Arbonès wrote his first letter to Henry Miller. In it, the translator recounts that he is writing the prologue of his Catalan edition of *Black Spring* and how much he admires Miller's *oeuvre*: "A few years ago I discovered some of your books (*Tropics, Black Spring, Obscenity and the Law of Reflection...*). Up to the finding out of your books [sic], I had been living covered by a blanket of shadows in my own country, a little nation subdued by the Spanish States: Catalonia" (Arbonès, "Carta 1967").<sup>68</sup>

Later he claims:

This situation has been going on for the last 30 years, but now it has changed a little ... Lately they have authorized the publishing of some foreign authors that were up-to the present time in the 'blacklists:' Sartre, Kafka, Hemingway, Malraux ... I am translating *Black Spring* into Catalan, and I thought you would be glad to know that your books will be read by a slavered people [sic] in an old language ... I would like very much to pursue this correspondence [sic]. (Ibid.)

In his next letter to Miller, he outlines how Aymà is having problems publishing his translation: "[the publishers] were rather too optimistic thinking they could publish *Black Spring*, because of the obscurantism I talked about in my letter has not vanished quiet [sic]. As Aymà's editor Joan Oliver told me in a last letter, your *Spring* is of a kind that will delay blooming in our country"

---

<sup>68</sup> The correspondence between Jordi Arbonès and Henry Miller was written in English. Therefore, the quotations of Arbonès' letters presented herein do include some grammatical mistakes and typos.

(Arbonès 1968). However, because of Aymàs' effort, *Primavera negra* was approved in 1970, becoming the only domestic Catalan translation of the works studied herein permitted to legally circulate in Franco's Spain before the end of the dictatorship.

In 1979, Arbonès writes to Miller again. This time he brings up Anaïs Nin's and Lawrence Durrell's names and works:

I have just finished reading *Letters to Anaïs Nin*, in Spanish, because I never was able to find it in English. It has really rounded the image I perceived by intuition behind the one that you reveal in your books. To that impression contributed the reading of your correspondence with Lawrence Durrell and the volumes I and II (in Spanish) of Anaïs Nin's *Diary* (now I am waiting the six volumes in English from a bookseller in the States). Some time ago I translated into Catalan some books of those authors: *Clea* by Lawrence Durrell, and *Ladders to Fire* and *Aphrodisiac* by Anaïs Nin, and lately has been published my translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by D. H. Lawrence, with a prologue of mine. I also wrote a prologue to *Ladders to Fire*. Great is my admiration for Anaïs Nin's work and her death was profoundly painful for me. As I do not know whether this letter will reach you or not, I close it here. (Arbonès 1979)

In addition to Arbonès' correspondence with Henry Miller, it is important to examine other extratextual documents that contain information on his approach to translation and his experiences translating *from* Argentina but *for* a target context facing literary censorship. For example, in an

interview conducted by Marcos Rodríguez-Espinosa in 1995,<sup>69</sup> Arbonès opens up about the topic of the Francoist censorship:

with the censorship itself, I encountered some issues with a book of my own, *Teatre català de postguerra*, which was rejected on two or three occasions and whose publication was only authorized after they brutally mutilated it. My translations of Hemingway's *Per qui toque les bells* and the works of Henry Miller also struggled with the censorship board. (217)<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, there is no further remarks on censorship or even a notion of self-censorship in said interview. In 1995, Arbonès also published an article for *Revista de Catalunya*, in which he delves a bit more into this subject. In his article, Arbonès chronicles the “odyssey” that the translated text of *Primavera negra* (Catalan translation for *Black Spring*) underwent from 1967 until it was published in 1970: “[In 1967] Aymà had not yet published any of my translations, censorship being the main cause of it” (Arbonès, “La censura” 90, my translation). In the same vein, Arbonès explains that Aymà's editor Joan Oliver sent him a letter stating that “the translation of *Black Spring* ... will take a long time to flourish—as you know, it is banned for the time being” (Ibid.). However, two years later, the publisher decides to publish the novel in Catalan despite the inquisitive reports by the censorship board:

On June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1969, while I carried on with *Tropic of Cancer*'s translation and after having finished translating *Els llibres de la meva vida*, Mr. Cendrós wrote to me claiming: “As for *Primavera negra*, despite the fact that Mr. Oliver is going to prune the text conveniently,

---

<sup>69</sup> All quotations from this interview are mine unless otherwise stated.

<sup>70</sup> The question posed by Rodríguez-Espinosa is as follows: “For forty years, Francoist censorship served as an efficient mechanism of repression that isolated the country from anything that could pervert the regime's morality. Did you ever have to deal with the censorship?” (Rodríguez-Espinosa 217, my translation).

the Spanish censor has just denied us publication. In any case, I think that we will dare to publish it without the authorization and let's see what happens.” And so it was: the novel on print in February 1970. (91, my translation)<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, in Rodríguez-Espinosa's interview to Jordi Arbonès, they also discuss important aspects of translation, such as the role of the translator and their choices upon the text. For one, Arbonès emphasizes the differences he notices between translations carried out in the Peninsula and those done in Argentina, especially when it comes to register: “when Argentines, for example, read a Madrilenian translation, in traditional Spanish, it gives them *goosebumps* and they cannot stop expressing their *disgust* when reviewing the translations for literary supplements” (Rodríguez-Espinosa 222, emphasis added). In fact, Arbonès goes further and explains said “affective” and dialectal distinction through the idea that a translation should be written in such a way that trendy word choices and expressions are avoided:

When you translate adopting a very colloquial language, you may risk portraying the characters in such a way that the original characters are distorted. Additionally, opting for idioms that are fashionable at a given moment, therefore temporary, can result in the translation becoming outdated after some time. (Ibid.)

Arbonès' notes on translating authors such as Henry Miller offer a telling insight into what constituted Arbonès' translation worldview. They denote a peculiar perspective regarding the translator's task; one that informs us about the different approaches to translation, as well as the

---

<sup>71</sup> This coincides with the letter that Cendrós sent to the censorship committee in 1969 and that was introduced in section 5.1.2. Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* of this dissertation: “I would like to warn you that the Catalan translation of this work—since the rights for the Spanish translation are held by an Argentine publisher—and recently advised against by ‘Servicio de Orientación’ has also been subjected to a *careful ‘cleaning,’ even at the risk of betraying the spirit of the author*” (Exp: 5279-69, sign: 66/3099).



readers' preferences on both sides of the Atlantic in the second half of the twentieth century. If the Argentine readers did not feel comfortable reading Spanish-made translations, the same "affective response" could perhaps be found if one looks at it the opposite way. I shall tackle this in Chapter 6 of this section, when I analyze the Spanish readers' reactions to the Argentine translations in comparison to those carried out in the Peninsula.

All the same, Arbonès' Catalan translations of Henry Miller *The Tropics* bear witness to both the Francoist institutional censorship the novels underwent and the translator's own ideas of literary translation, as Vidal observes in "Translating: A Political Act:"

Translators are constrained in many ways: by their own ideology; by their feelings of superiority or inferiority towards the language in which they are writing the text being translated; by the prevailing poetical rules at that time; by the very language in which the texts they are translating is written; by the dominant institutions and ideology expect of them; by the public for whom the translation is intended. The translation itself will depend upon all of these factors. (6)

Concurrently, *Black Spring's* first Spanish version was circulated in Latin America in the edition published in 1964 by the same house, Ediciones Santiago Rueda, in Patricio Canto's translation. This translation was presented for importation 35 times in Spain and none of them were approved. Patricio Canto was born in Buenos Aires in 1916. Canto and his sister, the writer Estela Canto, were intellectuals who since 1939 had actively collaborated with *Revista Sur* and its "constellation," to borrow from Willson (2004). The Cantos' network of writers and acquaintances comprised important names in the Argentine literary and cultural sphere, for instance, Silvina

Ocampo, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Jorge Luis Borges, and José Bianco.<sup>72</sup> Patricio Canto was an essayist and wrote on topics such as philosophy, politics, and history, as well as a prolific translator of best-sellers, although there are no scholarly publications regarding his writings (Fondebrider). Patricio sporadically worked for *Los Anales de Buenos Aires*, a journal led by Borges (Mecca). Moreover, Falcón and Willson incorporate his name to a list of translators who also collaborated for a Buenos Aires-based and smaller publisher, Jorge Álvarez, that operated between 1963 and 1969 (10).

According to the “Biblioteca Nacional [of Argentina] there are 24 entries of books translated from French and English” (Mecca) by Patricio Canto, among them novels by Arthur Halley, Wilbur Smith, Normann Mailer, Richard Adams, Michel Foucault, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, Graham Greene, James Baldwin, and others (Fondebrider). Lastly, Canto’s translation of *Primavera negra*—Henry Miller’s *Black Spring*—was published in 1964 by Ediciones Santiago Rueda, coming out two years after the publication of *Trópico de Cáncer*, translated by the allegedly synonym of “Mario Guillermo Iglesias” (see 4.1.1.).

In 1970, a second Spanish translation of *Black Spring* was carried out in Spain by Carlos Bauer and Julián Marcos. Publisher/distributor Edhasa attempted to publish it in Spain but was not successful. Alfaguara/Bruguera finally published this edition in 1978. There is not much biographical information regarding these two authors. Two authorial/translation entries have been found through a search on “Worldcat Identities” and VIAF (Virtual International Authority File).<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> “Estela and Patricio Canto traversed Argentine literary life between the 40s and 60s ... with haughty independence and a talent as unmatched as it was indisputable” (Mecca, my translation).

<sup>73</sup> The VIAF (Virtual International Authority File) “service provides libraries and library users with convenient access to the world’s major name authority files. VIAF Contributors regularly supply authority data that VIAF matches, links, and groups. All descriptions for a given entity are merged into a cluster that brings together the different names for that entity. This service allows researchers to identify names, locations, works, and expressions while preserving regional preferences for language, spelling, and script” (see <https://viaf.org/>).

In addition to *Black Spring*, Carlos Bauer seems to also have translated other works by Miller, such as *The World of Sex and Max and The White Phagocytes* (1938), trans. *El mundo del sexo y Max y los fagocitos blancos*, 1979), *Quiet days in Clichy* (1956), trans. *Días tranquilos en Clichy*, 1981). Bauer and Marcos coedited several translations: *Primavera negra* (1970), published in 1978 by Alfaguara/Bruguera); and Lawrence Ferlinghetti's poetry collection, *Coney Island of the mind*, published in 1981 by Spanish publisher Hiperión. Apart from translation, Julián Marcos was a prolific author of essays and poetry, with works such as: *Palacios* (1976), *El carnaval* (1991), and *Los caníbales y otros poemas* (2005). One Carlos Bauer can also be tied to the English translation of Federico García Lorca's *Poem of the deep song/Poema del cante Jondo* (1987) published by City Light Books in San Francisco; *Public and Play Without a Title: Two Posthumous Plays* (1983, New Directions); and *Ode to Walt Whitman* (1988, also by City Lights Publisher).<sup>74</sup>

Finally, a new Spanish version of *Tropic of Cancer* was carried out by Carlos Manzano and published by Alfaguara/Bruguera in 1977, two years after the dissolution of the dictatorship in Spain. According to the *Asociación Colegial de Escritores de Cataluña* (ACEC), Carlos Manzano is still an active translator who was born in Madrid in 1946. After obtaining a degree in Romance Philology, he started his translation activities in the 1970s as a literary translator, as well as translating for international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the World Trade Organization, among others. He has translated from an array of languages including English, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Catalan. His contributions to literary translation are numerous, having translated works by Samuel Beckett,

---

<sup>74</sup> As observed in the book description of Bauer's English rendering of Lorca's *Poem of the Deep Song*: "Carlos Bauer is the translator of Garcia Lorca's *The Public and Play Without a Title: Two Posthumous Plays*, and of *Cries from a Wounded Madrid: Poetry of the Spanish Civil War*. He has also translated the work of Henry Miller and other contemporary American writers into Spanish" (see <https://www.worldcat.org/title/poem-of-the-deep-song-poema-del-cante-jondo/oclc/1036813579>).

Antonin Artaud, Raymond Queneau, James Joyce, L. F. Céline, Malcolm Lowry, William Faulkner, William Carlos Williams, Evelyn Waugh, Kenneth Rexroth, and many more. *Trópico de Cáncer*, *Trópico de Capricornio*, *Sexus*, *Plexus*, *Nexus* and *Opus Pistorum* are his Spanish renderings of Henry Miller's novels. He has been awarded several national translation prizes ("Curriculum").

In an interview published in *El País*, Manzano comments on translating literary classics. It seems that he leans towards a more processual translating worldview than the two translators previously presented, Arbonès and Iglesias. For Manzano, a new translation is always necessary:

the literary translation industry is the only cultural sector in which, as the rights are exclusive, there is no possibility of counteracting the market deficiencies—and consequent negative cultural and linguistic consequences—of having a single authorized translation ... Thus, in the case of works whose publishing rights are public domain ... all translations can—and even should—be published, should the market admits, then the public and critics will lean towards the one they prefer. (Gragera de León)

It is remarkable how distant Manzano's approach to translation is from that of Jordi Arbonès, for whom a translation should avoid trendy expressions. Conversely, Manzano seeks a translation that includes *la lengua viva*—a much riskier choice that undoubtedly mirrors his translations of Miller's novels, as I demonstrate in Part III.<sup>75</sup> Lastly, Manzano's translation of *Tropic of Cancer* (1977), published by Alfaguara/Bruguera, was successful in passing the censorship filter with no

---

<sup>75</sup> In particular, critics who have analyzed the retranslations of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* into Spanish notice that "Carlos Manzano opts for the adaptation of the Proustian periods to the Spanish syntax, perhaps as a way to make the reading more palatable. This way, he tends to replace subordinate clauses with dashes, and to make use of idioms and some vulgarisms to render expressions that, in transit, lose their original nuances. The goal is undoubtedly laudable and, ultimately, uncovers a position that is, naturally, risky" (Saladrigas, my translation).

amendments, being the first Spanish-made translation of *The Tropics* permitted to legally circulate in Spain, followed by *Black Spring* and *Tropic of Cancer* in the following years.

#### 4.2. Anaïs Nin and Her Translators

A naturalized American citizen born to Spanish-Cuban and French-Danish parents in Neuilly, suburban Paris, in 1903, Anaïs Nin led a prolific life as a writer and artist until her death in the United States in 1977. Though she was raised in France, in 1914 Nin and her family left for New York when her dad, Joaquin Nin, abandoned the family. Scholars suggest that after such an event, she started to write a journal at the age of eleven: “in it she would find consolation for a world that made little sense ... Her journal shows her as she was: with all her faults and eccentricities ... ‘My journal loves me as I am. As everybody loves me. Papa, can you hear me?’” (Barillé 2). Her journal accompanied Nin throughout her life, making her writing more than a means of expression, making her a “public and controversial figure of the women’s liberation movement” (Tooke 1), making her a marginalized women of modernism—though oftentimes put alongside feminist-modernist writers such as Djuna Barnes, Gertrude Stein and Virginia Woolf (2-3), but also making her an interesting subject for autobiography theory and psychoanalytic-feminist criticism (9).

It was in the 1930s when Nin began publishing her short stories, as well as her work *D.H. Lawrence: An Unprofessional Study* (1932) once she had already moved back to Paris with her husband, Hugh Guiler. There she became acquainted with writers such as Henry Miller, Antonin Artaud, and Lawrence Durrell and was influenced by the Surrealist movement and psychoanalysis. “Her diaries were filled with ruminations on Fyodor Dostoevsky, Virginia Woolf, Christopher Isherwood, Arthur Rimbaud, Colette, Simone de Beauvoir, Andre Gide, Jean Cocteau”

(Hamilton).<sup>76</sup> Nin's unique writing chronicles many of her relationships, personal experiences, and intimate explorations of women's pleasure, desire, and affect that led her to gain worldwide attention once the first volume of her diary was released in 1966. In words of Nin's scholar Elisabeth Barillé "Anaïs owed her reputation as a writer of erotic stories to a book which she was never to see published, commissioned by a collector for someone who did not exist" (177), the work in question being her infamous *Delta of Venus* (1977). Nin's connections with Henry Miller started in France. It was thanks to Nin that Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) materialized into the novel that would make him famous (125). Nin even wrote the book's preface. For ten years they corresponded: "letters in their hundreds. Strife, desire, fever, ecstasy, hatred" (218).

In 1936 she published *The House of Incest* and in 1939, *Winter of Artifice*. Upon returning to New York, more works came out: *Under a Glass Bell* (1944), *This Hunger* (1945). From 1946 to 1959 she published the short stories comprised in *Cities of the Interior*. Much like Henry Miller's works in the United States, Anaïs Nin's novels did not leave the censors indifferent. The 1939 edition of *Winter of Artifice* published by Obelisk Press in Paris was not allowed in the U.S., hence,

Nin had no choice but to cut out the parts of the book the censors found intolerable. That meant the story "Djuna," which was the fictionalized version of Henry and June, was totally cut out, and good portions of the other 2 stories ("Lillith," which became the story "Winter of Artifice," and "The Voice") were heavily edited of all offensive passages. The result was the Gemor Press version of *Winter of Artifice* (1942), which was privately

---

<sup>76</sup> "The artistic 'revolution' declared by *transition* magazine and by the Surrealist manifestos became Nin's own aesthetic cause. Psychoanalysis too was, for Nin, part of this cultural revolution ... The influences of the Parisian context—poetic prose, Surrealism, psychoanalysis, and the self-conscious spirit of experiment and innovation ... would remain central to Nin throughout her life" (Tookey 6).

published in America. Not until 2007, when Sky Blue Press brought out a facsimile of the Obelisk Press edition, has the original version been in print. (“The Winter of Artifice”)

Over the years, she became an icon, a kind of female guru of the late 1960s and early 1970s: “Anaïs spoke to women seeking their freedom. While Betty Friedan was talking about the ‘inexplicable malaise’ of the *Feminine Mystique*, Anaïs revealed the mystique of the accomplished woman. The *Journal* was being read by thousands” (Barillé 225). Soon after, Kate Millet and other feminists would criticize her for protecting Henry Miller. Criticism would not stop there. As I show in this dissertation, Nin’s *oeuvre* in translation had a hard time reaching Spain and the Spanish-speaking world.

Only three of Nin’s novels were requested for importation in Spain from 1969 to 1978: *Under a Glass Bell* (P. Owen London, 1968); *The Diaries of Anaïs Nin (1931-1934)* ed. Brace & World. NY (1966); and *A Spy in the House of Love* ed. Penguin Books (1973). The three novels were approved for importation without any negative comments coming from the censors. The first Spanish translation of Nin’s collection, *A Spy in the House of Love* was carried out by Carmen Alcalde and María Rosa Prats in 1968 and was presented for “consulta voluntaria” by Aymà in 1968 and 1969. This translation was first rejected in 1968 and then branded “silencio administrativo” the following year (I discuss this aspect in-depth in Chapters 5 and 6). After negotiations with the censors, publisher Aymà went ahead and deposited the book in 1969, therefore, a small print run of this translation could have already been in circulation.

The primary translator, Carmen Alcalde (Gerona, 1936 - ) is an iconic writer, professional journalist, and admired Catalan feminist. In 1965 she managed the direction of *Prèsençia* (1965-1968), an anti-Francoist newspaper for politics and culture founded in Gerona (Catalunya) by

Manuel Bonmatí i Romaguera. Alcalde, with the help of Rosa María Prats, turned *Presència* into one of the first cultural sources against the Francoist dictatorship, operating in a semi-clandestine manner and giving voice to “dissident narratives of those who could not publish elsewhere due to political reasons” (Jareno, “La revista” 533-534, my translation). Interested in social journalism, her professional and political commitments led her to join the Communist Party, where she met most of the women with whom she would lead the Spanish feminist movement in the 1960s. By the 1970s, Carmen Alcalde had already built a national reputation as a journalist and writer, and was part of the Catalan network of intellectuals (Ibid.).

Alcalde collaborated with many famous feminist writers and artists such as Maria Aurèlia Capmany, Marta Pessarrodona, Ana María Moix, Sara Presutto (Godayol, “Ensayos” 573; Jareno, “La revista” 534). In her compelling dissertation on the feminist journal *Vindicación feminista*, Claudia Jareno (2019) argues that Maria Aurèlia Capmany introduced Alcalde to an array of writers and artists, a meeting that resulted in future friendships and collaborations, especially once Carmen Alcalde and Lidia Falcón—another influential feminist writer of late Francoism—jointly founded the ground-breaking feminist magazine *Vindicación feminista* (1976).<sup>77</sup> In 1979, Carmen Alcalde leaves *Vindicación*, although she continues to publish in magazines such as *Destino*, another well-known anti-Francoist newspaper, in which “she started her own feminist section that target women, titled: ‘La mujer, esa persona’ [Woman, that person]” (Jareno, “La revista” 534, my translation).

---

<sup>77</sup> “As for the publishing team, if the visible head of *Vindicación* was the binomial Alcalde-Falcón, the magazine had, since its inception, a line-up of writers and journalists but also liberal professionals that Carmen Alcalde and Lidia Falcón had known throughout their extensive professional and personal careers. The smallest group was made up of twelve people, but a total of forty collaborated with the magazine. Based on the principle of ‘exclusive’ female participation, both the technical team and the editorial team were made up exclusively of women—only four men collaborated in the last issues” (Jareno, “La revista” 536, my translation).



Alcalde's list of published works is extensive; her most celebrated publications are: *La mujer en la Guerra Civil Española* (1976), *Cartas a Lilith* (1979), *Federica Montseny: palabra en rojo y negro* (1983), *Mujeres en el franquismo: exiliadas, nacionalistas y opositoras* (1996), *Vete y ama* (2005), *Amar se escribe breve* (2016). In addition, together with Maria Aurèlia Company, she published *El feminismo ibérico* (1970). In terms of translation, there are no biographical references where Carmen Alcalde is regarded as a translator, save from Anaïs Nin's Spanish translation of *A Spy in the House of Love* with Alcalde's and Prats' name in it. After finding this translation in the censorship files at the AGA, I started to inquire about their work as translators. Yet again, *Worldcat* brings to the fore several works that show Alcalde and Prat as their translator: *Los gitanos* (1965, Aymà), translated from the French *Les Tziganes* by Jean Paul Clébert; *Los precursors de Marco Polo* (1965, Aymà), translated from *Les précurseurs de Marco Polo* by Albert T'Serstevens; and *La crisis del imperio romano* (1984, Labor), translated from the French *La crise de l'Empire romain, de Marc-Aurèle a Anastase* by Roger Rémondon. The genre of all three publications is universal history. In a personal interview with Carmen Alcalde, she disclosed to me that all the translations she did were commissioned by friends who were editors or had links to the publishing industry, such as Joan Oliver.<sup>78</sup>

In regard to censorship, on several occasions, the censorship board began legal proceedings against Carmen Alcalde due to some publications released by *Presència*. In fact, from the very first issue, they received fines, legal proceedings, and even had some issues sequestered by the censorship board after the 1966 Press Law. In an interview conducted by Jesús Martínez, Alcalde

---

<sup>78</sup> I insert here a quote from my interview with Alcalde. For more on her relationship with Oliver, see the introduction to Part III: "Yo llegaba de Girona y, no sé, por relaciones así con gente me fui a verle; le conocí y nos hicimos muy amigos. Y él me dio este libro, así poco al conocerme [*Una espía en la casa del amor*] y alguno más de Anaïs Nin que ya no recuerdo" (Alcalde, Entrevista).

confirms her dealings with the censors: “We tried to deceive the censorship as we could. We would send the galleys without the titles or photos” (Martínez, my translation). Martínez anecdotally points out that Alcalde pridefully treasures all the 75 fines she received, storing them in a file (Ibid.). Correspondingly, Carmen Alcalde published a little article in 1978, “Respuesta,” where she relates her experiences as a reader under Francoism and her the struggles to consume culture, literature, and feminist thinking:

As my critical mind and skepticism matured in the face of the national-syndicalist educational triumphalism that interpreted our history, some “verboten” books were filtered—lent by friends or purchased at the backrooms of clandestine, progressive bookstores—which informed of “the other” version of the events. In those books—the awakening of my revolutionary conscience—I never found any reference to women ... They were voluntarily silenced. Later on, through archival research, I became aware of their existence as women and as revolutionary. (317)

Carmen Alcalde has undoubtedly contributed to the feminist history of Spain. Her works are proof of her passion towards the study of women and social revolution from a political, even subversive lens. For her, women’s history has been contradictory: “How can it not be contradictory if that much contradictory were the lives of my protagonist [Louise Michel, Flora Tristán, Pasionaria, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg...]? How to reconcile their revolutionary passion with their predestined oppressor-oppressed relationship between their four walls?” (318).

In her prologue to Alcalde’s *La mujer en la Guerra Civil española* (1976), her friend and colleague Lidia Falcón laments the gaps Alcalde aimed to fill with her historical and journalist research. Falcón emphasizes the lack of archival material as one of the main documental challenges

of the time: “[the biggest challenge was] finding the immediate testimony of our women’s history among the mutilated newspapers archives and libraries ... Digging in old libraries, trying to find forgotten books, scorned pamphlets that could contain any feminist vindication” (Falcón, “Prólogo” 15, my translation).<sup>79</sup>

Alcalde collaborated on Nin’s translation with friend and colleague María Rosa Prats, a former dancer born in Barcelona in 1932 who “performed in Paris, Hamburg, and Rome” from 1960 to 1965 (Jareno, “La revista” 167, my translation). Prats met Carmen Alcalde in the early 1960s and, soon after, she became involved with Alcalde’s first journal, *Presència* (Ibid.). As stated above, Prats and Alcalde co-translated several works into Spanish. Anaïs Nin’s *Una espía en la casa del amor*, finished and edited in 1968 by publisher Aymà, faced “silencio administrativo” in 1969 and, even though this meant that the novel could have circulated if the publisher chose to proceed with the publication—indeed Aymà registered the book in 1969, as stated above—, it was not “officially” authorized for publication by the censorship board.

The Catalan translation, *Una espía a la casa de l’amor*, by Manuel Carbonell (1968, Edicions Proa-Aymà) underwent the same process of scrutiny as Alcalde’s and Prats’ translation into Spanish. Therefore, none of Spanish and Catalan translations of *A Spy in the House of Love* made domestically were, followed by negotiations between the publisher and censorship board, neither officially authorized nor rejected for publication during Francoism. They were instead branded “silencio administrativo,” leaving the decision to publish up to Aymà’s discretion.

---

<sup>79</sup> Jareno observes that, in more recent book *Mujeres en el franquismo* (1996), Alcalde insists on the topic: “What about women? Did women exist? In the memory of the men who have told the story, it seems that they did not. Neither those who were able to flee nor those who stayed are recorded in any onomastic index of the hundreds of books written about the civil war, the exile, and the resistance. I confirm this with certainty that I am not mistaken. I have spent long hours in this research to collect data for the history of women and, even though I wanted to find them with a magnifying glass, despite knowing that they existed—so many of them—it is like they didn’t” (1996, 88-89) (“Los fondos” 134, my translation).

According to the *Diccionari de la traducció catalana* (Godayol “Carbonell”) and the *Diccionario Histórico de la Traducción en España* (Eisner), Manuel Carbonell is a Catalan essayist and professor at the Official School of Languages in Barcelona. In an academic context, his editorial work compiling the *oeuvre* of Catalan poet J. V. Foix is paramount. His trajectory as a Catalan translator began in the late 1960s, rewriting philosophical and literary works from English, German, and Italian for the Barcelona publisher Edicions 62 and Proa (which later joined publishing house Aymà, many times cited herein). Carbonell’s major contributions are the translations of famous German writers such as Friedrich Hölderlin, Novalis; German philosophers such as Heidegger; Karl Marx, and Nietzsche’s influential *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*; essays by Frankfurt School thinker Herbert Marcuse; the works of Italian writer Giorgio Bassini; Walter Benjamin’s *Art and Literature* that contains the much cited “The Task of the Translator” in translation studies; and—most importantly for the purpose of this research—Anaïs Nin’s novel *A Spy in the House of Love* (1954).

Carbonell’s approach to translation is rather interesting. His theories appear in a number of academic articles: “Traducir Heidegger” (1990), “Les traduccions hölderlinianes dels grecs I” (1999), “Traducció poètica i tradició pròpia: a propòsit de tres versions al català de la primera elegia de Duino de Rilke” (2005), and “Tra-duir i tra-duir” (2008), all of them in the academic journals *Reduccions* and *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* (the latter). In “Tra-duir i tra-dui” Carbonell’s preoccupations around translation are tackled. In the English abstract of his article, Carbonell claims that literary translator is always prone to facing a dilemma:

either giving priority to the characteristics of the original text or submitting them to the peculiarities of his/her own language. The second option is the transnaturalitization [sic] of

the work and it is made from the authority of the translator. The first, however, concedes the translation authority to the work and the translator undergoes it. (Carbonell 31)

Carbonell's theories on translation are very modern and philosophical and, one can argue, in line with Walter Benjamin's translational worldview. Furthermore, in his article, Carbonell includes up-to-date theoretical terms such as transnaturalize, desubordinate, contra-lation, retro-lation, with their specific application to his translations of the Germans Hölderlin and Heidegger, and comments on the language of the source text, stating that in literary and philosophical translation, form and substance are equally important:

Moreover, in a literary text, form, to put it in classical terms, is inseparable from content and, in some cases, form can be the entire content. This means that literary language can never be confused with specialized language. That is why we speak properly of the language of physics, mathematics, the natural sciences, and even administrative law, economic history or symbolic logic. Thus, this fact is also the intrinsic determinant of the so-called literary translation, be it poetic, narrative, or philosophical. (Carbonell 32, my translation)<sup>80</sup>

Hence, Carbonell's perspective to the task of the translator parallels that of Carlos Manzano, while, by extension, challenges Jordi Arbonès approach to literary translation, as previously discussed in

4.1 In Carbonell's words:

---

<sup>80</sup> "Més encara, en un text literari, la forma, per dir-ho en termes clàssics, és inseparable del contingut i, en alguns casos, la forma en pot ser tot el contingut. Això fa que la llengua de la literatura no es pugui confondre mai amb un llenguatge d'especialitat. I per això es parla pròpiament del llenguatge de la física, de les matemàtiques, de les ciències naturals, i fins i tot del dret administratiu, de la història econòmica o de la lògica simbòlica. Així doncs, aquest fet és també el determinant intrínsec de la traducció dita literària, sigui poètica, narrativa o filosòfica" (Carbonell 32).

In literary translation, in fact, the author's language is key. This means that the relationship that the author maintains with the language of the community in which he is inserted as such author is paramount. It is, therefore, a temporally and spatially marked relationship. And most of the time, this relationship is controversial. How do we translate a particular and specific conflict to a personal circumstance to a temporally and spatially distinct field? How do we transfer it? Such is the problem that Heidegger poses in the realm of philosophy, and which is also framed in the general phenomenon of the reception of literature. The goal of translation is, certainly, to make the translated work reachable, that is, in some way, to naturalize it in a space that is not its own ... The act of naturalizing a work, or, more precisely, transnaturalizing it, however, almost always entails that certain aspects that cannot be transferred to the new field are lost or abandoned, especially if the work comes from a very distant cultural and linguistic space. And the less the translation lacks, of course, the better it is. Such is the criterion of fidelity and respect for the original. It is the ideal of translation; it has to be done from within the translators' responsibility, from the translators' authority. And if they become a despot, which sometimes happens, the critics will take care of correcting their excesses. (Ibid.)<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> “En la traducció literària, en efecte, hi és principal la llengua de l'autor. Això vol dir que hi és principal la relació que l'autor manté amb la llengua de la comunitat en què s'insereix com a tal autor. És, doncs, una relació temporalment i espacialment marcada. I la majoria de vegades aquesta relació és conflictiva. Com traduir, per tant, aquest conflicte, particular i específic d'una circumstància personal, a un àmbit temporalment i espacialment distint? Com traslladar-l'hi? Aquest és el problema que, en forma de disjuntiva, planteja Heidegger en l'esfera de la filosofia, i que s'emmarca en el fenomen general de la recepció de les obres literàries. La fita de la traducció és certament la de fer receptiva l'obra traduïda, és, d'alguna manera, naturalitzar-la en un àmbit que no és el seu ... L'acció de naturalitzar una obra, o, més exactament, de transnaturalitzar-la, però, comporta gairebé sempre que se'n perdin o que se n'abandonin components intransferibles a la nova circumstància, especialment si l'obra prové d'un àmbit cultural i lingüístic molt llunyà. I com menys se'n perdin, és clar, millor traducció. És el criteri de la fidelitat i del respecte a l'original. És l'ideal de la traducció, sempre feta des de la responsabilitat del traductor, des de *l'autoritat del traductor*. I si aquest esdevé un dèspota, cosa que a vegades passa, els crítics ja s'encarregaran de corregir-li els excessos” (Carbonell 32).

Part III of this dissertation focuses on analyzing all the different translations and editions cited herein, therefore, having Carbonell's reflections on translation provides the researcher with an illuminating starting point to addressing and comparing his translations.

David Casanueva carried out the first Spanish translation of *Ladders to Fire* (*Escalas hacia el fuego*) in 1971 (publisher Aymà), the only Spanish translation of Nin's works that officially passed the censorship filter after the MIT approved the novel for publication without "silencio administrativo" or further changes. Other translations found that are signed with his name are *Anónimo veneziano* (Aymà 1974) from the Italian novel by Giuseppe Berto with same title) and *El solitario* (Aymà 1975) from the French *Le solitaire*, a novel by French-Romanian author Eugène Ionesco. Curiously enough, all three translations were edited by Barcelona-based publisher Aymà. Ultimately, it cannot be ruled out that David Casanueva was used as a pseudonym. Finally, Jordi Arbonès, the prolific translator of Miller much discussed in section 4.1 completed a Catalan rendering of *Ladders to Fire*, *Escales cap al foc* in 1976, which was also published by Aymà.

#### 4.3. Lawrence Durrell and His Translators

Born in 1912 in Jalandhar, India, to colonial English parents, Lawrence Durrell is best known for *The Alexandria Quartet*, a praised tetralogy published between 1957 and 1960, comprising *Justine*, *Balthazar*, *Mountolive*, and *Clea*. In 1935, Durrell discovered Henry Miller's famous novel, *Tropic of Cancer*, and a lifelong friendship was struck between the two writers. Anaïs Nin was also among his acquaintances, as they met in Paris at Villa Seurat in 1937. Among his influences one finds Sigmund Freud, T.S. Elliot, D. H. Lawrence, Dylan Thomas, and naturally, Henry Miller himself

(Weigel xiii-2). Spending his late twenties and thirties in Greece and Egypt serving during World War II, he lived in myriad of places:

From Tibet to England to Corfu to Greece to Egypt to Rhodes to Latin America [Argentina] to Yugoslavia to Cyprus to Provence, with interludes in England and Paris: Durrell's itinerary now seems wisely determined instead of adventitious, with sufficient Levantine contrast, Greek austerity, and Slavic and Latin relief, all backdropped by the memory of Tibet and reinforced with the hatred of that which was hateful in England (Weigel 9).

For many, Durrell's lived experiences made him in John Weigel's words: "more of a poet than a novelist, more of a travel book writer than a dramatist, more of a wall builder than a painter" (1). His way of experimenting with novel's structure, space-time, relative theory, human psyche, and sexuality are in part inspired by Albert Einstein, Freud and Jung.

Much like Miller and Nin, Durrell had to publish one of his early novels, *The Black Book* (1938) in Paris for censorship—British obscenity regulations—also hovered over his prose.<sup>82</sup> After the initial success brought about by *The Alexandria Quartet*, "which won him two Nobel nominations in the 1960s, albeit never actually securing the prize" (Alfandary 2), Durrell published *Tunc* (1968), *Nunquam* (1970), *The Revolt of Aphrodite* (1974), and *The Avignon Quintet* (1974-1985), among others. A recent work on Durrell's masterpiece's collection, espouses his worldview on "modern love, with his emphasis on unfettered expressions of sexuality as a leitmotif of the freedom of the individual, can be seen in the context of the liberal trends of the 1960s" (Alfandary 5). This idea of "modern love" praised by the critics was, as I will show in this dissertation, also

---

<sup>82</sup> "Both *Tropic of Cancer* and *The Black Book* received their share of censorship, due to the allegedly obscene contents of their books, with their explicit sexual allusions. It was only twenty years later that their full distribution was allowed in the US and Britain" (Alfarandy 6).



noticed but not exactly welcomed by the “first readers,” i.e. censors, in Franco’s Spain, a fate Durrell’s translations into Spanish and Catalan shared with those of Nin’s and Miller’s novels.

He died in 1990, in Sommières, France, leaving behind a rich and influential *oeuvre* in the English language, one that is undoubtedly part of the great works of literature, as Anaïs Nin wrote:

There was a Durrell epidemic. As he announced there were more books to come, I felt he was going to write the book of our century, as Proust did in his time. I was consoled to think that civilized, developed, full-blown literature was at last recognized in America: that Puritanism had lost its battle for the short, Anglo-Saxon words as against the Latinized roots. That wealth of vocabulary, wealth of images and all the excesses of a Byzantine court had become part of our daily reading. (*The Journals* 103)

Regarding Lawrence Durrell’s novels being translated and circulated within the Spanish-speaking world, the first Spanish translations of *Justine* and *Balthazar* were done by the Argentinian Aurora Bernárdez in 1960 and 1961, respectively. Both novels were published by Sudamericana, Buenos Aires. On numerous occasions, these were requested for importation to the Iberian Peninsula from 1962 onwards by different distributing companies. However, all requests were denied by the censorship board. The Spanish version of *Justine* and *Balthazar* that would eventually circulate in the Peninsula were those of Aurora Bernárdez. Since Sudamericana’s editions made in Argentina were denied for importation through the 1960s, distributor Edhasa applied for permission to publish Bernárdez’s translation of *Balthazar*, to which changes were deemed necessary by the board. The translation was approved and published in 1970. Bernárdez’s *Justine* posed more challenges for Edhasa, since the censors branded it as “silencio administrativo.” However, a copy

of the novel has been located in the Spanish National Library repository of books, which indicates that Edhasa registered the title in 1970.

Born in Argentina to Spanish parents, Durrell's translator into Spanish, Aurora Bernárdez, was a renowned writer and translator. She studied Philosophy and Literature at the University of Buenos Aires. A friend of hers, Raúl Manrique Girón, points out that Aurora "came into contact with the most important generation of Argentinian writers ever known; she attended the most famous meetings at Oliverio Gironde's house ... she knew Borges, Alberto Girri" (Manrique Girón, my translation), and many other intellectuals from *Sur*.<sup>83</sup> She started her career as a translator, collaborating with publisher Losada (Ibid.). Literary critics from across the Spanish-speaking world have, and still do, praise her translations:

Bernárdez was one of the most personal Argentine translators in a time of great translators (Alberto Girri, José Bianco, Enrique Pezzoni, Matilde Horne, Patricio Canto, Alberto Luis Bixio, among others), and she carried out her versions for the most important publishing companies for which translation was central (Losada, Sudamericana, Sur, Emecé, Minotauro, etc.). (Carbajosa 26, my translation, emphasis added)

From 1953 to 1967, Bernárdez was married to the Argentinian writer Julio Cortázar, whom she met in 1948. They lived in Paris, where Bernárdez worked as a translator for UNESCO and produced most of her most acclaimed literary translations from English, French, and Italian into

---

<sup>83</sup> "She was also friends with Juan Carlos Onetti, Jorge Luis Borges, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Guillermo de Torre, Oliverio Gironde, Olga Orozco, Damián Bayón, Italo Calvino, Saúl and Gladys Yurkievich, Octavio Paz, Claribel Alegría, Alejandra Pizarnik, Mario Vargas Llosa, Gabriel García Márquez, Paco Porrúa, Luis Seoane, Francisco Ayala, and José Ángel Valente, among many others.... A worthy successor of the *Sur* group, that of Borges, Bioy and Ocampo, she had the privilege of belonging, in her own way, to the Boom generation, the most brilliant of the continent in literary terms, with a useful and inspirational role" (Carbajal 32, my translation).

Spanish.<sup>84</sup> For example, among her most recognized translations are William Faulkner's *Estos trece* (1956, Losada), Jean Paul Sartre's *La nausea* (1947, Losada), Lawrence Durrell's *The Alexandria Quartet (Justine and Balthazar* 1960-1901, Sudamericana), Vladimir Nabokov's *Pálido fuego* (1974, Sudamericana), Italo Calvino's *Las cósmicas* and *Tiempo cero* (1967, Minotauro), Albert Camus' *El primer hombre* (1994 Tusquets), and many other international authors (Carbajosa 26-28).

Mónica Carbajosa and Montse Mera claim that, although Bernárdez's figure is "intimately and solidly linked to Julio Cortázar's, it is not less true that Bernárdez is an influential component of Argentine and Latin American literature, and an essential Spanish translator for the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (26, my translation).<sup>85</sup> Pertaining to Bernárdez's approach to literary translation, there is no theorization of hers in publications, other than comments that her friends and critics remember her for:

She belonged to the school of rigorous and modest translators, almost invisible, and followed the movement of creative *fidelity*: "Translation," she would say, "is a form of *subaltern writing*, subjected to a previous text that cannot be denied, that is to say, there is no possibility of escaping it. Being a literary translator is a destiny." (Carbajosa 26, my translation, emphasis added)

---

<sup>84</sup> "In addition to being a literary translator, Aurora Bernárdez was, for many years, an official interpreter for UNESCO from 1954. Valued as an excellent professional, she was hired despite contravening the rule that did not allow the simultaneous employment of husband and wife" (Carbajosa 28, my translation).

<sup>85</sup> "To Cortázar's and his editors' trust in Aurora's critical judgments must be added that of other writers. Her criteria had great influence on the Latin American Boom generation. Together with Cortázar, she was the first reader of Vargas Llosa's *La casa verde*, and later of the manuscript of García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, sent to the couple's vacation home in Saignon by Paco Porrúa" (Carbajosa 30, my translation).

In 1994, her long and prolific career as translator was rewarded with the International Konex Price for translation. When Julio Cortázar died in 1984, Aurora became his literary executor and inherited Cortázar's published *oeuvre* (Friera, my translation).<sup>86</sup> After Cortázar's death, Bernárdez "compiled his correspondence, organized his photography archive, and supervised [his posthumous] editions and adaptations" ("Aurora Bernárdez," my translation; Manrique Girón). In 2017, publisher Alfaguara released *El libro de Aurora*, a compilation of Bernárdez's poems, narrative, notes, and the transcription of her only interview conducted by filmmaker Philippe Fénelon. Him and Julia Saltzman are the editors behind Aurora's book.

Later, the first Catalan translation of *Justine* took place in 1969, at the hands of Manuel de Pedrolo and edited by Aymà. Much like in the case of Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* edited by Aymà in Carbonell's Catalan translation, the censors branded de Pedrolo's rendering of *Justine* "silencio administrativo." Nonetheless, a copy of the novel has been located in the Spanish National Library repository of books, which indicates that Aymà registered the title in 1969. Manuel de Pedrolo also translated *Balthazar* in 1983, again for publisher Aymà. This translation did not pose any problems, as the censorship system was already dismantled: It was published in 1984 as part of the *A tot vent* collection. A writer, playwright, essayist, and a translator, Manuel de Pedrolo initiated his literary career in 1950, working as a literary consultant and Spanish translator for publisher Albor. According to Pijuan, he translated Georges Simenon's bestselling novels, "although his name was never on them ... During those years he also anonymously translated romance novels, westerns, adventure, and detective novels and worked as a proof-reader

---

<sup>86</sup> "We owe her the posthumous publication of several novels such as *Divertimento* (1986) and *El examen* (1986), *Diario de Andrés Fava* (1995); critical essays such as *Imagen de John Keats* and *Los Papeles inesperados* (2009) ... Her library was donated by her niece ... [her books and Cortázar are] at the University of San Jorge in Zaragoza, Spain" (Friera, my translation).

for Bruguera” (“Pedrolo,” my translation). In the 1960s, Pedrolo directed the “detective” section for Catalan publisher Edicions 62, most of the novels published under this collection were translations from American crime novels (Ibid.). Pijan observes a turning-point in Pedrolo’s translation trajectory in 1963:

It was then that he began working with Edicions 62, becoming one of their first contributors and also one of their best-known translators. It was Pedrolo to whom they entrusted their collection *La Cua de Palla*, which announced itself as “the best collection of thrillers in the world” and marked an entirely new departure in the Catalan publishing world. (“Manuel” 341)

In fact, said collection was known for having “an excellent team of translators, including Maria Aurèlia Capmany, Ramon Folch i Camarasa, Josep Vallverdú, Joaquim Carbó, Rafael Tasis, Maurici Serrahima, *Joan Oliver* and *Manuel de Pedrolo* himself” (Ibid., emphasis added).

As discussed in Part I of this dissertation, the decade of 1960s was the golden age for the Catalan book. However, in the 1970s, the Catalan publishing industry was thrown into crisis and, consequently, Pedrolo’s activity as a translator was reduced considerably, as were the Edicions 62’s collection *La Cua de Palla*.<sup>87</sup> According to Alba Pijuan, Manuel de Pedrolo’s corpus of published translations consist of more than 40 titles (“Manuel” 339). Additionally, a few Catalan scholars have carried out the laborious task of unearthing Pedrolo’s translations and have

---

<sup>87</sup> Pijuan divides Pedrolo’s translation activity in four categories: “from his earliest translations until 1963, when he began to work for Edicions 62; from 1963 to 1970, his most prolific period, during which he founded the thriller and crime fiction collection *La Cua de Palla*; from 1970 to 1976, a time of crisis for publishing in the Catalan language; and from 1976, when he gave up translating, until his death in 1990” (“Manuel” 339).

discovered that many were unpublished or published only posthumously (Ricard Salvat, Alba Pijuan Vallverdú, Francesc Parcerisas, Joan Fontcuberta, among others).

Akin to his friend Jordi Arbonès, Pedrolo had an infatuation with North American authors, hence, he translated several works by John Dos Passos: *Manhattan Transfer* (1965, Proa), *Paral·lel 42* (1966, Edicions 62), *Diner llarg* (1967, Edicions 62), and *L'any 1919* (1967, Edicions 62); William Faulkner's *Llum d'agost* (1965, Edicions 62), and *Intrús en la pols* (1969, Edicions 62); J. D. Salinger's *Seymour. Una introducció* (1971, Edicions 62), Henry Miller's *Un diable al paradís* (1966, Edicions 62) and *La meva vida i els meus temps* (1972, Aymà); and Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* (1969, Aymà), *Tunc* (1970, Edicions 62), *Balthazar* and *Mountolive* (1983, Proa/Aymà), and *Nunquam* (1985, Edicions 62).<sup>88</sup>

Going back to his friendship with Jordi Arbonès, Pijuan points out that Pedrolo addressed the issue of the precarity of the Catalan translation industry in the 1970s in several letters to Arbonès. In them, Pedrolo remarks that only five translations were commissioned to him by publishers Aymà and Edicions 62, Miller's *La meva vida i els meus temps* (1971) [*My Life and Times*] included. And what is more:

In 1973, Edicions 62 made an attempt to publish Pedrolo's translation of *Numquam* by Lawrence Durrell, since in 1970 they had published its first part, *Tunc*, but this book did not pass the censorship control. Furthermore, the limited sales of *Tunc* did not at all help

---

<sup>88</sup> Manuel de Pedrolo was, after Jordi Arbonès, the most prolific of the translators under analysis herein. To check his more than 40 translated works and his own essays and plays, see Pijuan's "Manuel de Pedrolo: not just a prolific translator" (349-351).

to encourage the publishing of the second part: in three years, only three hundred copies had been sold. As a result, *Numquam* did not appear until 1985. (Pijuan, “Manuel” 343)

In *Chaosmosis*, Félix Guattari asserts that “intellectuals and artists have got nothing to teach anyone ... they produce toolkits composed of concepts, percepts and affects, which diverse publics will use at their convenience” (129). As I seek to prove in the remainder of Part II, Guattari’s understanding on the reception of art and literature according to the public—readers for the purpose of this dissertation—becomes even more pertinent when a work is bound to be rewritten in other languages, transferred to other cultures, poetics, and, ultimately, consumed by a different public. In doing so, translation, as any other act of interpretation, is “subject to the whims of our feelings and emotions; it is a cognitive and affective-somatic practice” (Baumgarten 14, referencing Robinson’s *The Translator’s Turn*). Translating novels such as those authored by Miller, Nin and Durrell is, to say the least, a very affect-loaded task. A task infinitely more challenging if done in the context of institutional censorship. There is, however, a notion of “desire and militancy” posited by scholars such as Patricia Willson (*Página impar*) that fits perfectly in understanding why these novels reached, one way or another, the Spanish and Catalan readers.

Following this vein, publishers’ and (re)writers’, in part due to their relationship with the authors (Miller, Durrell, and to an extent Nin—particularly in the case of the Catalan translator, recurrent in this dissertation, Jordi Arbonès), held a desire to translate those novels into their languages, as Willson identifies:

the relationship between translation and the desire expressed in this phrase is not episodic, much less banal, and we can even postulate that it is more intense the greater the difficulties posed by the task. For those who have translated with a certain regularity, there is a moment

of *translaturire*, which is the moment when one opens the book to be translated, wishes to read it and appropriate it, and then wishes to rewrite it. So, we could say that the first space of desire that the *translaturire* opens up is characterized by a discursive appropriation of the source text. (Willson *Página impar* 204, my translation)<sup>89</sup>

The case of Catalan (re)writers such as Jordi Arbonès and Manuel de Pedrolo also reflects on a militant affect, in their case, due to linguistic reasons: “The militant modality of translation generated by the *translaturire* includes voluntary translations, those that arise from the desire to support and disseminate a cause” (209, my translation).<sup>90</sup> This means that, translators, due to their socio-political environments and their own circumstances, can become agents of social change through the texts they choose to translate. Particularly, Jordi Arbonès and Manuel de Pedrolo fit in this idea of militancy with their translations of Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s novels into Catalan. Together with Catalan publisher Aymà, publishing house both (re)writers collaborated with for decades, they promoted the Catalan cultural field and opened new spaces of cultural production via translation. Thanks to their translations and, above all, their translation commentaries/notes, literary essays, and correspondences with literary agents, authors, and publishers, one is able to appreciate how militantly these intellectuals participated in a revitalization of the Catalan Letters in late Francoism. As Willson claims: “Desire and militancy, then, appear as distinguishable spaces

---

<sup>89</sup> The quotes from Willson’s *Página impar* are my translation unless otherwise stated. “La relación entre la traducción y el deseo que expresa esta frase no es episódica, ni mucho menos banal, y hasta podemos postular que es más intensa cuanto mayores sean las dificultades que plantea la tarea. Para quien haya traducido con cierta regularidad hay un momento de *translaturire*, que es el momento en que uno abre el libro que va a traducir, desea leerlo y apropiarse de él, y luego desea reescribirlo. Entonces, podríamos decir que el primer espacio del deseo que abre el *translaturire* se caracteriza por una *apropiación discursiva* del texto fuente” (Willson, *Página impar* 204).

<sup>90</sup> “La modalidad militante de la traducción que genera el *translaturire* comprende las traducciones voluntarias, aquellas que surgen del deseo de apoyar y difundir una causa” (Willson, *Página impar* 209).



of manifestation of the will-to-translate. A sign that translation has a real dimension as well as a symbolic one; between both dimensions there are links and dialogues” (211, my translation).<sup>91</sup>

This chapter shows that acquiring information on translations oftentimes is a hard and fruitless enterprise, even though many of the rewriters in my corpus were in fact prolific writers, journalist, critics, and some even had a good repute during their lives: Patricio Canto, Aurora Bernárdez, Manuel de Pedrolo, Jordi Arbonès, and Carmen Alcalde, all of them actors who were in the midst of the intellectual hub of activity in the Spanish and Catalan-speaking world in the mid- and late twentieth century. As Jorge Fondebrider describes when remembering literary translators such as Patricio Canto, they “acted almost secretly for decades, contributing to the formation and adding to the polemic of several generations” (Fondebrider, my translation). Their work, the way they influenced their time, is, however, vital. Their legacy, despite their “invisibility”—so entrenched in the translation activity, as Venuti reminds us—should never be overlooked.

Hence, the notion of visibility and notoriety arises when it comes to these kinds of (re)writers. On the other extreme, two translations were anonymously signed with a pen name: Mario Guillermo Iglesias’s version of Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and David Casanueva’s translation of Nin’s *Ladders to Fire*. The desire by these rewriters to maintain their anonymity and eschew their association with these novels and their authors speaks to the affect embedded in them, as does the converse scenario of certain Argentine and Catalan translators who sought out to make translations of these works in part due to their notoriety and the controversies they had created in

---

<sup>91</sup> “El deseo y la militancia, entonces, aparecen como espacios distinguibles de manifestación del querer-traducir. Señal de que la traducción tiene una dimensión real además de la simbólica; entre ambas dimensiones hay vínculos, diálogos” (*Página impar* 211).

the past. For instance, I notice that the affect present in Henry Miller's works is so strong, visceral, and controversial that it may have inspired two opposing extremes on the part of the translators: a desire for either notoriety, exemplified in Jordi Arbonès' case, or that of anonymity, in the case of Mario Guillermo Iglesias. Both scenarios, nonetheless, equally speak to the desire to translate—*translaturire* in Willson's words—these “romans-à-clef” into Spanish and Catalan.

## **Chapter 5. Furthering the Networks I: Publishers, Editors, and Distributors**

This chapter is twofold. First, it explains the information presented in Tables 1-6 regarding the travels (import requests) experienced by the Argentine translations in contrast with the processes the domestic editions underwent, as underscored by the editors' efforts to translate and circulate Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's novels in Franco's Spain. The information will be presented in chronological order, by following the dates of archive files found at the AGA. In this vein, information pertaining to Lawrence Durrell's novels *Justine* and *Balthazar* will appear first, followed by Henry Miller's data on *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*, and concluding with Anaïs Nin's reports on *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to Fire*. Secondly, I delve into the relations and connections previously established in Chapter 4 by means of the translators' networks. Hence, this section seeks to follow the "actors" that contributed to the publishers' operations with the aim of defining the connections behind those involved in the translation process of these six "romans-à-clef."<sup>92</sup>

### 5.1. Importing and Circulating Selected "Romans-à-clef" between Argentina and Franco's Spain

#### 5.1.1 Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* and *Balthazar*

Most of the petitions to circulate Lawrence Durrell's works in Spain sought to import translations commissioned by the publisher Sudamericana (Buenos Aires) during the 1960s. The most

---

<sup>92</sup> The archival data presented in this chapter has appeared in my book chapter "A Transatlantic Flow of Spanish and Catalan *Romans-à-clef*: Publishers, Translators, and Censors from Argentina to Franco's Spain (1960-1980)" as part of *Flows: Exploring networks of people, processes and products*, John Benjamins Publishing (2023).

recurrent importers on the Spanish end were Edhasa, Atheneum, Nuevas Estructuras, Aguilar, Logos, Edaf, and Hispar. From 1962—when the first Spanish edition of the novels appeared in Argentina—to 1976, these publishers/distributors repeatedly applied for permission to import Durrell’s collection *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957-1960) into Spain. Aurora Bernárdez’s translation of *Justine* (1960) was requested for importation a total of 25 times, whereas 32 are the import files that pertain to Bernárdez’s translation of *Balthazar* (1961). Both translations were unsuccessful in passing the censorship filter for importation of books; as one of the censors wrote about *Justine*: “The novel takes place in Alexandria, in the midst of oriental sensuality. A writer and his two lovers are the protagonists of a work full of immoral scenes, some of which are certainly *aberrations*. Prostitution. Descriptions of sexual acts. It must be suspended” (File 2183-61, catalogue 21/13275).<sup>93</sup>

Another interesting remark is found when publisher Aymà and Plaza y Janés asked for permission to publish Durrell’s *Justine* and *Balthazar* prior to submitting the translated texts. As pointed out in the introduction to this section, the lack of the translated manuscript in the first publishing request seems to be a recurrent trend at the archive. This proves to be a way for publishers to avoid the cost of the translation, on top of the printing of the galley proofs before legally having the approval granted from the board.<sup>94</sup> In both cases, the censors requested the submission of the respective translations in 1965: “Submit the translated text onto which, if necessary, amendments will apply” (File 402-65, catalogue 21/15826). In regard to *Justine*, both the Catalan translation carried out by de Pedrolo and the Spanish one by Bernárdez were not

---

<sup>93</sup> All quotations from the AGA censorship files are my own translation unless otherwise stated.

<sup>94</sup> In a recent publication, Lobejón et al. also notice this very idea, in their words: “to limit potential financial losses, publishers would sometimes submit the source text to gauge the viability of a prospective translation into Spanish. In such cases, censors could authorise the production of a translation, which would then undergo another review” (96).

officially authorized for publication, instead, they were branded with “silencio administrativo” (see File 10432-69, catalogue 66/03531 for Aymà’s Catalan translation and File 9807-70, catalogue 66/06098 for Edhasa’s Spanish edition).

As briefly explained in Table 2 (see page 73), “administrative silence” (“silencio administrativo” henceforth) was a category given by the censors to a book when they “did not agree with the publishing of the text, neither did they explicitly oppose it” (Gómez, “Censorship in Francoist” 134).<sup>95</sup> By employing this verdict the censorship board would outright terminate the legal process for a book to be published, as if the petition had never taken place. On occasion, the publisher could ultimately proceed with issuing the publication, at their own risk, bearing in mind future fines and legal proceedings should the book be denounced. In some ways, “silencio administrativo” served as a tool that placed a work in a censorial “grey area” that both discouraged publication and gave the censorship board plausible deniability should the book, if published, be denounced in the future, thereby passing all risk associated with the book onto the publisher. However, this has been viewed by some scholars through the lens of a “tacit approval” on the part of the censors for limited publication, as the censorship board has absolved itself of all responsibility and association with the work.

According to Lara Estany, “the repercussions of such an unstable procedure did not benefit the publishers, for the lack of an explicit and official approval by the MIT carried the danger of committing a crime and being subjected to legal proceedings and copies being sequestered” (254, my translation). Publishing a book branded “silencio administrativo” entailed that the “publisher

---

<sup>95</sup> “This formula was used with problematic texts when the censorship office had certain objections to their content but did not want to prohibit or block commercial distribution, although an explicit approval was also ruled out” (Lázaro, “Spanish version” 6).

assumed all the risks: economic, if the title was seized, or criminal, in the face of a possible complaint or fine before the Public Order Court. Consequently, the variety of works to which readers could have access depended on the publisher's courage to bet on controversial topics or new styles not yet tested by the administration" (Tena 383, my translation). Such is the case of Aymà's boldness in their many attempts to publish the selected works in Spanish and Catalan during the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s in Spain.

As previously mentioned, the two translations of *Justine* submitted for publication by Aymà and Edhasa in Catalan (trad. Manuel de Pedrolo) and Spanish (Argentine trans. by Aurora Bernárdez) respectively, were branded "silencio administrativo," hence, the MIT did not officially authorize the publication of these translations but neither did they reject them. It seems that both publishers proceeded with publishing the translations after receiving the MIT's "tacit approval." Conversely, Bernárdez's translation of *Balthazar* was approved in 1970 (File 11447-70, catalogue 66/06244). Except for the Catalan translations of Durrell's works by Manuel de Pedrolo, the only Spanish translations available in Spain were those of Aurora Bernárdez that were edited by Sudamericana and distributed by Edhasa. Plaza y Janés' attempt to carry out domestic translations of *Justine* and *Balthazar* was futile, as new translations were never sent to the board.

Although not stated in the censorship files, the reasons for this might be due to the fact that Edhasa, the publisher that ended up editing Bernárdez's translations in Spain in 1970—and whose requests to import Sudamericana's editions had previously been denied—was in fact a publishing house founded by the exiled Catalan editor Antonio López in Argentina in 1946. López built up the firm while he was in exile, after having participated in the establishment and management of Editorial Sudamericana ("La editorial"). Thus, the two publishers were extremely connected through Antonio López—and a factor in the prevalence of Sudamericana's editors in the late stages

of the regime is due to the prominence held by Edhasa at this time—. The Catalan version of *Balthazar* was available in 1984, years after the regime's downfall and the dismantling of the censorship system. His translator, Manuel de Pedrolo (see 4.3.2.), translated many of Lawrence Durrell's titles into Catalan: *Justine* (Aymà, 1969), *Tunc* (Edicions 62, 1970), *Mountolive* (Edicions Proa, 1984) and *Numquam* (Edicions 62, 1985).

### 5.1.2. Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*

Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) was the more imported novel in Franco's Spain in comparison to the other two authors under analysis. From 1962 to 1976, the Argentinian-made translation of Mario Guillermo Iglesias, *Trópico de Cáncer* (Santiago Rueda, Buenos Aires 1962), was requested to be imported a total of 56 times; an average of four times a year in 14 years. Many of these requests were approved by the censorship board, with the importing publishers more recurrent being: Atheneum, Aguilar, Hispar, H. Argentina, Nuevas Estructuras, and Edhasa. Contrariwise, *Black Spring* (1936)—in Patricio Canto's translation, *Primavera negra* (Santiago Rueda, Buenos Aires 1964)—was requested to be imported 35 times, from 1964 onwards, however not once accepted for importation until 1976. *Tropic of Capricorn* (1937), Miller's last novel of the collection, was 44 times requested for importation, sometimes successfully. Most of the petitions to import Miller's novels, even those not included in the collection *The Tropics*, such as *The Roxi Crucifixion*, *Sunday after War*, *Max and the White Phagocytes*, had been imported from publisher Santiago Rueda (Buenos Aires). Other translations made in Buenos Aires were also bound to the Peninsula with editions from publishers Sur (*El mundo del sexo*, *La sabiduría del corazón*, and *El*

*tiempo de los asesino*), Siglo XX editores (*El ojo cosmológico*, *Pesadilla de aire acondicionado*, and *El Puente de Brooklyn*), and Losada (*Recordar para recordar*).

Interestingly enough, Iglesias' translation of *Tropic of Cancer* contains Anaïs Nin's preface to the book that appeared in the Grove Press English edition of 1961. The same translation was repeatedly accepted for importation from 1963 to 1976. Additionally, in 1967 publisher Aymà applied for permission to edit and circulate Iglesias' translation. This time the outcome was negative, with an unfavorable report written by the censors who condemned Miller's novel: "This book is the monologue of a degenerate ... It is full of violence and constant sensuality ... a very descriptive, true pornography lecture that *triggers revulsion* in the reader" (File 2791-61, catalogue 21/18052, emphasis added). The next application regarding Iglesias' translation of *Tropic of Cancer* was in 1976. In this case, the novel was part of a special edition edited by publisher and distributor Edaf: the collection *Novela erótica contemporánea* (1976). It contained Iglesias' translations of *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn*, Santiago Rueda (1962), together with D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* translated as *Primera Lady Chatterley* by Federico López Cruz, and Miller's *Nexus* (translated by L. G. de Echevarria); all of them Argentinian editions compiled by Edaf in a special collection. It was not accepted for publication. On the contrary, the final censor's report goes further and denounces the book: "The publication of this book will trigger social scandal, even complaints and *lawsuits*. Henceforth, I find it convenient to inform against it, appealing to the legal authority to deem possible the existence of a *crime*" (File 5179-76, catalogue 73/05474, emphasis added). Despite the negative resolution, the publisher, bearing in mind that the dictatorship had officially ended, registered the title in 1976. The high



price of Edaf's edition, as stated in the files,<sup>96</sup> might have contributed to the publisher's decision to take the risk of publishing a limited number of copies for a select target audience.

Contrary to *Trópico de Cáncer*, the Argentinian-made translation of *Black Spring* translated by Patricio Canto (1964) was not approved for importation, even though the petitions were submitted by different publishers for more than a decade and the two versions were edited by Santiago Rueda. For example, note the censors' annotations on *Primavera negra*: "obscene, impious, blasphemous, dirty novel, the author completes here what he did not narrate in *The Tropics*" (File 956-64, catalogue 66/6456); "Rabelaisian" (File 1170-64, catalogue 66/6457); "autobiography with pornographic allusions. Denied" (File 498-65, catalogue 66/6461); "it reads like a book written by a madman" (File 1201-74, catalogue 66/6563). Despite repeated efforts by Peninsular publishers to get Miller's novels published in Franco's Spain, the domestic edition of *Black Spring* into Spanish—translated by Carlos Bauer and Julián Marcos in 1970—shared the same fate and was not published until the end of Francoism in 1978 by publisher Alfaguara/Bruguera. Nevertheless, Jordi Arbonès' Catalan translation, *Primavera negra* (Aymà 1968) was approved for publication in 1970, after publisher and translator managed to submit a "clean" version of the novel, i.e., harshly self-censored, as this censor highlights: "This novel, already authorized in Catalan, which is a translation *carefully done* unlike this Spanish one under review" (File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214, emphasis added).

---

<sup>96</sup> "La editorial EDAF presenta a depósito ambas obras junto otra más de Miller y otra de Lawrence *La primera Lady Chatterley*. Dentro de la colección "El arco de Eros" y en diversas ocasiones se ha autorizado a la citada editorial la edición de determinadas obras moralmente conflictivas en base al alto precio de los ejemplares y al hecho de constituir una selección de diversas obras dentro de una unidad temática" (Exp. 5179-76, sign. 73/05474).

### 5.1.3. Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to Fire*

In regard to Anaïs Nin's novels, only three of her works were requested for importation from 1969 to 1978: *Under a Glass Bell* (P. Owen London, 1968); *The Diaries of Anaïs Nin (1931-1934)* ed. Brace & World. NY (1966); and *A Spy in the House of Love* ed. Penguin Books (1973). What is unique in the case of Anaïs Nin is that all three English editions were approved for importation on several occasions and, what is more, none of the reports contained any negative comment towards the books. This provides a stark divergence from the editions carried out domestically when analyzing the censorship files. For example, in 1965, Aymà applies for permission to translate the whole collection *Cities of the Interior* into Spanish and Catalan. The censors' comments to the novel are as follows: "Slow, short narrations, full of psychoanalysis and erotism, with a tendency for lesbian passion. The book is dangerous due to its profound and morbid erotism, save the last story ... ["Solar Barque"] it reminds one of Marcel Proust and James Joyce's works. It can't be authorized" (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873). However, a second censor believed otherwise: "Sensual content ... but there is nothing decisive enough for the book not to be authorized" (Ibid.).<sup>97</sup> Hence, the censorship board requested the submission of the translations onto which the necessary amendments could apply.

Nevertheless, only a few months later, Aymà requested permission to separately translate *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to the Fire* and, unlike the previous application to translate the entire collection, they were rejected: "This North American writer is comparable to the kind of erotic and obscure literature written by Henry Miller—with whom she has worked—and Lawrence," and goes on when reviewing *A Spy in the House of Love*: "There is, in Sabina, many

---

<sup>97</sup> A book was normally reviewed by at least two censors (named readers at that stage). The files found at the archive contain the various censors' reports and the ultimate resolution from the board.

Sabinas that also want to live and love.’ Once again the author exposes such a destructive worldview of modern love” (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626). Hence, both *A Spy* and *Ladders* were rejected. After this, Aymà appealed the decision, making the following assertions about Nin: “Born in Barcelona, she is the daughter of the remarkable Spanish musician Joaquín Nin. She is colleagues with Henry Miller, Lawrence Durrell, and other great writers; her novels are well-received by the critics and already translated into French and Italian” (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626). In truth, Anaïs Nin was not born in Spain, this is an error on the part of Aymà, though perhaps a purposeful one. She was born in France and, by the same token, Spanish—Catalan to be more precise—was not the only “blood that ran in her veins,” as the editor put it, conversely, Nin had Cuban, Danish, and Spanish heritage, which is also omitted in Aymà’s letter.

This information indicates how unique and multifaceted the case of Anaïs Nin’s was: On one hand, in trying to get the approval to translate and circulate her works in translation, the local publishers attempted to appeal to the national sentiment (affective load with nationalist connotations) of the censors (gatekeepers of the regime’s cultural politics) by highlighting Nin’s blood connections with Spain. On the other hand, the fact that no Spanish translation of Nin’s novels was yet circulating in the Latin American market was also dangled, which made it possible for the Spanish and Catalan publishers to seek to own the translation rights before their South American competitors. Hence, Aymà also used this as a counterargument to win the boards’ verdict:

Considering that Anaïs Nin is extremely pleased with our support to publish some of her works in her *natural languages*—Castilian and Catalan—, it would be regrettable if, due to the rejection hereby appealed, the author was inclined to give in to her publisher’s

petitions, who are advising her to pass the publication rights of her novels in Spanish to a South American publisher. (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626, emphasis added)

Despite Aymàs' arguments, the censors' reports show great dismissal towards Nin's works, even more so than the reluctance they demonstrated when reviewing Durrell's, *Justine* in particular. In Nin's novels, female sexuality is paramount and passages containing sexual encounters, this time from a feminine perspective, abound. In the years leading up to the Press Law of 1966, the presence of the Catholic Church had a great deal of influence on censorial decisions. Hence, topics considered immoral or pernicious (blasphemy, sexuality, liberal feminism) were harshly persecuted and censored (Andrés 13). Therefore, none of Spanish and Catalan translations of *A Spy in the House of Love*, though locally made, were officially authorized during Francoism, but branded "silencio administrativo." The only translation that successfully and officially passed the censorship filter—other than the source texts accepted for importation—was that of David Casanueva (Aymà 1971),<sup>98</sup> which suggests that, as occurred with Arbonès' translation of Miller's novels into Catalan—as seen in the files—it might have been subject to self-censorship.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, Part III of this dissertation will investigate these issues more in depth.

## 5.2. Publishing Actors behind the Translation Flow: Emerging Translation Spaces

In the case of Henry Miller's and Lawrence Durrell's collections, the Argentinian publishing houses Ediciones Santiago Rueda and Editorial Sudamericana, both based in Buenos Aires, held

---

<sup>98</sup> I purposefully say "successfully and officially passed" the censorship filter because the Catalan and Spanish translations of *A Spy in the House of Love* edited by Aymà received "silencio administrativo."

<sup>99</sup> With the new Press Law of 1966, it became the norm that "publishers were compelled to self-censor their publications to limit the economic impact of an adverse decision, a sequestered book or a lawsuit" (Lobejón et al. 65).

the copyrights for the Spanish translations of *Tropic of Cancer* (trad. Mario Guillermo Iglesias, 1962), *Black Spring* (trad. Patricio Canto, 1964), *Justine* (trad. Aurora Bernárdez 1960), and *Balthazar* (trad. Aurora Bernárdez 1961). These translations were repeatedly requested for importation in Spain, with publishing and distributor Edhasa being the most recurrent firm. By contrast, during the 1960s, Catalan publisher Aymà commissioned all translations of Anaïs Nin's collection *Cities of the Interior* into both Spanish and Catalan, as well as the Catalan versions of Miller's and Durrell's novels cited above. On the other hand, publisher Alfaguara/Bruguera carried out Peninsular editions of Miller's novels into Spanish during the 1970s.

Additionally, regarding the inconsistency in importing the Argentine translations of both Henry Miller's and Lawrence Durrell's works—*The Tropics* and *The Alexandria Quartet*, respectively—into Spain, the censors' reports and final verdicts showcase the arbitrariness with which the board allowed certain novels in the country. For instance, the Argentinian-made translations of Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* were imported on several occasions, whereas the translation of *Black Spring* was denied *ad nauseam*. Concomitantly, the Argentine translation of Durrell's *Balthazar*, carried out by Sudamericana (translated by Aurora Bernárdez), was denied for importation throughout the 1960s. Nevertheless, in 1970, publisher Edhasa was granted the publication of the same Bernárdez's translation, the only difference being it was an edited version for the Peninsula.

On the other hand, the fact that Anaïs Nin's works requested for publication in Spain during this period were solely domestic translations rather than imported ones from Argentina—unlike Miller's and Durrell's novels in their Spanish versions—can be explained by Spanish publishers fighting to hold exclusive translation rights for Nin's works. Publisher Aymà stated as much in their letters to the censorship board in 1965 after their rejection of *A Spy in the House of Love's*

circulation in Spanish and Catalan “it would be regrettable if, due to the rejection hereby appealed, the author was inclined to give in to her publisher’s petitions, who are advising her to pass the *publication rights* of her novels in Spanish to a *South American publisher*. (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626, emphasis added)<sup>100</sup>

In 1975, Aymà sent another letter in regard to Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* arguing a similar circumstance: “We wish to declare that the reason why we ask to publish a Catalan edition is due to the fact that we cannot publish the novel in Spanish, for the translation rights of Henry Miller’s works in Spanish were granted to South American publishers some time ago” (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812). These two instances demonstrate that the need of Spanish publishers to import translations was as well a question of copyright, or lack thereof.

All translations, no matter their origin, had to undergo a process in which both form and substance had to be meticulously reviewed by the censors. In other words, all translations were, *a priori*, held to the same censorial standards. Nevertheless, for the Spanish readership the outcome could vary depending on whether there existed a Spanish translation somewhere in South America: this meant that, at least, the book could still be smuggled into the country, as Jordi Cornellà-Detrall declares (“El terratrèmol” 41). Let us now further the actor-network connections between the translators and the publishers involved in the different translations of Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s novels into Spanish and Catalan on both sides of the Atlantic.

---

<sup>100</sup> “[E]stimaríamos harto lamentable que, a causa de la denegación recurrida, se viera la autora inclinada a ceder a las instancias de sus editores en inglés, los cuales le aconsejan que conceda los derechos de publicación de sus obras en español a una determinada editorial sudamericana” (Exp. 7088-65, sign. 21/16626).

### 5.2.1. Readability, Expansion, Opportunity: Argentine-Born Publishers

As already discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, importing Argentinian-made translations was “a practice that had become frequent in post-war Spain due to the economic difficulties the country was experiencing” (Gómez, “Censorship in Francoist Spain” 128). Hence, in the 1940s the Latin American translation market had become very prolific, with Argentina holding editorial hegemony within the Spanish-speaking world: “It all started with the bloody Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) that sank the peninsular book market into such a crisis that it no longer could provide for the Latin American market” (Petersen, “Santiago Rueda” my translation). Consequently, Spain’s weak position in the literary and cultural panorama worldwide after almost two decades of Francoism allowed the Latin American publishing houses to fill this significant void: “With this opportunity, not only the old publishing houses adapted part of their activity to cover for the external market, but also new firms were built up, which, in some cases, turned into the most dynamic and innovative publishers that Argentina ever had” (Ibid.).

In addition, it has been argued that the publications issued in Argentina were superior in quality, a fact that—in addition to the convenient aspect of not having to get involved with the Francoist censors—made it easy for international authors to delegate translation rights to Latin American publishers, as occurred with the case of Miller’s and Durrell’s works:

For almost ten years, books published in Argentina and other countries of the Americas were of a higher quality than those published in Spain, since they had absolute freedom to acquire raw materials of good quality. On the other hand, the great contemporary foreign

authors were more comfortable with Spanish-American publishers for the translations of their books as a way to avoid the Spanish censorship. (Lago Carballo 93, my translation)<sup>101</sup>

The aftermath of the Civil War also led to the transformation of Spanish firms based in Argentina, which until that moment had operated as bookstores or distributors in Latin America: “The transfer of the Spanish publishing industry to America took place mainly through the transformation of Argentine publishers, Spanish firms that functioned as bookstores or book distributors ... Sopena, Labor, Espasa-Calpe [directed by the Spaniard Gonzalo Losada who later found publisher Losada]” (93, emphasis added). All in all, publishers behind Miller’s and Durrell’s Spanish translations, Sudamericana and Santiago Rueda, are two examples of the Argentine literary expansion. In what follows, more information regarding the role these publishers performed in relation to the translations under analysis herein is provided.

In 1939 a group of intellectuals from Argentina, Victoria Ocampo, Carlos Mayer, Oliverio Gironde, Alfredo González Garaño, Andrés Bausili, together with Spanish exiles Rafael Vehils, and Antonio López Llausàs, among others, founded Editorial Sudamericana in San Telmo, Buenos Aires (Lago Carballo 195). Sudamericana was created “with the purpose of making South American authors known and, at the same time, translating and disseminating contemporary literature from abroad” (“Sudamericana,” my translation). During the twentieth century, Sudamericana published some of the most canonical works in Latin American literature, including celebrated authors such as Jorge Luis Borges, Gabriel García Márquez, Julio Cortázar, Leopoldo Marechal, Ernesto Sábato, Manuel Puig, as well as already established international writers such

---

<sup>101</sup> “Durante casi diez años los libros editados en Argentina y otros países de América tuvieron una calidad superior a los publicados en España, ya que tenían libertad absoluta para adquirir materias primas de buena calidad. Por otra parte, los grandes autores extranjeros contemporáneos preferían contratar con los editores hispanoamericanos las traducciones de sus libros para liberarlos de la censura previa española” (Lago Carballo 93).



as Hermann Hesse, William Faulkner, Bernard Shaw, Albert Camus, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, Tennessee Williams, Graham Greene, Ernest Hemingway, Simone de Beauvoir, Lawrence Durrell, and Thomas Mann (Lago Carballo 196). According to Lago Carballo et al., Sudamericana carried out a very important task of filling the gap for the Spanish book market in a time when the Francoist censorship openly restricted the production of literature (43).

In the same year that Sudamericana was built up, Publisher Santiago Rueda was also founded by Santiago Rueda, an Argentine born to Spanish immigrant parents.<sup>102</sup> Rueda's publisher was "quickly associated with translations and books imports" ("Las traducciones," my translation). Between 1940 and 1980, Santiago Rueda published 318 titles, of which "only 85 are Argentine authors" (Ibid.). Translations were, therefore, a chief component of Rueda's modern enterprise. In line with publisher Losada, Sudamericana, and Emecé, some of the most famous works translated and edited by Rueda are Joyce's *Ulyses*, Proust's *En busca del tiempo perdido*; philosophical *oeuvres* such as those of Kierkegaard and Freud; and North American literature: Dos Passos, Hemingway, Faulkner, Anderson, and Henry Miller, among others ("Santiago Rueda").

Petersen notes that the key figure behind the publisher's interest in translating and circulating contemporary world literature was its advisor, Max Dickman. Dickman was a translator himself who was always in search for the latest literary hit ("Santiago Rueda"). During the 1940s and 1950s, many translators worked for Rueda (Federico López Cruz, Máximo Siminovich, León Mirlas, Alfredo Cahn, Ricardo Atwell, Josefina Martínez Alinari, etc. are some recurrent names, according to Petersen's investigation). It is interesting that, as declared by Petersen, Rueda was "emerging as an exporting publisher, hence, his translation catalogue had to encompass as

---

<sup>102</sup> In *Santiago Rueda. Edición, vanguardia e intuición* (2019), Lucas Petersen offers a compelling reconstruction of Rueda's life and the iconic publisher he created in 1939: Santiago Rueda.

international a profile [of authors and works] as possible, one that could be read in Argentina, across Latin America, and also in Spain” (“Las traducciones,” my translation). This was a challenge for Rueda’s translators who mostly hailed from Argentina, that is, they had a particular dialect, notwithstanding the general editorial efforts to homogenize the Spanish language, by having Peninsular Spanish fill the role of a *lingua franca* due to the exporting component of the Argentine book market (see Chapter 3).

After analyzing several translations published by Rueda, Petersen claims that the translation practices of many translators working for the publisher could be labelled as irregular in different ways, if compared to those carefully edited by, for example, Ocampo’s *Sur*:

These decisions resulted in an eclectic or, in the best of cases, hybrid style, triggered by sheer opportunity or necessity of their own production conditions, which facilitated the continuity of translations that had begun in the Peninsula, *the demand for readability in foreign audiences*, the incorporation of *Rioplatense* dialect due to mere proximity (often without a plan on how to regulate it) and the influence of the Spanish translations with which their translators had been trained. (“Las traducciones”, my translation)<sup>103</sup>

Part III of this dissertation examines the main divergencies found in the different Spanish language versions of Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*; the editions published by Santiago

---

<sup>103</sup> “Estas decisiones redundaron en un estilo ecléctico o, en el mejor de los casos, híbrido, influido por la oportunidad o la necesidad de sus propias condiciones de producción, las que articulan, para repasar en resumidas cuentas, la continuidad de traducciones iniciadas en la península, *la demanda de legibilidad en públicos extranjeros*, la incorporación de voces rioplatenses por mera cercanía (muchas veces sin que se advierta un plan de cómo regularla) y la influencia de las traducciones españolas con las que se habían formado sus traductores” (Petersen, “Las traducciones”).

Rueda—in Patricio Canto’s translations—in comparison with the translations done in Spain by Carlos Manzano and Carlos Bauer/Julián Marcos, both published by Alfaguara/Bruguera.

In 1946, another Catalan exiled editor, Antonio López Llausás, founded Publisher Edhasa (Hispanic-American Publisher and Distributor).<sup>104</sup> According to Lago Carballo et al: “Edhasa was a very important publishing house that had a truly significant catalog ... It first appeared in Barcelona in 1963, with *El Puente*, a collection directed by Guillermo de la Torre, the man who inspired the creation of the Austral collection thanks to his links to publisher Losada” (Lago Carballo 126, my translation).<sup>105</sup> Acting as a “bridge” between Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula, Edhasa’s catalogs included works by the most significant writers of Hispanic literature in the mid-twentieth century. Publishers Sudamericana and Emecé were part of Edhasa’s trade structure (132); this being the reason why I decided to include Edhasa at the end of the section that pertains to Argentina, for it truly acted as a bridge that, with books, connected both continents.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that in *Un viaje de ida y vuelta*, Pep Carrasco points out that Edhasa’s objective was “at first, the edition and distribution of books; during the first ten years the activity was solely the distribution of books edited by Sudamericana, Emecé (both from Argentina), and Fondo de Cultura Económica and publisher Hermes (both from Mexico)” (Lago Carballo 201). What is interesting about the operations led by distributing companies like Edhasa

---

<sup>104</sup> “López Llausás had owned the Catalonia bookstore in Barcelona, which published authors such as Sánchez-Albornoz, Madariaga, and Francisco Ayala himself” (Lago Carballo 43, my translation). “López Llausás was perfectly integrated in Argentina, where he was in contact with Spaniards and Argentines close to liberal conservatism. In particular, he became acquainted with Silvina Bullrich, Eduardo Mallea, Leopoldo Marechal, Manuel Mujica Láinez, Victoria Ocampo, who was, together with Oliverio Gironde and Vehils, the head of Sudamericana’s publishing department” (Ibid.).

<sup>105</sup> “Edhasa fue una editorial importantísima, con un catálogo verdaderamente significativo ... [H]izo su aparición en Barcelona en 1963, con una colección titulada *El Puente*, colección que dirigió Guillermo de la Torre, ese hombre que, vinculado a Losada, inspiró la creación de la colección Austral” (Lago Carballo 126).

is that “they triggered an undeniable incentive for the clandestine market [of books]” (Ibid.) in Franco’s Spain.

### 5.2.2. Challenging the MIT: Persistence, Conformity, and Dissident Intellectuals

As in the case of the publishing industry in Argentina, Spanish, and Catalan publishers underwent different changes and processes in relation to the publishing market in the Spanish-speaking world. As I observed in Chapter 2, the Press Law of 1966—which was initially perceived as a liberalizing measure for publishers and publications—unleashed yet more preventive measures on the publishers’ end, i.e., self-censorship, in order to legally release their publications. In addition to self-censorship, the markets underwent changes due to the boom of Catalan publications during the sixties, when the prohibition to publish in languages other than Spanish ended in the Peninsula. Catalan publishers took advantage of said market prospect and took the lead in book production, which is perceived as a catalyst of social change that would eventually take off in the seventies with the end of Franco’s dictatorship.

Examples of these practices are publishing houses such as Edicions 62, Seix Barral, Aymà, Janés, or Aguilar, which led the production of literary and philosophical publications by transnational authors in both Catalan and Spanish. In addition, as Rojas observes, during the last decades of the dictatorship, some publishers and bookstores championed what has been called a kind of “intellectual dissidence.” These agents introduced various materials into the country unofficially, which were distributed in the back of some bookstores or passed hand to hand through the underground circles of Madrid and Barcelona. Even so, as Lago Carballo points out, they did not make as large of an impact as they were constrained by legal implications dictated by the Press

Law. For instance, “Josep Janés was a model of a modern publishing alternative in Spain, but they were all muzzled, conditioned by censorship. Janés began in 1939, but he was new blood” (138, my translation). The censorship system employed by the dictatorship made it so the general public had no access to materials that were not accepted, adapted, or filtered by the MIT. Only those in the “circles”—intellectual readers, readers who had resources or the right connections inside and outside the country—could have unofficial access to banned or unaltered materials, as Lago Carballo details.

[When a book arrived to be imported] you had to carry out a nominal translation [of the title] on sheets that had four tracings [special paper]; you had to include each title, the author, and the number of copies ... You could only import up to forty copies ... And I, as a bookseller, was forced to start for many reasons. Because there was a phenomenon that should be taken into account: booksellers were not importers. We, booksellers, lacked the skills compared to experienced importers/distributors such as Pepe de la Torre and the like ... [they, expert importers] had banned books under their own beds at home. (Lago Carballo 141-143, my translation)<sup>106</sup>

However, despite the changes and complexities of the publishing system and the institutional censorship, dissenting publishers “never lowered their guard and, being familiar with the arbitrariness and unpredictability of the censorship system, they tried to deal with it patiently and insistently” (Godayol, “Depicting” 101), as the many letters sent by Aymà to the censors well

---

<sup>106</sup> “[Cuando un libro llegaba para importación] tenías que hacer una traducción nominal, en unas hojas que tenían cuatro calcos, tenías que decir uno a uno el título, el autor y el número de ejemplares ... había una cantidad, hasta cuarenta ejemplares, usted puede importar hasta cuarenta ejemplares, más allá de eso no. Y yo, como librero, me vi forzado por muchas razones a empezar. Porque había un fenómeno que conviene tener en cuenta: los libreros no eran importadores, los libreros no teníamos la habilidad de los especialistas de la importación que era los Pepe de la Torre y compañía ... [esos expertos importadores] tenían debajo de la cama de su casa particular los libros prohibidos” (Lago Carballo 141-143).

account for. The following subsections delve deeper into the publishers Aymà and Alfaguara/Bruguera, as well as their mechanism and interactions with the censorship board when trying to either translate, publish, or import the novels by Miller, Durrell, and Nin in Spain.

In Franco's Spain from the 1960s onwards, books were no longer banned simply based on language (i.e., literature written in Catalan). This explains the numerous applications I found at the AGA regarding the Catalan translations of Miller, Nin, and Durrell's works. An example of this cultural transformation during the last stage of the dictatorship was brought about by the Catalan publisher Aymà. After changing ownership in 1962 to Joan Baptista Cendrós i Carbonell, today considered a Catalan "mecenés i activista cultural" ("Joan Baptista"), he and Joan Oliver—Aymà's literary editor-in-chief and friend of Catalan writers and translators such as Manuel de Pedrolo and Jordi Arbonès cited herein (see Chapter 4)—took advantage of the opportunity to publish in Catalan and attempted to translate and circulate those foreign "romans-à-clef" that were only available in Spanish and whose translation rights in this language belonged exclusively to South American publishers such as Sudamericana, Santiago Rueda, Losada, Emecé, or Siglo XX Editores.

At the AGA, I found letters to the censorship board showing how Aymà's editors sought to circulate the works of Miller, Nin, and Durrell in Catalan—and sometimes in Spanish—from 1965 onwards. In order to persuade them to reconsider their verdicts on the publications, Aymà would fight its case by listing the reasons the censors should allow the books for publication in the name of culture and world literature. For instance, Aymà's letter to the censors pertaining to the publication of *Tropic of Cancer* in Catalan (Arbonès' translation) states:

It is plain that the only objection that can be made to this work is the *crudity/rawness* of many passages and the direct and free language, slang, that the author uses occasionally when the plot requires it. However, Miller himself and many of his exegetes have rejected the accusation of obscenity or pornography to which he was subjected several decades ago by Anglo-Saxon Puritanism. The truth is that no critic, *nor any moderately educated reader will be able to see vicious complacency or provocative salacity that characterize pornography in certain sex-related descriptions—unless they are hypocrites or victims of outdated prejudices.* One critic said that the anti-conventional “truths” that Miller communicates to us through his narrative are equivalent to a blood transfusion: it is like receiving a transfusion of “life’s essence.” (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812, emphasis added)<sup>107</sup>

Aymà’s argument that links the opposition to the circulation of Miller’s works in Spain to “outdated prejudices” is admirably written. It is remarkable how they introduce the parallelism between the obsolete prejudices of the censorship board and Anglo-Saxon Puritanism that condemned Miller’s works in the English speaking world decades before they were attempted to be imported and/or translated in the Peninsula.<sup>108</sup> Aymà’s letters when appealing a decision carried

---

<sup>107</sup> “Es evidente que la única objeción que puede hacerse a la obra objeto de este escrito, es la crudeza de muchos pasajes y el lenguaje directo y libre, de la calle, que usa el autor en ocasiones en que los hechos relatados parecen exigirlo. Sin embargo, el propio Miller y muchos de sus exegetas han rechazado la acusación de obscenidad o pornografía de que fue objeto hace varios decenios por parte del puritanismo anglosajón. La verdad es que ningún crítico, ni ningún lector medianamente formado, podrá ver—si no es hipócrita o víctima de prejuicios trasnochados— en ciertas descripciones relaciones con el sexo, aquella complacencia viciosa, aquella salacidad provocadora que caracterizan a lo pornográfico. Un crítico ha dicho que las “verdades” anticonvencionales que a través de la narración nos comunica Miller equivalen a una transfusión de sangre, de ‘vida viva’” (Exp. 4979-75, sign. 73/04812).

<sup>108</sup> “Lastly, the value configured in *Tropic of Cancer* is the profound and heartbreakingly human experience embodied by the writer, a man who has lived fully—in-between laughter and tears—the most extreme, painful, and exciting experiences. A man who, with his experiences, “can give us back our appetite for fundamental realities,” *as the great Spanish novelist Anaïs Nin claimed ...* Apart from that, it is obvious that sex is not—nor should it be—any shameful mystery, nor a sin, but the set of structural and functional characteristics that distinguish male from female, a very important factor and the most transcendent of our physiology, one that belongs to us and affects us all. If this is so, how can it be obscene for a fully-fledged adult?”(Ibid.), original as follows: “En última instancia el valor que se

out by the MIT follow an argumentative line that tries to intervene, to negotiate—in this particular case—in the decision of not allowing *Tropic of Cancer* to circulate in Spain even with the dictatorship already dismantled after Franco’s death. In its own way, the letters can be said to be very “affective,” though not always effective. Appealing to Spain’s new *milieu* of democratization and liberalization, Aymà employs all devices in their power to reverse the MIT’s decision:

On the other hand, the so-called “program of February 12th”, lucidly and courageously set forth by the current President of the Government, declares unambiguously the firm decision to accept the criteria applicable to all civil rights to *the new realities of the Spanish society* ... and to interpret with amplitude, and if necessary to widen, the existing norms. And, indeed, the results of this willingness to open up have already become visible, especially in the cinema and theatre, and in the “specialized” magazines. If this is so, if Spain has evolved and continues to evolve towards molds of gradual democratization, we believe that *the time has come to establish that a literary work of great quality*, such as the one referred to, which circulates freely throughout the civilized world, cannot be hindered in our country, especially in the case of a book whose *print run and price would determine a restricted diffusion that would make it practically unaffordable for the sector that is little prepared for the consumption of literature of this character*. (Ibid.)<sup>109</sup>

---

configura en el fondo de *Trópico de cáncer*, es la entidad profunda y desgarradoramente humana del escritor, de un hombre que ha vivido plenamente, entre la risa y el llanto, las más extremosas, dolorosas y excitantes experiencias. Un hombre que con el ejemplo de su vida “puede devolvernos el apetito de las realidades fundamentales”, según expresión de la gran novelista de origen español Anaïs Nin. ... Por lo demás es obvio que el sexo no es—ni debe ser—ningún misterio bochornoso, no es ningún pecado, sino el conjunto de las peculiaridades de estructura y función que distinguen el macho de la hembra, un factor importantísimo y el más trascendente de nuestra fisiología, que nos pertenece y nos afecta a todos. Si es así, ¿cómo puede ser obsceno para un adulto hecho y derecho?” (Ibid.).

<sup>109</sup> “Por otra parte, el llamado “programa de 12 de febrero”, lúcida y valientemente expuesto por el actual Presidente del Gobierno, se declara sin ambigüedades la firme decisión de aceptar los criterios aplicables a todos los derechos civiles a las nuevas realidades de la sociedad española—madurada a lo largo de treinta y cinco años de régimen providente—y de interpretar con holgada amplitud, y en su caso ensanchar, la media y las normas existentes. Y, en efecto, los resultados de esta voluntad de apertura, se han hecho ya visibles, sobre todo en el cine y el teatro, y en las



In an earlier letter, Ricardo Domenech, on behalf of Aymà, tries to make the same case for Miller's *Black Spring* to circulate in Spain (1969):

*Black Spring* can't be considered pornographic at all. Miller's narrative is vitalism, he writes with a sincere prose that fits in the current times. It's therefore a paradox that, while films can portray highly sexualized content with the condition of being labeled as 'Cine de Arte y Ensayo,' books with similar characteristics are still treated with the same rigour as before. I assure you ... that some of the current films played at our cinemas have been banned in other European countries. Could not this kind of humanly valuable literature that does not align with old sexual and moral prejudices be studied under the same light and permitted to circulate? (File 5279-69, catalogue 66/03099).

As the censorship files reveal, Aymà sent letters of this nature on many occasions, with the aim of appealing the censors' verdicts towards the translations of Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's works during the late 1960s until mid-1970s. Most of the time, the censors would stay firm on their decisions. Nonetheless, there were times when they marked the pages with the passages that needed to be erased for the novel to be authorized. Jordi Arbonès' translation of *Black Spring* is one of the texts that, after having been subjected to self-censorship by publisher and translator, was permitted to circulate in 1970.

Overall, allowing Catalan publishers back into the editorial market led to a boom in their book industry—Aymà being one of the publishers that experienced a notable growth in the 1960s

---

revistas "especializadas". Si esto es así, si España ha evolucionado y sigue evolucionando hacia moldes de gradual democratización, creemos que ha llegado el momento de establecer que una obra literaria de gran calidad, como la referida, que circula libremente por todo el mundo civilizado, no puede ser obstaculizada en nuestro país, máxime tratándose de un libro cuyo tiraje y precio determinarían una difusión restringida que lo harían prácticamente inasequible por el sector poco preparado para el consumo de una literatura de este carácter" (Ibid.).

and 1970s—in words of Jordi Jané-Lligé: “Edicions 63, the resumption of Aymà/Proa and the ‘A Tot Vent’ collection, the creation of new Catalan collections in existing publishing houses ... are some of the indisputable signs of this transformation” (“La traducció” 75, my translation). This, together with the “freedom” in disguise promoted by the 1966 Press Law in regard to Catalan publications has to do with the fact that Catalan was a minority language, therefore, there were fewer readers who could in fact consume those editions. Oftentimes this made censors more willing to consider Catalan translations for publication, whilst they outright rejected them in Spanish, such is the case of Jordi Arbonès’ Catalan translation of Miller’s *Black Spring*.

The “resumption of Aymà/Proa” Jané-Lligé mentions to in the previous quotation refers to the fact that in 1963, Aymà incorporated publisher Proa, a Barcelona based publisher founded in 1928 that left for France after the Civil War (Bacardí 55). Proa’s famous collections “A Tot Vent” was its signature and, precisely, those collections hosted Anaïs Nin’s *Una espía a la casa de l’amor*, translated by Manuel Carbonell in 1965. Precisely, Aymà, taking advantage of the “silencio administrativo” status given by the censorship board to Carbonell’s translation of Nin’s novel, registered the book title in 1968, despite it not being legally authorized by the MIT. In this vein, from the late 1960s, Aymà commissioned an array of Catalan translations to Pedrolo and Arbonès, both great admirers of Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s works (see Chapter 4). Taking advantage of the incipient opening for both Spanish and Catalan culture during the last years of Francoism, Aymà led the translation market in the Peninsula, introducing numerous foreign works in the country until 1983 when it ceased its publishing activity (“Societat Anònima”).

On the other hand, Alfagura was founded in 1964 by Spanish Nobel prize winning writer and self-confessed censor Camilo José Cela, together with his two brothers. In 1975, Jaime Salinas—the son of poet Pedro Salinas who had editorial experience after collaborating with Seix

Barral and Alianza—took over the publisher and led it until the 1980s (Aguilar). With Salinas, Alfaguara turned to the transnational market of Latin America, making Alfaguara “a model for the best literature written in the Spanish language” (Ibid.). During these years, Alfaguara became much more than just a local publisher based in Madrid, by editing the works of writers such as Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes, Julio Cortázar, Max Aub, Pérez Reverte, Saramago, Günter Grass, Clarice Lispector, Patricia Highsmith, and Henry Miller (*The Tropics*), to name a few. In 2021, Alfaguara received Ministry of Culture’s award “Premio Nacional a la Mejor Labor Editorial Cultural.”

Contrary to Aymà, in regard to the interaction that Alfaguara had with the censorship board, there are no documents in the files that reveal that this publisher appealed the board’s decisions regarding the translations submitted for the censors’ approval. In this vein, Carlos Manzano’s translation of Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer*—first submitted in 1977 with no opposition to be published, hence, no protestation needed—and Carlos Bauer-Julián Marcos’ translation of *Black Spring* (1970)—first submitted for “consulta voluntaria” in 1970 by Edhasa and rejected by the board, leading to Alfaguara’s editing Bauer’s and Marcos’ translation and successfully publishing it in 1978—do not show the same level of self-censorship that can be observed in other translations, i.e., those of Jordi Arbonès’ into Catalan (Aymà), Iglesias’ *Tropic of Cancer*, and Patricio Canto’s *Black Spring* (both published by Santiago Rueda), since they could legally circulate once the regime was dismantled.

Something to comment on pertaining to the first editions of Alfaguara’s translations of *The Tropics* is the reference to another famous publisher, Bruguera. The same applies to the paratexts, covers, and back covers of the two translations into Spanish, where the publisher’s name appears hyphenated: Ediciones Alfaguara-Bruguera S.A. Conversely, in the censorship files there appears

to be different applications by both Alfaguara and Bruguera, separately, both containing the same translations of Manzano and Bauer/Marcos. Since all the requests to publish Miller's novels into Spanish were submitted after 1975, there were no formal objections on the censors' end. By the same token, the two publishers were granted permission to publish and circulate *The Tropics* in Spanish after said date.

To my knowledge, these two publishers were never united—in fact Bruguera (previously known as El Gato Negro) was a much older publisher founded by Joan Bruguera Teixidó and based in Barcelona since 1910. What is known, however, is the collection “Libro amigo” that Bruguera seems to be remembered for among the Spanish readership of late Francoism and the beginning of the Spanish *Transición*, which, in fact, is the very same collection as the editions I analyze in Part III of this dissertation are part of and whose covers' include the name of Alfaguara on them. Despite this information regarding Bruguera and having whatsoever no trace of the two publishers' collaborations, the printing information on *Trópico de Cáncer* and *Primavera negra* signals Madrid as the issuing location. In the end, Alfaguara's requests to publish these novels was recorded first by the board: October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1978, as opposed to Bruguera's first submission dated September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1979. Perhaps the publishers were forced to issue these publications jointly, after having independently bought the translations' rights from Edhasa, although this is merely a hypothesis at present.

To conclude, this chapter has shown how the new publishing spaces that emerged both in Spain—especially in terms of the Catalan book market—and in Argentina opened venues for translation, which occupied a central role in the publishing market of the Spanish-speaking world. Consequently, publishing houses established in Argentina in the mid-twentieth century, backed up by important intellectual networks, as discussed in Chapter 3, led the production of Spanish

translations, by imminently obtaining translation rights, such as in the case of the Spanish translations of Henry Miller's and Lawrence Durrell's works. The expansion of the Argentine book industry, therefore, covers the shortcomings of the Spanish book market particularly during the first decades of Franco's regime. However, translations published and imported from Latin America still had to pass through the censorship filter upon arriving in Spain before a successful circulation. This, in turn, gave rise to a kind of clandestine importation of texts produced abroad that, however small and restricted, compensated for the voids purposefully created and perpetuated by the MIT. Furthering the idea of clandestine resistance from abroad, Joaquin Oteiza, a Spanish publisher who emigrated to Argentina, spoke about the underground literary smuggling scene present in Franco's Spain, "I will bring Argentine books to Spain in the same way I brought Spanish books to Argentina" (Lago Carballo 12, my translation).

In addition to the unofficial importation of translations such as those of Henry Miller's novels published in Argentina by Ediciones Rueda—according to Aymà's 1975 letter to the MIT regarding the translation of *Tropic of Cancer* and many other references to this phenomenon found in the archive and other secondary sources: "*Nevertheless, the Spanish reader is now forced to resort to the search of Latin American versions circulating in the black market ... For all these reasons, we hope that your right and enlightened criterion will reconsider ... and authorize a limited edition*" (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812, emphasis added)<sup>110</sup>—it can also be observed that, at the end of the 1960s, a network of intellectual dissident actors starts to emerge in Spain. Publishing houses such as Aymà developed a fundamental non-conformity role towards the dictates of the

---

<sup>110</sup> "[N]o obstante, el lector español se ve ahora obligado a recurrir a la búsqueda de versiones hispanoamericanas que circulan en el mercado negro ... Por todo ello esperamos de su recto e ilustrado criterio, quiera reconsiderar el expediente correspondiente a la citada obra y autorizar una edición limitada y en catalán de la misma" (Exp. 4979-75, sign. 73/04812).

MIT by means of their countless letters and attempts to negotiate the production of literary translations with the censorship board. Aymà was also the only domestic publisher that underwent the risky operation of publishing—or at the very least registering several book titles in Spanish and Catalan translations—after receiving the “silencio administrativo” verdict from the censorship board, as was the case with Anaïs Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* (Spanish translation by Carmen Alcalde/Prats and Catalan translation by Manuel Carbonell) and Lawrence Durrell’s *Justine* (in Manuel de Pedrolo’s Catalan translation).

## **Chapter 6. Furthering the Networks II: Tracing the Readers' Affective Responses**

“The fact that affects should be seen as energetic intensities implies that they are *relational* and that they are always the result of an interaction between a work and its beholder. It is within this relationship that the intensity comes about” (Van Alphen 26).

This chapter aims to complete the networks of actors involved in the translation process of Henry Miller's, Anaïs Nin's, and Lawrence Durrell's novels into Spanish and Catalan during late Francoism. In order to do that, the chapter is divided into three sections that address the different kinds of “readers” who, actively or passively, affected and were affected by the translated texts, *affecting* the reception of the works under analysis. I separate actors into three groups of readers: the censors who acted as gatekeepers of Francoist cultural politics and whom I refer to as “first readers;” the literary critics and elite, educated readership of the country, whom I name “second readers;” and the general public who would ultimately consume the books and whom I call “third readers.” Nevertheless, my interest does not merely lie in completing the translation flow map that took place in Franco's Spain by simply identifying the agents who were involved and who connected the actor-networks behind the production of the texts, that is, pinpointing who the censors—euphemistically called “readers” by the MIT—were and how they affected the circulation and/or production of the translations in Spain. The ultimate goal is, however, to additionally assess the readers' affective interactions, reactions, and responses to my corpus of “romans-à-clef,” both source and target texts, by means of analyzing extratextual materials that hail from different venues, in this way completing the “affective map” I introduced in Chapter 1.

### 6.1. Defining the Readers and Their “Affective Interactions”

In the introduction to Part II, I presented the idea that translating and reading are acts that require affective interactions with the text. Considering that a censorship system was established during the Francoist dictatorship, it is obligatory to add censoring to the list of “affective interactions” with the texts that form my case studies. The starting point of my argument is based on the premise that specific texts create certain affects. In this vein, the “romans-à-clef” under analysis, due to their erotic and salacious content—susceptible to be considered immoral and pernicious by the censors—, were subject to what the censors perceived of them in the first place, using the affective readings and subsequent affective interactions they developed with the novels. In *Ugly Feelings*, Sianne Ngai observes that “something about the cultural canon itself seems to prefer higher passions and emotions as if minor or ugly feelings were not only incapable of producing ‘major’ works, but somehow disabled the works they do drive from acquiring canonical distinction ... and thus they become negated” (11). In my case, some of the works under scrutiny by the censors were indeed negated from the literary canon by the mere decision of not publishing them or, if allowed, by censoring the “ugly feelings” embedded in them (i.e., disgust, scandal, homosexuality, licentiousness, among other taboo topics in Franco’s time), as I further explain in Section 6.2.

Let us start by establishing what, in my view, constitutes a reader, keeping in mind that, during Francoism, censors were officially called “readers” and that they oversaw evaluating and reporting on both source and target texts before permitting any publication to circulate in the country. There still seems to be an evident shortage within the discipline of Translation Studies to consider the readers’ role and agency towards a literary translation.<sup>111</sup> Recently, proponents of

---

<sup>111</sup> “The study of reception does not always deal with translations; however, the booming of Translation Studies in the last decades has, undoubtedly, made translation a more common topic in Reception Studies. Conversely, Translation



researching emotional and cognitive aspects of translation such as Ana María Rojo argue that after all, “readers of target texts have the final say in verifying the emotional impact of translations” (“Role of Emotions” 377). Because of the processual and relational approach I am invested in employing in my research, I deem it necessary to assess the context and surroundings of the agents and actors involved in the translation process of Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s works in Spanish and Catalan.

Under this logic, I draw from Lawrence Venuti’s theories on pondering the readers’ psychological, cultural, and social backgrounds—their *habitus* in a Bourdieusian dialectic—and which, among others, relate to personal and social anxieties, the kind of readership they embody, the self-recognition they seek in the reading, and how all these factors, in conjunction, impact the reception and consumption of a translation (Venuti, “On a universal tendency”). Taking these elements into account, the reader searches for representations and therefore creates unconscious associations in their reading of a translation—or any work of literature for that matter. I argue that it is through those associations and interactions with the text that the reader creates an affective response to it; a response that sometimes materializes as joy, pleasure, recognition or, on the contrary, as resistance or rejection.<sup>112</sup> Particularly, the readers/censors hired to be the iron hand,

---

Studies does not always consider the reception of texts, but almost from the beginning of the discipline this has been a widely practiced line of approach. According to Raymond Van den Broeck (1988), the rise of Reception Studies in the 1960s caused translations to become a widely studied object because it incited scholars to study the way translations function in the receiving culture and the importance of translated literature in the development of national literatures ... In the context of Translation Studies, this kind of research [Readers response and assessment] has mainly been focused on the *translator* and the cognitive processes invoked when translating ... however, more attention has gradually been devoted to *readers*, their competence, needs and expectations” (Brems and Ramos Pinto 143-145, emphasis added).

<sup>112</sup> Venuti, using Lacan’s theory of object and desire (“object *petit a*”), sees how factors such as social authority, prestige, tradition, and patronage alter the reader’s desire towards a particular text—i.e., one translation versus another retranslation—or its rejection (“On a universal tendency”).

barrier, and filter against “ugly feelings” according to the regime’s moral, religious, and political codes (see Chapters 1 and 2) are likely to be the agents who embodied said resistance.

In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari posit that affect emerges through interactions. The interactions that occur between the reader and what is contained in the text—language, passion, its genre and format, tone, style, its aesthetics, etc.—is what Alex Houen, drawing on the French philosophers, coins as “literary affect” (Houen 18). Much like Ngai and Houen, I am of the opinion that readers “‘project the feeling that the object inspires’ and in doing so create a *distance* between [them]selves and that feeling’, which ‘in turn produces fresh affect’ (Ngai 85)” (cited in Houen 19).<sup>113</sup> The aftermath of the reader’s interaction with the text is, therefore, an affective action, in which “that commingling of language and passion accords with their view of affect as emerging through interactions” (Houen 18). At the same time, I agree with Claudia Breger that affective responses are “socially mediated” but also highly personal, for “they layer associations of other texts and media images with those of real-life objects and memories” (243). This can be perceived when reading the reports done by different censors. Even though they usually point out similar reactions (i.e., immorality due to a specific sexual passage), oftentimes they recorded more personal responses to the novels and the affect contained in them, a fact that triggered further negotiations among the censorship board and between the MIT and the publishing houses.

---

<sup>113</sup> “We project the feeling that the object inspires to create a distance between ourselves and that feeling. But why are we compelled to separate ourselves from the feeling that the object elicits? Precisely because our feeling has made the object into an object of concern. In other words, the desire for detachment is a direct consequence of the kind of interest our feeling about the object has fostered, and it is precisely this combination of steps—an affective engagement that itself prompts distancing—that constitutes the object as an aesthetic object: to introduce such a distance into our affective relationships to candy and perfume would be to make them aesthetic objects as well. The creation of distance in turn produces fresh affect and ensures that aesthetic engagement will be maintained—in a feedback loop made possible by a momentary disconnection in the circuit” (Ngai 85).

In addition, Ngai considers literary “tone” to be significant when it comes to readers’ affective reactions. Ngai refers to tone as “the dialectic of objective and subjective feeling that our aesthetic encounters inevitably produce” (Ngai, *Ugly feelings* 30). Tone is then understood as the text’s interplay of genre, form, and style. Following this categorization, Houen perceives how

aspects of a text’s genre, form, and style combine to present its affective bearing to the reader with its own mode of aesthetic suspension. That suspension is part of the text’s affective bearing, its tonal feeling. A reader can be ‘inspired’ by that feeling and ‘project’ it, but can also bring her own affective critical stance into play. (19)

For instance, rather than solely being inspired by the feelings and affect embedded in my case studies’ “romans-à-clef,” the censors-readers’ written reports attest to the fact that their critical postures utterly outweighed the literary value of the texts, as I demonstrate in Chapters 7-9.

Further inspiration on the topic of reception can be found in Hans-Robert Jauss’ framework of ‘Rezeptionsaesthetik’ [aesthetic of reception], with which the German scholar coined the idea of “horizon of expectation”—*Erwartungshorizon*—to designate “the set of cultural norms, assumptions and criteria that shape the way in which readers understand and judge a literary work at a given time. The process by which the reader concretises the potential of the text into a specific meaning or sense is what Jauss calls reception” (Brems and Ramos Pinto 142; Lázaro, *H. G. Wells* 12). Moreover, there are material elements to a book, otherwise described as “paratexts” (Genette 1997) and “peritexts” (Pillière 2021), that can visually influence the readership, for example covers, titles, preface, introductions, back matter, illustrations, even marketing strategies, etc. These paratextual elements affect the reader, impacting their “horizon of expectations” and, by extension, their reactions to the text, especially in the case of the censors (Lázaro, *H. G. Wells* 13;

Larraz, “Gender, Translation” 126-127).<sup>114</sup> Indeed, paratexts and information on the translation agents (author, rewriter, publisher, editor and their networks) can guide the interpretation (or pre-interpretation) of the text before transcending its materiality and content, once embarking on its reading, as Keith Harvey observes:

[I]t is argued that the elements of the translation “binding” ... are the obvious place to begin an analysis of the translation as interface in that they are, in a quite literal sense, the elements involved in the to-and-fro shuttle between the domestic reader’s perception and the foreign text’s otherness ... Through this exploration of ... ‘horizons of expectation’, we arrive at a singularly interactive and dialectical conception of the way a text—in its elaboration—may respond to the expectations of those who may read it and, also, the way the latter may be imagined to interpret and judge it in the light of their own beliefs and agendas ... This intrusion will contain incoherencies and inconsistencies, but these are evidence of the ideological work going on in the production of the text-event in relation to target horizons of expectation. (43-48)

In the following sections, I present information found at the AGA archive that will further the networks of actors involved in the translation process of Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s novels into Spanish and Catalan, i.e., the censors’ reports and verdicts towards the novels, as well as the correspondence that took place between the censorship board and publishers when communicating the resolutions. Thus, I seek to understand the censors’ approach to the texts that comprise my case

---

<sup>114</sup> “The fact that this non-textual information had to be provided meant that it had relevance to the censor’s verdict. In fact, sometimes the permission to publish a book was subject to alterations in paratexts or even in epitexts (publicity, visibility in bookshops and shop windows, etc.). The author or the publisher’s identity could be a critical factor too” (Larraz, “Translation, Gender” 128).

studies, namely, their reactions as much as they recorded their commentaries in the censorship reports. This can be explored thanks to the censorship files that AGA stores.

Second, I consider articles found at newspaper and periodical archives of culture and literary supplements that tackled the translations of Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's works in their Spanish and Catalan editions, that is, how critics perceived these novels and the affective responses towards their reception in late Francoism or, in the majority of the cases, during the Transition to Democracy and the 1990s. Third, I include several personal accounts on how the censors operated when scrutinizing any subversive *faux pas* literature in the context of Francoism. The information about said narratives has been obtained from published interviews, articles written by the parties (translators, editors, readers, etc.) involved after the dictatorship, as well as a personal interview/conversation with journalist and writer Carmen Alcalde, translator of Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* in Spanish.

## 6.2. First Readers: The Censors

In defining the term “structural censorship,” Pierre Bourdieu determines that the internalization of the cultural *habitus* and dominant discourse take effect using formal rules and laws embodied in the form of censorship (cited in Merkle, “Presentation” 15). Lefevere also identifies this phenomenon as institutional censorship (Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting* vii). In a context such as Francoist Spain, the agents in charge of enforcing the norms that governed the cultural and literary fields were the bureaucrats appointed by the regime who acted as custodians of such institutional censorship. Under Francoism, censors were the first readers of books; sometimes they were comprised of “renowned writers ... sometimes intellectual scholars ... some well-known

ecclesiastical censors ... or civil servants who were often members of FET-JONS” (Andrés 18, my translation). All publications were scrutinized by these first readers who, with their reports, affected a book’s viability—exogenous or domestic—, by determining what the general public was allowed to consume.

Ruiz Bautista distinguishes between the censors employed by the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT) and categorizes them as “regular readers” (typically 14) and “specialized readers” (usually 8):

The former received a fixed allowance which, like the latter, was supplemented by a bonus that varied according to productivity: thus, a work of about two hundred pages was rewarded with 200 *pesetas*, while for regional languages, Italian or French, 150 *pesetas* were paid for each module of 100 pages. Works in English or those presenting “extraordinary difficulties due to the subject matter or theme” were paid 50 *pesetas* more than the previous ones for the same number of pages. In contrast, books in German, Slavic, or Asian languages were paid 300 *pesetas* per hundred pages. There was no mention that the payment could vary according to the diligence, depth, or perspicacity of the reader. Thus, in line with their own economic interests, we could imagine them slipping through the lines, jumping from one page to another ... in search of some indication of criminal or reprehensible matter. This is the one reasonable way to believe that a reader accounted for 500 works per month—as the censor collective claimed in a letter addressed to the General Director of Information in 1956, asking for better salaries. (84-85, my translation)<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> “Los primeros gozaban de una asignación fija que, al igual que los segundos, completaban con una prima que variaba en función de la productividad: así, una obra alrededor de doscientas páginas se gratificaba con 200 pesetas, mientras que para los idiomas regionales, el italiano o el francés se retribuía con 150 pesetas cada módulo de 100 páginas. Las obras en inglés o que presentasen “dificultades extraordinarias por la materia o el tema”, recibían 50

In a published interview with journalist and feminist writer, Lidia Falcón, she—who for years underwent censorship for her own articles, books, and ideas—discloses that the censors she was acquainted with were:

basic civil servants with little education and whose only interest was to keep their job for as long as possible, since their salary and schedule were pretty good. They used to check in the office at 9:30 AM and be gone at 2:00 PM, which allowed them to write—some of them being frustrated writers themselves. (de Tena 152, my translation)

In total, there was an average of 25 censors, a number that did in fact not fluctuate much after the passing of the Press Law in 1966: among them, Faustino García Sánchez-Martín (Head of Department), Luis Molero Manglano (Reader's Manager), and Tomas Pita Carpenter (Head of Technical Cabinet) (Rojas). The censors were distributed in groups by different topics: religion, politics and social themes, science and technical themes, literature and history, popular medicine, youth literature, and children's literature (Rojas). Even though there is not much information on their profiles, their personal information, and education, Rojas—contrary to what Lidia Falcón reveals in her personal accounts—points out that the level of the official censors' education in late Francoism was “quite superior to that of the Spanish average of the time, and—with exceptions—they had the skills to carry out the tasks of editorial and cultural control demanded by the dictatorship to remain in power” (Ibid., my translation).

---

pesetas más que las anteriores por el mismo número de páginas, mientras que los libros en alemán, lenguas eslavas u orientas se pagarían a razón de 300 pesetas la centena. En ningún momento se aludía a que la paga pudiese oscilar en función de la diligencia, la profundidad o la perspicacia del lector, por lo que, en consonancia con sus propios intereses pecuniarios, podríamos imaginárnoslo resbalando por los renglones, saltando de una página a otra, oteando desde las alturas, en busca de algún indicio de materia delictiva o reprochable. Solo de semejante guisa se antoja factible que un lector diese cuenta de 500 obras mensuales, tal y como aseguraba el colectivo censor en una carta dirigida en 1956 al director general de Información en demanda de mejoras salariales” (Ruiz Bautista 84-85).

In addition, the censors operated on different levels. When a publisher submitted their request to translate and publish a book, first-level censors were required to assess the book upon the creation of its file (Abellán 88-89). Such first readers, normally two censors, had to evaluate the book according to the set of questions established in 1938 as per the first Press Law: “–Does [the book] attack Catholic dogma? –Morals? –The Church and its Ministers? –The Regime and its Institutions? –The persons who have collaborated with it? –Do the censurable passages designate the whole content of the book?” (Lázaro, *H. G. Wells* 27, my translation). After the Press Law of 1966, those questions still appeared in the reports, though the censors hardly ever answered them. Instead, they would write a commentary on the book and, finally, they would recommend it either for publication or rejection. Subsequently, a final decision was reached by the Head of the Section (second-level censor), containing the resolution to be sent to the publishing house.

In conclusion, the literature concerning the censorship of books under Francoism demonstrates the many inconsistencies found in the censors’ reports when assessing a literary work. This indicates that institutional censorship, although well-organized and established, was not a monolithic structure, as Lobejón et al. claim (94). In fact, through the analysis of varied case studies, scholars such as Cisquella (2002), Lázaro (2004), Gómez (2016), and Godayol et al. (2018) “agree that the Spanish censors often displayed such contradictory attitudes that their decisions seemed to verge on arbitrariness” (Monzón, “Censoring Poetics” 121).

### 6.2.1. Censors’ Affective Responses to the “Romans-à-clef”

In Part I of this dissertation, I introduced the works of Massumi, Ahmed, Ngai, and Flatley to understand how nationalist and ultra-Catholic measurements brought about by Francoism and its



repressive rhetoric can be perceived as affect-eliciting events that shaped the production and consumption of literature. Employed by the regime, censors were the institutional agents who stood between the texts and the general public and, loaded with Francoist propaganda, they read, interpreted, and judged the works they were given before publication. Since their reports, comments, and verdicts can be consulted at the AGA, this section aims to explore the interactions they—as first readers—experienced with the texts under analysis and how they affectively responded to reading and assessing them.

When it comes to defining and organizing the different types of affective responses the censors show in their evaluations, I distinguish between three main themes to which readers relentlessly referred, not exclusively regarding Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's works but in general terms and for all types of publications. They are directly connected to the censurable content as defined in the guidelines passed together with 1938's Press Law: "Any kind of immoral concept or Marxist propaganda, anything which implies a disrespect for the dignity of our glorious army, any attack against the unity of our mother country, a disrespect for the Catholic religion or, in short, anything opposed to the meaning and goals of our Glorious National Crusade" (Pegenaute 87). Hence, affective responses to the texts under scrutiny can broadly be distributed into moral, religious, and political issues. In what follows, I analyze the censors' affective reactions towards topics of moral and religious nature found in my corpus of novels.

In "Constructing the Nationalist State," Michael Richards notices that "it was the task of the 'New Spain' to develop a 'purified' nation. This desire to 'purify' appears to have its origins both in the redemption and the expiation of sin associated with Catholicism, and in the strand of the regenerationist thought and *casticismo* [purely Castilian]" (153). Hence, in trying to cleanse the country off liberal ideologies and, principally, from the Republic's anamnesis, the regime

espoused the Church's dogmatism, which was put to the service of the censors and applied unsparingly to all cultural production. The "purified" Spain as a cultural and ideological project, as described by Richards, bears witness to the protectionist outlook of the regime, which staunchly fought against foreign contamination, primarily via books and literature. In Richard's words: "Foreign and decadent ideas, evil spirits from the outside had to be shut out. 'Foreign' ways of thinking had to be silenced: Spain could sustain itself with those ideas which were 'organically home-grown'" (*Time of Silence* 6). In this way, the traditional family values as dictated by the Catholic Church were the only model that Spanish people could pursue. A patriotic, Catholic family "was seen as an agent of quarantine facilitating the healthy growth of a 'patriotic morality' ... and a sacred repository of traditions" (64). Culture and religion were therefore united and the notions of purity, chastity, and virtue became, yet again, the moral order that Spaniards had to adhere to, especially women, as they embodied the "spiritual future of the race" (64). In this vein, the censorship board persecuted content that attacked or could contradict the social and moral order constructed by the regime.

In analyzing the censorial reports of the "romans-à-clef" under analysis, I observe two subject matters within the censors' affective responses towards any kind of allegedly "immoral" passage that relates to sexuality: the censors-readers either qualified sexual content as "pornographic," in which case it ought to be suppressed, erased, or softened; or a kind of love or erotic sentiment that would not align with their Catholic vision of heteronormative relations oriented to the creation of a traditional family.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Moreover, following the guidelines from *Informe sobre la moralidad pública* compiled by the Patronato de Protección de la Mujer in 1943, Aurora Morcillo points out that "immorality" also applied to: "blasphemous and foul language; non-compliance of law abiding dominical rest; the disintegration of Spanish Christian family life, shift from the home to centers of entertainment: casinos, cinemas, taverns ... and above all the relaxation of proper values publicly

Hence, censors branded passages containing any kind of non-normative sexuality as “amor moderno” [modern love] or “despicable,” especially when content relates to same-gender emotions and relationships, particularly women’s sexual pleasure. The following table shows comments taken from the censors’ reports on Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*, Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to Fire*, and Durrell’s *Justine* and *Balthazar*—both the source texts and the different target texts when submitted by the publishers, although due to space constraints I will only provide the source texts’ titles—in which the censors evaluate the novels and showcase passages that may constitute “pornography” for the MIT, namely sexual descriptions between characters, the narration of sexual encounters, or mere references to the human body and genitalia:

	<u>Title</u>	<u>Censorship report</u> <sup>117</sup>	<u>File</u>
#1	<i>Tropic of Cancer</i>	“Monologue of a <i>degenerate</i> . He only evades reality when there is a woman next to him in bed, which happens constantly. It is full of bitterness, violence, and constant sensuality that turns into a truly descriptive pornography lesson, provoking revulsion in the reader” <sup>118</sup>	2791-67, 21/18052
#2	<i>Tropic of Cancer</i>	“This novel, whose protagonist is the author himself, describes the author’s and his friends’ sexual experiences in an atmosphere of amorality. Even though it was considered pornographic and caused a great scandal at the time of its publication, it has lost much of its validity and danger. Nowadays it could hardly be considered pornographic but, rather, as a novel of <i>erotic descriptions and unfortunate expressions</i> .” <sup>119</sup>	5179-76, 73/05474

apparent in young people’s behavior in walks, gardens, streets and plazas, as well as the women’s indecent clothes and attitudes in public sports and gatherings” (102).

<sup>117</sup> The censors’ selected “affective responses” presented above are my translation unless otherwise stated. The Spanish notes are provided in the footnotes throughout the dissertation.

<sup>118</sup> “Monólogo de un verdadero *degenerado*. Solamente se aparta de la realidad cuando tiene la cama, junto a él, una mujer y esto ocurre constantemente. Amargura hay para hartarse. Violencia y sensualidad constantemente [sic] verdadera lección de *pornografía* descriptiva que desemboca en momentos de *asco* en su lectura.”

<sup>119</sup> “En esta novela, cuyo protagonista es el propio autor, se describen las vivencias y experiencias sexuales del autor y de un grupo de amigos, en un ambiente de *amoralidad*. La presente obra, que en su momento, fue tenida como *pornográfica* y que causó gran escándalo en el momento de su publicación, ha perdido gran parte de su vigencia y de peligrosidad; así actualmente muy difícilmente podría considerársela como pornográfica, sino más bien como una novela de *descripciones eróticas* y con expresiones desafortunadas.”

#3	<i>Black Spring</i>	“This novel contains <i>pornographic allusions</i> .” <sup>120</sup>	498-65, 66/6461
#4	<i>Black Spring</i>	“It contains <i>dirty, raw, disgusting descriptions</i> and blasphemies. It reads as a book written by a <i>madman</i> .” <sup>121</sup>	1201-74, 66/6563
#5	<i>Black Spring</i>	“The protagonist ... always narrates the <i>lowest, the most contemptible</i> , as a <i>morbid fondness for physical and moral dirtiness</i> .” <sup>122</sup>	592-67, 21/17876
#6	<i>Black Spring</i>	“The novel has scenes and passages that go <i>against modesty and good manners</i> , including real blasphemies.” <sup>123</sup>	11036-70, 66/06214
#7	<i>A Spy in the House of Love</i>	“ <i>Immoral novel, prototype of erotic books</i> . A married woman cheats on her husband with whoever comes along. She goes from lover to lover, describing reactions and emotions she experiences with each one of them. The <i>sexual encounters are crudely described</i> . The main character’s goal is to become truly free, that is, to give herself to men without developing or having feelings that bind them. When she achieves it, she finally enters the real house of love.” <sup>124</sup>	7088-65, 21/16626
#8	<i>A Spy in the House of Love</i>	“ <i>Immoral content</i> with a crude realism that is <i>revulsive to our society’s average sensitivity</i> , though not obscene, <i>which would be pornography</i> .” <sup>125</sup>	7088-65, 21/18909
#9	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“ <i>Erotological</i> treaty. The whole of the novel is <i>immoral and erotic</i> .” <sup>126</sup>	7086-65, 21/16626
#10	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“This novel strikes one in a very <i>unpleasant</i> way; it portrays <i>displeasing</i> aspects of an <i>unbalanced and vicious</i> psychology at first sight.” <sup>127</sup>	7086-65, 21/16626

<sup>120</sup> “Novela autobiográfica con alusiones *pornográficas*”

<sup>121</sup> “[e]s una obra que contiene descripciones *sucias, crudas, asquerosas* y blasfemias. Parece un libro escrito por un loco.”

<sup>122</sup> “Son cuadros distintos en los que presenta al protagonista -1ª persona- en diferentes lugares y fechas para novelar siempre lo más bajo, lo más rastrero, como una afición morbosa a lo *sucio física y moralmente*.”

<sup>123</sup> “Esta novela [tiene] ... escenas y frases que *atentan al pudor y a las buenas costumbres*, y aún con algunas verdaderas blasfemias.”

<sup>124</sup> “Novela *immoral*. Prototipo del libro erótico. El argumento es una mujer casada que engaña a su marido con el primero que se presenta. Va de amante en amante, describiéndonos las reacciones y sensaciones que con cada uno de ellos experimenta. Los contactos sexuales son descritos con toda crudeza. El objetivo de la protagonista es llegar a ser verdaderamente libre; entendiendo por libertad el entregarse a los hombres sin que ningún sentimiento le ligue con él. Cuando ha conseguido esto ha entrado en la verdadera casa del amor.”

<sup>125</sup> “Contenido *immoral*, de un crudo realismo que *repugna* la sensibilidad media de nuestra sociedad; rehuyéndose la *obsenidad*, que es elemento que matiza y caracteriza a la *pornografía*.”

<sup>126</sup> “Esta obra es un verdadero tratado de *erotología*. Toda ella es *immoral y erótica*, forma parte de una serie de obras, todas del mismo estilo y catadura moral, titulada “Las ciudades Interiores.”

<sup>127</sup> “[E]s una obra que impresiona *desagradablemente*, poniendo de relieve aspectos desagradables de una psicología desequilibrada y *viciosa* a primera vista.”

#11	<i>Justine</i>	“The novel contains too many <i>immoral references</i> ... what makes us not accept the novel is the defense, almost glorification, of Justine, an <i>amoral character who is vicious to the extreme.</i> ” <sup>128</sup>	4216-60, 21/12904
#12	<i>Justine</i>	“A writer and his two lovers are the main characters of the novel, which has several <i>immoral scenes</i> , some of them referring to certain <i>aberrations</i> . Prostitution milieu. Descriptions of sexual acts.” <sup>129</sup>	2183-61, 21/13275
#13	<i>Justine</i>	“The novel describes a <i>purely sexual type of love</i> , apart from all morality, with Alexandria’s brothels as the background. Carnal relationships are at the core of the novel. The book’s covers and flaps <i>promise a lot of eroticism.</i> ” <sup>130</sup>	10432-69, 66/03531
#14	<i>Balthazar</i>	“Purely carnal love, prostitution, rape, in some cases <i>reaching pornography</i> . There are crude descriptions of male and female sexuality. In general, it is an intellectual novel with an <i>amoral background</i> and some totally heterodox characters.” <sup>131</sup>	4078-61, 21/13434

Table 7: Examples of censors reporting “pornographic” content in the “romans-à-clef.”

Table 7 shows instances where the censors-readers appear to be disgusted by the texts (#1, #4, #8), by using terms such as “asco” [disgust] “asquerosas” [gross] “repugna” [it revolts one], “impresiona desagradablemente” [it unpleasantly shocks one], “descripción grosera” [coarse description], “obscenidad” [obscenity], etc. Historically the link between sex, the sexual, the sexually descriptive, etc. has been central to the Christian moral discourse. According to Miller Ian Williams, “[t]his discourse’s anti-sexuality was informed by a gloomy and foul-spirited misogyny which in turn was driven by a more generalized misanthropy” (XIV). Judging from the

<sup>128</sup> “La obra tiene demasiadas referencias *inmorales* ... pero lo que hace que la obra no sea aceptable es la defensa y casi glorificación de Justine, un personaje amoral, *viciosa* en grado extremo.”

<sup>129</sup> “Un escritor y sus dos amantes son los principales protagonistas de la obra que tiene reiteradas escenas inmorales, algunas referentes a determinadas aberraciones. Ambiente de prostitución. Descripciones de actos sexuales.”

<sup>130</sup> “Se trata de un amor puramente sexual, al margen de toda moral; y como telón de fondo, los burdeles de Alejandría. La relación carnal es el verdadero protagonista de la novela. *La misma portada y las solapas prometen mucho erotismo.*”

<sup>131</sup> “[A]mor puramente carnal, prostitución y violación, en algunos casos llega a *pornografía*, descripción grosera de la sexualidad masculina y femenina, y en general novela intelectual con un fondo amoral y en boca de algunos personajes totalmente heterodoxos.”

censors' reports in their reviews of the “romans-à-clef” herein studied, Francoism took this notion very seriously, as the 1943 Report on the Status of Public Morality stated (Morcillo 96):

Immorality in any of its forms is a deep aggression to the physical life and integrity of the Fatherland, because there exists the closest relationship between public morality and the sound foundations of the family. The more immorality there is the many more single people and fewer children will be born within marriage and wretched public health will prevail. The defense of morality is more important than the defense of territorial borders.

Overall, the six “romans-à-clef” seem to have received very similar criticism on grounds of immorality and against “good taste.” However, there is a stark divergence when the censors evaluate Nin’s novels, specifically, *A Spy in the House of Love*, which is described as “immoral” in content but poetic and elegant in style, a characteristic that moved the particular censor not to brand the novel as pornographic (see Example #8). In the following table, I present censors’ comments that tackle their conception of “modern love” juxtaposed with “normal love,” homosexuality, and homoeroticism when judging the novels.

	<u>Title</u>	<u>Censorship report</u>	<u>File</u>
#15	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“Slow, short narrations, full of psychoanalysis and erotism, with a <i>tendency for lesbian passion</i> . It is dangerous due to its deep and morbid eroticism.” <sup>132</sup>	9212-65, 21/16873
#16	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“The novel is about a woman who has an excellent husband and children but, in spite of that, the home suffocates her ... She frees herself by seeking out lovers, until she finds one that suits her. She even has relationships of dubious intimacy with a female friend. Without stating it, it propagates a kind of unleashed, free love—morality and religion remain in the realm of prejudice. There is a	7086-65, 21/16626

<sup>132</sup> “Relatos lentos, de psicoanálisis y claro erotismo, apuntándose pasiones *lésbicas*. Peligroso por su hondo y *morboso erotismo*.”

		friendship between the protagonist and a friend that is practically a <i>lesbian love</i> (p. 168) although in the end <i>normal love</i> with a [male] lover triumphs.” <sup>133</sup>	
#17	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“Subject matter completely unsuitable for minors (adultery, homosexuality, etc.). It should be published for adults ... To sum up, one can say that this is a love story, even if not too physical, <i>of two lesbians</i> ... One could say that the work is immoral, but it rather seems amoral: <i>lesbianism, illicit love</i> .” <sup>134</sup>	6564-71, 73/00985
#18	<i>A Spy in the House of Love</i>	“A married woman cheats on her husband with several lovers. A good husband, who is in love with her but does not make her happy. Neither is she happy because she cheats on him ... She will have to get rid of hundreds of taboos: guilt, the priest, the police. The woman has different love affairs. Her love is evolution, development, change, not closing in on a just one person. ‘In Sabina there are many Sabinas who also claim to live and love.’ More than the occasional lurid scene, <i>there is a dissolving doctrine: a vision of modern love so destructive</i> .” <sup>135</sup>	7088-65, 21/16626
#19	<i>A Spy in the House of Love</i>	“[T]he [protagonist’s] urge to enjoy sexual pleasure with other men cannot be restrained. Consequently, she has affairs with men of different races and professions. Those passages should be <i>eliminated from the paragraphs marked in red ink on pages 50 and 102</i> .” <sup>136</sup>	3170-69, 66/02838
#20	<i>Balthazar</i>	“[This novel] tries to analyze the concept of modern love, taking place in an oriental environment. General characteristics: materialism, skepticism, <i>obsession about sexual perversions ... degenerate characters</i> (gigolos, pederasts, <i>sadistic or lesbian love</i> )	4078-61, 21/13434

<sup>133</sup> “Se trata de una mujer que tiene un excelente marido, unos excelentes hijos y no obstante el hogar le produce asfixia, representa una moral sin salida. Ella se libera buscando amantes, hasta que encuentra el que le va. Incluso mantiene relaciones de intimidad dudosa con una amiga. Sin decirlo está propagando un amor libre desatado—la moral y la religión quedan en el campo de los prejuicios ... hay una amistad entre la protagonista y una amiga que es prácticamente un *amor lesbiano* (pág. 168) aunque al final triunfa el amor normal con un amante.”

<sup>134</sup> “Temática por completo inadecuada a menores (adulterio, *homosexualidad*, etc.). Debería presentarse para adultos ... Concretando se puede decir que es la historia del amor, aun cuando no demasiado físico, de dos *lesbianas* ... Se podría decir que la obra es inmoral, pero más bien parece *amoral: lesbianismo, amores ilícitos*.”

<sup>135</sup> “Una mujer casada que engaña a su marido con varios amantes. Un marido bueno, enamorado pero que no la hace feliz. Ella tampoco lo es porque está engañando ... Tendrá que librarse de cientos *tabús*: la culpa, el sacerdote, la policía. La mujer tiene diversas afrentas amorosas y tiene desecho a desarrollarlas. El amor es evolución, desarrollo, cambio, no encerrarse en una persona sola. “En Sabina hay muchas Sabinas que también reclaman vivir y amar”. Más que alguna que otra escena escabrosa está esta doctrina disolvente, esta visión *del amor moderno tan destructora*.”

<sup>136</sup> “[A]fán [de la protagonista] de gozar del *placer sexual* con otros hombres es irreprimible y consiguientemente tiene aventuras de ese género con hombres de distintas razas y profesiones deben de ser eliminados los párrafos señalados con lápiz rojo en las págs. 50 y 102.” The passage reads as follows: “Era un burdel de niñas: allí en la penumbra, vestidas con grotescos camisones de pliegues bíblicos, los labios pintados, collares de abalorios y sortijas de lata, había una docena de chiquillas desgreñadas que no tendrían mucho más de diez años...”

		... In general terms this is an intellectual novel with an <i>amoral background and some heterodox characters</i> . It should be denied.” <sup>137</sup>	
#21	<i>Balthazar</i>	“Sensuality is absolutely dominant in all [Durrell’s] stories. A sensuality that frequently turns into <i>perversion</i> . Two of the central characters are <i>homosexuals</i> . Everything that happens is described in perfect <i>amorality</i> .” <sup>138</sup>	4078-61, 21/13434

Table 8: Examples of censors reporting “modern love” and homosexual content in the “romans-à-clef.”

In light of such comments, it is only fair to wonder what the censors—following the ultra-Catholic moral codes and fundamentalist demands set in stone by the Francoist regime—understood by “modern love.” Writer and journalist Lidia Falcón claims that in those years, writers such as Corín Tellado<sup>139</sup> were “on the rise, thus, the country was filled with romance novels—regardless of whether this matched the Regime’s censorship demands—that is what sold. The publications of Bruguera, Hymosa, and Juventud were very successful selling that type of booklets” (de Tena 151). Later in the interview, Falcón concludes that what censors persecuted was the idea of love as a fundamental goal for girls, so to avoid that pursuit in the female general readership, they were severely restraining any book that could incite women to desire anything that did not resemble the image of a traditional, Catholic family—feminine pleasure, free love, non-normative relationships, etc. therefore qualified as censurable content. As a result, the literature available was

<sup>137</sup> “Obra en la que se trata de analizar el concepto de *amor moderno*, referido al ambiente oriental. Características generales: materialismo, escepticismo, obsesión sobre las *perversiones sexuales* ... personajes *degenerados* (gigolós, pederastas, *amor sádico o lesbiano*). En general novela intelectual con un fondo amoroso y en boca de algunos personajes totalmente heterodoxos. Debe denegarse.”

<sup>138</sup> “Domina absolutamente en toda la sensualidad. Frecuentemente la sensualidad se convierte en *perversion*. Dos de los sujetos centrales son *homosexuales*. Todo lo que ocurre se describe con perfecta *amoralidad*.”

<sup>139</sup> Corín Tellado (1927-2009) was a very prolific Spanish writer who published more than 5000 romance novels. In the late 1970s, she published a number of “pseudotranslations” of erotic novels under the pen name Ada Miller, under Bruguera’s collection “Especial Venus,” a nod to Nin’s *Delta of Venus* (1977).



utterly “dull, not at all lurid, and without any dangers that would make the reader intrigued; they lacked social criticism” (Ibid.).

Hence, “modern love” would constitute any description, narration, or projection of particular love, desire, or relationship that did not align with the regime’s ubiquitous familial or marital love archetype. Anything unlike it was to be considered impure, anti-natural, as the censors’ reports on Anaïs Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* indicate:

[The novel] aims to deepen the primary reactions, however violent and strange they may manifest themselves, of the complex feminine nature, not so much through an in-depth analysis of the person as of each concrete situation anxiously sought by the protagonist. After a long series of intimate scenes and unspeakable desires, which deceive her feelings and disillusion but uncover the different women in her, she manages to decipher, only in part, the enigma of her life, joining the man who shares her worldview. Indeed, there are many allusions and details that are inadmissible for any morality. The uncontrollable desire to become the other, to live in her body and feel her emotions, drives Liliane to perform acts of a morbid sexuality. (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626)<sup>140</sup>

For instance, in this case, Nin’s protagonist, Liliane, is analyzed and judged through the lens of Francoist moral codes and according to the constructed image of ideal womanhood. In this vein, Liliane’s sexual desires and experiences do not correspond to the Francoist conception of women

---

<sup>140</sup> “[La novela] pretende profundizar las reacciones primarias, por violentas y extrañas que se manifiesten, de la compleja naturaleza femenina, no tanto a través de un análisis en profundidad de la persona como de cada situación concreta buscada con ansiedad por la protagonista. Después de una larga serie de escenas íntimas y deseos inconfesables, que engañan sus sentimientos y desilusionan, pero que descubren las distintas mujeres que hay en ella, logra descifrar, solo en parte, el enigma de su vida, uniéndose al hombre de sus ideales. Efectivamente abundan las alusiones y detalles inadmisibles para cualquier moral. El incontrolado deseo de hacerse el otro, vivir en su cuerpo y sentir sus emociones, impulsa a Liliane a realizar actos propios de una sexualidad morbosa” (Exp, 7086-65, sig. 21/16626).

“based on highly conservative biological determinism” through which “women were seen as essentially passive, born to suffer and sacrifice and to be activists only as guardians of the moral order” (Richards, *Time of Silence* 52).<sup>141</sup> On the contrary, her eagerness—which also applies to Sabina in *A Spy in the House of Love*, as well as some of Durrell’s feminine characters in *The Alexandria Quartet* such as Justine or Clea—is viewed as a threat—a foreign “otherness” that does not and cannot belong in Francoist Spain. Hence, the censors-readers’ *affective* responses to this kind of *affective* content made it so many publications were outright banned for publication, unless greatly self-censored, or given “silencio administrativo,” if among other reasons they were deemed a book for minorities.

As explained above, the Catholic Church played a vital role in the construction and power maintenance of the Francoist regime in Spain. Neuschäfter, Richards, Mar-Molinero et al., all concur that the Catholic dogma was one of the three pillars of Francoism: “The *Patria*, according to Franco himself, was ‘spiritual unity, social unity, [sic] historic unity’. Catholicism was to be ‘the crucible of nationality’. In this pursuit of unity the state was to be central” (Richards “Constructing” 150). From the inception of the censorship system, it was made clear that publications attacking the Christian doctrine and faith would be persecuted, for, according to Richards, Spain had to be “re-made in the image of the myth of Franco’s Crusade to save ‘Christian civilisation’ as represented by Catholic Spain. Accordingly, the symbols utilised by Francoism were borrowed from the fifteenth-century era of [the Catholic Kings] Ferdinand and Isabella when Spain had previously triumphed over ‘malignant foreign powers’” (Ibid.). The Catholic Church

---

<sup>141</sup> “The sexual psychopathology of Francoism, demanding women’s psychological and cultural ‘closure’, was revealed not only in the speeches of its leading figures ... but in Franco himself, or its ideologues ... but also by its psychiatrists” (Richards, *Time of Silence* 64); and, what is more “[f]emales had to be ‘attached’, within the family or to the church: ‘free movement’, individual endeavour, like dealing on the black market, having and expressing political ideas, possessing access to knowledge or mysteries that were not understood, *being potentially unrepressed sexually*, all this threatened the social order” (167, emphasis added).

heavily influenced the censorial decisions, especially during the 1940s and 1950s, under Arias Salgado as Head of the MIT.<sup>142</sup>

During this stage, a religious adviser was introduced into the censorship board to “censor on behalf of God and the Catholic Moral” (Andrés 13, my translation). Topics related to immorality—considered immoral by the Church, for instance, sexuality, blasphemy, abortion, suicide, and feminism—were harshly persecuted and censored. The following table contains several comments in which the censors condemn a passage on the grounds of blasphemy or “attacks to the Church.”

	<u>Title</u>	<u>Censorship report</u>	<u>File</u>
#22	<i>Black Spring</i>	“[If the novel was to be] published, it would be convenient to eliminate the <i>blasphemy</i> on page 20.” <sup>143</sup>	11036-70, 66/06214
#23	<i>Black Spring</i>	“[The novel] has a few <i>attacks to Catholic dogmas</i> and scenes that are profoundly pornographic, though less so than in other works by the author ... Should they be crossed out?” <sup>144</sup>	11036-70, 66/06214
#24	<i>Black Spring</i>	“Short stories by Miller, all of them dirty, more than pornographic. <i>It is even worse, however, what he oftentimes writes about God and divine things: a plain mockery.</i> ” <sup>145</sup>	5279-69, 66/03099
#25	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“On page 275 there is an irreverent expression but, since it is mentioned in passing, it may be overlooked and <i>left to be fixed in the translation.</i> ” <sup>146</sup>	9212-65, 21/16873

<sup>142</sup> Those years correspond to Francoism II (1945-1966) in Ruiz Bautista’s classification of censorship and editorial issues.

<sup>143</sup> “[C]onsiderar que debe publicarse convendría se eliminara la *blasfemia* estampada a la pág. 20.”

<sup>144</sup> “Tiene bastantes ataques a *dogmas católicos* y escenas profundamente pornográficas, aunque menos numerosas que en otras obras del autor. En las págs. 176-8 hay una burla grotesca contra un acto de *culto protestante* (¿Deberá tacharse?)”

<sup>145</sup> “Se trata de una serie de narraciones del mismo autor: todas ellas, más que pornográficas, sucias. Pero todavía es peor lo que escribe de tanto en tanto sobre *Dios y las cosas divinas*: una burla simplemente.”

<sup>146</sup> “En la página 275 hay una expresión irreverente, pero como cosa de paso, puede ser pasada por alto, y dejada a que se subsane en la traducción.” The passage reads as follows: “‘You are the holy ghost inside of me. You make me spring.’ She was not even sure of that-of being his holy ghost ... In this way he passed from the eyes of Lillian which said: ‘I am here to warm you.’ Eyes of devotion. To the eyes of Sabina which said: ‘I am here to consume you.’”

#26	<i>Ladders to Fire</i>	“The novel’s plot is completely <i>contrary to the Catholic morality</i> ; Liliana [sic] lives beyond morality with a lover, she has desires to have an <i>abortion</i> although in the end, it seems that the issue is resolved by means of a bad labour, of which we don’t know to what extent it could have been intentional.” <sup>147</sup>	7088-65, 21/16626
#27	<i>Justine</i>	“Ideas contrary to marriage, adultery; there is a passage referring to pederasty ... There are <i>injurious expressions towards clergymen</i> .” <sup>148</sup>	4078-61, 21/13434

Table 9: Examples of censors reporting blasphemous content in the “romans-à-clef.”

In a censorship file on Anaïs Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love*, one of the censors signed the report with their full name: “P. Alvarez Turienzo.” This is an extraordinary case because readers hardly ever signed their notes by disclosing their names at this point in the dictatorship. The trend, as far as I can tell from the ample archival research I have thus far undertaken, is that censors signed the documents with a given number: “Lector 14” [Reader 14], for example. File 9212-65 (catalogue 21/16873) contains the name of a famous religious censor, Father Saturnino Alvarez Turienzo, a specialized “reader” who had a particular influence in the censorship apparatus. He was an Augustinian monk and a philosophy professor at the University of Salamanca. According to Ernesto Escapa, Turienzo collaborated with the MIT from 1958 to 1969 (“Leoneses”). During those ten years, Father Turienzo wrote his name on many reports, demonstrating—other scholars have identified— “an erudition and breadth of vision unusual

<sup>147</sup> “La obra tiene un fondo completamente contrario a la *moral católica*, Liliana vive al margen de toda moral con un amante, tiene deseos de hacer un *aborto* aunque al final parece que se resuelve en un mal parto que no sabemos hasta qué punto fue *intencionado* (pág. 107).”

<sup>148</sup> “[C]oncepto meramente contrario al matrimonio, adulterio, hay un pasaje de pederastia ... hay expresiones tuyas injuriosas a los *clérigos* (p. 79).” The passage the censor refers to reads as follows: “Templos donde podría superar esa herencia que ha recibido; no esos malditos monasterios llenos de jovencitos católicos granujientos que han convertido sus órganos sexuales en asiento de bicicleta,” and later: “un día, alarmados nos damos cuenta de que el que no se preocupa es Dios, no solo no se *preocupa*, sino que le somos totalmente *indiferentes* ... Hace falta una inmensa ignorancia para acercarse a Dios. Me temo que yo siempre he sabido demasiado.”

among censors” (Estany 260, my translation). Indeed, Turienzo’s evaluation of Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* is, surprisingly, the least deprecating of them all though, notwithstanding his favourable review, the novel was not formally approved for publication in Spanish or Catalan during the dictatorship:

Sensual subject matter throughout the novel. The inconsequentiality of the theme in almost all its pages is not exactly a disclaimer against its frivolity. However, one cannot find anything decisive that leads to its rejection. One page 275, there is an irreverent expression but, as a passing thing, it may be overlooked and left to be mended in the translation. (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873) <sup>149</sup>

In addition to authorizing or rejecting a novel for publication, the censorship board could also denounce a book on the grounds of a criminal offence of Public Scandal in accordance with Articles 431 and 432 of the Penal Code, as they attempted to do with the Spanish and Catalan editions of Anaïs Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love*:

The only criminal offense we can consider to have been infringed is that of article 165 bis b) regarding the publication of dangerous information to morality or good customs ... From this point of view, and based on a strictly legal interpretation, it would be possible to make use of the power granted to the Administration by article 64 of the current Press and Printing Law; but, in consideration of the circumstances of the case at hand, I consider it preferable not to prevent the free dissemination of the publication; or in the last case, for

---

<sup>149</sup> “Temática sensual, variamente administrada. La intrascendencia del fondo de casi todas las páginas no son un descargo precisamente frente a su frivolidad, pero no se encuentra en ellas nada decisivo que persuada su no autorización. En la página 275\* hay una expresión irreverente, pero como cosa de paso, puede ser pasada por alto, y dejada a que se subsane en la traducción, como parece razonable, PUEDE AUTORIZARSE. Firmado: P. Alvarez Turienzo, Madrid, 22 febrero de 1966” (Exp. 9212-65, sign. 21/16873).

greater security, to file a private complaint with the Public Prosecutor's Office, with a copy sent to him, in the event that he considers the existence of a criminal type. (File 3557-68, catalogue 21/18909)<sup>150</sup>

Ultimately, the decision was to brand both translations with “silencio administrativo.” Later in 1976, a similar process took place about Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*:

Certain works of Henry Miller have been rejected up to now, both for importation and circulation. Among them are *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn*, books once considered scandalous and banned in many countries ... When analyzing a concrete paragraph or scene in isolation, it is easy to deduce that these books, if not considered pornographic, they at least could constitute a crime of Public Scandal ... or serious moral misconduct ... On the other hand, due to the precedent and exorbitant or inaccurate knowledge of Miller's work, it is undoubtedly that the publication of this book will produce a certain scandal, even a complaint, or lawsuit. For all these reasons, it seems advisable and convenient to me to proceed to the denunciation of this book, being the judicial Authority the one that pronounces on the possible existence of a criminal type. (Madrid May 25, 1976). (File 5179-76, catalogue 73/05474)<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>150</sup> “La única figura delictiva podemos considerar infringida es la del artículo 165 bis b) del mismo Cuerpo Legal, por la publicación de informaciones peligrosas para la moral o las buenas costumbres ... Desde este punto de vista, y partiendo de una interpretación estrictamente jurídica, cabría la posibilidad de hacer uso de la facultad concedida a la Administración por el artículo 64 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta; pero, en consideración de las circunstancias que concurren en el expediente que nos ocupa, estimo preferiblemente no impedir la libre difusión de la publicación; o en último caso, para mayor seguridad efectuar denuncia particular al Ministerio Fiscal, con remisión de un ejemplar, para el supuesto de que considerase la existencia de alguna figura delictiva” (Exp. 3557-68, sign. 21/18909).

<sup>151</sup> “Si analiza de manera aislada y concreta determinados párrafos o escenas de las presentes obras fácilmente puede deducir la existencia, si no de pornografía, si al menos la existencia de escándalo público del artículo 31 del Código Penal o falta grave a la moral del 165 del mismo Cuerpo legal ... Por otra parte, por los antecedentes y conocimiento desorbitado o inexacto de la obra de Miller, es indudable que la publicación del presente libro ha de producir cierto escándalo incluso alguna denuncia o querrela. Por todo ello me parece aconsejable y conveniente proceder a la

### 6.2.2. Inherited “Anxieties” and “Influences”

In cases when the censors had already reviewed a work, whether for importation or “consulta voluntaria,” it can be argued that the “readers” were prone to be influenced by previously reported affective responses made by former censors towards that novel. Since reports and other documents (request, resolution, further correspondence with the publisher, etc.) were attached to the censorship file on the score of the book, the censors in charge of evaluating a new submission of the same book had access to materials previously generated by their colleagues, even if the new request pertained to a target text in another language or an entirely different edition carried out by another publisher. In “La traducción de narrativa dels anys 60 i la censura” Jané-Lligé refers to this issue regarding Catalan publications and states that in the event of a Catalan translation under scrutiny by the censors, it was “very much conditioned by the already existing resolutions relating to the Spanish edition” (87) previously submitted.

This can be noticed in many of the AGA censorship files of the text corpus under analysis. For example, regarding Aymà’s first request to translate Miller’s *Black Spring* into Spanish (Castilian) and Catalan in 1967, one censor writes: “This novel by Miller is in line with his other books, *The Tropics*, in a way that the author himself states that he is completing what he did not say in the other novels. *It has been rejected 8 or 10 times for importation*” (File 92-67, catalogue 21/17876, emphasis added).<sup>152</sup> In the same vein, a censor could comment on previous reports and consider them to form their reviews, see for example the case of Edhasa’s request to publish Bauer-Marcos’ translation of *Black Spring* in 1969: “Upon further review I conclude that I am unable to

---

denuncia del mismo, siendo la Autoridad judicial la que se pronuncie sobre la posible existencia de figura delictiva. (Madrid, 25 de mayo 1976)” (Exp. 5179-76, sign. 73/05474).

<sup>152</sup> “Esta novela de Miller está plenamente en la línea de sus otras novelas ‘Los Trópicos’ tanto es así que el mismo autor afirma que aquí completa lo que no dijo en las otras novelas. Esta novela ha sido rechazada 8 o 10 veces en su importación” (Exp. 92-67, sign. 21/17876).

propose the authorization of this novel by H. Miller. There are not sufficient grounds to induce me to change the refusal proposed in earlier reports” (File 117-67, catalogue 66/6477).<sup>153</sup>

In regard to the many attempts to publish *Tropic of Cancer*, similar conclusions can be drawn when considering the censorship board’s response to Aymà’s persuasive letter appealing to the censors to reconsider their verdict:

In accordance with your letter dated April 17, 1975, we have proceeded to a new reading of the Catalan translation of *Trópico de cáncer*, by Henry Miller ... Without disregarding the arguments and reasonings for an eventual authorization exposed in your letter—and in accordance with the provisions in force—it is undisputable that in applying for “consulta voluntaria,” this board cannot authorize the aforementioned book. Even recognizing the unquestionable literary value of the author, his enormous universal prestige, and projection in the literary world, multiple scenes of his novel *would have a negative impact on our legal system* ... Of course, you can make use of the rights that the Press and Printing Law expressly recognizes, which is the constitution of the deposit of copies, in which case—and in accordance with the content of Article 64 of the aforementioned Law—we would refer it to the corresponding Legal Authority so that it could be examined on the possible existence of a criminal type. (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812)<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> “Después de una revisión más detenida llego a la conclusión de que no puedo proponer la autorización de esta obra de H. Miller. No hay motivos suficientes que me induzcan a cambiar la denegación propuesta en antiguas revisiones” (Exp. 117-67, sign. 66/6477).

<sup>154</sup> “De acuerdo con su escrito de fecha 17 de abril de 1975, se ha procedido a una nueva lectura de la traducción catalana de *Tropico de cáncer*, de Henry Miller ... Sin despreciar los argumentos y justificaciones para una eventual autorización, contenidas en su escrito, y de acuerdo en todo momento con las disposiciones vigente, es innegable que en trámite de Consulta Voluntaria este Centro Directivo no puede autorizar expresamente el citado título. Aun reconociendo el indudable valor literario del autor, su enorme prestigio universal y proyección en el mundo literario, numerosas escenas de su obra incidirían negativamente en nuestro ordenamiento jurídico ... Por supuesto que pueden hacer uso del derecho que la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta expresamente les reconoce, cual es la constitución del depósito de ejemplares, en cuyo supuesto, y de acuerdo con el contenido del art. 64 de la citada Ley, lo remitiríamos a la



Conversely, for *The Tropics*, censors' evaluations experienced a stark shift after 1976, see for example the resolution to publish Alfaguara's edition of Bauer-Marcos *Primavera negra* in 1978:

As usual, the author mixes the most refined tenderness with sarcasm, which he takes to its most expressive limits. *Everything he narrates is transformed into either purity or filth.* There is no lack of outburst; the author's typical nonsense famous in all his production. In any case, they are circumstantial allusions that do not imply a conceptual intentionality. I do not know what they could have previously advised to eliminate. *Today, there is no doubt that the work can be authorized.* (File 19-10-78, catalogue 73/06759, emphasis added)<sup>155</sup>

A similar review was given to Manzano's *Trópico de Cáncer* in 1976: "This novel—in the past considered pornographic and having caused a great scandal at the time of its publication in English—has lost much of its validity and danger; it could hardly be considered as pornographic today but rather as a novel of erotic descriptions and unfortunate expressions" (File 5179-76, catalogue 73/05474).<sup>156</sup>

Comparable examples can be observed in the censorship files of Anaïs Nin's novels. For instance, "This North American writer is in line with Henry Miller's and Lawrence's obscurely erotic literature, with whom she has worked [Miller]" (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626)<sup>157</sup> and,

---

Autoridad Judicial correspondiente para que dictaminara sobre la posible existencia de figura delictiva" (Exp. 4979-75, sign. 73/04812).

<sup>155</sup> "Como es habitual en el autor mezcla aquí la más refinada ternura con el sarcasmo llevado a sus límites más expresivos. Todo cuanto relata es transformado en pureza o en porquería. No faltan en la obra los exabruptos, las burradas típicas del autor en toda su producción. En todo caso son simples alusiones circunstanciales que no suponen una intencionalidad conceptual. No sé qué pudieron en su época aconsejar que se tachase. Hoy no ofrece duda que la obra puede ser autorizada" (Exp. 19-10-78, sign. 73/06759).

<sup>156</sup> "La presente obra, que en su momento, fue tenida como pornográfica y que causó gran escándalo en el momento de su publicación, ha perdido gran parte de su vigencia y de peligrosidad; así actualmente muy difícilmente podría considerársela como pornográfica, sino más bien como una novela de descripciones eróticas y con expresiones desafortunadas" (Exp. 5179-76, sign. 73/05474).

<sup>157</sup> "Esta escritora norteamericana *se encuentra en la línea*, a veces tan oscura de la literatura erótica de Henry Miller, con el que ha trabajado, y de Lawrence" (Exp. 7088-65, sign. 21/16626).

in particular to Aymà's attempt to publish *Ladders to Fire* into Spanish and Catalan in 1965, the censors wrote: "A true erotological treaty. The whole of the novel is immoral and erotic. It belongs to a series of short stories, all with the same immoral style and taste entitled *Las ciudades interiores*" (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626).<sup>158</sup> A year later, reports influenced by the first readings persist: "Anaïs Nin's literature is comparable to those authors who seek, in carnal knowledge and from the body, the regenerating element of a latent and abandoned humanism" (Ibid.).<sup>159</sup> In regard to Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love*, the censor's notes when reviewing Alcalde-Prats' Spanish translation containing analogous anxieties of previous reports: "Novel whose translation into Castilian, if I am not mistaken, was rejected years ago based on the sensual character in which the protagonist is developed" (File 3170-69, catalogue 66/02838).<sup>160</sup>

The censorship files regarding Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* and *Balthazar* contain similar "inherited anxieties" that the censors were passed down by previous reports and resolutions: "both novels [*Justine* and *Balthazar*] are immoral and pornographic in many ways" (File 1052-63, catalogue 66/06446),<sup>161</sup> although in a much lesser extent if compared to Nin's and Miller's censorship files. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that not all reports contain negative descriptions of the novels. A curious trend that can be drawn from analyzing all censorship files relating to the three authors (Miller, Nin, and Durrell) is that the first report tends to be more favourable than the second one—normally a novel's censorship file contains two different reports completed by different censors—so-called "readers" and an assigned number. Far too often, the

---

<sup>158</sup> "Esta obra es un verdadero tratado de erotología. Toda ella es inmoral y erótica, forma parte de una serie de obras, *todas del mismo estilo y catadura moral*, titulada 'Las ciudades Interiores'" (Exp. 7086-65, sign. 21/16626).

<sup>159</sup> "Anaïs Nin está en la línea literaria de aquellos autores que buscan, en lo carnal y desde el cuerpo, el elemento regenerador de un humanismo latente y abandonado" (Exp. 7086-65, sign. 21/16626).

<sup>160</sup> "Novela cuya traducción al castellano, si mal no recuerdo, ya fue denegada hace años, y ello es de suponer basándose en el fondo sensual en que la protagonista se mueve" (Exp. 3170-69, sign. 66/02838).

<sup>161</sup> "Ambas novelas [*Justine* and *Balthazar*] complementaria una de otra, son inmorales y pornográficas en muchos frentes" (Exp. 1052-63, sig. 66/06446).

second report appears to guide and influence the final verdict contained in the resolution to be sent to the publisher, which means that in the end, the board would subscribe to a more conservative view of the book in question. This is, in fact, a notorious fact in the case of Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to Fire* in their Spanish and Catalan versions.

Lastly, additional details contained in the paratexts as well as information on the translation agents, such as author, rewriter, publisher, editor and their networks, can guide the interpretation (or pre-interpretation) of the text before transcending its materiality and embarking in its reading. Hence, paratexts and peritexts could have also elicited affective responses towards Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's "romans-à-clef," which, in combination with the anxieties found in the negative comments and reports passed down by the different censors, can result in an unfavourable resolution to import, translate, and circulate the novels in the context of Francoism, as Alberto Lázaro claims: "It is not surprising that the mere name of an author could positively or negatively impact the censors when making the decision to authorize one of their literary works" (*H. G. Wells* 13, my translation). Indeed, one of the censor's reports on Durrell's *Justine* comments on the sensuality and eroticism that the pretexts evoke at first sight: "The novel describes a purely sexual type of love, aside of all morality, with Alexandria's brothels as the background. Carnal relationships are at the core of the novel. *The book's covers and flaps promise a lot of eroticism*" (File 10432- 69, catalogue 66/03531, emphasis added).<sup>162</sup>

Therefore, successful translations always reflected structural censorship, as I have shown with the censors' comments on Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's novels reviewed by the board. For

---

<sup>162</sup> "Se trata de un amor puramente sexual, al margen de toda moral; y como telón de fondo, los burdeles de Alejandría. La relación carnal es el verdadero protagonista de la novela. La misma portada y las solapas prometen mucho erotismo" (Exp. 10432- 69, sig. 66/03531).

that reason, and to quote Lefevere, a translation can be perceived “to no small extent [as] indicative of the ideology dominant at a certain time in a certain society” (41). Thanks to the reports filled by these first readers and the letters they shared with the publishers and editors, the archive becomes a chief element to investigate structural censorship, giving “a clear insight into the way in which discourses are produced and circulated, thereby placing the study of translation in its cultural and national context” (Billiani, *Modes of Censorship* 6). Using Bourdieu’s and Lefevere theories, scholars can study the “narratives encapsulated in the correspondence between different cultural agents, we can understand how a community negotiates its own identity and textuality as well as its cultural aesthetic paradigms, which, in the specific case of translations, can act as either subversive or conservative forces” (5).

### 6.3. Second Readers vs. Third Readers

#### 6.3.1. A Double Standard: Books for “Minorities”

All the same, more than merely textual and translational conclusions can be drawn when bringing to the forefront what I call “second readers,” namely a particular group of moneyed and educated consumers of the publications vying for circulation. For instance, the censorship files hint at another interesting factor that, on occasion, made the circulation of a novel possible: the type of edition submitted to the censorship board, i.e., the paratexts and peritexts presented. In an attempt to avoid banning of a novel, some publishers restricted their print runs—while increasing the cost of their publications—, by targeting a moneyed reader with a superior edition of the book that contained hard covers and elegant designs finished with golden motifs, etc. This has been observed mainly in Henry Miller’s and Anaïs Nin’s files. For example, in 1975, Aymà asserted that *Tropic*

*of Cancer* “cannot be prohibited in our country, *this edition in particular*, for it is a book whose print run and price would entail a restricted circulation that would make it practically unaffordable by a readership very little prepared to consume this kind of literature” (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812, emphasis added).

Sometimes the publishers also argued that a book should be considered “high literature,” by addressing a selected, very educated readership. This occurred when Aymà attempted to publish Lawrence Durrell’s works: “Durrell’s novels—clearly high literature—belong to the genre ‘difficult novels,’ and do not target mass consumption: only a reduced public of selected readers, greatly educated, who can grasp Durrell’s elaborate and complex style” (File 3823-70, catalogue 66/05561). Correspondingly, in regard to Anaïs Nin publishers claimed that her prose was “singular, beautiful, with aesthetic and human values that are only appreciated by a very restricted group of readers made of educated people; a fact that would greatly limit the moral danger of its influence” (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626). Or, as another censor points out regarding Durrell’s *The Alexandria Quartet*:

We believe that the importation of this novel—which will always be for *minorities since it is very difficult to understand*—should be allowed, but we should maintain the prohibition of a Spanish translation, at least for as long as the current legislation does not change ... We are in front of a novel of “modern Europeanism” with an excessively open atmosphere for what we are used to in our Spain. *This obliges us to immediately oppose a vulgarizing publication that will destroy the education of our youth. However, at the same time, we must admit the need for a respect for the healthy freedom that allows educated people to read Durrell’s delicious prose.* Of course, his proclivity for sexual liberality is on record,

as can be seen in the reading of various passages. (File 3823-70, catalogue 66/05561, emphasis added)<sup>163</sup>

This was also seen in a different censorship file pertaining to Durrell's novel *Nunquam*: "These highly literary novels by Lawrence Durrell belong to the genre of 'difficult novels,' which makes them out-of-the-way for a mainstream audience: only a small and select sector of highly cultured readers can access Durrell's convoluted and complicated style" (File 3823-70, catalogue 66/05561).<sup>164</sup>

Scholars link this phenomenon to the criteria that the censors had to adhere to in regard to the three target groups: books for minorities, books for general adults, and books for youths. Based on such a categorization, the censors were asked to judge with greater benevolence books bound to minorities, an elite, educated readership. In Rojas' words: "books whose complexity and high price restricted their access to an economically solvent intellectual minority." Naturally, there were exceptions to this criterion,<sup>165</sup> for, as I prove in this dissertation, some translations of Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's were still banned from circulating in Spain during late Francoism. The tone,

---

<sup>163</sup> "Creemos que se debe permitir la importación de esta novela que siempre será de minorías porque es muy difícil entenderla, pero que debemos mantener la prohibición de una traducción al español, por lo menos mientras no cambie la legislación vigente ... También estamos ante una novela del moderno europeísmo que le da un ambiente excesivamente abierto para lo que estamos acostumbrados en nuestra España. Ello nos obliga de inmediato a *negar que se haga una publicación vulgarizadora que necesariamente destruye la formación de nuestra juventud*. Pero al mismo tiempo, hemos de admitir la necesidad de un respeto a la sana libertad que permita a las personas formadas el leer tan deliciosa prosa como es la de Durrell. Desde luego, consta su proclive liberalidad hacia lo sexual como puede colegirse en la lectura de diversos [sic] pasajes" (Exp. 3823-70, sign. 66/05561).

<sup>164</sup> "Estas novelas de Lawrence Durrell, de alta elaboración literaria, pertenecen al género de 'novelas difíciles', lo cual las hace inservibles para aun público mayoritario: sólo un sector reducido y selecto de lectores, de gran cultura, puede acceder al estilo alambicado y complicado de Durrell" (Exp. 3823-70, sign. 66/05561).

<sup>165</sup> Exceptions, according to Rojas, entailed "una serie de criterios denominados 'especiales', donde estaría incluidas obras de marxismo no proselitista, libros sobre España que cuestionasen 'las esencias' del régimen, y algunas obras incluidas hasta entonces en el *Index librorum prohibitorum*—el 'índice de libros prohibidos' por la Iglesia Católica—o de autores presentes en el mismo" (Rojas).

register, and linguistic accessibility of the novels in question are shown in the translations analyzed in Part III, an issue of paramount importance to the censorship board.

### 6.3.2. Critics' Affective Responses to the "Romans-à-clef"

On the other hand, despite the publishers' efforts to import and translate Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's works in Franco's Spain, the reality of censorship meant that, in the end, the Spanish "second readers," often had access to either smuggled editions that were published elsewhere and illegally introduced in the country. In the words of a famous Spanish literary critic and writer, Francisco Umbral, in 1977:

In Spain, Miller was much more than a mere literary experience: he was, in the prosperous years of Francoism, a breath of freedom ... I used to stay in bed, with nothing to do, reading Miller in those *disgusting South American editions* that were like stolen somewhere and passed around all the public toilets in Madrid" (Umbral, my translation, emphasis added).

More recently, in "Una versión española del canon," Spanish writer Juan Bonilla also recounts his experience enjoying Miller's *The Tropics* in Iglesias' Spanish translation already in the 1980s, a translation that had been done much earlier and in a different continent. Akin to Umbral, Bonilla reflects on the Spanish editions he had access to and points out how the most influential books he read as a teenager:

were translated in America by Americans. Now I look back and think to myself: how awful. Because I have not reread many of those books but I have the feeling that, if I were to read them again, I would not find half the magic my memory remembers. What I would find is

the young guy I was, someone grateful to reach those lands of happiness, unease, and mystery thanks to translators on the other side (whom many times were plagiarized here using the ‘professional criteria’ of changing a word here, four expressions there). (Ibid.)

The translations that both Francisco Umbral and Juan Bonilla remember reading until the 1980s were indeed those of Mario Guillermo Iglesias and Patricio Canto, published in Buenos Aires in the 1960s by Santiago Rueda Editores. For my analysis, writers, critics, and readers such as Francisco Umbral are considered “second readers” in as much as they were actively engaged in the Spanish literary world during late Francoism. In his account, he embodies the kind of reader who managed to lay his hands on one of the smuggled editions of *The Tropics* when those works were banned from circulation. Conversely, Juan Bonilla, a teen on the eve of democracy, confesses to having read those exact translations made in Latin America, when the reality was that in the 1980s, the Spanish readership already had access to the non-self-censored domestic translations by Carlos Manzano and Carlos Bauer/Julián Marcos. What the readers read, however, goes beyond any higher form of control: once an edition—a translation even more so—gets out there, it does not necessarily matter what comes after; the damage has been done once the readers—more precisely the critics—show a fixation for a specific text, as Venuti identifies.<sup>166</sup>

On the other hand, “second” readers’ reactions to the different editions of the translated texts also may demonstrate their own bias and prejudices towards the materiality and form of the translations, that is, the language/dialect, or even the translator’s origin: “those *disgusting* South American editions” [aquellas asquerosas ediciones sudamericanas]. Hence, Umbral’s words also

---

<sup>166</sup> Venuti, using Lacan’s theory of object and desire (“object *petit a*”), sees how factors such as social authority, prestige, tradition, and patronage alter the reader’s desire towards a particular text—i.e., one translation versus another retranslation—or its rejection (“On a universal tendency”).



contain an affective response regarding the imported or smuggled, translations made in Argentina, such as those of Miller's and Durrell's novels. Herein lies the idea of introducing something "made" outside by outsiders, by speakers of Spanish—yes—but outsiders, nonetheless. There is, therefore, an affective reaction to language itself and its materiality, which I will explore further in Part III. In "The Role of Language in Spanish Nation-Building," Mar-Molinero argues how the linguistics hierarchies in the Peninsula informed power relationships with Castilian being at the centre:

While the imperialist past and Bourbon centralism had ensured Castilian dominance, creating a nation-state similar to others in Europe, the chaotic political situation of the nineteenth century had failed to bring the linguistic minorities entirely to heel, allowing peripheries' nationalisms to flower in a climate of European Romanticism-inspired cultural nationalism. (75)

During Franco's dictatorship, "the language question was highly political topic. The use of minority (non-Castilian) languages was seen as anti-patriotic. These languages were therefore proscribed from public use and ridiculed ... The regime carefully chose to refer to these languages as 'dialects'" (81). For that reason, Francoism, as described in Chapters 1 and 2, revolved around the concept of "casticismo" and "lo castellano" [that which is Castilian], and "anything challenging this was considered dangerously subversive" (Ibid.). With the passing of the 1966's Press Law, publications in languages other than Spanish were allowed, a fact that demonstrates the "confidence of the Franco regime, as it judged that it had little to fear from unflattering views published in non-Castilian languages, given the inevitably limited readership" (82). What about,

however, publications in Spanish though not Castilian in dialect? I believe that Umbral's reaction to the Latin American translations accounts for a similar, though more subtle, reaction.<sup>167</sup>

At any rate, as Lago Carballo exposes, the Spanish readership during Francoism owes a great deal to those editions published abroad and legally, or illegally, imported to Spain:

Many of us who belong to a generation of Spaniards who were intellectually formed in the seventies and eighties will never be grateful enough for what publishers Emecé, Sudamericana, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Grijalbo, etc. did for us, bringing our own culture to us ... [we are also grateful for] the group of authors who made superb translations, making Rilke, Kafka, Camus, Sartre, Thomas Mann [Durrell, Miller] available to us ... They broke our isolation and brought us closer to Western culture. (Lago Carballo 18, my translation).

Or, speaking of Aurora Bernárdez's translations, Spanish poet and translator Luis Antonio de Villena discloses: "I remember many of [her] translations in Argentine editions, which during the years filled the cruel vacuum of Franco's censorship. In my case, I knew Bernárdez's quality as a translator before her relationship with Cortázar" (Villena).

---

<sup>167</sup> A similar notion regarding the linguistically monocentric view that Francoist Spain advocated for has been pointed out by Lucas Petersen in "Las traducciones de Santiago Rueda: editor en la encrucijada de su tiempo" (2019): "En simultánea, esa media lengua casi involuntaria que se detecta en varias obras de Rueda es un síntoma del dilema fundamental de la traducción en la Argentina en esas décadas (Falcón 2010). Con su perfil más de hombre de negocios que de hombre de letras, Rueda terminó involucrándose así, de hecho, de manera quizás inconsciente o poco programada, en la disputa cultural que la Argentina sostenía con la España franquista sobre el monocentrismo o el pluricentrismo del castellano. En conjunto con otras editoriales argentinas emergidas por la misma época, con un rol protagónico ganado a fuerza de audacia e intuición, Rueda dejó una marca indeleble en al menos tres generaciones de lectores, a los que abrió no solo nuevas estéticas y autores sino también nuevas formas —es decir, distintas a las que habían sido dominantes hasta entonces— de experimentar en castellano literaturas concebidas originalmente en otros idiomas. Y esto incluye —como se vio, no sin pesar— al propio Paco Umbral, alarmado por los rasgos rioplatenses de las versiones que leía, pero quizás incapaz de reconocer el otro lado de esa moneda: la irremediable existencia de una tensión profunda en una lengua en pleno proceso de descentralización" (Petersen, "Las traducciones).

By including different accounts from “second” readers, I observe distinct reactions to importing translations made outside the national borders. On the one hand, literary critics such as Francisco Umbral, being the well-respected literary critic and journalist that he was and speaking from a position of relative authority, was the type of reader who was able to acquire some of these illicit, smuggled, or otherwise ill-gotten copies of banned literature and whose possession of these materials was, in a way, the type of consumption of this literature that was deliberately overlooked by the authorities: the so-called “books for minorities”. That someone like Umbral, a member of the intellectual elite could enjoy those “disgusting South American editions” of Miller in the privacy of his own “bed” was entirely different than approving domestic copies for mass distribution and consumption for the “third readers” at large. At the same time, his reaction to how he enjoyed that literature, in addition to the very own materiality of the edition in question, shows a stark difference when taking into consideration other responses, such as the one posed by Juan Bonilla, being a teenager in the Spanish Transition to democracy, Miller’s prose in Argentine translation was the most influential read.

The mere existence of translations on the other side of the Atlantic meant that at least some readers could come across those “South American editions” despite their conditions. However, the story was different when it came to most of Anaïs Nin’s works. The reality of Nin’s mass reception in Spain had to wait patiently until the 1980s, even though Iberian publishers, namely Aymà, fought to bring in her translations in the late 1960s—and ultimately did after receiving “silencio administrativo” as the censors’ resolution for both the Catalan and Spanish translations of *A Spy in the House of Love* in 1968 and 1969. However, it clearly did not happen in large enough print runs to reach the so-called “third readers” of the country. As the article published in *El Mundo* in 2002 illustrates:

Among the many bloods that ran through the veins of the North American Anaïs Nin, the Spanish one played a fundamental role. However, here in Spain we met her late, when she was about to die. She arrived in the late-1970s, with the erotic literature “boom” that we witnessed during the Transition ... In just four years, between 1978 and 1982, three editions of her *Delta de Venus* were sold out. (Memba)

With this chapter, I conclude the section devoted to studying the actors and agents behind the translations of the three authors under analysis in my dissertation. From text to agent, from actor to network, from archive to publication, this section has established the connections, relations, reactions, and receptions of the people who, to different extents, participated in and affected the circulation of the selected “romans-à-clef” in Spanish and Catalan; those from Latin America and those commissioned domestically by Spanish and Catalan publishers.

**Part III. “Romans-à-clef” in Transformation: Affect, Censorship, Translation**

“There is only one thing which interests me vitally now, and that is the recording of all that  
 which is omitted in books”  
 —Miller, *Tropic of Cancer*

“It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity,  
 system order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous,  
 the composite ... Abjection, on the other hand, is immoral, sinister, scheming, and shady: a terror  
 that disassembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter ...”  
 —Kristeva, *Desire in Language*

There is reason to believe that translation and censorship are opposing forces, as Vanesa Leonardi and others define it, “two extreme ends” in regard to communication, since one, translation, aims for communication to occur—for it to circulate—whereas censorship prevents it by building a wall that stalls that dissemination or prevents it altogether (61). As simple a binary as this might seem, there are, naturally, many subtleties to it. In times where censorship is State enforced, the task of distinguishing between self-censorship and mandated censorship is close to impossible. Writers, translators, publishers are all under the constraints of such “obstructing walls,” thus, self-censorship is almost an inevitable solution to circumvent a metaphorical fence. Whether an

unconscious act or a premeditated and purposeful turn of phrase, analyzing translations done in contexts of institutional censorship is not meaningful enough when the translated texts are studied in isolation. Resorting to extratextual materials such as archival files, translators' notes, and their accounts, as well as agents' correspondence is paramount to assess the translation processes in a more all-encompassing manner. Only by employing such a relational approach can scholars critically reflect on translations as products and begin to describe the level of self-censorship performed by the different actors involved in the translation process for, as I thoroughly depicted in Part II of this dissertation, many were the hands that touched books under Francoism: from the permission to import a copy of the source and/or target text from abroad, passing through the inception and evolution of the translated text in the target language(s), to the very final product vying for circulation and consumption, if authorized, to top it all off.

That translators and publishers operating under the Francoist dictatorship had little to no freedom to have publications "their way," whatever this may imply, is no secret but it is also notably hard to measure solely by looking at the translations. When dealing with novels prone to induce different affective responses in their readers, such as the "romans-à-clef" that form my case studies, it is even harder to tell institutional censorship and self-censorship apart, save for the very specific comments made by the censors in which they actually marked the pages or passages to be erased from the source texts, which can be agreed is outright censorship. That, nevertheless, was not always the case, as the selected novels that make up my case studies reveal. For instance, Anaïs Nin's Spanish translation of *A Spy in the House of Love*, done by Carmen Alcalde, was a mediated translation. Carmen Alcalde did not translate *Una espía en la casa del amor* from English, in fact, in a personal interview with her, she acknowledged that she translated Nin's novel using a French translation. Hence, the transformations start. In this particular case, however, the censors first read

Gunther Stuhlmann's 1959 English version prior to giving the green light to Aymà's Catalan and Spanish translations, which also means that they were commenting on Nin's "original," not the French translation, as Alcalde did. They were, therefore, working with different texts. It was onto the English version that the censors marked the pages and passages that were controversial and sent the report to the publisher for them to consider their demands when carrying out the translations (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873).<sup>168</sup>

One would then expect that those selected passages would be either omitted or softened by the translators and/or editors before submitting the novel again for publication, which was, for example, the case with Henry Miller's translations of *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* into Catalan, but this was not always the case. Oftentimes the MIT would request the submission of a translation that would not contain the selected passages, but the censorship files show that certain publishers would simply give up and not carry on with the "consulta voluntaria" process. Such is the case of Carlos Bauer and Julián Marco's translation of *Black Spring* into Spanish, done in 1970 and not authorized until 1978 (Alfaguara/Bruguera).

Following with Carmen Alcalde's particular instance, though, she also disclosed that the reports sent by the censors never reached the translators. As a matter of fact, she had not seen the comments made by the censors on either Nin's source text or her own translation before I read them to her from my own laptop in January 2023, forty-five years after she translated the novel

---

<sup>168</sup> Pages marked by the censors from the collection *Cities of the Interior* (1959): 79, 90, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112-119, 125, 239, 410, 473, 595-6, 612, 614-5, 625. In a second report, another censor claims: "En la página 275\* hay una expresión irreverente, pero como cosa de paso, *puede ser pasada por alto, y dejada a que se subsane en la traducción.*" They also write: "Pedir texto traducción, 23 feb. 1966 ... *Cities of the Interior*, de Anais Nin, le comunico que podrá ser autorizada previa presentación del texto traducido al castellano, sobre el que se harán, si son necesarias, las oportunas indicaciones" (Exp. 9212-65, sig. 21/16873). The same operation takes place for the Catalan translation: "le comunico que podrá ser autorizada previa presentación del texto traducido al catalán, sobre el que se harán, si son necesarias, las oportunas indicaciones" (Ibid.). Aymà sends the two translations and both get rejected. The censors' reports seem more critical and severe on the translations than the English original.

into Spanish. This means that the publisher neither shared such official documents with their translators, as Alcalde mentions, nor had them involved in any further revision process:

It was a tug-of-war between the publisher and the censors. For the rest of us—writers, journalist—it was kind of common knowledge but it was not clear; there was no official list of unspeakable things. Once I met with a censor regarding my magazine, *Presencia*. We were having lunch in Barcelona in La Rambla. My uncle Moncho, the sculptor, had talked to him. I guess he was worried about me. The censor wanted to warn me; he told me to be careful with my publishing endeavours but failed to give me any precise examples of censurable content. (Alcalde, Personal interview)

In spite of this, was the censorship battle only between the censors and the editors, as Alcalde openly claims? Not entirely. Carmen Alcalde's reflection on censorship reminds us of Judith Butler's criticism to agency and censorship, for when rules have been "decided prior to any individual decision, [rules] are precisely the constraining conditions which make possible any given decision. Thus, *there is an ambiguity of agency at the site of this decision*" (128, emphasis added). No matter the level of involvement of the different actors in the translation process, all of them were constrained one way or another by the rules under which they were forced to play, despite their agency, because, as Butler observes, "[t]he speaking subject makes his or her decision only in the context of an already circumscribed field of linguistic possibilities" (Ibid.). Under this logic, self-censorship or internal censorship was equally performed by the rewriters, for they had internalized the censorial operations or "norms" that constrained their creative freedom regarding



sensitive topics.<sup>169</sup> And, what is more, ambiguity would only come to favour the censorship system for it allowed them to make arbitrary decisions that, on many occasions, lacked consistency.

The other question that arises is then, did the translators have no further round of revisions or edits after the editors got the reports back from the MIT? It is also unlikely that this was the case if one considers the time and cost that it would entail on the part of the publishers. In fact, Alcalde was somewhat close with Aymà's, at the time, literary editor, Joan Oliver, and she asserts that she was never told about the stages of her translation, despite their friendship:

Joan offered me the job ... As a feminist, I was intellectually interested in Anaïs Nin—I had heard about her father and the family's Catalan lineage ... I did the translation from the French edition, Oliver gave it to me early in our friendship ... When he notified me, I went and picked up copies of the book some time later. (Ibid.)<sup>170</sup>

She never knew that the censors were not enthusiastic about her translation, branding it “silencio administrativo” in 1969, although, as her personal account of having seen the physical copies herself suggests, I am inclined to believe that Aymà, upon receiving such resolution, indeed published a small print run of the novel (1000 copies), similar to the case of Durrell's *Justine* in Catalan.<sup>171</sup> Whether unauthorized printings of this nature contributed to the subsequent departure of Joan Oliver from Aymà, one can only speculate: a realization that Alcalde herself came to during

---

<sup>169</sup> For an extensive description of censurable content under Francoism, see Chapters 2 and 6.

<sup>170</sup> For an unabridged portion of my interview with Alcalde: “Anaïs Nin me interesaba como figura intelectual y porque era hija de quien era. En aquellos momentos yo era una fanática comunista en mi juventud (un movimiento de rebeldía). Había una España dividida. Aunque más que divide políticamente para mí estaba dividida en la gente que había tenido oportunidad de tener cultura y la otra inocente, sin saber lo que pasaba ... Yo llegaba de Girona y, no sé, por relaciones así con gente me fui a verle; le conocí y nos hicimos muy amigos. Y él me dio este libro, así poco al conocerme [*Una espía en la casa del amor*] y alguno más de Anaïs Nin que ya no recuerdo” (Alcalde, Entrevista).

<sup>171</sup> This notion supports the previous argument regarding Aymà's registering this and other titles in cases when they were given the “tacit approval” of “silencio administrativo” instead of an outright rejection to publish a book.

the course of our interview. In her words, “this conversation is reminding me of the fact that, oddly enough, Oliver left the publisher [Aymà]. They fired him. He was fed up with all of that” (Ibid.).<sup>172</sup>

Conversely, Jordi Arbonès, Catalan translator of Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*, did talk about translation processes and stages with the very same Joan Oliver and the head of Aymà, Joan Baptista Cendrós. In a letter dated June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1969, that Arbonès sent to Henry Miller, he informs Miller that his Catalan editor, Oliver, *was going to prune Primavera negra* conveniently after the censors denied its publication (Arbonès, “La censura” 91, emphasis added). Arbonès’ letter to Miller is proof that the editor dealt with the final edits in accordance with the censorship forms. Hence, assessing Oliver’s changes to the translations to please the censorship board would be paramount to discern between the translators’ choices—therefore, self-censorship—and the institutional censorship coming from the *other* actors involved: censors and editors/publishers. However, the manuscripts in both Catalan and Spanish that were submitted to the censorship board were the very copies of the editions that entered the legal deposit. That is, there are no prior versions (early drafts) or edited ones after the fact to be found at the archive. Said editions are the translations from which I have extracted the data that will help me draw conclusions on how the different Spanish and Catalan versions of Henry Mille’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*, Anaïs Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the Hose of Love*, and Lawrence Durrell’s *Justine* and *Balthazar* were translated and transformed focusing on how the translators’ and editors’ reacted to the affective content as signaled by the censors’ affective responses (see Chapter 6).

---

<sup>172</sup> “Todo esto me hace recordar que, extrañamente, Joan Oliver fue echado de la editorial... Lo echaron. Y él ya estaba harto” (Alcalde, Entrevista).

At this point, it is but pertinent to bring back the notion of affect and what I mean by “affective reactions,” for I believe them determining in what constituted an authorized edition for these works to officially circulate under Francoism. In Chapter 6, I underlined the different responses that the censors-readers filed when scrutinizing Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s novels in the source texts and the various translations presented to the board (Catalan, Argentine, and Castilian) from 1961 to 1983. The affective responses were organized in topics that mainly pertained to “immorality,” as described by the censors, and which I subdivided into two categories based on their reports: sexuality/pornography (descriptions of sexual encounters, eroticism, and such) and so-called “modern love” (references to homosexuality, lesbian eroticism, women’s sexual desire, free love, etc.). Next to topics considered immoral, the censors harshly persecuted allusions to practices viewed as taboo by the Catholic Church and with which the Francoist regime aligned, such as suicide, prostitution, adultery, blasphemy, rape, as well as positions that could harm the image of the Church or the State, whether religious or political allusions. Among other taboo themes that were condemned for “bad taste” (*mal gusto*), there were, for instance, scatological references and mentions to bodily fluids.

Since there is no shortage of, at the very least, passages that could have been easily described as immoral by the censors in my corpus of novels, thus, very “affective” as their reactions clearly state—disgust, revulsion, threat, shock, disturbance, uncleanness, vice, obscenity, madness, schizophrenia, and so on—it is very interesting to compare the different editions made in Argentina and the Iberian Peninsula with the purpose of precisely tracing the affect that is found in the source texts and study the textual transformations that took place in the different target texts. Let us remember that “affect” needs to travel across linguistic but also cultural and normative boundaries via the different actors involved in the translation process, as Kaisa Koskinen declares:

any manipulative decision-making will also have an effective layer: issues such as self-censorship of taboo elements will entail a negotiation of the affective elements in the source text, the translators' and other agents' personal and professional stances towards them, the values, rules, norms and expectations of the receiving context and the affects involved in the reception of the target text. (2020: 7)

Hence, my interest in studying the transmission of such an affective content through not only translation but also through censorship resides in the idea that the social is implicit in affect. Affect Studies scholar Patricia Clough points out that “affect is not ‘presocial’ [for] there is a reflux back from conscious experience to affect” (2), and much of the same can be said about the other two operations: translating and censoring. They are both social and affective acts and, just like affect, they are relational and contingent upon the social to become.

This ambitious final part showcases and analyzes the selected passages from the corpus of novels that deal with different “affects” based on the affective reactions from the agents and actors involved in the translation processes. Instead of contrasting the different translations of one specific author/novel among themselves and in respect to the source text in question in a designated chapter, this part is divided into three chapters organized by subject matter in a fashion similar to what the censors' responses and commentaries signaled in the censorship and import files that were collected from the General Archive of the Administration in Alcalá de Henares. This way, Chapter 7 features sex-related passages and content that pertains to the topic of sex and sexuality, including female sexuality, eroticism, depictions of the sex act, and—in words of the Francoist “first readers”—pornographic allusions. Chapter 8 covers content on the topic of homosexuality and, depending on the novel and author, lesbian eroticism, also view as extremely pernicious by the censors. Lastly, Chapter 9 includes a study of other taboo topics—at times even considered

sinful—in the context of Francoism such as bodily wastes, and various other censurable themes, for instance, abortion, abuse, adultery, suicide, blasphemy, incest.

The idea behind these final section's arrangement is twofold. First, such an organization allows me to better illustrate how literary affect embedded in these novels was transformed in each edition, as well as formulate the reasons behind the different translation choices based on the actors' affective responses in the process of circulating the novels. Second, this organization showcases the similarities in the source texts in terms of censurable content. Since all the selected novels include content of sexual, homoerotic, and sinful nature, I have chosen to contrast the translators' choices towards such content with the censors' affective responses to the works. By organizing via the similarities of the censurable matter, I aim to identify differences in treatment of the texts by the censors and translators during the transformation process, i.e., instances of self-censorship, one novel being approved at the expense of another, etc. and ultimately speculate on what could account for this.

## **Chapter 7. On Sex and Sexuality: The Body, Female Sexuality, Pornography**

Not every translation choice was direct institutional manipulation in Franco's Spain. This type of regulatory manipulation, also patronage, imposed by the regime to maintain strict control of the cultural and literary fields, as described by Lefevere (1992), was only one side of the coin, for it indirectly triggered other self-imposed mechanism that publishers and translators had to resort to when carrying out their translations. In the letters from, for example, publisher Aymà to the censorship board there are references to a translation "properly done" or comments on its "cleanliness," in other words, self-censorship. In his article "The Translation of Sex-Related Language: The Danger(s) of Self-Censorship(s)," José Santaemilia defines the term as follows:

Self-censorship is an individual ethical struggle between self and context. In all historical circumstances, translators tend to produce rewritings which are "acceptable" from both social and personal perspectives. The translation of swearwords and sex-related language is a case in point, which very often depends on historical and political circumstances, and is also an area of personal struggle, of ethical/moral dissent, of religious/ideological controversies. (221)

Lefevere also suggests that, although extremely hard to measure, this type of internal manipulation can be viewed as a by-product of the rewriters' personal ideologies, allegiances, and agencies, not merely their cultural environments (Lefevere 41). Ultimately, the translator must make decisions to translate the message and its form into the target language and culture in a way that is both accurate and understandable to the target readers, that is, the target text is ultimately inserted in the poetics of the place in question. However, the translator, just like the other actors involved in

the translation process, is conditioned by his/her sociocultural environment and personal ideology, especially in contexts where institutional censorship is as imminent and prohibitive as it was during Franco's dictatorship, where writers, translators, and publishers were contingent on self-censorship practices that altered and transformed the source texts. In Lefevere's words: "The target text is to no small extent indicative of the ideology dominant at a certain time in a certain society" (41).

In literature, art, and media, sexual content has historically been a taboo subject; one problematic to express and, on many occasions, persecuted, as I once described: "In Western culture, there are infamous examples of institutions that have ensured that themes related to carnal love, sexuality, and descriptive references to intimate human relationships remain hidden" (Monzón, "Struggles" 210). Moreover, in "Tabú y lenguaje de las palabras vitandas y la censura lingüística" (2008), Pedro Chamizo states that topics related to sex have generally been censored for moral and religious reasons (37). Both author and translator face such hindrances marked by culture and society at a given time. To trace the very changes and transformations that the novels underwent in the hands of the many actors who participated in the making of the translations into Spanish and Catalan, this chapter focuses on a thorough analysis of the sexual content present in the six novels, that "immoral, obscene, and vulgar sexual content" as described by the censors on countless occasions. For this purpose, I will present and discuss examples of passages that reference sexual encounters, both implicit and explicit, and that have to do with sexuality, allusions to the sex act, or mere references to the human body and genitalia.

The study of the affective responses to the novels after assessing the censors' reports on the different editions, as presented in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2), shows that the most notable occurrences regarding sexual affect that the censors casted about for were those pertaining to

pornography, namely, what the regime's considered pornographic. The censors' reports and verdicts are particularly harsh when they viewed their idea of moral virtue, purity, and chastity threatened or compromised, even in the realm of fiction, with foreign literature being a particular object of their ire. The affective reactions they experienced as a response to the "romans-à-clef" cover an array of emotions they listed in their files, such as danger, repulsion, disquiet, unsettlement, disgust, threat, distaste, and psychosis, among others.

The six novels herein tackled share similar affective responses and judgements passed by the censors regarding pornographic content. The reactions to Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* are particularly negative in this regard. Literally labelled as pornographic, both novels are accompanied by descriptions that link the author with madness, violence, and depravity; descriptions complemented by very specific affects: "[*Tropic of Cancer*] triggers *revulsion* in the reader" (File 2791-61, catalogue 21/18052, emphasis added), or "[*Black Spring*] has a kinky taste for *indecenty both physically and morally*" (File 592-67, catalogue 21/17876, emphasis added). Let us first analyze Henry Miller's case in translation in order to evaluate the reasons behind such criticism and ponder the translation choices undertaken by the different rewriters.

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#1	<p>"O Tania, where now is that <b>warm cunt of yours</b>, those fat, heavy garters, those soft, bulging thighs? There is a bone in <b>my prick</b> six inches long. I will ream out every wrinkle in <b>your cunt</b>, Tania, <b>big with seed</b> ... He knows how to build a fire, but I know how to</p>	<p>"¡Oh, Tania! ¿Dónde está ahora ese <b>ardiente sexo tuyo</b>, esas gruesas y pesadas ligas, esos suaves y combados muslos? Tengo en <b>mi pene</b> un hueso de seis pulgadas de largo. Estiraré los pliegues de tu <b>vagina</b>, Tania, y <b>te la llenaré de semen</b> ... Sí, él sabe cómo hacer fuego, pero yo sé</p>	<p>"¡Oh Tania! ¿Dónde estará ahora <b>aquel cálido coño tuyo</b>, aquellas gruesas y pesadas ligas, aquellos muslos suaves y turgentes? Tengo un hueso en la <b>picha</b> de quince centímetros. Voy a alisarte todas las arrugas del <b>coño</b>, Tania, <b>hinchado de semen</b> ... Sí, él sabe encender fuego, pero yo sé</p>



- inflame a **cunt** ... I am **fucking you**, Tania, so that you'll stay **fucked** ... I will tear off a few hairs from **your cunt** and paste them on Boris' chin. I **will bite into your clitoris** and spit out two franc pieces" (5-6).
- #2 "Llona now, she had a **cunt** ... Not a **prick** in the land big enough her... *not one*. One **cunt** out of a million, Llona!" (7).
- #3 "... there **I stand her up, slap up against the wall, and I try to get it into her** but it won't work and so we sit down on the seat and try it that way but it won't work either ... And all the while **she's got hold of my prick, she's clutching it** like a lifesaver ... " (19).
- #4 "I liked her so well that after dinner we went back to the hotel again and **took another shot at it**. 'For love' this time" (44).
- #5 "it is a fine book **about the fucking**, Endree. Kepi has brought it for you. He thinks about nothing but the girls. **So many girls he fucks** ... 'I am not a
- cómo inflamar el **sexo de una mujer** ... **Te estoy poseyendo, Tania, de manera que quedes poseída** ... Te arrancaré algunos pelos **de tu sexo** y los pegaré en la mejilla de Boris. Te **morderé el clitoris** y escupiré dos monedas de a franco" (17).
- "Llona sí que tenía un **sexo**. No había un **miembro** en la tierra bastante grande para ella... *ni uno solo* ... ¡Un **sexo** único entre un millón, Llona!" (18).
- "... allí **la puse contra la pared y traté de poseerla**, pero no dio resultado y entonces nos sentamos sobre el inodoro tratando de hacerlo en esa postura, pero tampoco resultó. ... Y durante todo ese tiempo ella **me tiene el miembro, se aferra a él** como a un salvavidas ... " (29).
- "Me gustaba tanto que después de comer volvimos al hotel, y tuvimos un **nuevo encuentro**. 'Por amor', esta vez" (53).
- "Es un lindo libro **sobre el amor**, Henry. Kepi lo ha traído para ti. No piensa más que en mujeres. **Se acuesta** con tantas mujeres ... No soy un **buen amador**, Henry.
- inflamar un **coño** ... Te estoy **jodiendo**, Tania, para que **permanezcas jodida** ... Te arrancaré algunos pelos del **coño** y los pegaré a la barbilla de Boris. Te **morderé el clitoris** y escupiré dos monedas de un franco" (18).
- "Llona sí que tenía un **coño**. ... No había una **picha** en todo el país bastante grande para ella... *ni una* ... ¡Un **coño** único entre un millón, el de Llona!" (20).
- "... **allí la sujeto de pie, la arrojo contra la pared, e intento metérsela**, pero no hay manera, así que nos sentamos en la taza y lo intentamos pero tampoco hay nada que hacer y, durante todo ese tiempo, ella **me ha cogido la picha y la está agarrando** como un salvavidas ... " (32).
- "Me gustaba tanto que, después de cenar, volvimos al hotel y **echamos otro palo**. 'Por amor' aquella vez" (62).
- "Es un libro muy bueno **sobre la jodienda**, Endri. Kepi lo ha traído para ti. No piensa en otra cosa que en las chavalas ... No soy un buen **follador**, Endri. Ya **no me**

- very good fucker, Endree. I **don't screw the girls** any more ... I am, no good **for the fucking**, Endree. I never was a **very good fucker**. My brother, he is good! Three times a day, every day!” (87).
- #6 “I had a married woman the other day who told me **she hadn't had a lay** for six months ... Jesus she was **hot!** I thought she'd **tear the cock off me**. And groaning all the time” (102).
- #7 “I suppose she **wants me to fuck her** Tuesday. **Fucking** in daytime—you don't do it with a cunt like that ... Besides, she'll be wanting me **to fuck her night and day...** nothing but hunting and fucking all the time” (113).
- #8 ““You can kill me afterwards, but just let me get it in... **I've got to get it in!**” And there he is, bent over her, their heads knocking against the wall, he has such a **tremendous erection** that it's simply impossible **to get it in her**” (126).
- Ya **no las poseo** más ... No sirvo para el amor, Henry. Nunca [sic] fui muy **buen amante**. Mi hermano sí que es bueno. Tres veces por día, todos los días” (93).
- “Tuve una mujer casada el otro día que me dijo que **no había sido besada** desde hacía seis meses ... Por mi vida, ¡qué **enardecida** estaba! Pensé que **me arrancaría el miembro**. Y gimiendo todo el tiempo” (106).
- “Supongo que querrá que **le haga el amor** el martes. **Hacer el amor** de día es difícil con una mujer así ... Además estará esperando que **le haga el amor** noche y día... nada más que cazar y hacer el amor todo el tiempo” (115-116).
- “—Luego puedes matarme, **pero déjame hacerlo...** tengo que hacerlo. —Y allí está, inclinado sobre ella, las cabezas de ambos golpeando contra la pared; tiene **una erección tan tremenda** que le resulta simplemente imposible **poseerla**” (127).
- las jodo** ... No soy bueno para **follar**, Endri. Nunca he sido un **follador** demasiado bueno. Mi hermano, ¡ése sí que es bueno! ¡Tres veces diarias, todos los días!” (108-109).
- “El otro día me ligué a una mujer casada que me dijo que hacía seis meses **que no follaba** ... ¡Dios, qué **cachonda** estaba! Creía que **me iba a arrancar la picha**. Y no paraba de gemir” (125).
- “Supongo que quiere que **me la joda** el martes. **Follar** de día... no es algo que se hago con una tía como ésa ... Además, querrá que **me la folle noche y día...** nada más que cazar y follor todo el tiempo” (137).
- “¡Puedes matarme después, pero **déjame metértela!**” Y ahí está, inclinado sobre ella, y sus cabezas chocan contra la pared; tiene una **erección tan tremenda**, que sencillamente le resulta imposible **metérsela**” (151).

#9	“Did you ever have a woman who shaved <b>her twat</b> ? ... It doesn’t look like a <b>twat</b> any more ... I never in my life <b>looked at a cunt so seriously</b> ” (139).	“¿Has tenido alguna mujer con <b>el sexo</b> afeitado? ... No parece que fuera un <b>sexo</b> ... Nunca en mi vida <b>examiné una vagina tan seriamente</b> ” (138).	“¿Te has tirado alguna vez a una mujer que se hubiera <b>afeitado el chocho</b> ? ... Ya no parece <b>un chocho</b> ... Nunca en mi vida <b>he mirado un coño tan en serio</b> ” (164).
#10	“Paris takes hold of you, <b>grabs you by the balls</b> , you might say” (172).	“París se apodera de uno, <b>lo atrapa a uno Ø</b> , podría decirse” (168).	“París se apodera de ti, podríamos decir que <b>te agarra de los cojones</b> ” (200).

Table 10: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

The previous selected passages belong to Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and are contrasted with Mario Iglesias’ translation published by Ediciones Rueda in 1962—edition that was approved for importation numerous times in Spain—and Carlos Manzano’s domestic translation published in 1977 by Alfaguara/Bruguera. Taking into account the degree of equivalence transferred by one translator or another and, having followed the study proposed by Keith Allan and Kate Burridge in *Forbidden Words. Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (2006), I employ their discursive categories to analyze the translators’ choices: translation by orthophemism, translation by euphemism and translation by dysphemism. “Orthophemism” refers to the use of a neutral, standardized form that is usually the accepted term in a field of study: “it is typically more formal and more direct (or literal) than the corresponding euphemism” (Allan and Burridge 33). Using a “euphemism,” thus, entails the opposite of employing a dysphemism. According to Allan and Burridge, “euphemisms” are “typically more colloquial and figurative (or indirect) than the corresponding orthophemism” (Ibid.). Finally, the term “dysphemism” refers to a vulgar or rude equivalent of the above: “it is a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about

the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance ... they are normally tabooed” (31).

Hence, in terms of references to body parts, there is a tendency in Iglesias’ translation to either omit the part in question or provide an orthophemism or euphemism in its stead, a translation choice that downplays the tone that can be found in Miller’s source text. Examples of these are repeated in #1 and #2; “that warm *cunt* of yours,” translated as “ese ardiente *sexo* tuyo” [that burning *sex* of yours] by Iglesias, versus “aquel cálido *coño* tuyo” [that warm *cunt* of yours] in Manzano’s target text, as well as “There is a bone *in my prick*,” which in Iglesias reads as “Tengo *en mi pene* un hueso” [I’ve got a bone *in my penis*], as opposed to Manzano’s “Tengo un hueso en la *picha*” [I’ve got a bone *in my dick*]. First, by using “*sexo*” [sex], Iglesias elevates the register, failing to paint the same direct and crude scene that Miller recreates. Later in #1, he uses “*pene*” [penis], the clinical, standardized term, in lieu of “*prick*,” translated as “*picha*,” a much closer equivalent in the Peninsular version due to the colloquial, dysphemistic nature of the term. Later in the same passage, Iglesias, by maintaining the choice of “*sexo*” [sex] for “*cunt*,” resorts to adding the gender to clarify whose “*sex*” the passage refers to: “*el sexo de una mujer*” [*a woman’s sex*], something that Manzano’s translation solves by simply keeping the same dysphemistic degree as the source text: “*coño*” [cunt].

In the same vein, Example #3 once more refers to “*prick*,” which differs among the translations. Iglesias this time opts for “*miembro*” [member], while Manzano’s keeps using the dysphemism “*picha*” as in the previous example. Correspondingly, Example #6 provides a similar translation approach of the term “*cock*.” Iglesias translates it as “*miembro*” [member] and Manzano adheres to the use of “*picha*” yet again. In Example #9, Iglesias maintains the orthophemistic use of “*sexo*” [sex] when referring to the woman’s sexual part, in this particular

case “twat” in the original, which once more softens the source text, whereas Manzano refers to it as “chocho,” an outright vulgar term that parallels Miller’s tone when using “twat.” In the same example, Iglesias yet again employs the use of the clinically accepted term “vagina” [vagina] to refer to “twat,” while Manzano’s uses “coño” [cunt] as he did in Examples #1 and #2. Finally, in Example #10, Iglesias’s translation contains a curious case of omission that clearly lessens the sexual allusion to the passage. Hence, “Paris ... grabs you by the balls” is translated as “París ... lo atrapa a uno Ø” [Paris ... captures one] without referencing the very part that is being grabbed; in Manzano’s literal translation: “París ... *te agarra de los cojones.*”

A very similar pattern is observed in regard to the depiction of sexual encounters or when characters informally chat about sex and their sexual lives. For instance, in Example #1, Iglesias softens the target text by translating Miller’s “I am *fucking you*, Tania, so that you’ll *stay fucked*” as “Te estoy *poseyendo*, Tania, de manera que *quedes poseida*” [I am *possessing you*, so that you’ll *stay possessed*]. However, Manzano opts for transferring the same crude tone as the source text: “Te *estoy jodiendo*, Tania, para que *permanezcas jodida*,” with “joder” arguably being the closest term to “fuck” in the Spanish language. Examples #5 and #7 also contain passages where a character refers to “fucking” an “screwing” girls. In addition to using the term “poseer” [to possess] when referring to “screwing,” Iglesias introduces a rather euphemistic turn of phrase when referring to a book “about the *fucking*” translating it as “sobre el *amor*” [about the *love*], as well as “buen *amador*” [a good *lover*] in lieu of “very good *fucker*” and “*hacer el amor*” [to *make love*] for “fucking/to fuck.”

Contrariwise, Manzano’s continues using “joder” and its derivatives “sobre la jodienda” in a very direct manner and later in the same passage, he translates “screw” to “follar,” another rather vulgar and coarse solution, very in line with the source text. Following the same Iglesias’

translation choices in Examples #6 and #8 contain analogous euphemistic techniques, for instance “no había sido *besada*” versus Manzano’s “no *follaba*,” direct translation from the very colloquial “she hadn’t *had a lay*,” or Iglesias’ “*déjame hacerlo*” [let me do it] as the translation of “let me get it in!” versus “*déjame metértela*” [let me get it in] literally. “*Hacerlo*” [to do it] substitutes the actual action, namely the sex act, a translation choice that, once again, indicates Iglesias’ tendency to sugar-coat the target text.

In general terms, the Argentine translation of *Tropic of Cancer* carried out by Mario Guillermo Iglesias is full of omissions, orthophemisms, and euphemistic language that minimize and soften the source text’s tone, register, and coarse character, specifically when studying a selection of the sexual content, sex act descriptions, and reference to the body parts. These translation choices lead the translator to (self-)censor such passages. The Argentine translation is, therefore, socially more acceptable in terms of decorum, as it contains a much formal tone and register than Carlos Manzano’s translation as well as the source text itself, a rather domesticated translation, in Venuti’s words.

Let us now comment on Miller’s other novel, *Black Spring*, for which I will also contrast the Argentine-made translation by Patricio Canto—published by the same company, Ediciones Rueda in 1964, only a few years after their version of *Tropic of Cancer* was released—with the Catalan translation done by Jordi Arbonès in 1968 (published in 1970 by Aymà), and the Peninsular Spanish version by Carlos Bauer and Julián Marcos done in 1970, although not authorized for publication until 1978 (Alfaguara/Bruguera).<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> Though ideal as it would have been, I was not able to locate a copy of Arbonès’ Catalan translation of *Tropic of Cancer* (1967) that allowed me to carry out the same analysis as *Black Spring*, for which I have studied four different versions of the novel (Miller’s source text, the Argentine translation, the Catalan translation, and the Peninsular Spanish translation). In any event, the translation was carried out only a year before Arbonès translated *Black Spring*

	ST: Miller (1938)	TT1: Arbonès (1970)	TT3: Canto (1974)	TT2: Bauer (1978)
#11	“with his pants down, <b>jerking away</b> for dear life” (15).	“sense pantalons ... i <b>trafeguejava</b> a cor què vols” (12).	“con los pantalones bajos, <b>echando la vida</b> ” (34).	“con sus pantalones bajos, <b>cascándosela</b> como si le fuese en ello la vida” (21).
#12	“I want a world where the <b>vagina</b> is represented by a crude, honest slit ... I'm sick of looking at <b>cunts</b> all tickled up, disguised, deformed, idealized. <b>Cunts</b> with nerve ends exposed” (59).	“Vull un món on la <b>vagina</b> sigui representada cruament per un tall honest ... Estic fastiguejat de veure <b>meuques</b> coquetes, disfressades, deformades, idealitzades. <b>Meuques</b> amb les puntes dels nervis a flor de pell, vull” (45).	“Quiero un mundo en el que la <b>vagina</b> esté representada por un honesto tajo ... Estoy harto de ver <b>putas</b> coquetas, disfrazadas, idealizadas. <b>Putas</b> con la punta de los nervios al aire” (62).	“Quiero un mundo en el que la <b>vagina</b> esté representada por un rudo y honesto tajo ... Estoy harto de ver <b>coños</b> coquetos, disfrazados, deformados, idealizados. <b>Coños</b> con las puntas de los nervios al aire” (64).
#13	“No more <b>masturbating</b> in the dark! ... I don't want to watch young <b>virgins masturbating</b> in the privacy of their boudoirs” (59).	“Prou <b>fer el solitari</b> a les fosques! ... No vull contemplar cap minyoneta mentre, secretament, <b>fa coses lletges</b> en el seu boudoir” (45).	“¡Basta de <b>masturbarse</b> en la oscuridad! ... No quiero ver a las muchachas <b>vírgenes masturbándose</b> en secreto” (62-63)	“¡Basta de <b>masturbarse</b> en la oscuridad! ... No quiero ver a las muchachas <b>vírgenes masturbándose</b> en el secreto de sus habitaciones” (64-65).
#14	“Real <b>pricks</b> . Real <b>cunts</b> ” (61).	“ <b>Tot</b> autèntic” (46).	“Verdaderas <b>p...</b> , verdaderas <b>c...</b> ” (63).	“ <b>Pollas</b> verdaderas. <b>Coños</b> verdaderos” (66).
#15	“I would tumble her on to the bed again and <b>throw a good fuck into</b>	“la tirava damunt el llit i <b>la posseïa</b> ... Que em matin si, després d'una d'aquestes	“terminaba echándola sobre la cama y <b>poseyéndola con vigor</b> . ¡Que me maten	“la tumbaba encima de la cama otra vez y la <b>echaba un buen polvete</b> . ¡Que

and, considering that it was equally scorned by the censorship board (see Chapters 5 and 6), it is but fair to infer that it was translated in a similar manner.

her. Blast me if she wasn't the **finest piece of tail** imaginable ... I could stand her on her head and **blow into it**, I could **back-scuttle her**, I could drag her past the parson's house, as they say, any goddam thing at all" (103).

#16 "I raised her dress and **slipped into** her. And as I **got it into her** and began to **work it around** she took to **moaning** ... she ripped off the velvet dress ... and **she put my head down on her and she told me to kiss it** and with her two strong arms she squeezed me almost in half and moaned and sobbed ... with one hand **working around in her crotch ... She was so wet and juicy down there**" (110).

#17 "Pressed up against a woman so tight I

escenes de dolor d'angoixa, no es captenia com la **femella més extraordinària** del món! ... **Li podia fer qualsevol cosa**: ella simplement desvariejava de joia" (90).

"vaig arregussar-li les faldilles i la hi vaig **penetrar** a dins Ø . I, mentre començava a **treballar-la**, ella va començar a **gemegar** ... es va arrencar el vestit de vellut ... Ø m'estrenyé fermament entre els seus braços fins a partir-me quasi per la meitat, tot **gemegant** i sanglotat ... I jo li vaig dir que sí, tot **acariciant-la** ... Estava tan **tova** ..." (84-85).

"Estic tan fermament premsat contra una

si no era la **mejor hembra** del mundo ... Podía **ponerla patas arriba y soplarle dentro, trabajarla por atrás**, podía arrastrarla frente a la casa del pastor, como dicen; podía hacer lo que se me diera la gana" (99).

"le levanté el vestido y **me deslicé dentro de ella**. Y mientras yo estaba **trabajando**, ella empezó a **gemir** en una especie de delirio ... se arrancó el vestido de terciopelo ... me hizo bajar la cabeza y **me dijo que la besara** mientras con sus fuertes brazos me oprimía hasta partirme, sin dejar de **gemir** y sollozar ... mientras trabajaba con **una mano en su seno** ... Estaba **mojada y jugosa**" (95).

"Viajo tan apretado contra una mujer que

reviente si no era el **mejor coñito** ... Podía **ponerla patas arriba y soplarle dentro, darle por detrás, hacer la carretilla**, como dicen, cualquier jodida cosa que se me ocurriera" (121).

"le levanté el vestido y **se la metí**. Y, cuando ya la **tenía toda dentro**, y había empezado a **trabajarla**, ella comenzó a soltar unos **gemidos** ... ella se quitó violentamente el hermoso vestido ... **me hizo bajar la cabeza y me dijo que se lo besara**, abrazándome con sus fuertes brazos hasta que casi me rompió en dos, sin dejar de **gemir** y sollozar ... con una mano **trabajándole la entrepierna** ... Ella estaba **mojada y jugosa allí abajo**" (114-115).

"Voy tan apretado contra una mujer, que



	can feel the <b>hair on her twat</b> . So tightly glued together my knuckles are making a dent in <b>her groin</b> ... I manage to get my <b>penis</b> where my knuckles were before ... She is always in the same position vis-à-vis my <b>dickie</b> ” (139).	dona, que fins i tot sento els <b>sues pèls</b> . Estem tan enganxats, que els meus artells li fan un clot a l'engonal ... aconseguixo col·locar-me més bé ... ella roman sempre en la <b>mateixa posició</b> Ø” (105).	puedo sentir los <b>pelos de su pubis</b> . Estamos tan pegados que mis nudillos le dejan una marca en el <b>vientre</b> ... me las arreglo para colocar mi <b>miembro</b> donde estaban mis nudillos ... ella está siempre en la misma posición, frente a mi <b>sexo</b> ” (113).	puedo sentir los <b>pelos de su chumino</b> . Vamos tan pegados, que mis nudillos le están haciendo una abolladura en la <b>entrepierna</b> ... consigo colocar mi <b>pene</b> donde antes estaban mis nudillos ... ella siempre está en la misma posición vis-à-vis de mi <b>pilila</b> ” (142-143).
#18	“Millions and millions of them every day standing up without underwear and <b>getting a dry fuck</b> ... Ten to one they fling themselves on the bed and <b>finish the job with their fingers</b> ” (139-140).	“N’hi ha milions i milions que, cada dia, dretes allí, sense roba interior, <b>ho fan en sec</b> ... Com ho deuen acabar? Ø” (104-105).	“No sé cómo las mujeres sin ropa interior, de pie, <b>haciendo la cosa en seco</b> ... Diez de cada una se echan sobre la cama y <b>terminan la historia por sí solas</b> ” (113).	“Cada día millones y millones de mujeres de pie, sin bragas, <b>recibiendo un polvete en seco</b> ... se echan sobre la cama y <b>terminan el trabajo con sus dedos</b> ” (143).
#19	“And taking a bill out of his pocket he crumples it and then shoves it up her <b>quim</b> ” (253).	“i, traient un bitllet de la butxaca, en feu una boleta i la introduí a la « <b>guardiola</b> »” (191).	“[Y] sacando un billete del bolsillo, lo hizo una pelotita y se lo metió en la v...” (184).	“Y sacando un billete del bolsillo, lo hace una pelota y se lo mete en el <b>coño</b> ” (251).

Table 11: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Miller’s *Black Spring* and translations.

A quick first glance allows one to see that, in most cases, the Catalan translation tends to be briefer than its counterparts, especially when compared with the Peninsular Spanish target text translated by Bauer and Marcos. This is significantly noticeable in Examples #11, #14, #15, #16, #17, and #18, where the Catalan target text shows visible omission strategies in relation to sexual

references and body parts. Thus, terms such as “cunts” (#12), “pricks,” “cunts” (#14), “twat,” “groin,” “dickie” (#17), “quim” (#19) are not rendered in Jordi Arbonès’ target text. The Argentine translation seems to be somewhat in between the Catalan and the Spanish versions in the translation fidelity spectrum. The examples provided in Table 11 point out that Patricio Canto, much like Mario Iglesias had done in his translation of *Tropic of Cancer*, opts for euphemistic and orthophemistic choices more often than not. For instance, in Example #12 the several appearances of “cunts” in the source text is translated as “putas” [whores] in Canto’s version, “meuques” [prostitutes] in Arbonès’, and “coños” [cunts] in Bauer’s and Marcos’. Both the Catalan and Argentine translations opt for using the translation technique “the whole for the part” to avoid mentioning the sexual part in the way it is presented in the source text “cunts,” indeed referring to vaginas as it is clear by context.

Another extreme example in both the Catalan and the Argentine translations is the omission or visible self-censorship performed by the rewriters (#14): Arbonès’ “*Tot autèntic*” [everything authentic] and Canto’s “*Verdaderas p..., verdaderas c...*” [real p... real c....] for the source text: “*Real pricks. Real cunts.*” The Argentine version uses periods to denote the implied words, an overt act of self-censorship, whereas Bauer’s and Marcos’ rendition preserves the coarse language found in Miller’s *oeuvre*: “*Pollas verdaderas. Coños verdaderos*” [Real pricks. Real cunts]. A parallel display of elimination/omission strategy is found again in Canto’s translation, in which he resorts to the use of ... as opposed to spelling the whole word: “*se lo metió en la v...*” [shoves it up her quim] in Example #19. The word purposefully omitted could be either “vagina” or “vulva.” It is striking that the translator decided to not write the term in full, for either option starting with a “v” in Spanish is socially acceptable as both are clinical terms referring to feminine genitalia, a device he uses in Example #12. The once again “whole for the part” technique employed in the

Catalan translation downplays the scene by getting rid of any possible sexual connotation. On the other side, the Spanish translation constitute a true example of dysphemistic translation by which the crudeness and direct language of the source text is conveyed.

Even more interesting is the metaphorical solution utilized by the Catalan translator “introduí a la «*guardiola*».” The Catalan translation omits the dysphemism “quim,” only rendered as such in the Spanish version: “lo mete en el *coño*.” With the term “*guardiola*” [piggy bank] in italics and in brackets, the Catalan target text metaphorically leaves it up to the reader’s discretion to interpret it in a sexual manner. Overall, both the Catalan and Argentine translations fall short in words compared to the Spanish target text when studying the excerpts that reference body parts implying or overtly stating sexual innuendo. The examples described above are tastes of the textual disparity within the translations and speak of the different ways the rewriters negotiated around instances of sexual “affect” in Miller’s novels. Being too sexually descriptive, obscene, and quasi pornographic—as the censors put it—*Black Spring* and its translations were harshly reprehended by the MIT, and it is no surprise that the “uncleaned” Spanish translation carried out by Bauer y Marcos (1970) was not legally authorized to circulate until after the end of the dictatorship, whereas the rather domesticated and self-censored Catalan translation was in print since 1970.

Focusing on the sexual passages, the same conclusions can be drawn. Overall, the Catalan translation contains many instances of omissions and translation techniques that sugar-coat or soften the source text to a great extent. Example #11, “*jerking away* for dear life” reads as “*trafeguejava* a cor què vols” [working away]. One can understand this passage only in a sexual way with a bit of imagination, since at least the translation does mention that in this case the character does not “have the pants on.” Something similarly euphemistic can be perceived in the Argentine translation of this passage: “*echando* la vida” [*throwing* life away]—with no direct

sexual connotation either—whereas in the Spanish target text one finds a much more sexually descriptive image of the situation: “*cascándose* como si le fuese en ello la vida” [*jerking away* as if his life depended on it]. Under the same logic, the Catalan translation appears to be avoiding depicting an explicit masturbatory scene at all costs, as observed in Example #13 “fer el solitary ... fa coses lletges” [do/make the solitary ... to do ugly things]. In this case both Spanish renditions embrace the affective sexuality implicit in Miller’s novel and recreate the situation without filters through cognates such as “masturbarse” and “masturbándose.”

Example #15 offers another interesting case when contrasting the translations. The source text’s expression “Throw a *good fuck into her*” is translated in two ways, both containing a very different tone and intention. In both the Catalan and Argentine translations, the description of the sexual scene takes on a more formal touch thanks to the use of “*la posseïa*” [I *possessed* her] in Arbonès’ translation, and “*poseyéndola con vigor*” [*possessing* her vigorously] in Canto’s. Meanwhile, Bauer and Marcos’ translation makes use of a very similar expression, similar in tone and register, but also with a very optimal dynamic equivalence, for there is in fact a Spanish expression that references the same action, that of “to throw:” “*echaba un buen polvete*.” In the same example, the sexual scene gets even more graphic when the character starts enumerating the kinds of sexual things, he does with one sexual partner and we observe another case of utter omission on the part of the Catalan translation. Arbonès translates the whole scene as “*Li podia fer qualsevol cosa*” [I *could do anything to her*]. While the Catalan text sidesteps the whole passage, the Spanish translations offer two similar renditions of the sex rant as Miller wrote it, conveying the graphic description without downplaying it or resorting to euphemistic or metaphorical devices.

In a similar vein, Example #16 continues exposing the differences in the translations. To “I ... *slipped into her ... got it into her*” Arbonès’ chooses a translation by orthophemism: “la hi vaig *penetrar ... Ø*” [I *penetrated* her], this way shifting the source text’s colloquial tone by using of the scientific or standardized term for intercourse, which results in a more formal description of the scene. The Argentine translation opts for a more euphemistic approach, very close to the source text “me deslicé dentro de ella ... Ø,” save for the second part that is omitted [I got into her]. Nevertheless, this omission is not presented in the Spanish translation: “*se la metí ... la tenía toda dentro.*” In this case, the translators opt for a dysphemistic translation, rendering the same affective intention as the source text. Within the same example, more euphemisms can be found when transferring the idea of masturbating a woman— “*working around in her crotch*”—or giving her oral sex—“my head *down on her* and she told me to *kiss it.*” The Argentine translation conveys the same sexual image “me hizo *bajar la cabeza* y me dijo que *la besara*” [she made me go down and told me *to kiss her*] although there is a significant change in the second part of the narration “*la besara.*” The translator removes the reference to the part in question, that “it” in the source text, employing once more the “whole for the part” to downplay this sexual scene.

On the other hand, the Spanish translation by Bauer and Marcos shows a direct and equivalent translation in all possible sense: “me hizo *bajar la cabeza* y me dijo que *se lo besara*” [to kiss *it*]. Meanwhile, the Catalan translation has no trace of this passage. Arbonès’ translation outright omits the scene. In regard to the masturbation, the Catalan translation does include allusions to this very part: “*acariciant-la*” [caressing her], a rather mild and domesticated choice. The Peninsular Spanish version succeeds in depicting the scene in a very literal but idiomatic way: “*trabajándole la entrepierna*” [*working around in her crotch*], while the Canto’s translation changes the very body part that is being “worked around:” “*trabajaba con una mano en su seno*”

[*working with one hand on her breast*]. It is arguably still a sexual scene; however, the idea of a masturbation being given gets completely lost in translation after having modified the body part “crotch” in lieu of “breast.”

Examples #17 and #18 contain similar translation strategies employed by the different translators when tackling sexual passages. The Catalan translation unearths another case of omission, since the part of the body to which the action refers is not detailed: “same position *vis-à-vis my dickie*,” which translates as: “sempre en la *mateixa posició Ø* ” [always in the *same position*]. As shown in the table above, Arbonès’ target text suppresses the male member and, therefore, the translation is free of the sexual character that is, however, specified in the Spanish translation by Bauer and Marcos: “en la misma posición *vis-à-vis mi pilila*.” Bauer’s and Marcos’ choice to translate “dickie” as “pilila” is very satisfactory, for, similar to the source text, it utilizes a child-like language that conveys a quasi infantilizing tone, something not rendered in the Catalan translation. The same passage translates very differently in the Argentine text, too: “en la misma posición, frente *a mi sexo*” [in the same position, in front of *my sex*]. In this last case, there is no omission as in the case of the Catalan translation but, once again, the Argentine version chooses not to preserve the colloquial register and childish tone that “dickie” has in the source text. Lastly, Example #18 exposes another case of omission in the Catalan translation and two subtleties when comparing the Spanish versions: “terminan la historia *por sí solas*” [they *finish the thing by themselves*] in Canto’s translation as opposed to “terminan *el trabajo con sus dedos*” [they finish the job *with their fingers*], which is precisely a word-for-word translation of Miller’s source text.

On the one hand, the Catalan translation by Jordi Arbonès, submitted by Aymà in 1970, turns out to be the perfect paradigm to understand the ravages of internal censorship, i.e., self-censorship, where translator/editors decide to omit, mitigate, or offer a complete twist to the

register employed in the source text, greatly domesticating the text: “Eliminating sexual terms—or qualifying or attenuating or even intensifying them—in translation does usually betray the translator’s [more likely the editors’ pressured by the censors] personal attitude towards human sexual behavior(s) and their verbalization” (Santaemilia 225). Nonetheless, whether the decisions to omit, alter, or making the text more palatable for the target culture were started by the translator or negotiated between the translator and the editors (such was the case with Oliver and Arbonès working for publisher Aymà) or were simply forced upon by the MIT and the team of censors who read and passed judgement on *Black Spring* and its translations, Arbonès translation does open up space for us to reflect on the sociocultural and literary politics and poetics of Franco’s Spain in the late 1960s. For, as Santaemilia notices:

There are aesthetic, cultural, pragmatic and ideological components, as well as an urgent question of linguistic ethics ... the translator basically transfers into his/her rewriting the level of acceptability or respectability he/she accords to certain sex-related words or phrases. (22)

It is precisely the explicit nature of Henry Miller’s sexual descriptions that makes his works ideal to analyze the various translations of his novels into Spanish and Catalan under such a repressive epoch. I will now continue to provide examples of sex-related content pertaining to Anaïs Nin’s and Lawrence Durrell’s novels and their different translations, most of which were contemporary to the translations of Miller’s “romans-à-clef” previously analyzed.

Let us focus on the sexual content found in Anaïs Nin’s novels, *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love*, according to the censors’ affective reactions and by paying special attention to the translation choices underlined in the different editions carried out domestically in Spain

under Francoism. Compared to Miller's novels and translations analyzed above, Nin's novels contain a very distinct sexual outlook. Her descriptions of sexual encounters, female passion and desires are unique to the author, as is the surrealist imagery she creates, and the ultra-psychoanalytical layer embedded in her narrative. Full of lust, though with a much more sophisticated and nuanced tone than Miller's use of coarse and crude language, the sexual passages one discovers in her novels equally require a mind rid of traditional conventions and social norms pertaining to women's sexual pleasure and morality, as I present in the tables below.

Hence, in what follows, I study *Ladders to Fire*'s Spanish edition attributed to David Casanueva (Aymà 1971) and Jordi Arbonès' Catalan rendition, also published by Aymà in 1976, both authorized by the MIT, although not without the customary reprimand reserved for this kind of literature: "The book is *dangerous* due to its profound and morbid *erotism*" (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873, emphasis added). "*Erotological* treaty. The whole of the novel is *immoral* and *erotic*" (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626, emphasis added). "This novel strikes one in a very *unpleasant* way; it portrays *displeasing* aspects of an *unbalanced* and *vicious* psychology at first sight" (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626, emphasis added). And what is more, another reader/censor went further and portrays the protagonist as a prostitute:

To me, the novel is more symbolic than realistic: the story of a *prostitute* who finds neither happiness nor love. There is an atmosphere of *amorality*, of which the author does not really approve. There are daring and sensual situations and thoughts but, in my opinion,



there is nothing obscene or pornographic. It can be published but it would be convenient to revise the Spanish translation. (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626, emphasis added)<sup>174</sup>

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#20	<p>“Lillian was the lover seduced by obstacle and the dream. Gerard watched <b>her</b> fire with a feminine delectation in all fires caused by seduction. <b>When they kissed</b> she was struck with ecstasy and he with fear” (71).</p>	<p>“Ella era el amante atraído por la resistencia y el ensueño. Gérard veía <b>como su amiga</b> se inflamaba con el goce que toda mujer experimenta al contemplar los incendios causados por su seducción. <b>Después de su primer</b> beso, ella se elevó al éxtasis y él cayó en temor” (13).</p>	<p>“Lillian era l’amant seduït per la resistència i el somni. Gerard contemplava el foc <b>d’ella</b> amb la delectació femenina de totes les fogueres abrandades per la seducció. <b>Quan es besaren</b>, ella se sentí colpida per l’èxtasi, i ell, per la por. Gerard es quedà fascinat i atemorit” (19).</p>
#21	<p>“She could not see it as aesthetic [when Lillian was browsing between Djuna’s clothes] but as the puritans see it: as a deception, as immorality, as belonging with seduction and eroticism” (85).</p>	<p>“No los veía bajo su forma estética, sino que los juzgaba con un criterio de puritana; para ella, todo aquello era mentira, inmoralidad, y corría parejas con las trampas de la seducción y el erotismo” (28).</p>	<p>“No s’ho mirava estèticament, sinó ho farien els puritans; hi veia l’engany, la immoralitat, ocults per la seducció i l’erotisme” (29).</p>
#22	<p>“Her vivid face, her avid mouth, her provocative, teasing glances proclaimed sensuality. She had rings under her eyes. She looked often <b>as if she had just come from the arms of a lover. An</b></p>	<p>“Su rostro animado, su boca ávida, sus miradas maliciosas y provocativas clamaban sensualidad. Con sus ojeras levemente cárdenas, tenía a menudo el <b>aire de salir de los brazos de un amante Ø</b>” (49).</p>	<p>“El seu rostre vivaç, la seva boca àvida, les seves provocadores i malicioses mirades clamaven sensualitat. Feia ulleres. <b>Tenia l’aire de la dona que acaba d’eixir dels braços de l’amant. Tot el seu cos emanava energia</b>” (44).</p>

<sup>174</sup> “La obra me parece más simbólica que realística. Es la historia de una prostituta que no encuentra ni la felicidad ni el amor. Hay un ambiente de amoralidad que el autor no aprueba en realidad, situaciones y pensamientos atrevidos y sensuales pero a mi juicio no hay nada obsceno ni pornográfico. Puede ser publicada pero sería conveniente que la versión española pasara por esta censura” (Exp. 7088-65, sig. 21/16626).

**energy smoking from her whole body” (101).**

#23 “She read erotic memoirs avidly, she was obsessed with the lives and loves of others ... and all this desire, lust, became twisted inside of her and churned a poison of envy and jealousy ... **She wanted to be kissed on the lips more warmly and then violently block herself.** She thrived on this hysterical undercurrent without culmination. This throbbing sensual obsession and the blocking of it, this rapacious love without polarity, like a blind womb appetite” (106).

“Leía con avidez narraciones eróticas, obsesionada por los amores y las vidas ajenas ... y el deseo de la carne apelotonaba en ella y destilaba el veneno de la envidia y de los celos ... **Le daba dentera el beso en sus labios, y de repente se contraía.** Complacíase en aquella contracorriente histérica, entre aquella obsesión sensual desesperada y su brusca frigidez, en aquel amor ávido que no sabía donde fijarse, sin polaridad, como el hambre de una matriz ciega, de unas entrañas ciegas” (54-55).

“Llegia àvidament llibres de memòries eròtics, obsessionada per les vides i els amors dels altres ... i tot aquell desig, aquella concupiscència, es recargolava al seu dedins i destil·lava el verí de l’enveja i de la gelosia ... **Hauria volgut sentir el petó als llavis, que la besessin amb ardència, i tot de sobte recloure’s violentament.** S’abandonava en aquell contracorrent histèric sense culminació. Aquella obsessió sensual desesperada i la subsegüent frigidesa; aquell amor àvid sense nord, talment la fam d’una matriu orba” (47).

#24 “She felt caught in the immense jaws of his desire, felt herself dissolving, **ripping open to his descent.** She felt herself yielding up to his dark hunger, her feelings smouldering, rising from her like smoke from a black mass .... **Take me, take me, take my gifts and my moods and my body and my cries and my joys and my submissions and my yielding and my terror**

“Liliane sentíase cogida entre las mandíbulas inmensas de su deseo, disuelta, anonadada por su **apetito.** Cedía a su hambre, jamás saciada; todos sus sentimientos emanaban de ella como el incienso de una misa negra ... **Tómame; toma mis dones, y mis humores, y mi cuerpo, y mis gritos, y mi alegría, y mis obediencias, y mi miedo, y mi abandono; toma todo cuanto quieras ... Se la**

“Lillian se sentia atrapada entre les immenses mandíbules del desig, es dissolia, s’obria madura **per acollir-lo.** Es lliurava a la fam obscura de Jay; els seus sentiments s’abusaven com l’encens d’una missa negra ... **Pren-me, pren-me, pren els meus dons, i els meus humors, i el meu cos, i els meus crits, i les meves alegries, i les meves submissions, i el meu lliurament, i els meus terrors, i el meu abandonament; pren tot el**

	<p>and my abandon, take all you want ... He ate her as if she were something he wanted to possess inside of his body like a fuel. He ate her as if she were a food he needed for daily sustenance. She threw everything into the jaws of his desire and hunger ... She gathered all to feed his ravenousness” (149).</p>	<p>comía como si quisiera hacer provisión de ella. Ø Devoraba a Liliane cual un alimento indispensable a su diario sustento. Liliane ofrecía todo cuanto poseía a la necesidad y al hambre de su amante ... Lo entregaba todo a su <b>insaciable curiosidad</b>” (111).</p>	<p>que vulguis ... Ell la devorava com si fos un combustible i volgués proveir-se’n. La devorava com si fos un aliment que havia de menester per al seu manteniment quotidià. Lillian ho abocava tot a la gola del seu desig i de la seva fam ... Ho aplegava tot per tal de calmar la <b>seva fam insadollable</b>” (84-85).</p>
#25	<p>“That a woman should do this, wear no wedding ring, <b>love</b> according to her caprice and not be in bondage to the one” (172).</p>	<p>“No le agradaba que una mujer llevase ese género de vida, sin alianza, <b>haciendo el amor</b> al compás de su capricho, sin ligarse jamás a nadie” (137-138).</p>	<p>“¿Com podia una dona menar aquella vida, sense anell de casament, <b>fent l’amor</b> al compàs del seu caprici, sense sentir-se lligada amb ningú? (103).</p>

Table 12: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and translations.

Overall, the Spanish translation shows a more domesticated approach than the Catalan one. In several examples (#22 and #24) it is visible how David Casanueva, in his 1971 translation published by Aymà, omits several passages and shows a tendency for downplaying certain sexual situations. For instance, in Example #22, there is no trace of the sexual aura exuded by the protagonist, Lillian: “She looked often as if she had just come from the arms of a lover. *An energy smoking from her whole body,*” rendered as “tenía a menudo el aire de salir de los brazos de un amante Ø” in Spanish, as opposed to a more literal solution— “Tenia l’aire de la dona que acaba d’eixir dels braços de l’amant. *Tot el seu cos emanava energia*” [... *Her whole body radiated energy*]  
—in Catalan.

Example #24 exposes another instance of translation by omission when referring to Lillian's arousal and an overall more descriptive recounting of the sexual encounter with one of her male lovers: "He ate her as if she were something *he wanted to possess inside of his body like a fuel*" becomes "Se la comía como si quisiera hacer provisión de ella Ø" [He ate her as if he wanted to *turn her into provision*]. The image of possessing Lillian, not only becomes more euphemistic in the Spanish translation, but it also lacks the idea of the lover wanting to own Lillian's sexual energy and her passion. This way, the possession that seems so relevant in the source text is exempt in the Spanish source text. In this case, Arbonès achieves a perhaps more complete transfer, recreating the idea of Lillian being a "fuel" to the lover's sexual appetite, however it also misses the possession "inside of his body:" "Ell la devorava *com si fos un combustible i volgués proveir-se'n*" [He devoured her as if she were fuel with which he wanted to supply himself].

In Example #23, Casanueva's translation contains an interesting turn of phrase to avoid what might have been too erotic for the readers: "She wanted to be kissed on the lips more warmly and then violently block herself," very differently translated as "Le daba dentera el beso en sus labios, y de repente se contraía" [His kiss set her teeth on edge and, suddenly, she contracted herself.] The target text fails to convey Lillian's desires to be kissed by her lover, instead, Casanueva's translation suggests the opposite by concealing the protagonist sexual desires. In this case, the Catalan translation prevails in rendering the source text without the same level of manipulation: "Hauria *volgut sentir el petó als llavis*, que la besessin amb ardència, i tot de sobte recloure's violentament" [She *would have liked to feel the kiss* on her lips, to be kissed passionately, and all of a sudden to shut herself up violently]. However, this passage does change the verb tense— "she wanted to be kissed" to "she would have liked to feel the kiss"—with a

subtle change that in the end reduces the affirmative desire the character Lillian embodies in Nin's novel.

Other changes to be found in the source texts pertain to, as I noticed in the translations of Miller's "romans-à-clef," solutions that soften and downplay the more graphic sexual sense of the novel. For example, in #24 we can see how the two translations opt for very free choices when dealing with a suggestive passage: "[she] felt herself dissolving, *ripping open to his descent*." None of the source texts offer a satisfactory transfer of this part. On the one hand, much like in Example #23, the Spanish version changes Lilliane's emotions and responses to her lover. In this instance, her willingness to give in to her passions succumb with her "ripping open to his descent." Nin's description is, no doubt, lyrical and elegant. However, Casanueva seems to take Nin's narrative character to the extreme and, in cases such as this, resorts to translation choices that end up disrupting the source text: "*anonadada por su apetito*" [*stunned by his appetite*], instead of "ripping open to his descent." It can be argued that being stunned or astounded is not quite the same as to be ripped open, which in Nin's novels comes to mean the acceptance and embracement of what is about to commence between the lover and the protagonist. Therefore, Casanueva's solution distorts Lillian's agency towards her sexual desires. A different strategy can be seen in the Catalan target text, which translates this passage as: "*s'obria madura per acollir-lo*" [*she opened ripe to welcome him*]. The allusion to a fruit ready to be opened, ripped open to be eaten, intensifies the sexual scene, leaving no doubt about what is being described. However, unlike in the source text—and much like in the Spanish target text—it is somewhat hard to infer that the protagonist is about to receive oral sex, thus, both translations conceal the "descent" component of the passage.

Example #20 poses an interesting case, for it can be noticed that both the Catalan and Spanish target texts seem to compensate for previous omissions or downgradings performed in the translations, by stating “*haciendo el amor*” in Spanish and “*fent l’amor*” in Catalan [making love] when in truth the passage simply indicated “loving:” “That a woman should do this, wear no wedding ring, *love* according to her caprice.” Another interesting remark observed in Casanueva’s Spanish translation is the use of additions or explanatory techniques that slightly alter the source text, such as, “*Después de su primer beso*” [After their first kiss], when in reality, Nin’s source text says, “*When they kissed*”—translated into Catalan in a more literal, word-for-word manner: “*Quan es besaren*” [When they kissed].

Finally, Example #21 offers a chance to delve into the psychoanalytical mind of Lillian, the protagonist of *Ladders to Fire*. More than a translation commentary seems to directly speak to the censors-readers who might align with the character in this particular scene. Lillian and her friend Djuna are alone in Djuna’s apartment. At this point in the story, Lillian, tired of her quotidian life as a wife and a mother who daydreams of lovers and extramarital affairs, starts to feel attracted by her female friend, her sensual style, her youth, and her mannerisms. To feel sexy, Lillian browses between Djuna’s erotic dresses, but deep down, she could not help but think of such aesthetic as immoral: “She could not see it as aesthetic *but as the puritans see it*: as a deception, as *immorality, as belonging with seduction and eroticism.*” Both translations render this passage satisfactorily. The comment to be made from this passage has to do with the striking parallelism the censors seem to draw when analyzing the novel: “[Lillian] frees herself by seeking out lovers, until she finds one that suits her ... She even has relationships of dubious intimacy with a female friend. Without stating it, it propagates a kind of unleashed, free love—morality and religion

remain in the realm of prejudice” (File 7086-65, catalogue: 21/16626).<sup>175</sup> I will further elaborate on this in Chapter 8.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that Arbonès’ Catalan translation, unlike his translation of Miller’s novel previously analyzed, clearly avoids the use of omissions and translations by orthophemisms. The passages omitted or adapted in Casanueva’s Spanish translation are, for the most part, accurately translated in the 1976 Catalan version also published by Aymà. Despite both translations having been published by the same publishing house, the difference between the two could simply reside in the year of publication: While the Spanish version done by Casanueva was authorized for publication in 1971, that is, it had been most likely done in the late sixties or 1970 at the latest, Arbonès’ rendition into Catalan was authorized in 1976. From the study of Arbonès’ translations of Henry Miller’s *Black Spring*—especially after taking into consideration the translator’s correspondence with Miller and his publisher, Aymà, I was able to discern that he had been working on such a translation since 1967. He continued translating other works by Henry Miller throughout this period, among other novels, but it is not clear in what year he began the translation of *Ladders to Fire*. Judging from the stark divergence in his translation choices between *Primavera negra* (1970) and *Escales cap al foc* (1976), it is safe to claim that his rendition of Nin’s novel had been carried out years later and, what is more, with the suspicion, if not knowledge, that the dictatorship was coming to an end. With Franco’s passing in 1975, censorship was soon to be a thing of the past, even though, scholars claim and the files also reveal, the apparatus was operational until 1978. In any case, the fact that Arbonès was the author of both Catalan editions, which at the same time were published by the very same publisher, Aymà, leads me to think that

---

<sup>175</sup> “Ella [Lillian] se libera buscando amantes, hasta que encuentra el que le va ... Incluso mantiene relaciones de intimidad dudosa con una amiga. Sin decirlo está propagando un amor libre desatado – la moral y la religión quedan en el campo de los prejuicios” (Exp. 7086-65, sign. 21/16626).

Arbonès' tendency to downplay aspects of Miller's novel, after not having found similar instances of manipulation or omission in his translation of *Ladders to Fire* years later, is a clear case of self-censorship not present in other of his translations. The need to self-censor a work was stronger in the late 1960s and early 1970s, especially due to Fraga's 1966 Press Law that, though in a subtle manner, required it to successfully pass the "consulta voluntaria" procedure, a procedure that incentivized prospective books to be self-censored or scrubbed prior to application.

By way of contrast, Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* has a higher frequency of sexual references and is, to a greater extent, more descriptive than *Ladders to Fire* when it comes to relating sexual passages. By this token, it is not surprising that the censors did not officially authorize the publication of this novel in either Spanish and Catalan and referred to it as "dangerous" and "revolting:"

Immoral novel, prototype of erotic books. A married woman cheats on her husband with whoever comes along. She goes from lover to lover, describing reactions and emotions she experiences with each one of them. The sexual encounters are crudely described. The main character's goal is to become truly free, that is, to give herself to men without developing or having feelings that bind them. When she achieves it, she finally enters the real house of love. (File 7088, catalogue 65, 21/16626)<sup>176</sup>

As well as "immoral content with a crude realism that is *revulsive to our society's average sensitivity*, though not obscene, *which would be pornography*. There are elegant descriptions,

---

<sup>176</sup> "Novela inmoral. Prototipo del libro erótico. El argumento es una mujer casada que engaña a su marido con el primero que se presenta. Va de amante en amante, describiéndonos las reacciones y sensaciones que con cada uno de ellos experimenta. Los contactos sexuales son descritos con toda crudeza. El objetivo de la protagonista es llegar a ser verdaderamente libre; entendiendo por libertad el entregarse a los hombres sin que ningún sentimiento le ligue con él. Cuando ha conseguido esto ha entrado en la verdadera casa del amor" (Exp. 7088, sig. 65, 21/16626).



poetic almost” (Ibid., emphasis added).<sup>177</sup> Even though the translations received “silencio,” the fact that the board did not label this novel as pornographic shows another difference with Miller’s novels and subsequent translations. Let us now study the passages deemed “revulsive to our society’s average sensitivity” and “morals” as well as how the two translators, Carmen Alcalde/María Rosa Prats (1969) and Manuel Carbonell (1968), dealt with said affective content.

	ST: Nin (2001) <sup>178</sup>	TT1: Alcalde (1969)	TT2: Carbonell (1968)
#26	<p>“Desire made a volcanic island, on which they lay in a trance, <b>feeling</b> the subterranean whirls lying beneath them, dance floor and table and the magnetic blues <b>uprooted by desire</b>, the avalanches of the body’s tremors ... soon would come the untamable <b>seizure of sensual cannibalism</b>, the joyous epilepsies ... no adornments, necklaces, crowns to subdue, <b>but only one ritual, a joyous, joyous, joyous impaling of woman on a man’s sensual mast</b>” (34).</p>	<p>“El deseo creaba una isla volcánica sobre la cual ellos yacían extasiados, <b>espiando</b> los movimientos subterráneos que se dejaban adivinar. <b>Todo a su alrededor bailaba</b>: la mesa, el suelo, los enervados ‘blues’, <b>desarraigados por la llamada sexual</b> mientras sus cuerpos se agitaban convulsivamente ... Muy pronto llegaría el momento de los <b>abrazos irreprimibles</b>, de las epilepsias felices ... sin accesorios secundarios, sin adornos superfluos, sin joyas, sin coronas por conquistar; <b>en que no existe otra cosa que el ritual feliz, feliz, feliz de la mujer inmolada, empalada en el mástil sensual del hombre</b>” (45-46).</p>	<p>“El desig creava una illa volcànica sobre la qual ells jeien extasiats, i <b>sentien</b> sota seu els remolins subterranis; sentien com el desig arrencava de socarrell la pista de ball, la taula i els <i>blues</i> atractius; sentien les esllavissades dels tremolors del cos ... no faltava gaire per al <b>rapte incontrolable del canibalisme sensual</b>, de les epilèpsies joioses ... ni accessoris, ni guarniments ni collarets ni corones per a subjugar, <b>sinó un ritu només, un joiós, joiós, joiós empalament de la dona en el pal sensual de l’home</b>” (50).</p>

<sup>177</sup> “Contenido inmoral, de un crudo realismo que repugna la sensibilidad media de nuestra sociedad; rehuyéndose la obscenidad, que es elemento que matiza y caracteriza a la pornografía. Descripción elegante, a veces casi poética, por parte de la autora” (Exp. 7088-65, sig. 21/18909).

<sup>178</sup> The passages from the English original analyzed herein have been extracted from a personal copy issued by Pinguin Books (2001) of which their first edition was published in 1973—previously published by in 1954 by Gunter Stuhlmann NY.

- #27 “High fever and no **climax** – Anger, Anger – at this score which will not melt, **while Sabina wills to be like man, free to possess and desire in adventure, to enjoy a stranger** ... The fever, the hope, the mirage, the suspended desire, unfulfilled, would remain with her all night and the next day, burn undimmed within her and make other who saw her say: ‘How sensual she is!’” (35).
- “¡Fiebre demente, sin **placer!** ... Y ahora quedaba la cólera. Cólera contra aquel corazón que nada podía silenciar. **Era entonces cuando Sabina soñaba con ser como un hombre, libre para poseer a un ser desconocido, y desear la aventura** ... La fiebre, la esperanza, el espejismo, el deseo insatisfecho, todo aquello permanecía en ella durante la noche y el día siguiente, todo se consumiría y haría exclamar a los demás: ‘¡Qué sensual es!’” (47).
- “Viva excitació sense **plaer** – quina ràbia! –, en aquest cor que no s’ablanirà, i tanmateix **Sabina voldria ser com un home, lliure de posseir i de desitjar a la ventura, lliure de fruit amb un desconegut** ... L’excitació, la esperança, el miratge, el desig frustrat, insatisfet, tot això restaria dintre seu aquella nit i l’endemà, tot es consumiria visiblement dintre seu i faria exclamar als qui la veiessin: ‘Que sensual que és!’” (51).
- #28 “... bearing messages of delight setting the **honey flowing between the thighs, erecting sensual minarets on men’s bodies** as they lay flat on the sand ... **its promises, its sights of pleasure growing clearer as they penetrated deeper regions of her body directly through the senses** bearing on airy canopies all the fluttering banners of gondolas and divertissements” (41).
- “... portadores de mensajes de voluptuosidad que **envolvían los miembros en oleajes de miel y ponían tensos de deseo los cuerpos de los hombres** tendidos sobre la arena ... **su promesa de placeres se hacía más precisa cuando penetraba directamente en las regiones íntimas y sensibles de su cuerpo**, aportándole sobre un palio etéreo la oriflama de las góndolas y de las fiestas galantes” (55-56).
- “... portadors de missatges de voluptat que **feien regalimar mel entre les cuixes i erigien minarets sensuais en els cossos dels homes** ajaguts a l’arena de panxa enlaire ... **aquelles promeses, aquells sospirs d plaer, esdevenien més clars a mesura que se li introduïen més endins per les regions del cos a través dels sentits**, portant en dossers aeris tots els inquiets gallarets de les gòndoles i de les festes” (59-60).
- #29 “**He did not want fires or explosions of feelings in a woman, but he wanted to know it was there.** He wanted the danger of touching it off
- “**No le gustaba que las mujeres se entregaran a manifestaciones fogosas; sólo quería saber que eran capaces de ello.** Le gustaba turbarlas en lo más profundo
- “**Ell no volia focs ni explosions de sentiment en una dona, només volia saber que n’era capaç.** Volia el perill de disparar-lo dins les pregoneses obscures de la

only in the dark depths of her flesh, but without rousing a heart that would bind him. He often had fantasies of taking a woman whose arms were bound behind her back ... **he bent over her to pay homage to her body ...** this pleasure which transformed the **body into a high tower of fireworks gradually exploding into fountains of delight through the senses ...** She opened the eyes to contemplate the piercing joy of her liberation: **she was free, free as a man was, to enjoy without love.** Without any warmth of the heart, as a man could, **she had enjoyed a stranger**" (44-45).

#30 "Wherever he rested his eyes, **she felt the drumming of his fingers upon her stomach, her breasts, her hips ...** But when they danced he changed. The direct, the inescapable way **he placed his knees between hers, as if implanting the rigidity of his desire.** He held her firmly, so encompassed that every movement

de su carne, pero sin despertar ningún sentimiento que pudiera significar cualquier tipo de vínculo. A menudo soñaba con tomar una mujer con sus manos atadas en la espalda ... **Philip se inclinó sobre Sabina para rendir homenaje a aquel cuerpo tendido a su lado ... aquel placer que transformaba su cuerpo en una alta torre de fuegos artificiales estalló poco en fuentes de delicias a través de los sentidos** de Sabina. Abrió los ojos para contemplar la alegría deslumbrante de su liberación: era libre, libre como lo son los hombres, libre de gozar sin amor, sin ningún calor en el corazón; por fin había **conocido la voluptuosidad** con un extraño" (61-62).

"En todas las partes donde el **hombre posaba sus ojos, Sabina sentía batir sus dedos: sobre su estómago, sobre sus senos, sobre sus caderas ...** Después bailaron y el hombre cambió de actitud. **Puso sus rodillas entre las de Sabina de una forma directa, imperiosa, como si plantara en ella el ardor de su deseo.** La sujetaba tan de cerca, que cada uno de sus movimientos

seva carn, però sense despertar un cor que podia ser un lligam. Sovint s'havia imaginat que posseïa una dona que tenia els braços lligats a l'esquena ... **Tot seguit s'inclina cap a ella per retre homenatge al seu cos ... aquell plaer transformava el cos en un grossíssim castell de focs que anava esclatant gradualment en fonts de delícies a través dels sentits** de Sabina. Ella obrí els ulls per tal de contemplar el goig intensíssim del seu alliberament: **era lliure, lliure com un home, per fruit sense amor.** Sense cap mena de tendresa de cor, tal com un home ho podia fer, **ella havia fruit amb un estrany**" (64-65).

"**Onsevulla que ell posés els ulls, ella sentia el colpegi d'aquells dits: a l'estómac, als pits, als flancs ...** Però quan es posaren a ballar, ell canvià d'actitud. La manera **directa, ineludible, com col·locà els genolls entre els de Sabina fou com si implantés l'ardor del seu desig.** La tenia abraçada tan fort, la tenia tan agafada, que, cada moviment que feien, el feia un sol col. Acariciava el

they made was made as on body. **He held her head against his, with a physical finiteness, as if for eternity. His desire became a centre of gravity, a final welding**” (51-52).

#31 “He felt that she embraced in him, kissed on his lips the music, the legends, the trees, the drums of the island he came from, **that she sought to possess ardently both his body and his island**, that she offered her body to his hands as much as to tropical winds” (57).

#32 “At other moments the pleasure he had given her ignited her body like flowing warm mercury darting through the veins. The memory of it flowed through the waves when she swam, and the waves seemed like his hands, or the form of his body in her hands ... But when she lay on the warm sand, **it was his body again on which she lay; it was his dry skin and his swift elusive movements slipping through her fingers,**

parecía pertenecer a un solo cuerpo. Sus cabezas parecías soldadas por la eternidad Ø” (70-71).

“Él lo sabía; los besos que Sabina le daba se los daba a la música, a las leyendas, a los árboles, a los tambores de las islas de donde él provenía; **creía que lo que ella buscaba era poseer ardientemente y cuerpo y su isla a la vez**, que le ofrecía su carne como se la hubiera ofrecido a los vientos de los Trópicos” (79).

“Súbitamente, el recuerdo del placer que le había dado la enardeció como si un chorro de mercurio hirviendo le hubiera subido por las venas. Vio flotar el recuerdo de ese placer sobre las olas en que nadaba, y las olas se convirtieron en las manos de John, en el cuerpo de John ... también la arena caliente **era el cuerpo de John sobre el cual ella estaba tendida; era su piel seca y sus ademanes rápidos Ø**” (109).

cap d’ella contra el seu com si els dos caps haguessin de restar soldats per sempre més. **Així el seu desig esdevingué un centre de gravetat, un lligam indestructible**” (73-74).

“[Mambo] s’adonava que, quan ella l’abraçava, quan li besava els llavis, no feia sinó abraçar i besar la música, els contes, els arbres, els timbals de l’illa d’on ell procedia; **que ella delejava posseir alhora el seu cos i la seva illa** i que li lliurava el seu propi cos com l’hauria lliurat als vents tropicals” (81).

“De vegades, el plaer que ell li havia ofert li inflamava el cos, com si un raig de mercuri bullent li pugés per les venes. Aquell record flotava damunt les onades quan ella nedava, i les onades eren talment les mans d’ell, o prenién la forma del seu cos abandonat a les mans d’ella ... Però, quan s’estirava a l’arena calenta, **també l’arena era el cos d’ell, sobre el qual s’ajeia; era la seva pell seca i els seus gestos ràpids i esquívols que se li esmunyien de les mans i se li escorrien per sota els pits.**

	<b>shifting beneath her breasts” (78).</b>		<b>Va fugir de l’arena de les seves carícies” (108).</b>
#33	“In the multiple peregrinations of love, Sabina was quick to recognize the echoes of <b>larger loves and desires” (80).</b>	“En medio de estas peregrinaciones amorosas, Sabina estaba pronta a reconocer el eco de los <b>verdaderos amores Ø” (113).</b>	“Durant les diverses peregrinacions amoroses, Sabina s’havia avesat a reconèixer immediatament els ressons <b>dels amors i dels disigs més grans” (112).</b>

Table 13: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and translations.

It is important to take into consideration that both translations of *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love* made in the Iberian Peninsula, although carried out by four different translators, were all published by Aymà. Even though in the original chronological order of Nin’s collection, *Cities of the Interior*, the volume *Ladders to Fire* precedes *A Spy in the House of Love*, Aymà submitted the Spanish and Catalan editions of *A Spy in the House of Love* before the other two. In this vein, *Una espia a la casa de l’amor* by Manuel Carbonell and *Una espia en la casa del amor* by Carmen Alcalde and María Rosa Prats were both sent to the MIT in 1968. As stated above, the two domestic translations were branded with “silencio administrativo,” since Aymà did not provide satisfactory translations that employed the deletions mandated by the censorship board. The MIT did not, however, propose the rejection of the novel for publication in Catalan and Spanish. Most of the examples provided in the previous table correspond to the passages signaled by the censors as pernicious and censurable.

Regarding the translations, akin to David Casanueva’s translation of *Ladders to Fire* in Spanish, Alcalde’s target text shows a tendency to render the source text in a rather free manner and oftentimes with quite a domesticated approach. Both Spanish translations seem to emphasize the lyrical character of the novels and strive to recreate the poetic element of Nin’s prose. There

are instances of elements added to the target text, as well as omissions and softening of the content. In #26 there are examples of passages that border on a free translation/transcreation: “*espiando los movimientos subterráneos que se dejaban adivinar. Todo a su alrededor bailaba: la mesa, el suelo, los enervados ‘blues’, desarraigados por la llamada sexual*” [*spying on the subterranean movements to be guessed. Everything around them was dancing: the table, the floor, the enervated blues, uprooted by the sexual call*], which in the Catalan translation reads as: “*i sentien sota seu els remolins subterranis; sentien com el desig arrencava de socarrell la pista de ball, la taula i els blues atractius*” [and they *felt* the subterranean swirl under them; they felt the desire tearing up the dance floor, the table, and the attractive blues], both solutions to the passage: “*feeling the subterranean whirls lying beneath them, dance floor and table and the magnetic blues uprooted by desire.*” Alcalde’s free translation adds and alters elements that are not present in the source text or in the Catalan translation: “*espiando*” instead of “*feeling*,” “*se dejaban adivinar*” instead of “*beneath them*,” or “*desarraigados por la llamada sexual*” instead of “*uprooted by desire.*”

Additionally, within the same passage, another case of complete omission or alteration of the source text message can be observed in Alcalde’s translation. Instead of “*untameable seizure of sensual cannibalism*,”—very literally translated into Catalan as “*al rapte incontrollable del canibalisme sensual*” [the uncontrollable rapture of sensual cannibalism]—the Spanish target text transposes it into: “*los abrazos irreprimibles*” [the unrestrainable embraces]. The Spanish translation removes the explicit sexual connotation in this scene, purposefully omitting fragments of it such as “*sensual cannibalism.*” Nonetheless, at the end of the passage there is what the censors viewed as one of the most immoral and condemnable elements of *A Spy in the House of Love*, a direct allusion to sexual penetration. This time, both translations offer a solution that remains very close to the source text, with no omission or softening of the sexual passage, a striking fact after

seeing previous examples of omissions or alterations in the Spanish source text when dealing with sexual content. The passage reads as follows: “only one ritual, a joyous, joyous, joyous *impaling of woman on a man’s sensual mast*,” and was translated as: “otra cosa que el ritual feliz, feliz, feliz de la *mujer inmolada, empalada en el mástil sensual del hombre*” [nothing other than the happy, happy, happy ritual of the *woman* who is sacrificed, *impaled on the man’s sensual mast*] in Spanish and “sinó un ritu només, un joiós, joiós, joiós *empalament de la dona en el pal sensual de l’home*” [but a rite, a joyous, joyous, joyous *impaling of the woman on the man’s sensual mast*] in Catalan.

Even though the Spanish rendering of this controversial passage is, *a priori*, close to the source text in meaning, there is indeed another addition: “*mujer inmolada*” [*sacrificed woman*], a notion that goes beyond the source text, metaphorically connecting the penetration to the woman’s death. Indeed much can be said about Alcalde’s/Prats’ translation choice in this passage. When talking with Carmen Alcalde about her translation approach to this and other novels written by women authors, she did not recall herself following any translation approach as we understand them today. She had no notion of “domesticating or foreignizing” a translation, nor other translation techniques and approaches. She tried to stay “loyal to the original”—in her words but let us remember that what she considered “the original” was a French translation. For a further study of their choices, it would perhaps be interesting to insert the French edition in the contrastive analysis carried out in this dissertation. As previously mentioned in passing, this is one of the most contentious parts in the totality of the novel, a passage that, without a doubt, caused both translations to receive “silencio administrativo” in 1969. The MIT did not formally authorized the circulation of *Una espía en la casa del amor* and *Una espía a la casa de l’amor*, although, after my conversation with Carmen Alcalde, there is reason to believe that Aymà did publish some copies discretely in 1970.

There is no shortage of examples that show a tendency in Alcalde’s target text to translate rather freely much like the passage analyzed above. Every example provided in Table 13 reinforces the distance that the Spanish translation adopts from the source text. For instance, in #27, “*High fever and no climax*” is translated as “*Fiebre demente, sin placer*” [Mad fever without pleasure] in Spanish—and “*Viva excitació sense plaer*” [Alive excitement without pleasure] in Catalan. Both translations fail to convey the sense of reaching the peak of pleasure, that climax, the feminine orgasm. Instead, both target texts veil it as pleasure, removing intensity, and of course an affective layer to the scene. In Example #28, “setting the honey flowing *between the thighs, erecting sensual minarets on men’s bodies*” is rendered as “*envolvían los miembros en oleajes de miel y ponían tensos de deseo los cuerpos de los hombres*” [surrounded the *members* in tides of honey and *tensed up men’s bodies with desire*]. The Spanish passage deploys an explicative translation that, at the same time, offers a an orthophemism to “between the thighs,” becoming “miembros” [members]. Furthermore, the metaphor found in Nin’s novel “*erecting sensual minarets on men’s bodies*” is translated in an explicative manner. Thus, the passage loses its poetic, metaphoric form, and the exotic allusion in lieu of an explicative turn of phrase: “*ponían tensos de deseo los cuerpos de los hombres.*” The Catalan translation, however, once more remains closer to the source text: “*feien regalimar mel entre les cuixes i erigien minarets sensuals en els cossos dels homes*” [exuded honey between their thighs and erected sensual minarets on men’s bodies].

In addition, Example #29 also shows instances of translation choices in the Spanish edition that either add, explain, or obscure the meaning. Such is the case of the passage translated as “por fin había conocido la *voluptuosidad* con un extraño” [finally she had known *voluptuousness* with a stranger], versus “ella havia *fruit amb* un estrany” [she had *enjoyed* a stranger]. The Catalan target text maintains Nin’s tone and euphemistic sense, whereas the Spanish translation elevates



the tone which, in my opinion, obscures the meaning of this passage. Similarly, Examples #30, #32, and #33 also show omissions performed in Alcalde's/Prat's translation such as "Sus cabezas parecían soldadas por la eternidad Ø," omitting the last part of the passage: "*His desire became a centre of gravity, a final welding,*" passage that does translate in the Catalan version: "Així el seu desig esdevingué un centre de gravetat, un lligam indestructible" [This way his desire became a centre of gravity, an indestructible bond].

Example #32 exposes an analogous omission in the Spanish translation, where there is no trace of the sexual innuendo that takes place between Sabina and her lover John: "... el cuerpo de John sobre el cual ella estaba tendida; era su piel seca y sus ademanes rápidos Ø" [she was laying on John's body; it was his dry skin and his quick gestures], instead of rendering the complete scene: "it was his dry skin and his swift elusive movements *slipping through her fingers, shifting beneath her breasts.*" The Catalan target text does include the whole passage: "la seva pell seca i els seus gestos ràpids i esquívols *que se li esmunyien de les mans i se li escorrien per sota els pits*" [it was his dry skin and his quick, evasive gestures *that slipped from her hands and run under her breasts*]. Finally, Example #33 provides another example of translation by omission in the Spanish target text, where "Sabina was quick to recognize the echoes of *larger loves and desires*" is rendered as "Sabina estaba pronta a reconocer el eco de los *verdaderos amores* Ø" [Sabina was quick to recognize the echo of true loves], this way leaving "larger desires" out of the passage. On the other hand, the Catalan translation successfully conveys the message in its entirety: "Sabina s'havia avesat a reconèixer immediatament els ressons *dels amors i dels desigs més grans*" [Sabina had learned to immediately recognize the echoes of the greatest loves and the desires].

Nonetheless, there are also quite a few examples where sexual encounters and descriptions are rendered in an equivalent manner, such as #28. "its promises, its sights of *pleasure* growing

clearer as they *penetrated deeper regions of her body* directly through the senses” is translated as “su promesa de placeres se hacía más precisa cuando *penetraba directamente en las regiones íntimas y sensibles de su cuerpo*” [its promise of pleasures becoming more precise when *it directly penetrated the intimate and sensitive regions of her body*]. Although “intimate and sensitive regions” are a solution for “deeper regions,” the message is transposed meaningfully and, what is more, the Spanish source text maintains the idea of those desires “penetrating” her body. The Catalan translation contains a similar choice: “aquelles promeses, aquells sospirs de plaer, esdevenien més clars a mesura que *se li introduïen més endins per les regions del cos* a través dels sentits” [those promises, those sighs of pleasure became clearer as *they were introduced deeper into the regions of the body* through the senses]. This translation transfers the image of “the deeper regions of the body” literally, however, opts for “introduced” instead of “penetrated,” which can be argued has a more overtly sexual connotation.

It can be argued that Nin’s poetic language, even though narrating sexual scenes and passages where female pleasure is deeply explored and achieved, does trigger affective responses in the readers. However, they do not parallel the visceral reactions elicited by Miller’s works. This demonstrates, and to some extent accounts for, the translation choices found in Miller’s and Nin’s novels herein analyzed, especially the use of self-censorship. After all, although quite descriptive, most of Nin’s references to sexual encounters and women’s sexuality studied in both *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love* are delicately disguised in metaphors and euphemistic language, unlike Miller’s explicit, often vulgar use of prose. Hence, as seen in this section, language and tone prove to be crucial factors in tracing the sexual affect embedded in the novels and, by extension, in finding self-censorship performed by the agents involved in the translation process.

Finally, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to examining the sexual passages present in Lawrence Durrell's novels, *Justine* and *Balthazar*, highlighting the translators' approaches to dealing with sexual content. Let us continue with the case of *Justine*, originally published in 1957, the Spanish translation carried out by Aurora Bernárdez (Sudamericana, 1960)—published in Argentina but not officially authorized for publication in Spain until 1977 (Edhasa's version) after receiving "silencio administrativo" in 1970—and the Catalan rendering of Manuel de Pedrolo (Aymà, 1969), which was also granted "silencio" in 1969. Similar to the reports filed against Miller's and Nin's novels, the censors' comments on Durrell's *Justine* are full of affective reactions to the sexual content described in the book, as the study of the censorship files shows (see Sections 5.1.1 and 6.2.1.).

The most salient reports pertain to the immoral outlook of the female character, Justine, judged by the censors in the following terms: "what makes us not accept the novel is the defense, almost glorification, of Justine, an *amoral character who is vicious to the extreme*" (File 4216-60, catalogue 21/12904, emphasis added).<sup>179</sup> In another report, a censor deems the novel pornographic, in line with Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*: "both novels [*Justine* and *Balthazar*] are immoral and pornographic in many ways" (File 1052-63, catalogue 66/06446).<sup>180</sup> Depending on the reader, the reports that the censors wrote regarding this novel and its translations, outline different degrees of opposition in relation to the sexual outlook of *Justine*, from "pornographic," to "erotic," to "purely sexual love," all censors found that the novel's content and its materiality directly attacked the regime's moral codes: "The novel describes a purely sexual type of love,

---

<sup>179</sup> "La obra tiene demasiadas referencias inmorales ... pero lo que hace que la obra no sea aceptable es la defensa y casi glorificación de Justine, un personaje amoral, viciosa en grado extremo" (Exp. 4216-60, sig. 21/12904).

<sup>180</sup> "ambas novelas [*Justine* and *Balthazar*] complementaria una de otra, son inmorales y pornográficas en muchos frentes" (Exp. 1052-63, sig. 66/06446).

aside of all morality, with Alexandria’s brothels as the background. Carnal relationships are at the core of the novel. The book’s covers and flaps *promise a lot of eroticism*” (File 10432- 69, catalogue 66/03531, emphasis added).<sup>181</sup>

Since most of the sexual passages contained in *Justine* are, to no extent, comparable to those found in Miller’s novels in terms of tone and the use of coarse and crude language, I will limit to only including the passages marked by the censors in the following table.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1966)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1969)
#34	“He was a great womanizer. When he was very old <b>he had a model of the perfect woman built in rubber—life-size.</b> She could be filled with hot water in the winter. She was strikingly beautiful. He called her Sabina <i>after his mother</i> , and took her everywhere” (34).	“Era un gran mujeriego. Siendo ya muy viejo <b>mandó hacer un maniquí de goma, a imagen de la mujer perfecta, de tamaño natural.</b> En invierno se la podía llenar de agua caliente. Era hermosísima. Se llamaba Sabina, <i>como la abuela paterna</i> y la llevaba consigo a todas partes” (33).	“Era molt afeccionat a les dones. Quan era molt vell, <b>tenia un maniquí de goma exactament igual que una dona, fins i tot en l’alçada.</b> A l’hivern se’l podia omplir d’aigua calenta. Era una cosa molt bonica. Li deia Sabina, que era <i>el nom de la seva mare</i> i se l’enduia a tot arreu” (27).
#35	“This bed is so awfully smelly. I have been drinking. I tried to <b>make love to myself</b> but it was no good—I kept thinking about you” (84).	“Esta cama es horrible y huele mal. Además he estado bebiendo. Quise <b>hacer el amor solo</b> , pero no pude... no hacía más que pensar en ti” (87).	“Aquest llit és horrible i fa pudor. He begut. He provat de <b>fer-me l’amor a mi mateix</b> , però no ha servit de res; només podia pensar en tu” (69).
#36	“I meant of course the whole <b>portentous scrimmage of sex itself, the act of penetration</b>	“Me refería, claro está, al <b>fenomenal entrelazamiento del sexo, a ese acto de penetración</b> que puede llevar	“Em referia, naturalment, a aquesta <b>monstruosa batussa del sexe</b> , a aquest acte de penetració que pot

<sup>181</sup> The complete report reads as follows: “Un profesor, amigado con una bailarina semiprostituta, se lía luego con la mujer de un banquero. La novela consiste en un estudio psicológico, profundo, de a segunda amante, comparándola con la primera y a través de los diálogos con sus anteriores amantes. Se trata de un amor puramente sexual, al margen de toda moral; y como telón de fondo, los burdeles de Alejandría. La relación carnal es el verdadero protagonista de la novela. La misma portada y las solapas prometen mucho erotismo” (Exp. 10432- 69, sig. 66/03531).

	<p>which could lead a man to despair for the sake of a creature with <b>two breasts and <i>le croissant</i></b> as the picturesque Levant slang has it. The sound within had increased to a sly groaning and squeaking—a combustible human voice adding itself to the jostling of an ancient wood-slatted bed” (185).</p>	<p>a un hombre a desesperarse por cause de una criatura <b>dotada de dos senos y de un <i>croissant</i></b>, para emplear el término pintoresco del Levante. Allá adentro, el ruido había aumentado hasta convertirse en un gemido y un crujido, una ardiente voz humana sumándose a los estremecimientos de una cama desvencijada de madera” (194).</p>	<p>dur un home a la desesperació per culpa d’una criatura <b>amb dos pits i <i>le croissant</i></b>, per emprar el terme d’argot pintoresc que solen utilitzar a les terres de llevant. Ara, darrera la cortina, el soroll s’havia convertit en una mena de glapit rondinaire—una veu humana sobreexcitada que s’afegia als cruixits d’un vell llit de fusta que no ajustava bé” (152).</p>
#37	<p>“When he awoke she’d gone, <b>but she had neatly tied his dress tie to his John Thomas, a perfect bow.</b> This message so captivated him that he at once dressed and went round to propose marriage to her because of her sense of humour” (249).</p>	<p>“Cuando despertó, ella se había marchado, <b>pero no sin antes atarle la corbata en el miembro: un nudo perfecto.</b> El mensaje lo cautivó de tal manera que se vistió en seguida y fue a proponerle matrimonio, conmovido por su sentido del humor” (259).</p>	<p>“Quan va despertar-se, la noia ja no era allí, <b>però abans d’anar-se’n li havia curosament lligat el llacet de la corbata entorn del membre viril;</b> un nus perfecte. Aquest missatge va captivar-lo fins a tal extrem pel sentit de l’humor que revelava, que va vestir-se immediatament i sortí a cercar-la per demanar-li que es casés amb ell” (203).</p>

Table 14: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Durrell’s *Justine* and translations.

In general terms, both the Catalan and the Argentine translations render the source text in a very equivalent and direct manner. There is no apparent trace of self-censorship performed by the rewriters when comparing the target texts to the source text. The only examples worth commenting on are #35 and #37, both of which offer interesting translation choices. First, in passage #35, one of the characters alludes to masturbation. However, far from an obscenity, the scene is presented in a rather formal way: “I tried to *make love to myself*.” Both Bernárdez’s and

de Pedrolo's targets text respect the orthophemistic character of the passage, as well as the formal language employed by Durrell. Nevertheless, Bernárdez's choice "Quise hacer el amor *solo*" [I wanted to make love *alone*] does not read very naturally in Spanish. By changing "to myself" [*a mí mismo*] to "solo" [alone], the Argentine translation subtly softens the sex scene. Conversely, de Pedrolo's rendition in Catalan does include the idea of "to myself" in the passage: "He provat de *fer-me l'amor a mi mateix*" [I tried to make love *to myself*], this way remaining closer to the source.

In Example #37, another case of subtle alteration occurs, this time in the two target texts. In Durrell's novel there is a final addendum that very comically inserts some final and brief scenes and other data to complete the novel and its characters. Among them, the censors pointed out the following with the aim of it being removed from the translations: "When he awoke, she'd gone, but she had neatly tied his dress tie to *his John Thomas*, a perfect bow." A rather naïve, almost child-like allusion to the male sexual organ, was apparently very obscene and offensive to the censors. In any case, neither translation conveys the jocular sense of this scene that is found in the source text. On the contrary, both target texts remove the ludicrous layer by translating "his John Thomas" for "his member:" "pero no sin antes atarle la corbata *en el miembro*: un nudo perfecto" [not without tiding the tie *to his member*: a perfect knot] in Spanish, and "però abans d'anar-se'n li havia curosament lligat el llacet de la corbata *entorn del membre viril*; un nus perfecte" [but before leaving she had carefully tied the tie *around his manly member*; a perfect knot].

Example #36 provides a passage that was also crossed out by the censorship board. In this case the image portrayed in the novel was "offensive" as a whole for the MIT. In fact, in the commentaries, the censors pointed out that the entire page to which the passage belonged needed to be erased. The episode reads as follows: "the whole portentous *scrimmage of sex itself, the act of penetration* which could lead a man to despair for the sake of a *creature with two breasts and*

*le croissant.*” It can be argued that the message was what the censors found “dangerous,” hence, worth omitting in this passage. Both translations, nonetheless, convey both form and message—though in different ways, even to the point that both target texts keep the French term “croissant,” thus, foreignizing the translations: “*fenomenal entrelazamiento del sexo, a ese acto de penetración que puede llevar a un hombre a desesperarse por causa de una criatura dotada de dos senos y de un croissant*” in Spanish and “*aquesta monstruosa batussa del sexe, a aquest acte de penetració que pot dur un home a la desesperació per culpa d’una criatura amb dos pits i le croissant*” in Catalan, the two being direct translations of the source text. There is but one divergence between the two translations, which pertains to two different connotations of the word “scrimmage.” While for Bernárdez it has positive connotations: “*fenomenal entrelazamiento*” [*fenomenal entanglement*]*—*in part due to the adjective “fenomenal”—de Pedrolo renders it in a more violent, perhaps even negative, manner: “*monstruosa batussa*” [*monstruous brawl/quarrel*]. However, this cannot be viewed as a manipulation strategy on the translators’ part, for it rests with a different interpretation of the term “scrimmage,” most likely.

Ultimately, Example #34, constitutes another passage at which the censors took offense. The scene anecdotally narrates the doings of a character presented to us as a “womanizer:” “When he was very old he had a model of the perfect *woman built in rubber—*life-size. She could be filled with hot water in the winter. She was strikingly beautiful. He called her Sabina after his mother, and *took her everywhere.*” Even though the censors did not comment on this passage directly on the reports, it seems that the fetish described in *Justine* by this character also elicited some kind of affective reaction in them, one that had to be suppressed. Both translations offer satisfactory renderings of this scene—of most of the passages actually—with no obvious alterations or omissions, except for Bernárdez’s choice to translate “He called her Sabina *after his mother*” to

“Se llamaba Sabina, *como la abuela paterna*” [Her name was Sabina, after the grandmother on the dad’s side]—mistake I believe is caused by the translator’s confusion in the dialogue that takes place between two characters talking about relatives. The sexual fetish mentioned in this passage very possibly contributed to the fact that neither translation was officially authorized for publication during the dictatorship in Spain but granted “silencio administrativo” in its instead. On the other hand, Bernárdez’s *Justine* was never allowed for importation, despite the great number of requests submitted to the MIT.

For many years, the censors persecuted Durrell’s novel to the point that they did not formally allow any version for circulation until after the end of the dictatorship. This seems strange when considering how scarce and subtle the sexual passages are in *Justine*. I argue that the reasons behind the MIT’s decision to stop the distribution of this novel had more to do with the censors taking exception to women’s sexuality than with the “pornographic” character they granted it in their reports. Hence, the “immorality” contained in *Justine* refers to the very female character’s sexuality and her own love choices—that, in short, is what really triggered the censors’ affective responses to the novel. In this vein, the fate of *Justine* in translation(s) under Francoism is comparable to that of Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and its translations to Catalan and Spanish.

To conclude with the analysis of the sexual passages in my corpus of “romans-à-clef,” I will now present the translations of Lawrence Durrell’s *Balthazar* that contain sex-related content, prior to providing an analysis of them and some final remarks on Chapter 7. The source text will be contrasted with Aurora Bernárdez’s Argentine translation—also published by Sudamericana in 1961—and Manuel de Pedrolo’s Catalan translation, published by Aymà in 1983. Some of the comments made by the censors regarding *Balthazar* are very similar to those passed on *Justine*. For instance, when evaluating Bernárdez’s translation, the censors wrote: “Purely carnal love ... in



some cases *reaching pornography*. There are crude descriptions of male and female sexuality. In general, it is an intellectual novel with an *amoral background* and some totally heterodox characters” (File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434, emphasis added).<sup>182</sup>

In the same file, another censor further elaborates on reasons for not allowing the circulation of *Balthazar* and marks the pages and passages that should be removed: “[This novel] tries to analyze the concept of modern love, taking place in an oriental environment. General characteristics: materialism, skepticism, *obsession about sexual perversions*” (Ibid., emphasis added).<sup>183</sup> Only when censoring Henry Miller’s books did the censors use a similar affective language, for “sexual perversion” is indeed something that Francoist literary gatekeepers seem to harshly react to: “Sensuality dominates in the novel, which frequently turns into *perversion*” (Ibid., emphasis added).<sup>184</sup> Within the same report there is also a note that explains their opposition to the so-called modern love portrayed in *Balthazar*, which was also seen in the reports on Nin’s novels. They mention: “Ideas contrary to marriage, adultery ... I propose its rejection” (Ibid.).<sup>185</sup>

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970) <sup>186</sup>	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#38	“She looks flirty to me. But then, <b>sex is so powerful in this heat</b> —a spoonful goes a long way ... You lie and dream	“Me parece una coqueta. Pero es que <b>el sexo tiene tanto poder con este calor</b> ... Uno <i>miente</i> y sueña con él como si fuera helado,	“[E]lla és una xicoteta que li agrada que la festegin. Però què voleu? <b>Tira tant, el sexe, amb aquesta calor</b> ... Una culleradeta no fa cap

<sup>182</sup> “Amor puramente carnal, prostitución y violación, en algunos casos llega a *pornografía*, descripción grosera de la sexualidad masculina y femenina, y en general novela intelectual con un fondo amoral y en boca de algunos personajes totalmente heterodoxos” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

<sup>183</sup> “Obra en la que se trata de analizar el concepto de amor moderno, referido al ambiente oriental. Características generales: materialismo, escepticismo, obsesión sobre las perversiones sexuales. Línea argumental psicológica. Circunstancias concretas, personajes degenerados (gigolós, pederastas, amor sádico o lesbiano), concepto meramente contrario al matrimonio, adulterio ... Se propone la denegación, Madrid 20 julio 1961. [Páginas marcadas en informe:] 167, 41-43, 48, 54-55, 23 etc. 31-35, 116-117, 137-138, 145” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

<sup>184</sup> This quotation is contained in the same file as the quote cited just before. Refer to the footnote above.

<sup>185</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>186</sup> The examples taken from Aurora Bernárdez’s translation belong to the edition distributed by Edhasa in Spain in 1970. The translated text is the same as the Sudamericana edition published in 1961 in Argentina.

- about it like ice-cream, sex, not rum. And these Moslem girls—old boy—**they circumcise them.** It's cruel. Really cruel. It only **makes them harp on the subject**" (36).
- #39 “As for Justine ... I regard her as a tiresome old **sexual turnstile through which presumably we must all pass**—a somewhat **vulpine Alexandrian Venus**" (115).
- #40 “The negative pole is pain, the positive pole sex... In the ape and man we find the first animals, excluding tame animals, in which sex can be roused without an external stimulus ... The periodic organic condition which should rouse the sexual sense has become an absolutely useless, degenerate, pathological manifestation .. **Capodistria in his tremendous library of pornographic books, superbly bound!**" (131).
- #41 “You have been my friend, Clea, and I want
- el sexo, no el ron. Y a esas muchachas musulmanas, viejo, **les hacen la circuncisión.** Es una crueldad. Una verdadera crueldad. **Sólo sirve para que no piensen en otra cosa**" (36).
- “En cuanto a Justine, la considera el viejo y cansador **torniquete sexual por el cual probablemente tengamos que pasar todos...** una especie de **Venus alejandrina con algo de zorra**" (116).
- “El polo negativo es el dolor, el polo positivo el sexo... El mono y el hombre son los primeros animales, con excepción de los domésticos, en los que el sexo puede ser excitado sin necesidad de un estímulo exterior ... La condición orgánica periódica que debía despertar el sentido sexual se ha convertido en una manifestación absolutamente inútil, degenerada, patológica ... **¡Capodistria en su formidable biblioteca de libros pornográficos, magníficamente encuadernados!**" (133).
- “Usted ha sido mi amiga, Clea, y me gustaría que lo
- mal, com dèiem a la Marian Mercant en parlar del rom. I ja sabeu que aquestes **noies musulmanes les circumciden.** És una cosa cruel. Veritablement cruel. **Això acaba d'inclinar-les cap al sexe**" (39).
- “Pel que fa a Justine, la considero com un vell i cansat **torniquet sexual pel qual suposo que tots hem de passar,** com una mena de **Venus alexandrina una mica guineu**" (113).
- “El negatiu és dolor, el positiu és sexe... Excepció feta dels animals domèstics, els simis i l'home són les primeres criatures en les quals el sexe pot ésser excitat sense l'ajuda d'estímuls exteriors... La condició orgànica periòdica que hauria d'estimular el sentit sexual s'ha convertit en una manifestació totalment inútil, degenerada, patològica. **Capodistria en la seva tremenda biblioteca de llibres pornogràfics, sobergament relligats!**" (128).
- “Has estat la meva amiga, Clea, i vull que l'estimis

	you to love him after I am gone. <b>Do it with him, will you, and think of me? ... Cannot a friend make love on another's behalf? I ask you to sleep with him</b> " (135).	quisiera cuando yo ya no esté. <b>Haga el amor con él, ¿eh? y piense en mí ... ¿Acaso una amiga no puede hacer el amor en nombre de otra? Le pido que se acueste con él</b> " (137).	quan jo ja no hi sigui. <b>Dorm amb ell i pensa en mi. Ho faràs? ... Per què una noia no ha de poder fer l'amor amb un hom en nom de la seva amiga? Et demano que dormis amb ell</b> " (132).
#42	"He followed her like an addict, standing inside the darkened room with eyes closed, <b>his hands upon her great quivering breasts</b> ... Then he sought her mouth feverishly ... He trembled with excitement—the perilous feeling of one <b>about to desecrate a sacred place by some irresistible obscenity</b> ... He loosened his clothing and pressed this great doll of flesh slowly down upon the dirty bed, coaxing from her body with his powerful hands the imagined responses he might have coaxed perhaps from another and better-loved form" (166).	"La siguió como un drogado a la habitación oscura, los ojos cerrados, <b>las manos sobre los grandes senos temblorosos</b> ... Luego buscó febrilmente su boca ... Temblaba de excitación— esa sensación de peligro que tiene el que está a <b>punto de profanar un lugar sagrado con alguna irresistible obscenidad</b> ... Se aflojó las ropas y, estrechándola, empujó lentamente hasta la cama mugrienta aquella muñeca de carne, buscando en el cuerpo de la mujer, con sus poderosas manos, las respuestas imaginadas que hubiera buscado quizás en otra forma más amada" (170).	"Va seguir-la com un drogat a l'interior de la cambra fosca, on va restar amb els ulls tancats <b>i les mans sobre els pits grossos que tremolaven</b> ... Després li buscà febrosament la boca ... Tremolava d'excitació, amb la pertorbadora impressió que s'experimenta <b>quan estem a punt de profanar un indret sagrat pronunciant una paraula obscena</b> ... Va descordar-se i va inclinar-se lentament cap al llit brut d'aquella gran nina de carn mentre li acariciava el cos amb les seves mans poderoses per tal de provocar les respostes imaginàries que hauria pogut aconseguir si hagués acariciat una altra forma més estimada" (162).
#43	"Athena <b>had been making love</b> to Jacques while she was literally lying upon his body ... he was dead" (211)	"Athena <b>había hecho el amor</b> con Jacques literalmente acostada sobre su cadáver ... estaba muerto" (216).	"Athena <b>s'havia estimat</b> amb Jacques, literalment ajaçada sobre el seu cos ... era mort" (205).

Table 15: References to the body, sex and sexuality in Durrell's *Balthazar* and translations.

First of all, it is worth emphasizing that *Balthazar*'s translations into Spanish and Catalan were done by the same rewriters behind the translations of *Justine*; Argentine translator Aurora Bernárdez and the Catalan writer Manuel de Pedrolo. Bernárdez's translations were published only a year apart (1960 and 1961), whilst de Pedrolo's gap between his translation of *Justine* and *Balthazar* is over a decade (1969 and 1983). For this reason, their renderings of *Balthazar* and *Justine* are quite comparable in terms of translation choices, strategies, and overall approach to the source text. Much like in the translations of *Justine*, both rewriters tend to convey the sexual passages and sex-related content in an idiomatic way but also without a stern sense of manipulation or concealing of such passages, unlike other rewritings analyzed in this chapter.

The first example of Table 15 (#38) shows a passage in which characters have a conversation about sex and its relation to the city of Alexandria, where both *Justine* and *Balthazar* take place. What is interesting about his passage, far from it being an observation on the translation of the sexual content—for both target text render it satisfactorily—is Bernárdez's mistranslation of “Sex is so powerful in this heat—a spoonful goes a long way... You *lie* and dream about it like ice-cream, sex, not rum,” which in Spanish reads as “Pero es que el sexo tiene tanto poder con este calor... Uno *miente* y sueña con él como si fuera helado, el sexo, no el ron” [But sex has so much power in this heat... One *lies* and dreams about it like ice-cream, sex, not rum]. Bernárdez's translation misses the “a spoonful goes a long way” part and offers a direct translation, following a word-for-word technique to translate the second part of the sentence, which reads a bit awkwardly, since she takes the source text “you lie and dream” for a different meaning: that of not telling the truth, instead of for its other sense, lay to rest, hence, creating an awkward turn of phrase in this instance.

On the other hand, de Pedrolo's translation strategy goes beyond form in order to transpose the meaning behind Durrell's sentence. In a playful manner, he uses the allusion to "rum" in the source text and offers a sailor's saying in Catalan, instead of resorting to the impossible word-for-word translation done by Bernárdez: "Tira tant, el sexe, amb aquesta calor... Una culleradeta no fa cap mal, com dèiem a la Marian Mercant en parlar del rom" [One fancies sex so much in this heat... A teaspoon doesn't hurt, as we used to say on Marian Merchant Ship when talking about rum]. On another note, this very passage conjures up some of the comments made by the censors in their reports when drawing on the "oriental eroticism" present among Alexandria's brothels and streets. Furthermore, the reference to "Moslem girls" being circumcised and how it affects their sexual life afterwards is presented in *Balthazar*. They are portrayed as "flirty," as it can be seen in this passage, a fact that reinforces the classic Western stereotype of the Eastern harem and women as sexual objects. I will delve into this in Chapter 9 when covering the translation of other taboo topics under Francoism, such as prostitution.

Example #39, much like the previous passage, exposes one of the character's opinions on Justine, one of the central characters in both *Justine* and *Balthazar*. In Durrell's source text, she is described as "a somewhat *vulpine* Alexandrian Venus," "una especie de Venus alejandrina con algo de *zorra*" [a kind of Alexandrian Venus who is *something of a fox*] in Spanish and "una mena de Venus alexandrina una mica *guineu*" [a kind of Alexandrian Venus *a bit foxy*] in Catalan. Both target texts avoid using "vulpine" "*vulpino*," which at least constitutes a word in Spanish, and opt for the direct allusion of "fox," this way conveying the passage with more plain language. Once again, Bernárdez's target text contains some foreignizing elements in her choice of words. For example, for "I regard her as a tiresome old sexual turnstile," she writes: "la considera el viejo y *cansador* torniquete sexual," offering a word-for-word, though not very idiomatic, translation.

Another instance of a translation presenting a slightly different meaning is the case of de Pedrolo's Catalan translation for Passage #41. "Do it with him ... and think of me" is translated as "Dorm amb ell i pensa en mi" [*Sleep with him and think of me*] in Catalan, as opposed to "Haga el amor con él ... y piense en mí" [*Make love to him and think about me*], a translation solution that does not convey the euphemism employed in the source text. Nevertheless, both choices render the message equivalently. Later in the same passage, there is a new allusion to this love-making scene: "I ask you to *sleep with him*," which translates as "Le pido que *se acueste con él*" [I ask you to *sleep with him*] in Bernádez's target text versus "Et demano que *dormis amb ell*" [I am asking you to *sleep with him*] in de Pedrolo's. Once again, the Catalan translation of this passage may seem a bit more euphemistic than the Spanish. Although this example might not seem relevant in isolation, there is another similar instance where de Pedrolo subtly attributes a slightly different degree of formality to his translation of another "love-making" reference. In Example #43, the Catalan target text translates "Athena had been *making love to* Jacques," to "Athena *s'havia estimat amb* Jacques" [*Ahtena had loved Jacques / fallen in love with Jacques*]. Whereas Bernádez's Argentine translation maintains the same tone and register, staying away of the euphemistic translation choice observed in the Catalan text: "Athena *había hecho el amor con* Jacques" [*Athena had made love to Jacques*].

The rest of the examples provided in Table 15 have been selected merely due to the sex-related content they reference. However, both the Catalan and Argentine target texts are, overall, free of self-censoring techniques, a fact that offers great contrast with Henry Miller's novels. One other passage whose content seems worth mentioning is #42. The narrator describes a sexual scene taking place between an Egyptian and a prostitute and this is found in the passage: "He trembled with excitement—the perilous feeling of one about to *desecrate a sacred place by some irresistible*

*obscenity*.” Surely, I imagine the translators reading this scene and using it as the ultimate reason for writing the kind of reports they filed regarding *Balthazar*. The psychoanalytical game played by Durrell with his characters and accounts offered the censors enough motive to indeed find his novel “perilous” due to its “obscenities.” In regard to the translation of this passage, Manuel de Pedrolo’s target text seems to undertake a perhaps freer approach in this instance, translating the end of the passage as “quan estem a punt de profanar un indret sagrat *pronunciant una paraula obscena*” [about to desecrate a sacred place *by uttering an obscene word*]. This translation does fail to convey the fact that such obscenity is deemed “irresistible” in the source text, which is satisfactorily stated in the Argentine-made translation: “a punto de profanar un lugar sagrado con alguna *irresistible obscenidad*.”

Despite all target texts involving sexual passages and discussions of the complex nature of human sexuality, as Example #40 shows, only Aurora Bernárdez’s Spanish translation of *Balthazar*, David Casanueva’s translation of *Ladders to Fire* into Spanish, and Jordi Arbonès’ Catalan translation of *Black Spring* were officially approved for circulation in 1970, 1971, and 1970, respectively, whereas the Spanish translations of Miller, for example, were all rejected. The differences regarding sexuality and eroticism do differ from text to text, being language register and tone a possible reason for the novels’ reception. A first conclusion drawn both in terms of the various strategies employed by the translators when dealing with sexual content and matters of erotic nature and by judging the different outcomes that the translated novels underwent, I contend that it is the language and tone used to convey such matters that made the censors authorize or reject a book for circulation.

Therefore, the first findings in terms of most censurable “sexual affect” lead me to believe that the more vulgar, colloquial, or dysphemistic the language is— “obscene” or “repulsive” in the

censors' dialectics—the higher the chances for a translation to either be self-censored or not accepted altogether. The examples analyzed in this chapter demonstrate that the translations' outcomes might not have been so much about the Francoist ultraconservative morality being threatened because of one character behaving immorally, nor because of an allusion to a sex scene—for all novels do contain enough sexual material for the censors to denounce them—, in my opinion, it is more about how language was used to signify that which was considered taboo. This explains why self-censorship is much more prominent in the translations of Henry Miller's novels—especially in the Argentine and Catalan translations—and why, at the same time, the weight of the institutional censorship fell more heavily on those novels.

Next to the idea of censoring the affective language in Miller's novels and translations lies the gender issue and, more particularly, the notion of “modern love” [amor moderno] so criticized by the censorship board. In this vein, both Nin's and Durrell's works fell on the category of immorality, not so much due to the highly sexualized and descriptive language embedded in them, but because of the theme of the “fallen woman” who tries to break free of a normative life to fully embrace her sexual desires (*Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love*) or, on the other hand, sexually complex characters whose past bodily traumas and abuses dispossess them of their own bodies and sexualities (*Justine* and *Balthazar*). I will delve more into this in Chapter 9, Section 9.2. “On Prostitution” section 9.3. “Other Sinful Matters.”

Furthermore, despite the formal similarities of the two Spanish translations of Anaïs Nin's novels, there is one major contrast that disrupts the cohesion in the two volumes: the translation of women's proper names. Let us remember that both novels belong to the same short stories collection in which some characters appear recurrently such as Sabina and Lillian. In *Ladders to Fire*, for example, Casanueva's version translates Sabina's name to “Sabine,” as an attempt to



foreignize the character, this way, creating a distance and a notion of remoteness from the character and the women in the target reader's collective. Such a technique also applies to the translation of Lillian's name—"Lilliane" in Casanueva's Spanish text, a solution that does not appear in the Catalan rendering of the novel. At the same time, in the translation of *A Spy in the House of Love* by Carmen Alcalde/Prats, Sabina's name is left unaltered. Taking into account that both novels belong to the same collection—*Cities of the Interior*—and considering that all the translations of Nin's novels were edited and published by Aymà, it is shocking that proper names do not present the same consistency as Lawrence Durrell's characters in translation, for example.

Nonetheless, let us not forget that Casanueva's translation of *Ladders to Fire* into Spanish was the only version of Nin's target texts submitted to the MIT that was officially authorized for publication during the dictatorship. It is, therefore, not inaccurate to consider Casanueva's choice to exoticize the female protagonists' names a calculated device to enhance the "otherness" in the novel's characters, for, as Santaemilia reminds us "self-censorship may include all the imaginable forms of elimination, *distortion*, downgrading, misadjustment, infidelity, and so on" (223, emphasis added). Under this logic, foreignizing the names of those whose actions were critically denounced by the censors can be understood as a "distorting" mechanism to create a symbolic distance between the readers and these "immoral" female characters, that is, a subtle technique that could have contributed to Casanueva's translation to be authorized in 1971, whilst all other translations of Nin's novels herein analyzed were not officially approved.

## **Chapter 8. On Homosexuality and Lesbian Eroticism**

Much like the sex-related topics analyzed in Chapter 7, homosexuality and homoeroticism prove to have elicited a particular kind of affective response by the Francoist censors. Nevertheless, opposition to themes relating to lesbian and gay homosexuality has generally been, and sometimes still is, ubiquitous in literature.<sup>187</sup> Take, for example, the case of Djuna Barnes' *roman-à-clef*, *Nightwood*, and the perils this novel underwent until a complete edition without cuts and omissions was published in 1995. *Nightwood* was first published in 1936 in London after a long and tedious editing job that involved numerous rejections by different publishers and, as a result, many drafts. Although the final manuscript ended up containing two hundred and fifty pages—as opposed to the original one hundred and ninety thousand words—Barnes' *roman-à-clef* is considered one of the first lesbian novels of the twentieth century in English language.

However, it would not be until the 1990s that the English-speaking readers could enjoy an extended edition of the novel, which includes passages previously deleted by the author and editors, changes that, according to several scholars, were motivated by no less than T. S. Eliot, who edited Barnes' book in an attempt to make it conform to the standards of the publishing market of the time.<sup>188</sup> Hence, many of the references that overtly touched on lesbianism or even character

---

<sup>187</sup> For an in-depth notion on this topic, I kindly refer the reader to works such as: Meyer's *Literature and Homosexuality* (2000); Coffman's *Insane Passions: Lesbianism and Psychosis in Literature and Film* (2006); and Herring's *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History* (2007).

<sup>188</sup> Barnes herself describes a curious encounter between the two in one of her letters. Cheryl J. Plumb, an expert on Djuna Barnes' *oeuvre*, retells the scene as follows: "Barnes reported that with respect to Eliot's corrections, she had said, 'I'll take anything from you, Mr. Eliot.' But later in considering the manuscript when they got on to 'balls, testicles, and pubic hair... [he was] embarrassed and Djuna vigilant'" (Barnes, 1995, pp. xxii, emphasis added). Many of these biographical and editorial details are now included in Plumb's edition of the novel, a tremendously ambitious archival work entitled *Nightwood: The Original Version and Related Drafts*, published in 1995. Plumb completes and reproduces Barnes' initial novel by compiling related drafts and all extant editions of the novel, including letters and notes by the author.

descriptions that did not conform to the gender standards of the time were softened or suppressed altogether in an edition on print for more than sixty years.<sup>189</sup> Scholars such as Martha Nussbaum note that “[f]or a long time, our society, like many others, has confronted same-sex orientations and acts with a politics of disgust ... In almost all societies, people identify a group of sexual actors as disgusting or pathological, contrasting them with ‘normal’ or ‘pure’ sexual actors” (*From Disgust* 17). Having this notion in mind and bringing to the fore the censors’ reports, the present chapter provides a study of the passages that relate to lesbian and gay homosexuality and homoeroticism extracted from my corpus of texts. To do that, I will follow the same dynamic as Chapter 7, that is, I will focus on each of the novels that contain these characteristics and contrast them with the different translations and editions in Spanish and Catalan made on both sides of the Atlantic. Let us start by showcasing Anaïs Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* in what pertains to lesbianism and lesbian desire.

Out of the six novels comprised in my corpus, Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* is, by far, the work that offers the largest sample of homosexual elements. Throughout the course of the story, the protagonist named Lillian is drawn to three different women (Djuna—oddly enough—, Helen, and Sabina) who, in most cases, are introduced to her by her male lovers. Efforts towards physical relations between them are futile due to various reasons, except with Sabina (also main character in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love*), with whom a greater physical attraction and connection is created until the appearance of Lillian’s lover, Jay. Lillian’s habits of extramarital affairs were harshly rebuked by the Francoist censors, as seen in Chapter 7. However, when it comes to

---

<sup>189</sup> For a detailed study of *Nightwood*’s censored passages and its translations and editions into Spanish, see my contribution to *Traducción e interpretación (auto)censuradas en los mundos hispánicos*. Eds. Marian Panchón Hidalgo and Raphaël Roché (*Mutatis Mutandi*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2023), entitled “Traducción, afecto y censura desde el mundo hispánico: *Nightwood*, de Djuna Barnes, y *Tropic of Cancer*, de Henry Miller.”

criticizing the protagonist's attempts to engage in sexual relationships with women, the censors' show even a greater degree of concern in their reports: "Slow, short narrations, full of psychoanalysis and erotism, with a *tendency for lesbian passion*" (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873, emphasis added).<sup>190</sup> In a different file, another censor is more thorough with their explanations:

[The protagonist] even has relationships of dubious intimacy with a girlfriend. Without saying so she is *propagating a kind of unleashed, free love* —morality and religion remain in the realm of prejudice ... There is a friendship between the protagonist and a friend that is practically a *lesbian love* (p. 168) although in the end *normal love* with a [male] lover triumphs. Conversely, the novel is well composed in literary terms and, although there are no pornographic scenes, *this kind of descriptions have usually been forbidden* up until now in this censorship board, hence, I think that the suspension of this work should be kept. (File 7086-65, catalogue: 21/16626, emphasis added)<sup>191</sup>

Years later, in 1971, when Aymà submitted the translation of the novel in Spanish, a few more censors commented on the edition: "Subject matter completely unsuitable for minors (adultery, homosexuality, etc.). It should be published for adults" (File 6564-71, catalogue 73/00985).<sup>192</sup>

Ultimately, the board differs from previous resolutions and the Spanish edition translated by David

---

<sup>190</sup> "Relatos lentos, de psicoanálisis y claro erotismo, apuntándose pasiones lésbicas. Peligroso por su hondo y morboso erotismo" (Exp. 9212-65, sig. 21/16873).

<sup>191</sup> "Incluso mantiene relaciones de intimidad dudosa con una amiga. Sin decirlo está propagando un amor libre desatado—la moral y la religión quedan en el campo de los prejuicios ... hay una amistad entre la protagonista y una amiga que es prácticamente un amor lesbiano (pág. 168) aunque al final triunfa el *amor normal* con un amante, por otra parte la novela esta literariamente bien compuesta y no hay ninguna escena pornográfica pero tal clase de narraciones suelen ser prohibidas hasta ahora en esta censura por lo que creo que se debe de mantener la suspensión de esta obra" (Exp. 7086-65, sig. 21/16626).

<sup>192</sup> "Temática por completo inadecuada a menores (adulterio, homosexualidad, etc.). Debería presentarse para adultos" (Exp. 6564-71, sig. 73/00985).

Casanueva is authorized in 1971, though still bearing a judgemental report on grounds of immorality:

The author's own personality, otherwise quite unknown, is perfectly reflected upon this kind of novella, one of the few she has authored and which, deep down, seems to be quite autobiographical. To sum up, one can say that this is a love story, even if not too physical, *of two lesbians*. The style is terribly surrealist and influenced by Dadaism. Cultured, carefully chosen language. It is difficult to penetrate in the novel's background, since it lacks a well-developed plot. One could say that the work is immoral, but it rather seems amoral: *lesbianism, illicit love*. However, it is all extremely blurred ... *this novel can be read by anyone who is up to it, which is doubtful*. (Ibid., emphasis added)<sup>193</sup>

This last report contradicts the previous recommendation for *Escalas hacia el fuego* to only target a mature readership due to its "amoral" subject matter and underlines this particular censor's skepticism on Nin's novel being read in Spain, in addition to the lack of awareness of the author in the country. For this reason, Casanueva's translation of *Ladders* was authorized for circulation, whereas Arbonès' Catalan translation was published later in 1976. Let us now compare and analyze the passages containing homosexual references as marked by the censors.

---

<sup>193</sup> "La propia personalidad de la autora, por otra parte bastante desconocida, queda perfectamente reflejada en esta especie de novela, una de las pocas que ha escrito, y que, en el fondo, parece tener bastante de autobiográfica. Concretando se puede decir que es la historia del amor, aun cuando no demasiado físico, de dos lesbianas. Su estilo es terriblemente subrealista [sic] e influido por el dadaísmo. Lenguaje culto y cuidado. Es difícil penetrar en el fondo, puesto que carece de trama bien llevada. Se podría decir que la obra es inmoral, pero más bien parece amoral: lesbianismo, amores ilícitos. Sin embargo todo esto queda terriblemente difuminado. La expresión formal es plenamente aceptable y, de esta forma, algo que podría convertirse en peligroso se queda en agua de borrajas, en una novela que puede leer cualquiera, con tal de que tenga ganas, lo cual parece ya más difícil. AUTORIZABLE" (Exp. 6564-71, sig. 73/00985).

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#1	“This relationship had the aspect of a primitive figure to which both enjoyed presenting proofs of worship and devotion ... <b>‘I wish you were a man,’</b> Lillian often said” (81-82).	“Esta reciprocidad tenía el aspecto de un dios primitivo al que cada una se complacía en dar pruebas de adoración y devoción ... — <b>¡Si al menos fueras un hombre!</b> —le decía a menudo Liliane <b>a su amiga</b> ” (26).	“Aquesta afinitat tenia l’aspecte d’una figura primitiva a la qual totes dues ofrenaven, joiosament, llur adoració i llur devoció ... — <b>Tant de bo fossis home!</b> — solia exclamar Lillian” (28).
#2	“Lillian knew only one thing: <b>that she must possess Djuna</b> ” (99).	“Lilliane sólo sabía una cosa: <b>necesitaba tener a Djuna de su lado</b> ” (47)	“Lillian només sabia una cosa: <b>que li calia possessionar-se de Djuna</b> ” (42).
#3	“She wants something of me that <b>only a man can give her</b> ” (107)	“Y Djuna pensaba: ‘Quiere de mí lo que <b>sólo un hombre puede darle</b> ’ (56).	“Vol alguna cosa de mi que <b>només un home pot donarli</b> ” (48).
#4	“[Lillian] became like a lover ... She gave to the friendship an atmosphere of courtship which accomplished the same miracles of love ... Lillian said to her: <b>‘If I were a man, I would make love to you’</b> ” (133).	“[Liliane] tomó el sitio del amante ... Creaba una atmósfera de galantería por la que la amistad puede realizar los mismos milagros que el amor ... Liliane le declaró: — <b>Si fuera un hombre, me gustaría hacer el amor contigo</b> ” (90).	“[Lilliana] es captingué com un amant. Es desfeia, sol·lícita en atencions ... Donava a l’amistat un aire de galanteig que produïa el mateix miracle de l’amor ... <b>Lillian li confessà: —Si fos home, et faria l’amor</b> ” (72).
#5	“They danced together ... Sabina dark and potent, leading Lillian ... But they danced, cheeks touching, their cheeks chalice white. They danced and the jeers cut into the haze of their dizziness like a whip. The eyes of the men were insulting them. The eyes	“Se levantaron para bailar ... Sabine, sombría y fuerte, conducía a Liliane ... Pero ellas siguieron bailando, mejilla contra mejilla. Bailaban, y las burlas azotaban como latigazos la neblina que las envolvía. Las miradas de los hombres las insultaban, las llamaban	“Ballaren plegades ... Sabina, obscura i ferma, emmenava Lillian ... Elles, però, ballaven, les galtes a frec ... Ballaven i els sarcasmes, esquinçaven la neulia de llur embriaguesa com un fuet. L’esguard dels homes era un insult per a elles. Els ulls dels homes les insultaven

- of men called them by the name the world had for them. Eyes. Green, jealous. Eyes of the word. Eyes sick with hatred and contempt. **Caressing eyes, participating. Eyes ransacking their conscience ...**” (181).
- #6 “Two women. Strangeness. All the webs of ideas blown away. New bodies. New souls, new minds, new words. They would create it all out of themselves, fashion their own reality. Innocence. No roots dangling into other days, other nights, other men or women. **The potency of a new stare into the face of their desire and their fears**” (183).
- #7 “The dresses. Sabina’s dress rolled around her like long seaweed. She wanted to turn and drop it on the floor but her hands lifted it like a Bayadere lifting her skirt to dance and she lifted it over her head ... Lillian journeyed into the darkness of them, carrying her blue eyes into
- por el nombre que se da a las mujeres de su clase. ¡Tantos ojos! Ojos verdes. Ojos celosos. Ojos del mundo. Ojos enfermos de odio y desprecio. Ojos acariciadores que **participaban en su placer. Ojos que penetraban hasta el fondo de su consciencia ...**” (150).
- “Dos mujeres. El misterio. Todos los velos del pensamiento tomaron el vuelo. Los cuerpos son nuevos, nuevas las almas, los espíritus, las palabras. Iban a crearlo todo a partir de sí mismas, labrar su propia realidad. Ellas eran la inocencia. No tenían raíces clavadas en otros días, en otras noches, en otros hombres u otras mujeres. **Tenían una mirada nueva para sus deseos y sus temores**” (152).
- “Los vestidos. El de Sabine se arrollaba como un alga alrededor de su cuerpo. Quería dejarlo resbalar has el parqué, pero sus manos lo levantaron como una bayadera levanta su falda para danzar, y lo pasó por encima de su cabeza ... Liliane exploraba aquel bosque sombrío y
- etzibant-los el hom que hom serva per a les dones com elles. Ulls! Ulls verds, gelosos! Els ulls del món! Ulls minats per l’odi i el menyspreu. Ulls acaronadors, **que compartien llur plaer. Ulls que sacsejaven les consciències llurs ...**” (112).
- “Dues dones. El misteri. La teranyina de les idees arrossegada pel vent. Nous són els cossos, noves les ànimes, les ments, els mots. Ho creurien tot de cap i de nou a partir d’elles mateixes, afaçonarien llur pròpia realitat. La innocència. No tenien arrels que les lliguessin a d’altres dies, a d’altres nits, a d’altres homes o dones. **Tenien la força d’una mirada nova per a llurs desigs i llurs temors**” (113).
- “Els vestits. El de Sabina s’enroscava al seu cos com un llarg rast d’algues marines. Volia girar-se i deixar-lo caure a terra, però les seves mans l’alçaven així com una baiadera s’alça les faldilles per dansar, i se’l llevà pel cap ... Lillian explorava aquella obagor, i els seus ulls blaus penetraven

	<p>the red-brown ones. She walked from the place where her dress had fallen holding her breasts as is she expected to be mortally thrust ... Lillian wanted to reach out to her ... How the lies, the loves, the dreams, the obscenities, the fever weighed down her body, and how Lillian wanted to become *leadened with her, poisoned with her” (183-184).</p>	<p>zambullía sus ojos azules en la mirada de un pardo rojizo. Abandonó el rincón de la pieza donde había caído su ropa, cubriendo su seno cual si temiera ser mortalmente herida ... Liliane deseaba alcanzar aquellas sombras ... las mentiras, los amores, los sueños, las obscenidades, las fiebres habían vuelto su cuerpo pesado, y Liliane sólo pedía ganar peso con ella, emponzoñarse con ella” (154).</p>	<p>la mirada d’aquells altres ulls d’un color terrós rogenic. S’allunyà de l’indret on havia caigut el seu vestit tot prement-se els pits com si temés caure mortalment ferida ... Lillian volia abastar allò que era fora d’ella ... Les mentides, els amors, els somnis, les obscenitats, les febres havien atorgat pesantor al seu cos, i ara Lillian només volia esdevenir pesada amb ella, emmetzinar-se amb ella” (114).</p>
#8	<p>“Through the acrid forest of her being there was a vulnerable opening. Lillian trod into it lightly. <b>Careses of down, moth invasions, myrrh between the breasts, incense in their mouths.</b> Tendrils of hair raising their heads to the win in the fingertips, kisses curling within the conch-shell necks. Tendrils of hair bristling and between their closed lips a sigh ... ‘How soft you are, how soft you are,’ said Sabina” (185).</p>	<p>“En el áspero bosque de su ser existía una abertura vulnerable. Liliane emprendió suavemente el camino. <b>Caricias de vello, invasiones de falenas, mirra entre los senos, incienso de bocas.</b> Cabellos en la punta de los dedos, besos en el fondo de las conchas huecas del cuello, y, entre los labios cerrados, un suspiro. — Cuán suave, cuán suave — decía Sabine” (154).</p>	<p>“Entremig de l’aspre bosc del seu ésser hi havia una obertura vulnerable. Lillian hi penetrà suaument. <b>Carícies de borrisol, invasions de pol·len, mirra entre les sines, encens a les boques.</b> Rulls de cabells a les puntes dels dits que alçaven llurs caps al vent, besos que s’arraulien al clot de les petxines del coll. Rulls de cabells suaus i, entre llurs llavis closos, un sospir ... — Que suau que ets, que suau que ets! —deia Sabina” (115).</p>

Table 16: References to homosexuality and lesbian homoeroticism in Nin’s *Ladders* and translations.

Similar to what I observed when comparing the translations regarding sexual content in *Ladders to Fire* and its different translations, Casanueva’s rewriting into Spanish presents some



translation choices that make it a more domesticated version than Arbonès' translation into Catalan. For instance, Example #1 and #2 exhibits two passages in which the Spanish text shows subtle additions to the source text: "*Si al menos fueras un hombre*" [If only you were a man], instead of "*I wish you were a man,*" more directly translated into Catalan as "*Tant de bo fossis home*" [I wish you were a man]. Correspondingly, the passage "Lillian knew only one thing: that she must *possess* Djuna" is modulated to the extent that it removes the sexual affect contained in the scene: "Lilliane sólo sabía una cosa: necesitaba *tener a Djuna de su lado*" [Lillian knew only one thing: *she needed to have Djuna on her side*]. This translation choice fails to convey the sense of "possession" found in the novel—Lillian's obsession with her friend to the point that she wants to make love to her, to possess her sexually, which is completely concealed in the Spanish translation. Arbonès' Catalan rendition, however, does include the notion of sexual possession: "Lillian només sabia una cosa: que *li calia possessionar-se de Djuna*" [Lillian knew only one thing: that she *needed to possess Djuna*]. In my opinion Casanueva's translation strategy obscures the sexual desire between the characters that can be read in Nin's source text and is utterly omitted in the Spanish translation.

Example #4 exposes another case of modulation, though a more subtle one. Lillian's conversation with another girlfriend—Helen—once again evokes the idea of attraction and desire between the women: "If I were a man, *I would make love to you,*" which is translated into Spanish as "*Si fuera un hombre, me gustaría hacer el amor contigo*" [If I were a man, *I would love to make love to you*], as opposed to "*Si fos home, et faria l'amor*" [If I were a man, *I would make love to you*] in Catalan. Such a subtle change in the verb tense reminds one of a similar instance found in Casanueva's translation of a different conversation about sex analyzed in Chapter 7 (see Example #23), one more time minimizing Lillian's agency and affirmative desire.

Later on, there is a scene where Lillian and Sabina, after consuming opium, publicly start dancing very close to each other in a bar. Their actions attract the male gaze from all around them, something explicitly described by Nin when talking about how the men’s eyes watched them until they get kicked out of the place. As shown in Example #5, the source text reads as follows: “The eyes of men called them by the name the world had for them. Eyes. Green, jealous. *Eyes of the word. Eyes sick with hatred and contempt.* Caressing eyes, participating. Eyes ransacking their conscience.” Despite the relatively banal nature of this passage in regard to censorable content, it may have caught the censors’ attention in so much as it offers a sense of parallelism to the censors imposing their own judgments, morals, and opinions, often behind their own eyes of “hatred and contempt” for the subject matter espoused by this kind of “roman-à-clef.” In terms of the translations of this controversial passage, overall, both Casanueva and Arbonès render the text in an equivalent and dynamic manner without apparent omissions or modulations. The only aspects worth-mentioning are minor additions found in both source texts, however, they only reinforce the message, instead of altering it: “Caressing eyes, participating” reads as “Ojos acariciadores *que participaban en su placer*” [Caressing eyes *that participated in their pleasure*] in Spanish, and similarly translated into Catalan: “Ulls acaroadors, *que compartien llur plaer*” [Caressing eyes *that shared their pleasure*]. The insertion of “pleasure” in both target texts only enhances the situation without downgrading it.

Example #6 exposes the novelty of the women’s feelings towards each other, defined by Nin as both strange and new. The translations accurately render the passage, except for a couple of choices that domesticate the Spanish text in favour of fluidity, since the source text contains a long list of fragments—without a verb—that might sound a bit awkward in this language, grammatically speaking. Even though Casanueva’s translation employs different modulation

strategies in order to recreate message and meaning, his translation distances itself from the source text in some instances. For example: “Two women. *Strangeness*” translates as “Dos mujeres. El *misterio*” [Two women. The *mystery*]—a translation solution also found in the Catalan target text. Something I perceive is missing in the two translations and seems essential in the source text, however, is the last part of this passage. Nin writes: “The *potency* of a new stare *into the face of* their desire and their fears.” The idea of creating something anew of their own posited by a potency that emanates within them is precisely the “strangeness” of the two women facing desire and fear equally so beautifully depicted by Nin. Such a notion is not as clear in the translations as it is in the source text, something, could be said, is lost in translation. Casanueva freely renders the passage, omitting precisely the potency mentioned: “Tenían una mirada nueva para su deseos y temores” [They had a new stare for their desires and fears]. Arbonès’ solution for this passage differs from the Spanish text, only by way of inserting the word “força” [strength] in lieu of “potency:” “Tenien la força d’una mirada nova per a llurs desigs i llurs temors” [They had the *force* of a new stare for their desires and their fears]. In my view, the sense of facing both desire and fear, seeing or described as a threat in the source text, is missing in the two translations. Hence, the translation choices employed by the rewriters, Casanueva particularly, obscure the source text.

At the same time, the more overtly described sexual passages between women (see #7 and #8) are so softly and elegantly written that it seems that no downplaying or omissions were needed on the translators’ end. Nin’s narrative is so lyrical and the language she employs so subtle that the affective layer embedded in her novel distances itself from, for example, Miller’s books herein analyzed. This, I observe, is one of the main reasons why the censors ended up authorizing the Spanish translation of *Ladders to Fire*. What can one censor from a sex passage such as the following, so different from the visceral, in-your-face-nature of Miller’s “crude fucking” business?

Through the acrid forest of her being there was a vulnerable opening. Lillian trod into it lightly. Caresses of down, moth invasions, myrrh between the breasts, incense in their mouths. Tendrils of hair raising their heads to the win in the fingertips, kisses curling within the conch-shell necks. Tendrils of hair bristling and between their closed lips a sigh ...  
 ‘How soft you are, how soft you are,’ said Sabina. (Nin, *Ladders* 185)

By way of having introduced Miller’s works to contrast lesbian desire and its affective language found in *Ladders to the Fire* with Miller’s novels, I will now proceed with tackling content related to homosexuality, gay and lesbian homoeroticism found in *Tropic of Cancer*.

Predictably, the MIT was particularly prohibitive when it came to novels authored by the famous Henry Miller, censored worldwide. The censors’ reports containing information on *Tropic of Cancer* and the different editions submitted for circulation in Spain—the Argentine edition by Mario Iglesias (Rueda 1962) accepted for importation; Jordi Arbonès’ Catalan translation (Aymà 1967) rejected numerous times until its acceptance in 1977; and Carlos Manzano’s made-in-Spain translation in 1977—do not have a direct reference to the homosexual passages present in Miller’s novel. Unlike Nin’s *Ladders*, Miller’s book was not attacked on grounds of its homosexuality. There is, nevertheless, one particular reference found in a letter that Aymà sent to the MIT, after receiving the rejection of Arbonès’ *Tròpic de Càncer* in 1975 and, what is more, a notice that the board was accusing the novel of constituting the grounds for a criminal offense of Public Scandal, if the publisher were to disseminate it, in accordance to Articles 431 and 432 of the Penal Code (File 2791-67, catalogue 21/18052).<sup>194</sup> Aymà’s fascinating response to the censorship board alludes to a novel by Manuel de Pedrolo—also translator of Durrell’s novels herein analyzed—*Un*

---

<sup>194</sup> “Inclusión plena en la figura delictiva de Escándalo público, de mediación de difusión, prevista en artículos 431 y 432 del Código Penal” (Exp. 2791-67, sig. 21/18052).

*amor fora ciutat*, which, after being accused of the same offense due to its homosexual content, the Provincial Court of Barcelona absolved the defendant in 1972. This way, Aymà’s attempt to use Manuel de Pedrolo’s case in favour of their proceeding with Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer*, pleading the following:

The judgement was based on the fact that the book in question did not disseminate doctrines or theses contrary to public morality but limited itself to narrating behaviours or events in a literary manner. We believe that this is precisely the case of the novel object to this letter [*Tròpic de Càncer*]. (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812)<sup>195</sup>

Despite Aymà’s well-formulated and convincing letter, the MIT could not be dissuaded: “Even recognizing the undisputed literary value of the author, his universal standing, and his literary projection worldwide, there are numerous scenes in this novel that would have a negative impact on our legal system” (File 4979- 75, catalogue 73/04812).<sup>196</sup> Let us now explore and contrast the translations of *Tropic of Cancer*’s passages that include references to homosexuality.

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#9	“Even now I can taste again the golden ambiance of that room where Madame Delorme sat	“Aún ahora, puedo saborear el ambiente dorado de esa habitación donde Madame Delorme se sentaba en un	“Incluso ahora puedo saborear de nuevo el ambiente dorado de aquella habitación en que Madame

<sup>195</sup> Aymà’s letter to the censorship board on April 17th, 1975: “En nuestra propia experiencia editorial tenemos un precedente que nos ilustra sobre la cuestión en el campo concreto de nuestra legislación. El libro de Manuel de Pedrolo, titulado en catalán *Un amor fora ciutat* y en castellano *Un amor extramuros* –novela en la que se trata el caso homosexual—fue denunciado por el Ministerio Público por inmoral con escándalo y, en consecuencia, secuestrado, y procesado su autor. Sin embargo, la Audiencia Provincial de Barcelona, en sentencia de fecha 18 de marzo de 1972, absolvió al procesado del delito de escándalo público que se le imputaba, con todos los pronunciamientos favorables. Sentencia que se fundamenta en el hecho de que la obra en cuestión, no difundía doctrinas o tesis contrarias a la moral pública, sino que se limitaba a relatar conductas o acaecimientos propios del género novelístico. Creemos que este es precisamente el caso de la obra objeto de este escrito” (Exp. 4979-75, sig. 73/04812).

<sup>196</sup> “Aun reconociendo el indudable valor literario del autor, su enorme prestigio universal y proyección en el mundo literario, numerosas escenas de su obra incidirían negativamente en nuestro ordenamiento jurídico” (Exp. 4979- 75, sig. 73/04812).

- upon a throne **in her mannish rig** ... I can feel again her heavy hand resting upon my shoulder, frightening me a little with her heavy **Lesbian air**” (15).
- #10 “Here, by God, if Marie Laurencin ever brought her Lesbians out into the open, would be the place for them to commune. *Très lesbienne ici. Sterile, hybrid, dry as Boris’ heart*” (38).
- #11 ‘Do you happen to know a cunt by the name of Norma? She hangs around the Dôme all day. I think she’s **queer**. I had her up here yesterday, **tickling her ass**. She wouldn’t let me do a thing. I had her on the bed... I even had her drawers off... and the I got disgusted ... I can’t bother struggling that way any more ... While you’re struggling with a little bitch like that ... They all **come over here to get laid**” (101-102).
- #12 “He picks one up—a portrait of himself done by **some Lesbian** he knew and he puts his foot through it. ‘That bitch! You know what she had
- trono a la **manera hombruna** ... siento nuevamente su mano pesada apoyándose en mi hombro, atemorizándome un poco con su acusado **aire lesbiano**” (26).
- “Si Marie Laurencin trajo alguna vez sus lesbianas al aire libre, éste hubiera sido el lugar para que ellas comulgaran. *Très lesbienne ici! Estériles, híbridas, secas como el corazón de Boris*” (48).
- “—Escucha —dice—, ¿conoces por casualidad a una mujer llamada Norma? Pasa el día entero en el Dôme. Creo que es muy **extraña**. La tuve ayer aquí, pellizcándole el trasero. No me dejó hacer nada. La tuve en la cama... hasta le quité los calzones... y después me fastidió. Diablos, no puedo soportar luchar de esta manera... no vale la pena ... Mientras estás luchando con una p... como ésa ... Todas vienen **aquí para acostarse**” (105).
- “Toma una, un retrato de él mismo hecho por **una lesbiana** que conoció, y lo atraviesa con el pie. —Esa bruja. ¿Sabes lo que tuvo la audacia de pedirme? Me
- Delorme estaba sentada en un trono con **su traje de hombre** ... vuelvo a sentir su mano en mi hombro, asustándome un poco con sus marcados **ademanos de lesbiana**” (29).
- “Si Marie Laurencin sacase alguna vez a la calle a sus lesbianas, por Dios que éste sería el lugar para que conversaran. *Très lesbienne ici. Estéril, híbrido, seco como el corazón de Boris*” (56).
- “—Oye —dice— ¿conoces por casualidad a una tía que llama Norma? Anda por aquí todo el día por el Dôme. Creo que es **tortillera**. Ayer la tuve aquí y le estuve **haciendo cosquillas en el culo**. No me dejó hacer nada. La tuve en la cama... hasta le quité las bragas... y después me dio asco. ¡Dios! Ya no puedo soportar eso de tener que forcejear así. No vale la pena ... Mientras forcejeas con una mala puta como ésa ... Todas vienen **aquí para que se las tiren**” (125).
- “Coge una, un retrato de él hecho por **una lesbiana** conocida suya, y lo atraviesa con el pie. ‘¡Esa mala puta! ¿Sabes lo que tuvo el descaro de pedirme? Me pidió que le

	<p>the nerve to ask me? She asked me to <b>turn over my cunts to her</b> after I was through with them ... I wouldn't have gotten that painting out of her if I hadn't promised to <b>fix her up with that cunt from Minnesota</b>. She was nuts about her... used to follow us around like a dog in heat” (123).</p>	<p>dijo que <b>le pasara mis hembras</b> después que yo hubiera terminado con ellas ... No hubiera conseguido que me hiciera ese retrato si no le hubiera prometido <b>ponerla en buenos términos con esa mujer de Minnesota</b>. Estaba loca por ella... solía seguirnos como una perra en celo” (124).</p>	<p><b>pasara mis gachís</b>, cuando hubiese acabado con ellas ... No habría conseguido que me diera ese cuadro, si no le hubiese prometido <b>proporcionarle esa gachí</b> de Minnesota. Estaba loca por ella... nos seguía a todas partes como una perra en celo” (147).</p>
#13	<p>“[W]e sat awhile enjoying the <b>homosexual rout that was in full swing</b> ... Little groups of sailors came swinging along and pushed their way noisily inside the gaudy joints. <b>Sex everywhere</b>: it was slopping over, a neap tide that swept the props from under the city” (204).</p>	<p>“[N]os sentamos un rato divirtiéndonos con <b>el clima homosexual que estaba en todo su apogeo</b> ... Pequeños grupos de marineros llegaban vacilantes y seguían su camino ruidosamente hacia os bulliciosos bares. <b>Sexo por todas partes</b>, desbordándose como una marea sucia que llegaba hasta los cimientos desde las profundidades de la [sic] ciudad” (198).</p>	<p>“[A]llí nos sentamos por un rato a disfrutar el <b>sarao homosexual que estaba en su apogeo</b> ... Grupitos de marineros se acercaban haciendo eses y se metían a empujones y ruidosamente en los llamativos tugurios. <b>Sexo por todos lados</b>: se derramaba una marea muerta que barría los puntales por debajo de la ciudad” (236).</p>

Table 17: References to homosexuality and lesbian homoeroticism in Miller's *Tropic* and translations.

Similar to what I observed in the translations of *Tropic of Cancer* in Chapter 7, when analyzing references to the sex act and the human body, the Argentine target text by Mario Iglesias tends to soften the translation of certain passages that touch on homosexuality, and which are too crude or direct in Miller's novel. For instance, Example #11 contains a passage in which a character tells the protagonist about an experience he had with a woman whom he refers to as both a lesbian and a “bitch” later in the same scene. The source text reads as follows: “I think she's *queer*. I had

her up here yesterday, tickling her ass. She wouldn't let me do a thing." Iglesias's Argentine translation evades usage of the term "queer" in Spanish, hardly due to a lack of slang words to refer to queer women in the 1960s, and opts for "extraña" [strange, weird]. Even though it can be argued that "queer" has historically been used to refer to something weird and strange, too, such is not the acceptation Miller uses in this passage. In fact, the whole solution offered by Iglesias reads awkwardly in Spanish: "*Creo que es muy extraña*" [I think she is very strange]. Manzano's translation, on the other hand, does entail the homosexual sense expressed in the source text, by opting for the word "tortillera"—"*Creo que es tortillera*"—which in Spanish is slang for lesbian, "dyke." Even though Manzano's choice aligns better with the source text, it is true that the word "tortillera" has pejorative connotations that the word "queer" might not have by itself. In my opinion, Manzano's solution was probably based on Miller's overall informal register.

The same example contains another interesting sentence that seems to have been translated very differently in the two Spanish editions. I already mentioned that, in this passage, a male character talks about a woman and infers that she is a lesbian because they did not have sex when being in bed together. After a long monologue ranting about why women should or should not put themselves in those situations, he assumes that she must be a prostitute and calls her "little bitch," for, as he claims, "they all come over here *to get laid*." This sentence offers a stark difference when comparing the translations. First, Iglesias euphemistically translates this passage as "Todas vienen aquí para *acostarse*" [They all come here to *lay down*]. Indeed "acostarse" has sexual connotations in Spanish when accompanied by the preposition "con" [with]. However, the way the translation is left, a Spanish-speaking reader would hardly think of it sexually, unlike Manzano's translation solution: "Todas vienen aquí para que *se las tiren*" [They all come here *to get laid/ to be screwed*]. Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning the fact that Iglesias resorts to the technique of self-



censoring a word by not writing it entirely, a strategy I already discussed in Chapter 7, for the Argentine translation contains several examples of said self-censoring technique when dealing with sexual organs. In this case the term in question is “p... como ésa” for the passage “little *bitch* like that.” Therefore, it can be inferred that the censored word is “puta” [bitch/whore], whereas Manzano’s version writes the word in full: “una mala *puta* como esa” [a bad bitch like that], a very direct transfer from the English source text.

Another example of euphemistic translation choices in Iglesias’ target text is provided in Case #12. Some pages after the self-censored passage “p... como ésa,” there is a new reference to a lesbian character. Once again, there is another slur towards her in words of a male character, like in the example above: “That *bitch!*” Iglesias chooses to translate it as “Esa *bruja*” [that *witch*], as opposed to Manzano’s literal approach, “¡Esa mala *puta!*” [That bad *bitch*]. Manzano’s choices are overall more coherent when it comes to rendering repeated passages, whilst Iglesias’ translation, by not staying as close to the source text, contains various solutions. Additionally, in the same example, Iglesias’ translation choice for the passage “to fix her up with that cunt from Minnesota” once again alters the source text by getting rid of the sense of sexual connection or affection that can be elucidated in Miller’s novel: “ponerla en buenos términos con esa mujer de Minnesota” [*put her in good terms* with that woman from Minnesota]. “Put her in good terms”—Iglesias’ solution for this passage—does not entail the same sense of sexual interest shown by the lesbian character in the Minnesota woman the characters talk about, as they comment later: “She was nuts about her.”

Example #10 encloses a translation solution by Iglesias that again differs from the source text and from Manzano’s translation. In this extract, two characters are again talking about queer spaces in Paris and they jokingly state: “Here ... would be the place for [the lesbians] to commune.

*Très lesbienne ici. Sterile, hybrid, dry as Boris' heart.*” It is my understanding that the place they are referring to has some sort of queer atmosphere, they describe it as a “very lesbian.” Iglesias’ transfers this passage into Spanish by preserving the French “*très lesbienne ici!*”—which is also Manzano’s solution for this foreign sentence in an attempt to convey the same foreignizing outlook that is found in Miller’s source text. However, the two translations vary in how they deal with the description of the place. For one, in Iglesias’ translation the comparison is set not between the “lesbian-like” place that is being described and the fellow Boris, rather his heart—“*Très lesbienne ici. Sterile, hybrid, dry as Boris' heart*”—but between the lesbians themselves and Boris’ heart, completely changing the meaning of this whole excerpt: “*Très lesbienne ici! Estériles, híbridas, secas como el corazón de Boris.*” By using the feminine plural in the description, Iglesias is referring to the lesbian women, instead of the place. Oppositely, Manzano’s approach to this translation takes as object the space instead of the lesbians: “*Très lesbienne ici. Estéril, híbrido, seco como el corazón de Boris,*” by employing an adjective that designate the masculine gender, this way agreeing with “lugar” [place] and singular, unlike Iglesias’ target text.

Example #13 exposes a passage that uses very affective and evocative language when describing a “homosexual rout” in the city. The source text employs some marine metaphors and comparisons, depicting the crowd as “group of sailors [that] came swinging along and pushed their way noisily inside the gaudy joints.” The flow of “homosexual” sailors parading into the city is compared to a “neap tide,” which in nautical terms—and according to the *Cambridge Dictionary*—refers to “a tide in the sea when there is the smallest difference between how high the water is at high tide and how high it is at low tide” (“Neap tide”). The words accompanying the description of homosexuality flowing and washing off the city, like a tide, is rather affective in itself: “sex everywhere: it was *slopping* over.” Both translations try to stay true to the “sailors’ language”

utilized by Miller, translating the scene quite directly from the source text and, as such, recreating a similar affective response in the readers: the idea that the homosexual fuss is coming from the sea, taking over, and conquering the city. Iglesias' translates the passage as follows: "Sexo por todas partes, desbordándose como una *marea sucia*," as opposed to Manzano's "sexo por todos lados: se derramaba una *marea muerta*." Both translations refer to the crowd as a "marea" [tide], but only Manzano's "marea muerta" [*neap* tide] conveys the literal meaning of "neap tide" conferred in the source text. Conversely, "marea sucia" [*dirty* tide], though evocative as is, renders a different meaning. Another distinction between the two translations is Iglesias' choice to translate "gaudy joints" as "bulliciosos bares" [*bustling* bars], completely losing the sense of the place being too much, too showy, too tacky even. This idea is, however, transposed to the Spanish target text by Manzano: "*llamativos tugurios*" [*garish* dens], a translation solution that also conveys a clandestine feel to the place. I find this translation quite satisfactory, if considering that this scene takes place in the red-light district.

Lastly, it can be seen how in Passage #9, the brief description of a lesbian character offers two somewhat different translation solutions in Spanish. The passage in question says: "Madame Delorme sat upon a throne *in her mannish rig*." Iglesias' interprets the passage as "Madame Delorme se sentaba en un trono *a la manera hombruna*" [... was sitting in her throne in a manly manner], as opposed to Manzano's translation "... estaba sentada en su trono con *su traje de hombre*," a solution closer to Miller's text [in her men's suit]. The interesting aspect of this passage, aside from the translation choices employed by each translator—at the same time, both satisfactory in describing the lesbian character—is the sense of threat and fear pointed out by the male character who defines said lesbian: "frightening me a little with her heavy Lesbian air." The affect depicted in Miller's novel when it comes to homosexuality alludes to an emotion of fright

that may remind us of a passage I discussed above when tackling homosexuality and lesbian desire in Nin's *Ladders to Fire*. The scene I am referring to appears in Example #6—“The potency of a new stare into the face of their desire and their fears”—also alludes to an emotion of fear that, in Nin's case, is being experienced by the women-lovers when facing their mutual desire. In Miller's novel, however, the emotion of fear is felt by the man coming to contact with an overtly lesbian woman. Though in a very different light, both novels project the idea that lesbianism triggers an affective response that produces fear or threat, a response also reflected in the censors' reports.

Much like the gay and lesbian homoeroticism displayed in both *Ladders to Fire* and *Tropic of Capricorn*, Lawrence Durrell's *Balthazar* was also criticized by the censors because of some homosexual elements included in the novel. The general reactions to a lesbian character, Clea, and Toto, a character born with a man's body who on occasion cross-dresses as a woman, are worth commenting on. When assessing the circulation of Aurora Bernárdez's translation of *Balthazar* in Spanish (first published by Sudamericana in 1961, authorized for importation in the Peninsula and then submitted in a new issue edited by Edhsasa), the censors passed the following reports on the novel: “There are specific circumstances with *degenerate characters* (gigolos, pederasts, *sadistic or lesbian love*) ... In general terms this is an intellectual novel with an amoral background and some *heterodox characters*. It should be denied” (File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434, emphasis added).<sup>197</sup> Words such as “degenerate,” “amorality,” and “perversion” seem to be the central in the censors' arguments against the circulation of Durrell's novel on grounds of immorality: “Sensuality is absolutely dominant in all [Durrell's] stories. A sensuality that frequently turns into *perversion*. Two of the central characters are *homosexuals*. Everything that happens is described

---

<sup>197</sup> “Circunstancias concretas, personajes degenerados (gigolós, pederastas, amor sádico o lesbiano) ... en general novela intelectual con un fondo amoral y en boca de algunos personajes totalmente heterodoxos. DEBE DENEGARSE” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

in perfect amorality” (Ibid.).<sup>198</sup> Despite these reports, the MIT ultimately allowed the circulation of Bernárdez’s translation of *Balthazar* in Spain in 1970. Let us now analyzed the different passages marked by the censors that touch on homosexuality.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#14	<p>“Toto ... His withered witch’s features and small boy’s brown eyes, widow’s peak, queer <i>art nouveau</i> smile. He was <b>the darling of</b> old society women too proud to pay <b>for gigolos</b> ... There was, I suppose, nothing to be done with him <b>for he was a woman: yet had he been born one</b> he would long since have cried himself into a decline. Lacking charm, <b>his pederasty gave him a kind of illicit importance</b>” (25).</p>	<p>“¡Toto! ... Sus rasgos de bruja macilenta y sus ojos castaños de muchachito, el pelo que se implanta en pico sobre su frente, su extraña sonrisa <i>art Nouveau</i>. Era el encanto de un círculo de viejas demasiado orgullosas para pagarse <b>un gigolo</b> ... No se podía hacer nada por él, supongo, <b>porque era femenino; pero si hubiera nacido mujer</b>, se habría considerado mucho tiempo antes en decadencia. A falta de un encanto personal, <b>su pederastia le daba una especie de importancia ilícita</b>” (24).</p>	<p>“Toto! ... Els seus trets de bruixa marcida, els seus ulls bruns de noieta, el seu bec de vídua i el seu estrany somris molt <i>art nouveau</i>. Era el predilecte d’un grup de velles massa orgulloses per pagar-se <i>gigolós</i> ... Suposo que no es podia fer res per ell, <b>car era una femella; si hagués nascut dona</b>, però, aviat hauria pretès que tenia una malaltia consumptiva. Com que li faltava encant, <b>la seva pederastia li conferia una mena d’importància il·lítica</b>” (28).</p>
#15	<p>“I can’t stand that Toto fellow. <b>He’s an open nancy-boy</b>. In my time we would have...” (31).</p>	<p>“No puedo aguantar a ese Toto. <b>Es un marica confeso</b>. En mis tiempos hubiéramos...” (30).</p>	<p>“No puc sofrir aquest Toto. <b>És un mareta declarat</b>. En el meu temps hauríem...” (34).</p>
#16	<p>“<b>I slip on female duds and my Dolly Varden</b>’ he said, and opened his eyes fully to stare pathetically at me” (41).</p>	<p>“—<b>Me pongo trapos de mujer y mi Dolly Varden</b> – dijo, y me miró de frente, con expresión patética” (42).</p>	<p>“—<b>Em poso coses de dona i el meu Dolly Varden</b>, va dir. –I em fità patèticament, amb els ulls ben oberts—” (43).</p>

<sup>198</sup> “Domina absolutamente en toda la sensualidad. Frecuentemente la sensualidad se convierte en perversión. Dos de los sujetos centrales son homosexuales. Todo lo que ocurre se describe con perfecta amoralidad” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

#17	“In a second he replaced his own image with that of a little old tart, button-eyed and razor-nosed—a tart of the Waterloo Bridge epoch, a veritable Tuppenny Upright” (41).	“En un Segundo reemplazó su propia imagen por la de una vieja prostituta de ojos minúsculos y nariz afilada, una prostituta de la época del puente de Waterloo, la más barata de todas” (42).	“En un segon, la seva imatge es convertí en la d’una puta vella, amb els ulls arrodonits i la boca com una fulla deganivet, una puta del temps del pont de Waterloo, una veritable garsa de dos rals” (43).
#18	“[To Clea, a woman] Your father came to see me. He is worried about <b>an illicit relationship</b> you are supposed to have formed <b>with a woman</b> ” (48).	“Su padre ha venido a verme. Está preocupado por una <b>relación ilícita</b> que se le atribuye a usted <b>con otra mujer</b> ” (48).	“El teu pare m’ha vingut a veure. S’amoïna a propòsit d’algunes <b>relacions il·lícites</b> que sospita que tens <b>amb una altra dona</b> ” (50).
#19	“Justine in <b>pursuing these deeper sexual pleasures</b> was unaware that they would mark Clea for years: enfeeble her in her power of giving undivided love” (56).	“Justine, al <b>entregarse a esos placeres sexuales más sutiles</b> ignoraba que marcarían a Clea durante años, que debilitarían su capacidad de dar un amor íntegro” (57).	“Justine no <b>s’adonava que els plaers sexuals a què es lliurava amb Clea</b> marcarien profundament la noia durant anys i que li debilitarien el poder de donar el seu amor generosament” (58).
#20	“She had already begun to build up a defensive circle of friends whose harmless presences might obviate suspicion of he—the <b>little court of homosexuals like Toto and Amar</b> , whose activities and predispositions were sufficiently well-known to everybody to offer no cause for hear-burnings” (128).	“Había comenzado a levantar a su alrededor un círculo defensivo de amigos cuyas presencias inocuas podías alejar las sospechas— <b>la pequeña corte de homosexuales como Toto y Amar</b> , cuyas actividades y tendencias eran lo bastante conocidas de todos como para no suscitar animosidades” (129).	“Havia començat ja a bastir al seu entorn un cercle defensiu d’amics la presència inofensiva dels quals podia allunyar qualsevol sospita: <b>la petita cort d’homosexuals com Toto i Amar</b> , homes d’activitats i de predisposicions prou conegudes de tothom perquè la gelosia fos impossible” (125).

Table 18: References to homosexuality and lesbian homoeroticism in Durrell’s *Balthazar* & translations.

Broadly speaking, both the Catalan and Argentine translations convey the same message as the source text without any noticeable trace of self-censorship by Manuel de Pedrolo or Aurora Bernárdez, similar to what I found when reviewing *Justine and Balthazar* in Chapter 7. Examples such as #15, #18, and #19 render the homosexual references made in the source text in equivalent manner. First, pejorative terms such as “nancy-boy” when referring to Toto are included in the translations by using similar terms in Spanish and Catalan: “marica” [fag]—although this is clearly a stronger term than “nancy-boy,” and “mariquita” would have perhaps been more in line with the tone and term employed by Durrell. “Nancy-boy” is rendered in Catalan as “mareta” [little mother, a decidedly less pejorative translation choice than “marica” [fag]. Both translation solutions differ between each other, but both are, at the same time, choices that render a pejorative meaning of queer by using a very colloquial register.

Example #18 alludes to a conversation about a homosexual relationship being attributed to Clea, another character central to *The Alexandria Quartet*. The characters say: “Your father ... is worried about an *illicit relationship* you are supposed to have *formed with a woman*.” Naturally, what is important in this passage is the degree of formality that the speaker uses in his register, which greatly differs from the passage mentioned above (#15). Both translations render the excerpt by respecting the tone and register embedded in the source text: “una relación ilícita ... con otra mujer” [illicit relationship ... with another woman] in Spanish, and “algunes relacions il·lícites ... amb una altra dona” [some illicit relationships with another woman]. One particularity visible in the Catalan translation is the use of the indefinite, plural adjective “algunes” [some] accompanying “relationships” instead of “a relationship” in singular. The ambiguity provided in the Catalan translation makes it impossible for the reader to know the number of homosexual relationships attributed to this character.

The following example, Case #19, builds on the homosexual relationship attributed to Clea, who is, throughout the course of both *Justine* and *Balthazar* novels, besotted with Justine. However, in the novel, Clea's feelings are described as being unrequited. The narrator not only talks of Justine's recounting to Clea of her flirtations and affairs, but also of a potential affair between the two women and the potential consequences—for Clea—that would inevitably arise from such a *rendezvous* should Clea's unrequited love for Justine be reciprocated: "Justine *in pursuing these deeper sexual pleasures* was unaware that they would mark Clea for years," a passage that gets translated very differently in the two versions. On the one hand, Bernádez's contains a slightly different turn of phrase: "Justine, al entregarse a esos placeres sexuales *más sutiles...*" [Justine, in giving in to those *more subtle* sexual pleasures...]. "More subtle sexual pleasures" is not quite the same as "deeper sexual pleasures," if we take a literal meaning to it. However, considering that Durrell's novels, much like Nin's and Miller's, are psychoanalytical at their core, "deeper sexual desires" does also offer the possibility of it being translated as "subtle desires," for both terms can be used in place of a reference to one's subconscious desires.

On the other hand, a very different solution is posited in the Catalan target text, which translates this challenging stance as follows: "Justine no s'adonava que *els plaers sexuals a què es lliurava amb Clea...*" [Justine did not realize that *the sexual pleasures she indulged in with Clea....*]. De Pedrolo's translation choice for this passage alters the nature of their relationship in the extreme through the addition of what the translator, in my view, wrongly interpreted: that the sexual pleasures alluded to by the narrator were indeed happening between Clea and Justine, while the original passage merely outlines the consequences that would arise from any hypothetical romance between the two women. The ambiguity is removed in the Catalan version, this way, changing not only the message, but also the psychoanalytical layer that explores Justine's and Clea's desires.



On other occasions such as the one depicted in Example #20, Justine is connected with other queer characters such as the transexual Toto, which is seen as Justine's attempt to "build up a defensive circle of friends .. the *little court of homosexuals* like Toto and Amar, whose activities and predispositions were sufficiently well-known to everybody to offer no cause for hear-burnings." The gender identity of characters such as Toto make these "men" less scandalous for Justine to associate with in the eyes of the Alexandrians. All homosexual allusions found in this passage are translated satisfactorily in both target texts. Other mentions to gender fluidity and cross-dressing are contained in Examples #14, #16, and #17. At the beginning of the novel Toto is introduced as a man with "withered witch's features and small boy's brown eyes, widow's peak, queer *art nouveau*." This description of the character is equally painted in both translations. Nevertheless, the Spanish target text distances itself from the source when alluding to the character's gender identity. The passage "[t]here was, I suppose, nothing to be done with him *for he was a woman*" is rendered as "No se podía hacer nada por él, supongo, *porque era femenino*" [Nothing could be done for him, I suppose, because *he was feminine*]. Bernárdez's choice to use "feminine" instead of "woman" or "hembra" does have meaningful implications to the text. For one, the transgender element to this character is removed, a translation strategy that scholars such as Marc Démont's (2017) have coined as "misrecognizing translation," where the queer characteristic of a text is lost by employing omissions or by downplaying, softening the text, in this way creating ambiguity or simply removing the queer in it. In this example, it can be argued that the queer element prevails in the translation: Toto was *feminine*—girly, however, gender is not present in the translation.

Contrariwise, de Pedrolo's translation employs a different translation strategy in the Catalan target text: "Suposo que no es podia fer res per ell, car *era una femella*" [I suppose nothing

could be done for him, because he was *a female*]. By opting for “a female” the effect differs from Bernárdez’s solution thanks to the nominalization of the gender. Hence, in Pedrolo’s translation, a female—a woman—is not reduced to the femininity the character might reveal, unlike Bernárdez’s version. Examples #16 and #17 exemplify the cross-dressing revelations of another queer character named Scobie in the novel. Both passages are conveyed in a direct and equivalent manner in the Argentine and Catalan translations. The translations of both passages are interesting in respect of the approach taken by the translations.

First, references to the Victorian fashion culture such as the Dolly Varden’s outfit in which Scobie cross-dresses are left untranslated and ambiguous to the Argentine, Spanish, and Catalan readers in #16. This foreignizing approach employed by both Bernárdez and de Pedrolo, however, changes in #17, where the comparison of Scobie to a “tart of the Waterloo Bridge epoch, a veritable *Tuppenny Upright*” made by the narrator is domesticated in both target texts, only transferring the sense of him looking like a very cheap prostitute: “la más barata [prostituta] de todas” [the cheapest prostitute of them all] in Spanish, and “una puta ... una veritable garsa de dos rals” [a whore ... a real magpie worth two pennies]. Both translations resort to an explanatory strategy that conveys the cheap price in the whore analogy made at the expense of Scobie’s cross-dressing.

All in all, despite the censors opposition to the homosexuality embedded in Miller’s, Nin’s and Durrell’s three novels, both Nin’s translation of *Ladders to Fire* and Durrell’s *Balthazar* translation into Spanish were satisfactorily authorized for publication in 1971 and 1970 by the MIT (Casanueva’s translation for *Ladders* and Bernárdez’s translation of *Balthazar*, respectively), whilst Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* was denied for publication until after the dictatorship. To the extent that sexual passages elicited contempt on the part of the censors, which doubtless influenced in the fate of the translations comprised in my corpus—as seen in Chapter 7, i.e., Arbonès’ and

Canto's heavily self-censored translations of *Black Spring*—one has to delve into another reactionary layer that the censors would ultimately resort to when dealing with sexuality: that of queer sexualities. The reasons behind the censors' responses to queer sexualities in the novels are not accidental. In *Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*, Aurora Morcillo observes that, in relation to homosexuality,

Francoism strengthened the existing law of vagos y maleantes (vagrants and criminals) [in 1948, 1954, and 1958]. This legislation ... persecuted individuals regarded as a threat to the public moral order. *Homosexuals, prostitutes, and their procurers were arrested and placed in prisons or asylums ...* In 1967 the regime established a commission to draft a new law to replace the law of the vagrants and criminals with a Law of Dangerousness and Social Rehabilitation ... [showing] a shift in the consideration of homosexuals now as antisocial individuals clinically ill and subject to rehabilitation rather than just morally flawed. (96, emphasis added)

In this vein, morality and criminality were merged under the Francoist legal code, as Morcillo claims (Ibid.), with topics relating to sexual conduct and identity being measured based on the Christian notion of redemption, combined with the notion of punishment expected from authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Hence censors' discourse of "perversion," "deviance," "heterodoxy," or "amorality" referring to queer characters in the novels abound in their reports and files. Their reactions are, therefore, seen as an attempt to prevent the readership from being connected with ideas that, in their words, propagate a kind of "free, modern love" that could threaten the moral order upon which Francoism was founded.

Nevertheless, lesbian eroticism poses a very different response than the visceral disgust embedded in the censors' reactions to male homosexuality—also in how, on many occasions the novels themselves allude to it, even if only in passing. Behind this there is the idea that lesbian homosexuality and eroticism trigger distinct affects in the first readers of Francoism, that is heterosexual males with very particular views regarding “modern love” and any form of non-reproductive sexual relations. The attitude of the censors towards lesbianism seems to be one more of mild disapproval and an association with female homosexuality to the trendy, the modern, and even the erotic. This is contrasted sharply to their reactions of disgust to any male participating in similar behaviour, e.g., Toto and Scobie in Durrell's *Balthazar* being described as “degenerate.” The attitude of the censors towards male homosexuality can actually be seen as a tacit approval of the derision to which Miller and Durrell are prone to referring to male homosexuals, whether it be by slur or disparaging comment, neither Miller's nor Durrell's works were rejected on grounds of such content. Hence, though immoral as the MIT characterized the novels comprised in my corpus, it is not surprising that the affects homosexual and homoerotic passages might have elicited in the censors differ from Miller's and Durrell's novels to Nin's feminine touch, especially in regard to *Ladders of Fire*—arguably the novel with the most lesbian eroticism—which was approved for circulation in David Casanueva's translation, *Escalas hacia el fuego* (Aymà 1971), as was Aurora Bernardez's *Balthazar* (Edhasa 1970).

## **Chapter 9. Between Sin and Disgust: Other Taboo Topics**

“The disgusting is marvelously promiscuous and ubiquitous. It is what is strange and estranged but threatens to make contact; it is also the utterly familiar guest who threatens to remain or to return again soon”

—William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*

I will not go as far as to formulate a treatise on sin and disgust in this chapter, but considering the powers exerted by the Catholic Church during Francoism, it is important to establish sociocultural connections between sin and disgust that doubtless impacted literary censorship and translation in 20<sup>th</sup> century Spain. Following Freud’s volume on taboo, scholars “usually think of a disgust-dominated moral regime as a primitive one of totems and taboos. But ... the Christian language of sin latched on to disgust with a vengeance” (Miller, *The Anatomy* 193). This is clear when analyzing the censors’ reports on subject matters considered immoral during Francoism, for the affective responses to such “immoralities” are often described as “disgusting,” “revolting,” and “dirty,” to name but a few. In *The Anatomy of Disgust*, William Ian Miller defines disgust as being a “recognition of danger to our purity ... [which] underpins the sense of despair that *impurity and evil are contagious*, endure, and *take everything down with them*” (205, emphasis added). Often disgust and the disgusting can, therefore, be seen as sinful. In times when religion wields a dominant influence over the cultural space, what is sinful is, by extension, condemnable, as censorship files show. More importantly, the very idea of contagion and propagation of impurity

is central to my argument of why the censors were so adamant in blocking the affect contained in the “romans-à-clef” under scrutiny.

Outside of the religious realm, the disgusting can also be seen as a “violation of norms of modesty and decorum” (Miller, *Anatomy* X). However, the visceral affect that disgust triggers in us “turns out to be our more aggressive culture-creating passions” (XII).<sup>199</sup> According to affect scholars such as Patrick Hogan, there is an element of contamination and/or fear in disgust that is often perceived as a threat (Hogan 196). Sociologically speaking, what is not familiar to a group, to a society, “lingers as a potential threat and an aversion to difference serves a very specific evolutionary purpose” (Ibid.). Other scholars such as Thomas Blake suggest that “[a]ssociating otherness with threat triggers contempt or *disgust* when we perceive others violating established in-group standards” (Blake 214), which, I argue, is precisely what motivated the censors to reject, denounce, or manipulate a significant number of the novels in my case studies.

Whether a threat to the group’s standards of morality and decorum or issues of a more sinful nature, affective matters that elicited disgust in the censors-readers were carefully evaluated in the MIT. The disgust the censors felt for Miller’s, Nin’s, and Durrell’s novels follows a logic observed by critics such as Sara Ahmed for whom: “Disgust reads the objects that are felt to be disgusting: it is not just about bad objects that we are afraid to incorporate, but the very designation of ‘badness’ as a quality we assume is inherent in those objects” (*Cultural Politics* 82). But why is the object of disgust so vile and menacing? Julia Kristeva and Sianne Ngai link the disgust with a kind of “*jouissance*” that can be found in the “abject” (in Kristeva’s lingo) and in “ugly feelings”

---

<sup>199</sup> “[Disgust is] the most embodied and visceral of emotions, and yet even when it is operating in and around the body, its orifices and excreta, a world of meaning explodes, coloring, vivifying, and contaminating political, social, and moral orderings. Disgust for all its visceralness turns out to be one of our more aggressive culture-creating passions” (Miller, *Anatomy* XII).

(as coined by Ngai). For the latter, “the disgusting itself has the power to allure particularly as an object created by the social taboos and prohibitions” (*Ugly Feelings* 333), triggering “[a] repugnance which of course includes a great deal of fascination” (Ibid.). The alluring power of disgust and the disgusting takes us back to the idea of contagion and propagation that the censors attempted to contain and prevent in the Spanish readership. Among the taboo topics viewed as “disgusting” by the censors—other than the sex- and sexuality-related matters already discussed in Chapters 7 and 8—one also finds references to bodily wastes, prostitution, blasphemy, pederasty, suicide, abortion, adultery, and incest in the censorship and import files.

### 9.1. On Bodily Wastes

In what follows, I will proceed to tackling passages to which the censors reacted and according to the number of occurrences in my corpus of novels, hence, starting with the analysis of passages that mention bodily wastes in Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* as well as Durrell’s. Let us begin with commenting on *Tropic of Cancer* and how the various translators dealt with such affective content. As previously mentioned, Miller’s first novel of *The Tropics*’ collection was harshly condemned by the censorship board throughout the dictatorship on the grounds of pornography but also due to its “violence” and “obscenities.” According to the many reports on the novel, such characteristics made the novel read as “the monologue of a degenerate,” a work

that “provokes revulsion in the reader” as many censors wrote (File 2791-67, catalogue 21/18052).<sup>200</sup>

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#1	“... the mimosas weep, and there is a wet, foggy <b>fart</b> on the windowpanes” (8).	“... las mimosas lloran y la bruma húmeda de una <b>ventosidad</b> está impresa en los pequeños vidrios de las ventanas” (19).	“... las mimosas lloran y la húmeda bruma de un <b>pedo</b> empaña los cristales de las ventanas” (20).
#2	“... the whores in the doorways, seltzer bottles on every table; a <b>thick tide of semen</b> flooding the gutters” (16).	“... las prostitutas en los portales, las botellas de soda en cada mesa; una gruesa <b>marea de semen</b> inundando el arroyo de la calle” (26).	“... las putas en los portales, botellas de agua de Seltz en todas las mesas; <b>una espesa corriente de semen</b> que inundaba los arroyos de la calle” (29).
#3	“... and as we’re dancing there in the shithouse <b>I come all over her</b> beautiful gown and she’s sore as hell about it” (18).	“salimos del retrete bailando hacia el vestíbulo nuevamente y mientras bailamos <b>me derramo sobre</b> su precioso vestido y ella se enfurece” (29).	“... y, mientras estamos bailando ahí en el cagadero, <b>me corro encima</b> de su bonito vestido y ella se pone hecha una fiera” (32).
#4	“When we get back to the hotel <b>I vomit all over the place</b> , in the bed, in the washbowl, over the suits and gowns and the galoshes and canes and the notebooks I never touched and the manuscripts cold and dead” (18).	“Cuando volvimos al hotel <b>vomité por todas partes</b> , en la cama, en el lavatorio, sobre los trajes y las ropas, sobre las galochas y los bastones y los cuadernos que nunca había tocado y sobre los manuscritos que yacían fríos y muerto” (29).	“Y cuando regresamos al hotel, <b>vomito por todas partes</b> , en la cama, en el lavabo, encima de los trajes y los vestidos y los chanclos y los bastones y las libretas que nunca tocada y los manuscritos fríos y muertos” (32).

<sup>200</sup> “Monólogo de un verdadero degenerado. Solamente se aparta de la realidad cuando tiene la cama, junto a él, una mujer y esto ocurre constantemente. Amargura hay para hartarse. Violencia y sensualidad constante, verdadera lección de pornografía descriptiva que desemboca en momentos de asco en su lectura” (Exp. 2791-67, sig. 21/18052).



- #5 “If feels exactly as if he had taken out that **circumcised dick of his and was peeing on us ...** He talks while he’s undressing, she tells me—a steady stream of **warm piss**, as though his bladder had been punctured ... To think that a poor, withered bastard with those cheap Broadway plays up his sleeve should be **peeing on the woman I love**” (58).
- “Es exactamente como si hubiera sacado **su pene circunciso** y estuviera **haciendo pis sobre nosotros** ... Ella me cuenta que él habla mientras se desviste; **un chorro continuo de pis caliente**, como si su vejiga hubiera sido punzada ... Pensar que un miserable y reseco hijo de perra, con esas obras baratas de Broadway bajo el brazo, podría estar **orinando sobre la mujer que amo**” (66).
- “Da la impresión de que hubiera sacado ese **pito suyo circundado** y estuviera **meándonos encima** ... Habla mientras se está desvistiendo, me dice Tania: **un chorro constante de orina caliente**, como si se le estuviera perforando la vejiga ... Pensar que un imbécil pobre y mustio con vulgares obras de Broadway bajo la manga, está **orinando en la mujer que amo**” (78).
- #6 “The little well was **slimy with excrement, which in English is shit**. I tipped the pail and there was a foul, gurgling splash followed by another and unexpected splashed” (62).
- “El pequeño **agujero estaba limoso de excremento, que en inglés se llama shit**. Volqué la bacinilla y hubo un inmundo gorgoteo y salpicadura seguida de otra inesperada salpicadura” (69).
- “Aquel pozo pequeño estaba **glutinoso de excrementos, que en inglés se llama mierda**. Vacíé el orinal y se oyó un chapoteo y un gorgoteo inmundos seguidos de otro chapoteo inesperado” (81).
- #7 “... he comes alongside of me and **lets a loud fart, right in my face**” (80).
- “... viene hasta mi lado y **me larga un sonoro viento directamente en la cara**” (87).
- “... se me acerca y **se tira un sonoro pedo**, en mis propias narices” (102).
- #8 “The five of us are standing there looking at the *bidet*. **There are two enormous turds floating in the water**” (92).
- “Los cinco estamos parados mirando el *bidet*. **Hay dos enormes deposiciones flotando en el agua**” (97).
- “Los cinco estamos allí parados mirando el *bidet*. **Dos enormes chorizos flotan en el agua**” (114).
- #9 “And all the while, so he says, he has been **dying to take a leak**. He had one hard on, but if faded out.
- “Y durante todo el tiempo, según dice, ha estado **muriéndose de ganas de orinar**. En cierto momento
- “Y, durante todo el rato, según dice, ha **estado meándose vivo**. Tuvo una erección, pero se le pasó.

	All the while his bladder is fit to burst” (112).	tuvo una erección, pero se desvaneció. Todo el tiempo su vejiga estaba a punto de estallar” (114).	Todo el rato con la vejiga a punto de reventar” (136).
#10	“The most prominent thing was her buttocks, which were lopsided and full of scabs; she seemed to have slightly raised her ass from the sofa, as <b>if to let a loud fart</b> ” (193).	“La cosa más notoria eran sus nalgas, que eran desiguales y llenas de costras; parecía que acababa de levantar su trasero del sofá como para <b>dejar salir un ventosidad</b> ” (188).	“Lo más destacado eran sus nalgas, desproporcionadas y llenas de costras; parecía haber alzado ligeramente el culo del sofá, como si fuera a <b>tirarse un sonoro pedo</b> ” (224).

Table 19: References to bodily wastes in Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

Picking up Allan’s and Burridge’s discursive categories I employed when analyzing translation choices of sexual passages in Chapter 7, Table 19 shows an extensive use of euphemistic translation choices used by Mario G. Iglesias. The most recurrent translations by euphemism are Examples #1, #5, #6, #7, #8, #9, and #10, in which the terms referencing bodily waste have to do with scatology, flatulence, and urine. Example #5 contains various orthophemistic solutions employed by both translators. First, to Miller’s “[he] was *peeing* on us,” two different strategies can be observed in the target texts. Iglesias’ translation informally renders the passage as “*haciendo pis* sobre nosotros” [he was *peeing* on us], whereas Manzano’s translation is perhaps a little bit more colloquial or even dysphemistic in tone: “*meándonos encima*” [he was *pissing* on us]. Both solutions, however, render the source text in a very equivalent manner.

The following example contained in this passage has to do with more bodily effluvia. “Steady stream of *warm piss*” is translated as “un chorro continuo de *pis* caliente” [a continuous flow of warm *piss*] in Iglesias’ version, versus “un chorro constante de *orina* caliente” [a constant

flow of warm *urine*] in Manzano's. This time, Manzano's solution distances from the source text register-wise by employing the orthophemism "urine" instead of "piss." Similarly, "pissing on the woman I love" is translated by using an orthophemistic solution, this time in both target texts: "*orinando sobre la mujer que amo*" [*urinating* on the woman I love]. The only divergence between the two translations is the preposition they use: "orinando sobre" (Arg.) as opposed to "orinando en" (Spa.). In my view, Manzano's translation, in spite of using the formal, clinically used term "to urinate" in lieu of the informal term utilized by Miller "pissing," makes his solution closer to the source text due to the fact that he adds the preposition "en" [in]; the image it creates is, arguably, more affect-loaded than the Argentine version.

There is yet one more reference to bodily effluvia, a very colloquial turn of phrase used in the source text: "dying to *take a leak*." The Argentine translation completely misses the colloquial sense in which Miller's expression reads, opting for a translation by orthophemism: "muriéndose de ganas de *orinar*" [dying to *urinate*]. On the other hand, Manzano's stays true to the colloquial, if not vulgar, register of the source text: "*meándose vivo*" [no direct translation, it is an idiom, thus, I suggest: "boosting for the loo"]. As my attempt to offer a backtranslation for the expression posited by Manzano shows, his translation does convey the tone and register employed in the source text. In general, Manzano's translation, as observed in previous chapters, tends to render the register and the tone of the source text without resorting to too many alterations, which is not as much the case in Iglesias' target text.

In dealing with excrement—perhaps the most "disgusting" of all body wastes—, the translators also utilize different strategies. For example, case #6 presents an interesting translation choice, already noticed in other translation solutions from the corpus: the foreignization of a term. Iglesias introduces said translation approach to translate the following passage: "The little well

was slimy with *excrement*, which in English is *shit*,” and which he renders as: “El pequeño agujero estaba limoso de *excremento*, que en inglés se llama *shit*” very literally translated [The little whole was slimy with *excrement*, which in English is called *shit*]. By leaving “shit” in English, the translator exoticized the target text, a translation choice that makes him avoid the equivalent term in Spanish. Manzano, on the other hand, translated the passage as follows: “Aquel pozo pequeño estaba glutinoso de *excrementos*, que en inglés se llama *mierda*” [That little well was glutinous with *excrements*, which in English is called *shit*].

In the same vein, Passage #8 depicts another interesting scene: “There are *two enormous turds* floating in the water.” According to the Merriam Webster Dictionary, “turd” is vulgar for “a piece of fecal matter” (“Turd”). The translation solutions very much differ in tone. While Iglesias opts for a rather orthophemistic choice, “hay dos enormes *deposiciones* flotando en el agua” [There are two enormous *depositions* floating in the water], Manzano’s strategy recreates the idea of two lumps: “Dos enormes *chorizos* flotan en el agua” [Two enormous *sausages* float in the water]. It is true that “chorizos” [sausages] in isolation does not have the implicit meaning of “turds” that one can read in the source text. However, when read in the context of the situation that the narrator is describing, it is more than clear that the “two sausages” are indeed two “pieces of fecal matter” (“Turd”). Arguably a translation by euphemism, Manzano’s choice is still closer to the source text than Iglesias’ orthophemistic solution.

In regard to bodily waste that refers to “gas” and “flatulence,” Passages #1, #7, and #10 also display different translation strategies when dealing with such affect-loaded terms. For example, Case #1 shows how “wet, foggy fart” is translated very differently when it comes to register and tone employed by Miller. Iglesias’ choice euphemistically translates it as “bruma húmeda de una *ventosidad*” [wet mist of a *flatulence*], clearly altering the register in the passage,

whilst Manzano's translation remains closer to the source text: "húmeda bruma de un *pedo*" [wet mist of a *fart*]. "Pedo" and "fart" both are the dysphemistic term for "gas." Akin to this, Example #7 signals a very similar strategy employed by Iglesias when translating "he ... and *lets a loud fart* right in my face." The Argentine target text includes another case of translation by euphemism: "*me larga un sonoro viento* directamente en la cara" [he lets a loud *wind* directly in my face], downplaying the tone of the source text. Meanwhile, Manzano's translation opts for a very equivalent and dynamic solution: "*se tira un sonoro pedo* en mis propias narices" [he *rips a loud fart* right in my own nose]. These same translation strategies are, once again, deployed in passage #10 as solutions for "as if to let a loud fart." In this occasion, Iglesias maintains the more formal term "ventosidad" [gas] in his target text "para dejar salir un *ventosidad*" [to let a *gas*] in line with the previous passage and omitting the adjective "loud." Contrariwise, Manzano's target text offers a very literal, though idiomatic, translation solution: "como si fuera a tirarse un *sonoro pedo*" [as if to let a *loud fart*].

Interesting enough, body wastes that tend to elicit more disgust such as vomit or semen,<sup>201</sup> as suggested by scholars such as William Miller, are not translated by using euphemistic or orthophemistic solutions similar to the ones mostly employed by Iglesias when translating scatological references, flatulence, or urine. Example #4, for instance, depicts a passage where a character is sick: "I *vomit* all over the place, in the bed, in the washbowl..." Both translations render the action by employing the same term "to vomit" in Spanish: "*vomité* por todas partes" [I *vomited* everywhere] in Iglesias' target text and "*vomito* por todas partes" [I *vomit* everywhere]. Furthermore, equivalent translations can be found when dealing with other bodily effluvia such as

---

<sup>201</sup> "The rule seems to be that once food enters the mouth it can only properly exit in the form of feces. This helps account for why vomit may be more disgusting than feces (only feces are playing by the rules)" (Miller, *Anatomy* 96).

“semen.” Thus, in Passage #2 “a thick *tide of semen*” is translated as “una gruesa *marea de semen*” [a thick *tide of semen*] in the Argentine version and “una espesa *corriente de semen*” [a thick *current of semen*] in the Spanish-made target text.

Hence, “semen” and “vomit” are rendered in a fashion that keeps the same register in the two translations because, even depicting two “affect-loaded” actions, both terms are presented to us as orthophemisms in the source text, that is, they are two standardized terms that can be used in formal communicative situations. Nevertheless, Passage #3, even though it refers to “semen” just like in Case #2, the source text includes a more dysphemistic description, a fact that makes Iglesias’ translation be considerably different to Manzano’s. The passage in question reads as: “as we’re dancing there in the *shithouse I come all over her beautiful gown*.” The Argentine-made translation presents a couple of issues worth-commenting on. First, Iglesias changes the location where the situation takes place. Instead of in the “shithouse,” the Argentine target text makes the lovers exit the “retrete” [bathroom] to go to the “vestíbulo” [lobby]: “salimos del *retrete* bailando hacia el vestíbulo nuevamente y mientras bailamos *me derramo sobre su precioso vestido*” [we leave the bathroom, dancing towards the lobby and, while we dance, *I spill myself over her beautiful dress*]. Second—as it can be noticed in the backtranslation—the translator uses a solution that, even though in context it does allude to the act of ejaculating—“derramarse” [to spill] is more euphemistic than “correrse,” which is Manzano’s choice: “mientras estamos bailando ahí en el *cagadero, me corro encima de su bonito vestido*” [while we are dancing there in the *shithouse, I come over her beautiful dress*]. In Manzano’s target text, both location and action are, therefore, transposed in a more equivalent and direct manner.

Likewise, in Miller’s other novel herein analyzed, *Black Spring*, there are several passages that make reference to bodily wastes very similar to the ones describe above. The censors reacted

to *Black Spring* and its various translations using words that remind us of how they commented when evaluating *Tropic of Cancer*. Note, for instance, the censors' responses to the novel: "obscene, impious, blasphemous, *dirty book*, it completes what the author did not say in *The Tropics*" (File 956-64, catalog 66/6456, emphasis added);<sup>202</sup> "Rabelaisian" (File 1170-64, catalog 66/6457);<sup>203</sup> "It looks like a book *written by a madman*" (File 498-65, catalog 66/6461, emphasis added).<sup>204</sup> Let us now discuss the different ways in which the three translators (Arbonès, Canto, and Bauer/Marcos) dealt with the references to scatology and bodily effluvia in relation to Miller's *Black Spring*.

	ST: Miller (1938)	TT1: Arbonès (1970)	TT3: Canto (1974)	TT2: Bauer (1978)
#11	"[H]e would come down the warm open street ... full of sun and <b>shit</b> and oaths ... his vest bright with <b>vomit</b> " (15).	"Venia pel mig del carrer calorós ... de <b>merda</b> i de renecs ... o l'armilla molla i tacada a causa de les <b>gitarades</b> " (12).	"Podía presentarse en la calle ... de <b>mierda</b> y juramentos ... o tenía el traje brillante por los <b>vómitos</b> " (34).	"Caminaba en plena y calurosa calle ... <b>mierda</b> y blasfemias ... su chaleco brillante de <b>vómitos</b> " (21).
#12	"To <b>piss warm and drink cold</b> , as Trimalchio says" (27).	" <b>Orinar calent i beure fred</b> , com diu Trimalció (21).	" <b>Orinar caliente y beber frío</b> , como dice Trimalción" (43).	" <b>Mear caliente y beber frío</b> , como dice Trimalción" (33).
#13	"I am a man who <b>pisses largely and frequently</b> " (52).	"Jo sóc un home que <b>orina molt i sovint</b> " (40).	"Yo soy un hombre que <b>orina mucho y con frecuencia</b> " (57).	"Soy un hombre que <b>mea ampliamente y con frecuencia</b> " (57).

Table 20: References to bodily wastes in Miller's *Black Spring* and translations.

<sup>202</sup> "Libro obsceno, impío, blasfemo, sucio, completando lo que no dijo el autor en Los trópicos" (Exp. 956-64, sig. 66/6456).

<sup>203</sup> "Rebelesiano" (Exp. 1170-64, sig. 66/6457).

<sup>204</sup> "Parece un libro escrito por un loco" (Exp. 1201-74, sig. 66/6563).

To start with, in Passage #11, “shit” and “vomit” are translated equivalently in all three target texts, something that contrasts with Iglesias’ Argentine translation of *Tropic of Cancer* that avoided the use of “mierda” [shit] by foreignizing the term in English instead of rendering it in Spanish. In contrast to the translations of sexual and sex-related passages in *Black Spring*, the translations of both Arbonès and Canto that had, in previous chapters, shown a greater level of manipulation or self-censorship by softening tone, register, as well as by offering various omissions, the solutions to references to bodily wastes that produce “disgust” are translated in a more direct and equivalent manner than other passages such as #12 y #13.

For instance, in Case #12, the translation of Miller’s “to piss warm and drink cold” in both Arbonès’ Catalan target text and Canto’s Argentine one differ from both the source text and Bauer’s version. While the first two translate this passage using the orthophemistic term “orinar” [to urinate], Bauer’s Spanish translation opts for a more direct choice that conveys the same degree of colloquial register found in the source text: “*mear caliente y beber frío*” [to piss warm and drink cold]. At the same time, in Example #13 the same translation solutions can be identified. While Bauer’s rendering of “I am a man who *pisses largely and frequently*” is direct and equivalent in tone and register—“Soy un hombre que *mea ampliamente y con frecuencia*” [I am a man who *pisses plentifully and frequently*—Arbonès’ and Canto’s target texts, once again, show a translation by orthophemism: “Jo sóc un home que *orina molt i sovint*” [I am a man who *urinates much and often*] in Catalan; and “Yo soy un hombre que *orina mucho y con frecuencia*” [I am a man who *urinates much and frequently*] in the Argentine version. Bauer’s translation strategies in dealing with bodily effluvia is, therefore, very similar to those employed by Manzano in *Trópico de Cáncer*. On the contrary, as these examples demonstrate, Arbonès’ and Canto’s versions resort to solutions that overall domesticate their translations, adapting crucial linguistic features such as



tone and register in passing on the message to Catalan and Spanish. As a result, the affective reactions a reader can get from reading said target texts differ greatly from Henry Miller's source text, as well as from Bauer's and Marcos' Spanish translation made in the Peninsula.

Needless to say, Henry Miller's novels are, from all the "romans-à-clef" that I compiled in my corpus, the work that includes the highest number of references to effluvia of the body. The other novel that contains multiple references to bodily wastes is Lawrence Durrell's *Balthazar*. Judging from the censorship files on *Balthazar* and the only three passages that encompass any reference to flatulence or other emissions, the censors did not consider these allusions as something that could make the novel a possible target for their ire. As discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, *Balthazar*'s translation into Spanish done by Argentine Aurora Bernárdez could officially circulate in the Peninsula, whereas Miller's translations were not authorized, save for Jordi Arbonès' Catalan translation of *Black Spring*. Let us, nonetheless, comment on three of the passages from *Balthazar* that may entice reactions of disgust when reading them. Following the contrastive method thus far employed, I will compare Bernárdez's and de Pedrolo's target texts.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#14	" <b>Crips as a fart</b> , aren't you?" (37).	" <b>Rotundo como un pedo</b> , ¿verdad?" (37).	" <b>Sec com un clau</b> , no trobeu?" (39).
#15	"And at every other word, <b>he gives a fart</b> , didn't you Ron?" (37).	"Y después de cada palabra <b>soltaba un pedo</b> , ¿no es cierto, Ron?" (37).	"I paraula per altra, <b>deixava escapar un pet</b> . Oi Ron?" (40).
#16	"From the bathroom below I could hear someone <b>being chromatically sick</b> " (207).	"En el cuarto de baño de abajo alguien <b>vomitaba cromáticamente</b> " (211).	"A la cambra de bany de sota algú <b>vomitava cromàticament</b> " (200).

Table 21: References to bodily wastes in Durrell's *Balthazar* and translations.

Examples #14 and #15 contain two different allusions to flatulence. The first distinction can be found in Manuel de Pedrolo's Catalan rendering in which he offers a solution that excludes the word "fart" in the passage "*crisp as a fart*." Instead, he transposes the message by using a different expression: "Sec com un clau" [Dry as a nail]. Bernárdez, on the other hand, chooses to work with the term "fart" and translates the passage very close to the source text: "*Rotundo como un pedo*" [*resounding as a fart*]. Even though both translators employ different strategies to come up with a solution for this passage, in my opinion, the two target texts render the message in a satisfactory manner. In the case of Passage #15, the source text includes the word "fart" though this time not as part of an expression but a direct allusion to "gas:" "And at every other word, *he gives a fart*." Unlike the previous passage, this time both target texts include the explicit reference to it: "después de cada palabra *soltaba un pedo*" [after each word he *dropped a fart*] in Bernárdez's translation, as well as "I paraula per altra, *deixava escapar un pet*" [after every word he *let out a fart*] in the Catalan target text. By this token, it cannot be claimed that de Pedrolo's choice to avoid the word "fart" in Passage #14 corresponds to a strategy that aims to soften or downplay the text, since, later, he does include a direct reference to the same term without any omission or by offering a different expression in place of it.

Finally, Example #16 contains an implicit reference to vomit. The source text reads as follows: "I could hear someone *being chromatically sick*." Since a literal translation of "being sick" into both Spanish and Catalan would not necessarily entail the act of vomiting, the two target texts opt for including the action, to avoid ambiguity, translating this scene in a perhaps more descriptive way: "alguien *vomitaba cromáticamente*" [someone was *vomiting chromatically*] in Spanish, and "algú vomitava cromàticament" [someone was *vomiting chromatically*] in Catalan.

All in all, in the Argentine translations of *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* opt for the use of euphemisms such as “wind,” “to move the stomach” or orthophemisms such as “depositions,” “flatulence,” “urine,” are contrasted with colloquialisms and dysphemisms such as “fart,” “shit,” “enormous turds,” or “piss” referring to scatological content and bodily effluvia in the Castilian versions made in Spain. Thus, Carlos Manzano’s and Carlos Bauer’s/Julian Marcos’ Spanish translations—published after the end of the dictatorship in Spain (1977 and 1978, respectively)—tend to use more dysphemisms and explicit, colloquial vocabulary, very much in line with the Miller’s source texts in terms of register and tone. Naturally, Miller’s novels in translation show, due to the higher number of direct references to bodily wastes, a larger extent of adaptation, modulations, and self-censorship than Nin’s and Durrell’s target texts in Spanish and Catalan.

The intrinsic “fear of pollution” (Miller, *The Anatomy* 98) linked to excrement and urine might explain the reasons behind both censors and translators adopting a tendency to soften or omit mentions to such content. It is possible that “The odors that issue from it [excrement, farts and any bodily effluvia and excreta] destroy the sublime illusions constructed by vision and hearing, by class and rank” (99). Apart from the idea of impurity and contagion present in all theories regarding the politics of disgust and the disgusting, there is a powerful aspect hidden in language. After examining the different translations of references to bodily wastes in my corpus of novels, I notice that, much like in the previous chapters, tone and register are determining factors in conveying the same affective intensity when translating the “disgusting.” It follows that the Spanish made translations of Miller’s novels, by staying closer to the source texts in an attempt to recreate Miller’s crude and coarse language, played a part in their ultimate failure to pass the preventive fence of the Francoist censorship.

## 9.2. On Prostitution

William Miller claims that disgust and contempt play an important part in hierarchical societies, for they are emotions that entail “status demarcation,” “assign[ing] to lower status those against whom they are directed” (205). In Francoism, a hierarchical society par excellence, said emotions penetrated social discourse in order to safeguard the National Catholic integrity of Spain. During the first decades of Francoism, prostitution was somewhat tolerated, however creating a clear dichotomy between the pure, modest, woman—*mujer de bien*—versus the fallen woman: impure and marked by sin in the eyes of society, thus, object of contempt and disgust. Aurora Morcillo’s argues that, since women’s “virtue was rooted in their ability to preserve their modesty,” during Francoism, “the Golden Age virtues—piety, purity, and domesticity—were revived by the state and administered by the Women’s Section of Falange” (Morcillo 15). Despite the existence of such a dichotomy backed up by the regime’s propaganda and Catholic moral codes, “the regime practiced a policy of controlled leniency toward prostitution that lasted until 1956” (90). Prostitution was, this way, permitted though demonized and condemned,<sup>205</sup> a reality that “developed into a dysfunctional sexuality disguised under the appearance of Christian purity and normalcy” (92).

The issue of prostitution during Francoism shifted as Spanish society experienced an opening towards Europe and the world. Scholars observe that the illegalization of prostitution was

---

<sup>205</sup> “The regime’s propaganda presented the prostitute as the nemesis of the honest woman; a relationship that symbolized in the larger context the fraudulent, fallen Second Republic versus the virtuous and victorious dictatorship of Franco—pagan versus Catholic Spain ... Catholicism imbued political discourse with only one purpose: to regenerate the whorish body politic of the Second Republic” (Morcillo 90).

instigated by Spain joining the United Nations in 1955 and its formal abolition took place on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1956.<sup>206</sup> The decree passed informs of:

The unquestionable unlawfulness of prostitution in the face of moral theology and natural law must be reflected in the positive order of a nation for the due protection of social morality and respect for the dignity of women ... Article 2: Brothels and houses of tolerance are prohibited throughout the national territory. (BOE 299-300)<sup>207</sup>

In light of the new law passed in 1956, it is not a surprise that the censors, in reviewing literary works, took the side of legality and the Church and condemned any reference to prostitution.

According to my corpus of “romans-à-clef,” Durrell’s *Balthazar* contains a large number of occurrences that mention prostitutes or depicts scenes that take place in brothels and places of a similar ilk. Even though the Spanish translation done by Aurora Bernárdez was accepted for publication in 1970, ever since the first reports in the early 1960s, the censors recurrently pointed out the dangers of the novel in relation to moral issues presented by “degenerate characters (gigolos, pederast, sadistic or lesbian love), purely carnal love, prostitution and rape ... in some cases it can be considered pornographic...” (File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434).<sup>208</sup> Similarly, a

---

<sup>206</sup> “[B]y the decree of March 3, 1956, the Francoist regime declared prostitution illegal and joined the international community in the fight against it. To purify the nation’s body, the regime established the Patronato de Protección de la Mujer (Foundation for the Protection of Women ) in 1941. The foundation’s task was further strengthened by the law of December 20, 1952, and the decree abolishing prostitution in 1956. Steeped in Catholic values, this agency carried out the state’s task of surveillance and rehabilitation of the prostitute’s body and soul” (Morcillo 90-91).

<sup>207</sup> From: “Boletín Oficial del Estado” [Spanish Official State Gazette] no. 70, 10/03/1956: “La incontestable ilicitud de la prostitución ante la teología moral y ante el derecho natural, ha de tener reflejo obligado en el ordenamiento positivo de una nación para la debida protección de la moral social y del respeto debido a la dignidad de la mujer ... Artículo 2: Quedan prohibidas en todo el territorio nacional las mancebías y casas de tolerancia.”

<sup>208</sup> “Obra en la que se trata de analizar el concepto de amor moderno, referido al ambiente oriental. Características generales: materialismo, escepticismo, obsesión sobre las perversiones sexuales. Línea argumental psicológica. Circunstancias concretas, personajes degenerados (gigolós, pederastas, amor sádico o lesbiano), concepto meramente contrario al matrimonio, adulterio, referencias sobre la Virgen María en un pasaje de pederastia, amor puramente carnal, prostitución y violación, en algunos casos llega a pornografía, descripción grosera de la sexualidad masculina y femenina, y en general novela intelectual con un fondo amoroso y en boca de algunos personajes totalmente

second censor highlights the inclusion of scenes that portray the popular life in “the city’s Arab slums and cheap brothels ... A complete amoral atmosphere is depicted without the author condemning it” (Ibid.).<sup>209</sup> Let us analyze how the translators dealt with the selected passages on prostitution.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#1	“The politics of love, the intrigues of desire, good and evil, virtue and caprice, love an murder, moved obscurely in the dark corners of Alexandria’s streets and squares, <b>brothels and drawing-rooms ...</b> ” (22).	“La política del amor, las intrigas del deseo, el bien y el mal, la virtud y el capricho, el amor y el crimen se movían oscuramente en los rincones sombríos de las calles y plazas de Alejandría, en los <b>burdeles y salones ...</b> ” (21).	“La política de l’amor, les intrigues del desig, el bé i el mal, la virtut i el capritx, l’amor i l’assassinat es movien obscurament pels racons ombrívols dels carrers i de les places d’Alexandria, pels <b>bordells i pels salons ...</b> ” (24).
#2	“Once, when she discovered <b>an Arab prostitute in his bed ...</b> she was surprised to find that she was not jealous but curious. She sat on the bed and pinning the arms of the unfortunate girl to the pillow set about questioning her closely about what she had felt <b>while making love to him</b> ” (123).	“Una vez descubrió a <b>una prostituta árabe en la cama</b> de Pursewarden ... se sorprendió de no sentir celos sino curiosidad. Se sentó en la cama y sujetando los brazos de la pobre muchacha contra la almohada, empezó a acosarla a preguntas sobre lo que había sentido <b>al hacer el amor con él</b> ” (125).	“Un dia, quan a <b>descobrir una prostituta àrab en el seu llit ...</b> va quedar-se sorpresa de veure que no estava gelosa, sinó simplement encuriósida. Es va asseure al llit i, clavant els braços de la pobra noia contra el coixí, va començar a fer-li tot de preguntes sobre el que havia sentit <b>mentre ell la posseïa</b> ” (121).
#3	“Such desires as he knows, the stifling	“Los deseos que siente, los deseos sofocantes que	“Aquests desigs que sent, els desigs sufocants que

heterodoxos. DEBE DENEGARSE. Se propone la denegación, Madrid 20 julio 1961. Páginas marcadas en informe: 167, 41-43, 48, 54-55, 23 etc. etc. 31-35, 116-117, 137-138, 145” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

<sup>209</sup> “Abundantes los cuadros de la vida popular en los barrios bajos árabes de la ciudad, burdeles baratos, escenas de hechicería, infidelidades matrimoniales, intrigas diplomáticas y vida familiar alejandrina. El ambiente es completamente amoral sin que el autor deje entrever una condenación de este género de vida” (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

	summer desire of the body <b>in the city of sensuality, are stifled among shop-girls, among his inferiors</b> " (133).	asaltan al cuerpo en la <b>ciudad de la sensualidad, los sofoca con vendedoras, con pobres mujeres</b> " (135).	s'apoderen del cos en la <b>ciutat de la sensualitat, els malversa amb dependents, amb dones inferiors a ell</b> " (130).
#4	"At the end of the long gallery, having laughingly shaken off the grasp of a <b>dozen girls who plied their raucous trade</b> in painted canvas booths among the stalls ..." (157)	"Al final del largo pasadizo, después de desprenderse riendo de las manos de una <b>docena de muchachas que ofrecían sus servicios</b> con voz ronca delante de las puertas de sus casillas de tela pintada ..." (160).	"Al capdavall d'una llarga galeria i després d'haver-se escapolit rient de les mans <b>d'una dotzena de noies que pregonaven roncament llur negoci</b> a la porta d'uns tendals pintats entre les paredes ..." (153).
#5	"It was the time when the <b>prostitutes</b> came into their own, the black, bronze and citron women, <b>impenitent seekers for the money-flesh of men; flesh of every colour, ivory or gold or black ... Every variety of the name of flesh, old flesh quailing upon aged bones, or the unquenched flesh of boys and women</b> on limbs infirm with desires" (165).	"Era la hora de las <b>prostitutas: negras, bronceadas, amarillas, buscadoras impenitentes de la carne-dinero de los hombres; pieles de todos los colores, marfil, oro, negro ... Todas las variedades de la carne: viejas carnes acobardadas cubriendo viejos huesos, carne insaciable de los muchachos y las mujeres, miembros enfermos de deseos</b> " (168).	"En aquella hora les <b>prostitutes</b> abundaven més que mai, dones negres, de color de bronze o de llimona <b>que perseguien amb impertinència els diners i la carns dels homes; carn de tots els colors, daurada, negra o de vori ... Totes les varietats de la carn, carns velles que tremolaven sobre ossos vells, carns assedegades de xicots i de dones dreçats sobre membres malats de desigs</b> " (160).
#6	" <b>The whore is man's true darling</b> , as I once told you, and we are born to love those who most wound us" (236).	" <b>La prostituta es el verdadero amor del hombre</b> , ya te lo dije una vez, y hemos nacido para amar a quienes más nos hieren" (238).	" <b>la puta és la veritable estimada de l'home</b> , i sempre estimem més aquells que més mal ens fan" (228).

Table 22: References to prostitution in Durrell's *Balthazar* and translations.

First, terms such as “brothels” and “prostitute(s)” are rendered preserving the same register as the source text, as Examples #1, #2, and #5 show. In Example #2, however, the Catalan target text contains an interesting translation solution to the passage: “while *making love to him*.” Instead of opting for “*al hacer el amor con él*” [while *making love to him*], a literal translation as the one offered by Aurora Bernárdez, Manuel de Pedrolo slightly distances from the source: “*mentre ell la posseïa*” [while *he was possessing her*]. The changes are various, though subtle, and do alter the source text in the sense that it changes the subject and the receiver of the action; in the Catalan translation, Pursewarden—one of Justine’s lovers—is possessing the Arab prostitute, while in Durrell’s and Bernárdez’s texts the prostitute is given the same agency in the sex act. The alteration in the Catalan translation, though apparently minor and inconsequential, demonstrates the rewriter’s value judgement when translating the sexual passage between the character and a prostitute, implying that one does not make love to a prostitute; one possesses a prostitute.

Another disparity found in the target texts is Example #6. This time it is Bernárdez’s translation that differs from the source text in regard to register. Instead of “the *whore* is man’s true darling,” she opts for “*la prostituta es el verdadero amor del hombre*” [the *prostitute* is man’s true love]. With this subtle change, the Spanish version neutralizes the register, whilst the Catalan target text renders the same pejorative connotation as the source text: “*la puta és la veritable estimada de l’home*” [the *whore* is man’s true lover]. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that Bernárdez’s choice in this instance lacks reason to be as intentional a change as other downplaying solutions exposed in Chapters 7 and 8. I dare to infer that, by employing the term “prostitute,” she was merely trying to keep her target text cohesive, for the novel as a whole tends to use the neutral term more often than not.



Overall, both translations equivalently convey the passages on prostitution, as this is such a central part of the novel, a fact that was very well signaled by the censors themselves when characterizing the book as “oriental eroticism.” Furthermore, the reference to circumcised women already presented in Chapter 7 (see Passage #38) in *Balthazar* poses an interesting case to further the idea of disgust mobilizing the censors’ reactions towards the novel. In addition to the contempt triggered by the “immoral” tendencies the novel explores amidst whorehouses, “amoral” and queer characters, as well as the so-called “oriental eroticism”—paraphrasing the censors—, there is also the idea that the body of the circumcised “Moslim girls” might have elicited just as strong an aversion in the readers, following William Miller’s logic: “Maiming disgusts and horrifies quite well without any psychosexual theory informing it” (105).<sup>210</sup> Hence, both mutilation and “oriental eroticism” represent an otherness that threatens to corrupt and revolt the target readers in Francoist Spain. Nevertheless—and despite the censors’ responses—*Balthazar* could circulate in Bernárdez’s version from 1970 onwards, while de Pedrolo’s Catalan translation was not completed until 1983.

*Justine*, on the other hand, did not undergo the same fate as *Balthazar*, even though much like *Balthazar*, Durrell’s *Justine* evoked similar reactions in the censors with respect to prostitution. For instance, a report mentions the same “oriental sensuality” trope seen in *Balthazar*: “The novel takes place in Alexandria, in the midst of oriental sensuality ... Prostitution milieu”

---

<sup>210</sup> Perhaps Kate Millet in *Sexual Politics* got as close as to present a psychosexual theory that might explain the fear and circumcision: “The uneasiness and disgust female genitals arouse in patriarchal societies is attested to through religious, cultural, and literary proscription. In preliterate groups fear is also a factor, as in the belief in a castrating *vagina dentata*” (47).

(File 2183-61, catalogue 21/13275).<sup>211</sup> The censors, however, only emphasized two direct references to prostitution as opposed to the various excerpts encountered in *Balthazar*:

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1966)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1969)
#7	“It was a house of <b>child prostitutes</b> , and there in the dimness, clad in ludicrous biblical nightshirts, with rouged lips, arch bead fringes and cheap rings, stood a dozen fuzzy-haired <b>girls who could not have been much above ten years of age</b> ; the peculiar innocence of childhood which shone out from under the fancy-dress...” (44).	“Era un <b>burdel de niñas</b> : allí en la penumbra, vestidas con grotescos camisones de pliegues bíblicos, los labios pintados, collares de abalorios y sortijas de lata, había una docena de <b>chiquillas desgreñadas que no tendrían mucho más de diez años</b> ; la inocencia de la niñez que asomaba a través de las ropas absurdas...” (44).	“Era un <b>bordell d’infants I</b> , en aquella llum d’ultratomba, vestides amb unes grotesques camises de nit d’aparença bíblica, amb els llavis pintats i agençades amb tot de collarets i de braçalets de pacotilla, hi havia una dotzena de <b>noietes despentinades que no devien pas tenir gaire més de deu anys</b> ; la peculiar innocència de la infància, que tots aquells agençaments no podien dissimular” (35).
#8	“The true <b>whore is man’s real darling</b> —like Justine; she alone has the capacity to wound men” (77).	“Los hombres prefieren a la <b>ramera auténtica</b> ... Como Justine. Sólo una ramera es capaz de herirlos” (79).	“Els homes prefereixen una <b>puta autèntica</b> ... com Justine; només ella els pot ferir” (63).

Table 23: References to prostitution in Durrell’s *Justine* and translations.

It can be argued that the pederasty implications in Passage #7 could have been crucial in the translations’ outcome by the MIT. This controversial passage, together with the sexual references detailed in Chapter 7, made *Justine*’s Spanish version not available in the Iberian Peninsula until after the dictatorship was over. In regard to the target texts in Example #7, both

<sup>211</sup> “Novela que se desarrolla en Alejandría, en medio de la sensualidad oriental. Un escritor y sus dos amantes son los principales protagonistas de la obra que tiene reiteradas escenas inmorales, algunas referentes a determinadas aberraciones. Ambiente de prostitución. Descripciones de actos sexuales. Págs. 189 y siguientes. 198 y siguientes. 80, 88 etc.” (Exp. 2183-61, sig. 21/13275).

Bernárdez and de Pedrolo carry out idiomatic translations. On the other hand, Example #8 shows how, similar to what I had observed in Bernárdez’s translation of *Balthazar* in Passage #6, “the true whore is man’s real darling” is translated as “los hombres prefieren a la *ramera auténtica*” [men prefer the *authentic prostitute*] in the Spanish version. This time, even though the passage #6 in *Balthazar* is a direct allusion to this very same conversation in *Justine*, Bernárdez fails to render the same translation, whereas de Pedrolo’s utilizes the term “puta” in both instances: “Els homes prefereixen una *puta autèntica*” [Men prefer an *authentic whore*], although in this case, the Catalan texts reads quite differently from the same passage evoked in *Balthazar*.

Miller’s novels, *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* also include several direct references to prostitution and involve prostitutes in their narrative. *Tropic of Cancer*, only accepted for importation (Iglesias’ version) but rejected for publication in Catalan and Spanish until 1977, was an object of censorship reports for almost two decades. It has been noted that, overall, Mario Guillermo Iglesias’ first translation into Spanish shows a tendency to domesticate the target text, making use of translation strategies such as omissions, modifying register and tone with orthophemisms and euphemistic language, or even recurring to straight self-censorship techniques.

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#9	“Night after night I had been coming back to the quarter, attracted by certain leprous streets which only revealed their sinister splendor when the light of day had oozed away and <b>the whores commenced to take up their posts</b> ” (42).	“Noche tras noche había estado viniendo a este barrio, atraído por ciertas calles leprosas que sólo revelan su siniestro esplendor cuando la luz del día se desvanece y <b>las prostitutas comienzan a tomar sus puestos</b> ” (51).	“Noche tras noche había vuelto a aquel barrio, atraído por ciertas calles leprosas que no revelaban su siniestro esplendor hasta que la luz del día se había apagado poco a poco y <b>las putas empezaban a ocupar sus puestos</b> ” (60).

#10	<p>“Jolly, rapacious devils who didn’t even give you time to button your pants when it was over. Led you into a little room off the street, a room without a window usually, and, sitting on the edge of the bed with skirts tucked up gave you a quick inspection, <b>spat on your cock, and placed it for you</b>” (42).</p>	<p>“Alegres y rapaces diablillos que ni siquiera os daban tiempo para abotonaros los pantalones cuando todo había terminado. Os conducían a una pequeña habitación lejos de la calle, una habitación por lo general sin ventanas y, sentándose al borde de la cama con las polleras levantadas, os hacían una rápida inspección, <b>escupían en vuestro miembro y se lo ubicaban</b>” (52).</p>	<p>“Demonios alegres y rapaces que ni siquiera te daban tiempo de abrocharte los pantalones, después de acabar. Te conducían a un cuartito interior, generalmente sin ventana y, sentadas en el borde de la cama con las faldas alzadas, te hacían un rápido reconocimiento, <b>te escupían en el pito, y se lo colocaban por ti</b>” (61).</p>
#11	<p>“He would like to go to a very cheap place, <b>order two or three girls at once</b> ... immediately we’ve got a flock of them on our hands. In a few minutes he is <b>dancing with a naked wench</b>, a huge blonde with creases in her jowls. I can see <b>her ass reflected</b> a dozen times in the mirrors that line the room—and those dark, bony fingers of his <b>clutching her tenaciously</b>” (94-95).</p>	<p>“Le gustaría ir a un lugar barato y <b>disponer de dos o tres muchachas a la vez</b> ... inmediatamente tuvimos un montón de mujeres a nuestro alrededor. A los pocos minutos estaba <b>bailando con una prostituta desnuda</b>, una enorme rubia con repliegues en la papada. Pude ver su <b>trasero reflejado</b> una docena de veces en los espejos que cubren las paredes, y aquellos dedos oscuros y huesudos <b>la agarran tenazmente</b>” (100).</p>	<p>“Le gustaría ir a un sitio muy barato, y <b>pedir dos o tres chicas a la vez</b> ... inmediatamente tenemos un corro de ellas a nuestra disposición. Al cabo de unos minutos está <b>bailando con una puta desnuda</b>, una rubia enorme con arrugas en las mejillas. Veo <b>el culo de ésta reflejado</b> una docena de veces en los espejos que cubren las paredes... y esos dedos de él, obscenos y nudosos, que <b>la agarran tenazmente</b>” (117).</p>

Table 24: References to prostitution in Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

Generally speaking, the translation techniques devised by both translators seem to align with the translation approaches described above. While Iglesias’ target text tends to soften the

coarse language by changing the register or avoiding direct translations, Manzano's embraces Miller's narrative and transposes it into Spanish in a very equivalent manner. Examples #9 and #11 demonstrate that, much like when dealing with sexual content, Iglesias translates "prostitute(s)" [prostitutes] for "whores" (#9) and "wench" (#11), as opposed to Manzano's choice "putas" [whores] in both cases. Another similar example can be found in #10, when Iglesias, once more, avoids a direct translation of the male sex—"cock" in the source text—rendering it as "miembro" [member], following a trend already discussed when analyzing sexual passages in Chapter 7: translation by euphemism. Meanwhile, Manzano opts for maintaining Miller's crude tone and translates it as "pito" [dick] a much more colloquial and informal term, though perhaps not as vulgar as "cock."

Similarly, Example #11 contains a reference to the girl's body part—"I can see her *ass* reflected"—that translated differently in the two versions. First, Iglesias opts for "trasero" [backside, rear], which despite being a colloquial term to refer to a person's buttocks, it does not entail the same vulgar tone that the word "ass" has. On the contrary, Manzano's solution offers a closer equivalent in Spanish to Miller's source text: "Veo el *culo* de ésta reflejado." There are, however, two possible mistakes in Manzano's target text. Despite Manzano's translation normally being "closer" to Miller's novel in tone and the register of the language employed, Passage #11 contains an odd solution for a reference that is not sexual or prostitution related. Instead of "those *dark, bony fingers* of his" being directly translated as "aquellos *dedos oscuros y huesudos*"—such is the case in Iglesias' target text—Manzano confuses the description, erroneously translating the reference to the Indian's fingers as: "esos dedos de él, *obscenos y nudosos*" [those fingers of his, *obscene and gnarled*]. With his quasi-free translation of the passage, Manzano's fails to render the

colour of the man's skin. In place of the physical description, Manzano bestows on him a negative personal description by mistranslating "dark."

Back to Passage #10, there are other discursive strategies employed by Iglesias' that, in my opinion, distance themselves from both the source text and Manzano's translation. By changing the first person narrator's voice, Iglesias makes his target text more impersonal in this passage, almost as if the protagonist had not participated in the scene, this way, changing the perspective: it is indeed knowledge he shares with the reader but he does not include himself in the action: "ni siquiera *os* daban tiempo para abotonar*os* los pantalones" [they didn't even give you time to button your pants]. *A priori* a direct, word-for-word translation of the original: "devils who didn't even give you time to button your pants," differs from Manzano's solution: "ni siquiera *te* daban tiempo de abrocharte los pantalones" [they didn't even give you time to button your pants]. Though unnoticeable in the English backtranslations, there is a subtle change in the pronouns employed by the two rewriters. Iglesias, by using pronouns that refer to the second person in the plural "*os* daban," "abotonar*os*," speaks to a "vosotros" [you all], this way not including the narrator's voice in the action. Conversely, Manzano cohesively uses a more direct discursive technique by employing "te daban," "abrocharte," pronouns that designate the second person in singular. Consequently, it is a "tú" and "you" in the Spanish-made translation versus a "vosotros" in Argentine one. The same occurs at the end of the same passage: "escupían en *vuestro* miembro" is Iglesias' solution to "[they] spat on *your* cock," whereas Manzano opts for "*te* escupían en *el* pito," following the same discursive logic.

In any case, despite the translation differences in the "romans-à-clef" contrasted in this subsection, it is no surprise that any reference to prostitution had to be condemned by the censors after the passing of the Law of 1956 that made prostitution illegal in Spain. Much like prostitution

itself, readers under late-Francoism had to resort to underground editions published elsewhere that were removed from the public space via the censorship board, an evident parallelism to Morcillo's claims regarding the ban on prostitution: It is not that prostitution disappeared once outlawed, the regime and its institutions made efforts for clandestine prostitution "to be contained, isolated from respectable society" (125); an analogy perhaps to the censors' zeal to block literature of this kind.

### 9.3. Other "Sinful" Matters

William Miller's notion that contempt, humiliation, and shame operate concurrently (206) is also central to the argument that the politics of disgust are rooted in both social codes of behaviour as well as taboos raised in the name of religion. As seen in the censors' reports when reacting to the selected novels, the regime's fervour to "protect the National Catholic integrity of the nation's political and Christian body as a whole" (Morcillo 21) clashed with sociocultural waves of liberalization sought by dissident intellectual networks in late-Francoism, i.e., publishers, editors, and translators who, through their many attempts, tried to import, translate, and disseminate controversial works such as the "romans-à-clef" I study in this dissertation. Much like the aversion incited by questions of morality and sexuality such as prostitution, female or queer eroticism, the censors zealously watched over any reference or stand that could compromise Catholic values or attacked the Christian doctrine.

The power exerted by the more reactionary and religious factions of the regime during the 1960s had a direct repercussion in the censorship board (*censura eclesiástica*), hence, the many allusions to sins and sinful matters in the reports collected from the AGA, in Franco's right-hand

and Prime minister Luis Carrero Blanco's words: "The situation of the Press and all the organs of information in general, including books, must be thoroughly corrected. It is producing a serious moral, religious, and political deterioration ... *The damage being done to the public morality is dangerous and it must be stopped*" (Rojas, emphasis added).<sup>212</sup> This way, the institutional censorship is just but a channel through which scholars can examine that which was "dangerous" and had to be "stopped" in Francoist Spain.

There is no shortage of blasphemous content in my corpus; out of the six "romans-à-clef," at least four contain blasphemies according to the censors' reports. Let us start by commenting on Anaïs Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* and Henry Miller's *Black Spring*, for both novels encompass a passage that mentions the Holy Ghost—an allusion to which the censors took exception. Reacting to Nin's original *A Spy in the House of Love*, one of the religious censors, Father Álvarez Turienzo,<sup>213</sup> writes: "On page 275 there is an irreverent expression but, since it is mentioned in passing, it may be overlooked and *left to be fixed in the translation*" (File 9212-65, catalogue 21/16873, emphasis added).<sup>214</sup> The passage in question includes a mention of the Holy Ghost, though, not in a blasphemous sense, for it is in fact a surreal fancy of Sabina—protagonist of the novel—imagining a scene of Stravinsky's "Fire Bird." The Spanish and Catalan translations, however, maintain the same reference, dismissing the censor's comment for the editors/translators to cut it from the target texts. Perhaps one more reason for the MIT not to formally authorize the translations of *A Spy in the House of Love*. The passage and its translations read as follows:

---

<sup>212</sup> "La situación de la Prensa y en general de todos los órganos de información, incluyendo el libro, debe ser corregida a fondo. Está produciendo un positivo deterioro moral, religioso y político ... El daño que se está haciendo a la moral pública es grave, y hay que ponerle fin" Carrero Blanco's message to Franco, 10th of July, 1968. In López Rodó, Laureano, *La larga marcha hacia la monarquía* (1977), as cited in Rojas.

<sup>213</sup> For information on the censor Saturnino Álvarez Turienzo, see Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.1.2.).

<sup>214</sup> "En la página 275 hay una expresión irreverente, pero como cosa de paso, puede ser pasada por alto, y dejada a que se subsane en la traducción" (Exp. 9212-65, sig. 21/16873).



	ST: Nin (2001)	TT1: Alcalde (1969)	TT2: Carbonell (1968)
#1	“The fireworks were mounted on wire bodies waving amorous arms, tipping on the <b>purple tongues of the Holy Ghost</b> , leaping out of captivity” (61).	“Los fuegos artificiales montados sobre armaduras de hierro agitaban brazos enamorados, danzaban de puntillas sobre las <b>púrpuras lenguas del Espíritu Santo</b> y brincaban hacia la libertad” (85).	“Els focs artificials, muntants sobre armadures de ferro, movien llurs braços amorosos, lliscaven de puntetes sobre les <b>purpúries llengües de l’Esperit Sant</b> i s’alliberaven de la captivitat” (86).

Table 25: References to blasphemous content in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and translations.

On the other hand, in Miller’s *Black Spring*, the allusion to the Holy Ghost depicts a whole different imagery, one that the censors would not be as permissive with due to the analogy to the male sexual organ the author deploys:

	ST: Miller (1938)	TT1: Arbonès (1970)	TT3: Canto (1974)	TT2: Bauer (1978)
#2	“Before me always the image of the <b>body</b> , our triune god of <b>penis and testicles</b> . <b>On the right, God the Father; on the left and hanging a little lower, God the Son; and between and above them the Holy Ghost</b> ” (33).	“Davant meu sempre es dreça la imatge del <b>cos</b> ” (26).	“Ante mí se yergue la imagen del cuerpo de ese <b>dios trinitario de pene y testículos</b> . <b>A la derecha, Dios padre; a la izquierda y colgando un poquito más abajo, Dios hijo; en el medio y arriba, el Espíritu Santo</b> ” (46).	“En mí siempre está la imagen del <b>cuerpo</b> , nuestro trinitario <b>dios de pene y testículos</b> . <b>A la derecha, Dios padre; a la izquierda y colgando un poco más abajo, Dios hijo; en medio y encima de ambos, el Espíritu Santo</b> ” (39).

Table 26: References to blasphemous content in Miller’s *Black Spring* and translations.

Considered an outright “blasphemy,” many censors negatively reacted to this passage (#2): “Short stories by Miller, all of them dirty, more than pornographic. It is even worse, however, what he oftentimes writes about God and divine things: a plain mockery” (File 5279-69, catalogue 66/03099).<sup>215</sup> The following year (1970), another censor goes further by recommending its omission in the translations: “[The novel] has a few attacks to Catholic dogmas and scenes that are profoundly pornographic, though less so than in other works by the author ... Should they be crossed out?” (File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214),<sup>216</sup> to which another censor adds: “[If the novel was to be] published, it would be convenient to eliminate the blasphemy on page 20” (File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214).<sup>217</sup> Finally, a later report issued regarding the Spanish translation by Carlos Bauer and Julian Marcos contrasts the target text with its Catalan counterpart and points out that, unlike Arbonès’ version that was “carefully done,” the Spanish still has “scenes and passages that go against modesty and good manners, including real blasphemies—content that was largely ignored in the Catalan translation” (File 11036-70, catalogue 66/06214).<sup>218</sup> For that reason, the censorship board rejected the publication of *Primavera negra* in Spanish until 1978.

The censors’ commentary on the differences found in the translations sheds light on the importance self-censorship held in actually seeing a work authorized. By looking at Passage #2, the omission performed in the Catalan text is flagrant: “Davant meu sempre es dreça *la imatge del*

---

<sup>215</sup> “Se trata de una serie de narraciones del mismo autor: todas ellas, más que pornográficas, sucias. Pero todavía es peor lo que escribe de tanto en tanto sobre *Dios y las cosas divinas*: una burla simplemente” (Exp. 5279-69, sig. 66/03099).

<sup>216</sup> “Tiene bastantes ataques a *dogmas católicos* y escenas profundamente pornográficas, aunque menos numerosas que en otras obras del autor ... (¿Deberá tacharse?)” (Exp. 11036-70, sig. 66/06214).

<sup>217</sup> “[Si se considera] que debe publicarse convendría se eliminara la *blasfemia* estampada a la pág. 20” (Exp. 11036-70, sig. 66/06214).

<sup>218</sup> “[La catalana] es una traducción pulcramente hecha, y no como la castellana aquí informada, tiene las mismas características, aunque no tan acentuadas, de las demás del mismo autor con escenas y frases que atentan al pudor y a las buenas costumbres, y aún con algunas verdaderas blasfemias, tachas que se obviaron en gran manera, como hemos dicho en la traducción catalana” (Exp. 11036-70, sig. 66/06214).

cos” [Always standing before me *the image of the body*]. “The body” is employed in lieu of the real allusion found in the source text: “Before me always the image of *the body, our triune god of penis and testicles. On the right, God the Father; on the left and hanging a little lower, God the Son; and between and above them the Holy Ghost.*” Everything after “the body” is erased in the Catalan version. This translation strategy of omission differs from the solutions found in the two Spanish target texts by Canto (Argentina, 1964) and Bauer/Marcos (Spain 1970, not approved until 1978).

Regarding *Tropic of Cancer*, even though the novel also contains several allusions to matters of the faith and the Catholic Church, the censors’ reports do not reflect upon the passages. The translations of the selected passages by Iglesias and Manzano—both denied for publication during the years of the dictatorship—convey the content without any trace of self-censorship:

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#3	“I have found God, but he is insufficient. I am only spiritually dead ... Morally I am free” (99).	“He encontrado a Dios, pero no es suficiente. Sólo estoy muerto espiritualmente ... Moralmente, soy libre” (103).	“He encontrado a Dios, pero no es suficiente. Sólo estoy muerto espiritualmente ... Moralmente soy libre” (121).
#4	“And in a way, that’s what I do every time I have an orgasm. For one second like I obliterate myself. There’s not even one me then... there’s nothing... not even the cunt. <b>It’s like receiving communion</b> ” (130).	“Y en cierto sentido, es lo que me sucede todas las veces que tengo un orgasmo. Por un segundo me destruyo. Entonces ni siquiera hay un yo... no hay nada, ni siquiera una mujer. <b>Es como recibir la comunión</b> ” (130).	“Y en cierto modo eso es lo que hago siempre que tengo un orgasmo. Por un segundo, me destruyo a mí mismo. En esos casos ni siquiera hay un yo mío... no hay nada... ni siquiera la gachí. <b>Es como recibir la comunión</b> ” (155).
#5	“It is claimed in Italy that the persecutions are not against the Church, but	“Se proclama en Italia que las persecuciones no son contra la Iglesia, aun cuando	“En Italia sostienen que las persecuciones no son contra la Iglesia; no obstante, van

nevertheless they are conducted against the most exquisite parts of the Church. It is claimed that they are not against the Pope, but they are **against the very heart and eyes of the Pope**" (150).

son dirigidas contra las partes más exquisitas de la Iglesia. Se proclama que no son contra el Papa, pero sí **contra el mismo corazón y ojos del Papa**" (147).

dirigidas contra las partes más exquisitas de la Iglesia. Afirman que no son contra el Papa, pero van **dirigidas contra el corazón y los ojos mismos del Papa**" (175).

Table 27: References to blasphemous content in Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

Similar to the cases introduced above, Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* also contains several passages considered blasphemous by the MIT. The censorship files demonstrate that the censors took a particularly negative stance against the references to monasteries (#6) and priests (#8): "A complete amoral atmosphere is depicted without the author condemning it, there are injurious expressions towards clergymen (p. 79)" (File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434).<sup>219</sup> Nonetheless, despite the censors' adverse reports on the novel and its translations, both target texts seem to have rendered the passages without any omissions of softening of the "offensive" content.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1966)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1969)
#6	"Temples where one could outgrow the sort of inheritance she has: not these <b>damn monasteries full of pimply little Catholic youths who have made a bicycle saddle of their sexual organs</b> " (77).	"Templos donde podría superar esa herencia que ha recibido; no esos <b>malditos monasterios llenos de jovencitos católicos granujientos que han convertido sus órganos sexuales en asiento de bicicleta</b> " (79).	"Temples on hom podria fer fructificar aquesta mena d'heretatge que va rebre, no pas <b>monestirs absurds on s'amunteguen tot de catòlics joves amb la cara plena de grans que han convertit els seus òrgans sexuals en selles de bicicleta</b> " (63).

<sup>219</sup> "El ambiente es completamente amoral sin que el autor deje entrever una condenación de este género de vida, hay expresiones suyas injuriosas a los clérigos (p. 79)" (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

#7	<p>“For years one has to put up with the feeling that people do not care, really care, about one; then one day with growing alarm, one realizes that <b>it is God who does not care</b>: and not merely that he does not <i>care</i>, he does not care <i>one way or the other</i> ... <b>One needs a tremendous ignorance to approach God</b>. I have always known too much I suppose” (118).</p>	<p>“Durante años uno tiene que resignarse al sentimiento de que la gente no se preocupa, lo que en verdad se llama preocuparse, por nuestra persona; un día, alarmados nos damos cuenta de que <b>el que no se preocupa es Dios</b>, no solo no se preocupa, sino que le somos totalmente indiferentes ... <b>Hace falta una inmensa ignorancia para acercarse a Dios</b>. Me temo que yo siempre he sabido demasiado” (123).</p>	<p>“Durant anys hom es resigna a la idea que la gent no es preocupa veritablement de nosaltres; i aleshores, un dia, hom té a desagradable idea de descobrir que <b>és Déu qui no se’n preocupa</b>; i no solament que n se’n preocupa, sinó que tant li fa la <i>via que seguiu</i> ... <b>Cal una ignorància extraordinària per a atansar-se a Déu</b>. Suposo que jo sempre he sabut massa coses” (98).</p>
#8	<p>“It seems somehow necessary to find a human being to whom one can be faithful, not in the body (<b>I leave that to the priests</b>) but in the culprit mind?” (244).</p>	<p>“Parecería necesario encontrar a un ser humano al cual se puede ser fiel, no con el cuerpo (<b>eso se lo dejo a los sacerdotes</b>) sino con el espíritu culpable” (254).</p>	<p>“D’una manera o altra sembla que ens calgui trobar un ésser humà al qual poder-se mostrar fidel, no pas en el cos (<b>això, ho deixo als sacerdots</b>), sinó en l’esperit culpable” (199).</p>

Table 28: References to blasphemous content in Durrell’s *Justine* and translations.

Akin to the case of prostitution, laws were created to serve to the mission of purity and decency that Francoist rhetoric boasted about. For instance, in 1941 abortion was made illegal. In 1942, the regime passed a law that “prosecuted *adultery, infanticide, and abandonment of the conjugal home* and family obligations. The Francoist penal system also introduced new laws against sexual and moral immodesty, *suicide, and assault* in addition to enacting harsh punishments for theft and vandalism” (Morcillo 92, emphasis added). The topics emphasized in Morcillo’s quotation—abortion, adultery, suicide, assault—comprise my corpus’ last “sinful” matters that this final subsection will cover.

In terms of abortion, Anaïs Nin's *Ladders to Fire* contains a direct instance of a conversation held by Lillian and her lover Jay, in which the man tries to persuade her to get an abortion. The censors severely denounced the scene, stating the following:

The novel's plot is completely contrary to the Catholic morality; Liliana [sic] lives beyond morality with a lover, she has desires to have an abortion although in the end, it seems that the issue is resolved by means of a bad labour, of which we don't know to what extent it could have been intentional. (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626)<sup>220</sup>

This censor's comment raises a few issues. First, this reader fully places the blame of the abortion on Lillian: "she has desires to have an abortion," when, after reading the entire passage (#1, see below) it can be observed that the abortion is in fact Jay's reaction upon finding out that Lillian is with child. Second, part of the reader's argument to ban the novel is that it might be inferred that there is a suspicion that Lillian does have an abortion in the end, "a bad labour" that could have been "intentional," in words of the censor. Despite the report's unfavourable notes and the MIT's recommendation to amend this and other "pernicious" passages in the Spanish and Catalan translations of *Ladders to Fire*, both versions were approved for publication in 1971 and 1976, respectively, and, what is more, both target texts rendered the abortion passage unaltered:

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#1	"Lillian confessed to Jay that she was pregnant. He said: ' <b>We must find the money for an abortion</b> ' ... The mere idea of a child was an intrusion ... [and	"Lilliane tuvo que confesar a Jay que estaba embarazada. El hombre respondió: ' <b>Hay que buscar enseguida el dinero para el aborto</b> ' ... La sola	"Lillian confessà a Jay que estava prenys. Ell féu: ' <b>Hem de buscar diners per a l'avortament</b> ' ... La mera idea del fill era una intrusió ... [Lillian to the child] ' <b>Hauràs</b>

<sup>220</sup> "La obra tiene un fondo completamente contrario a la moral católica, Liliana vive al margen de toda moral con un amante, tiene deseos de hacer un aborto aunque al final parece que se resuelve en un mal parto que no sabemos hasta qué punto fue intencionado (pág. 107)" (Exp. 7088-65, sig. 21/16626).

she told her fetus] ‘You **ought to die** in warmth and darkness, **you ought to die** because you are a **child without a father** ... It would be better if you died inside of me quietly, in the warmth and in the darkness’ ... Did the child hear her? **At six months she had a miscarriage and lost it**” (137).

idea del hijo era una intrusión en su vida ... [le dice al feto] ‘**Tendrás que morir** en el calor y en la noche; **tendrás que morir**, porque eres **un niño sin padre** ... Será mejor para ti que mueras dentro de mí mientras duermes bien calentito’ ... ¿La oyó el niño? **Liliane tuvo un aborto a los seis meses**” (94-95).

**de morir** en la calidesa i la fosca; **hauràs de morir** perquè ets **una criatura sense pare** ... Més valdria que et morissis dintre meu, plàcidament, ben calentet i embolcallat de fosca’ ... Qui sap si la criatura sentí aquells mots. **Als sis mesos, Lillian tingué un part prematur i la perdé**” (74-75).

Table 29: References to abortion in Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and translations.

Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* also includes reference to an abortion. In this case, however, the censors do not mention it in their reports. Much like in the previous passage, both translations convey the scene without omitting the abortion business, as Example #2 demonstrates. Even though unrelated to the abortion *per se*, there is an interesting translation solution employed by Iglesias in his Argentine version, which has to do with coarse language used in the source text more than with the action itself: the expression “nobody *gives a fuck* about her” loses its tone in the Argentine-made translation, “a nadie *le importa nada* de su persona” [nobody *cares at all* about her]. Manzano’s choice for the crude expression renders the meaning idiomatically by using a similar expression in Spanish “a nadie *le importa ella tres cojones*,” an idiom that also conveys a vulgar tone by referencing “testicles.”

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#2	“Everywhere the same thing, she says. Everywhere a man, and then she has to leave, and then there’s an <b>abortion</b>	“En todas partes lo mismo, dice. En todas partes un hombre, y entonces ella tiene que irse, y entonces un <b>aborto</b> , y entonces otro	“En todas partes lo mismo, dice. En todas partes un hombre, y luego tiene que irse y después de un <b>aborto</b> y luego un nuevo empleo y

and then a new job and then another man and <i>nobody gives a fuck about her except to use her</i> " (24).	trabajo, otros hombres y a <i>nadie le importa nada de su persona</i> , salvo para hacer uso de ella" (35).	después otro hombre y a <i>nadie le importa ella tres cojones</i> salvo para usarla" (39).
--	---	--

Table 30: References to abortion in Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

Furthermore, just like in Examples #1 and #2, the translations of an abortion passage in Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* show the same tendency of rendering the content in a direct manner in Bernárdez's target text in Spanish as well as in de Pedrolo's Catalan version:

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1966)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1969)
#3	"... but he once went so far as to try and <b>persuade me to perform an abortion</b> for him on the dining-room table" (55).	"... sino que llegó al extremo de <b>pedirme que practicara un aborto</b> sobre la mesa del comedor" (56).	"... sinó que un dia arribà a l'extrem d'intentar de <b>convèncer-me que practiqués un avortament</b> sobre la taula del menjador" (45).

Table 31: References to abortion in Durrell's *Justine* and translations.

Pertaining to *Justine*, the censors again do not comment on the abortion passage. The tendency for the censors to not mention the abortion topic in Miller's and Durrell's novels when they so overtly denounced it in regard to Nin's *Ladders to Fire* leads me to think that the different standpoints taken by the censors may reflect a gender issue. Why did the censors single out the abortion passage in Nin's novel and did not object to mentions of abortion in *Justine* and *Tropic of Cancer*? Being written by a woman and having women as the protagonists, it might be posited that Anaïs Nin's novel, being from the women's point of view, may have presented too sympathetic a rendering of the woman in question and her own reasons, justifications, and hesitations as she wrestled with the future of her unborn child. Such nuance did attract the attention



of censors, and they very well could have been less welcoming and much more heavy-handed in their reviews and decisions to publish or not publish her books in the Peninsula, as Godayol and Taronna notice: “the official Francoist culture had imposed the traditional Catholic values and had *condemned women to a secondary, subaltern position*” (3, emphasis added). Nevertheless, the abortion passage that was the object of the censors’ criticism was not decisive in the novel’s outcome, for the Spanish translation submitted by Aymà was approved for publication.

Moreover, according to Allan and Burrige, “[i]n most cultures, the strongest taboos have been against non-procreative sex and sexual intercourse outside of a family unit sanctioned by religion and lore or legislation” (145). During Francoism, the regime passed the Law of 1942, dictating that “an adulterous woman shall be punished with minor imprisonment” (BOE 150-1942).<sup>221</sup> Having this in mind, one can only anticipate the sort of reports that the MIT filed in regard to Anaïs Nin’s novels in particular. Both *A Spy in the House of Love* and *Ladders to Fire* were the object of comments that emphasized the fact that the protagonists of the two stories lead lives and fantasies outside of their homes and husbands. For instance, pertaining to *A Spy*, one censor wrote: “[She is] a married woman who cheats on her husband with several lovers. A good husband, who is in love with her but does not make her happy. Neither is she happy because she cheats on him” (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626).<sup>222</sup>

	ST: Nin (2001)	TT1: Alcalde (1969)	TT2: Carbonell (1968)
#1	“Her attraction for it, her desire to bathe in its rays, explained her <b>repulsion</b> ”	“La atracción que la luna ejercía sobre ella le explicaba <b>su repulsión por</b> ”	“L’atracció que sentia envers la lluna, el desig de banyar-se en els seus raigs, explicaven

<sup>221</sup> From: “Boletín Oficial del Estado” [Spanish Official State Gazette] no. 150, 11/05/1942: “Artículo 446: La mujer adúltera será castigada con prisión menor.”

<sup>222</sup> “Una mujer casada que engaña a su marido con varios amantes. Un marido bueno, enamorado pero que no la hace feliz. Ella tampoco lo es porque está engañando, tiene que mentir para hacer esa mujer encuentra justificación en la novela, es más está comenzando a andar por los caminos del amor” (Exp. 7088-65, sig. 21/16626).

**for home, husband and children.** She began to imagine she knew the life which took place on the moon. **Homeless, childless, free lovers, not even tied to each other ...**

But Sabina activated by the moon-rays, felt germinating in her the power to extend time in the ramifications of a myriad lives and loves, to expand the journey to infinity, taking immense and luxurious detours as the courtesan depositor of multiple desires” (39).

**la vida familiar.** ¡Estaba segura de saber cómo vivían los habitantes de la luna! Sin hijos, sin hogar, sin ataduras: vivían **como unos amantes libres, enteramente uno del otro** ... Pero Sabina, excitada por los rayos de la luna, pronto sintió nacer en ella el poder de alargar el tiempo, de ramificarlo en miríadas de vidas y de amores; el poder alargar el camino hasta el infinito a través de innumerables rodeos que eran como los depositarios de innumerables deseos” (53).

l’aversió que tenia a la **vida familiar: llar, marit, infants.** Començà a imaginar-se que coneixia la vida que hi havia a la lluna. **Sense llar, sense infants, amants lliures, sense cap vincle entre uns i altres** ... Però Sabina, estimulada pels raigs de la lluna, sentia com germinava dintre seu el poder d’allargar el temps en les ramificacions de miríades de vides i d’amors; el poder d’allargar el viatge a l’infinit, fent immenses i luxuriantes voltes com la cortesana dipositària de múltiples dissenys” (56-57).

Table 32: References to adultery in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and translations.

Example #1 shows an excerpt in which the narrator describes Sabina’s desires to break free of her normative life: “her repulsion for home, husband and children.” As noted in the previous chapters, Carmen Alcalde’s translation into Spanish, by following a more domesticating and free translation approach, renders the passage by employing a “whole for the part” strategy: “su repulsión por *la vida familiar*” [her repulsion *for the family life*], as opposed to the Carbonell’s rendering in Catalan: “l’aversió que tenia a la vida familiar: llar, marit, infants” [the aversion that she had to family life: *home, husband, children*]. Much like in sexual passages of the novel translated by Alcalde, this example proves the tendency to distance from the source text by translating some passages more freely than, for example, Carbonell’s target text: Instead of “homeless, childless, free lovers, *not even tied to each other*,” the Spanish conveys a different idea of freedom of which Sabina dreams: “Sin hijos, sin hogar, sin ataduras: *vivían como unos amantes*

*libres, enteramente uno del otro*” [Without children, without a home, without ties: they lived like free lovers, entirely from one another]. In my opinion, Alcalde’s solution to this passage renders the message in such an ambiguous manner that it obscures the meaning, an observation that I had already noticed in Chapters 7 and 8 when analyzing both Alcalde’s and Casanueva’s Spanish translations of Nin’s *A Spy* and *Ladders* in terms of sexuality as well as lesbian eroticism.

Moreover, in *Ladders to Fire*, there is a passage where the protagonist, Lillian, embracing her affairs and analyzing her actions, tries to make sense of the reason why her marriage did not work. One particular passage (#2) draws attention to the fact that she was never able to see him as a lover. One censor, highlighting the excerpt, notes: “The novel is about a woman who has an excellent husband and children but, in spite of that, the home suffocates her ... She frees herself by seeking out lovers, until she finds one that suits her” (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626).<sup>223</sup> Later in the report, one reader similarly claims: “The plot of this novel is a married woman who is unable to have erotic connections with her husband, whom she abandons, leaving him with their son in order to seek out different lovers until she finds the one that can equal her erotism” (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626).<sup>224</sup>

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#2	“At times Lillian remembered her husband, and now that he was no longer the husband she could see that he had been, as much as the other men	“A veces Lilliane pensaba en su marido, y ahora, que ya no era el marido, se daba cuenta de que tenía las condiciones de casi todos los hombres que le	“De vegades, Lillian recordava el seu marit i, ara que ja no era el seu espòs, s’adonava que havia estat, talment com els altres homes que havia adorat, ben plantat i

<sup>223</sup> “Se trata de una mujer que tiene un excelente marido, unos excelentes hijos y no obstante el hogar le produce asfixia, representa una moral sin salida. Ella se libera buscando amantes, hasta que encuentra el que le va” (Exp. 7086-65, sig. 21/16626).

<sup>224</sup> “El argumento de la obra es una mujer casada, que no logra la unión sexual erótica con su marido, al que abandona dejándole un hijo, para lanzarse en brazos de varios amantes, hasta conseguir encontrar uno que la iguale en erotismo” (Exp. 7086-65, signatura 21/16626).

she liked, handsome and desirable, and she could not understand why **he had never been able to enter her being and her feelings as a lover**. She had truly liked every aspect of him except the aspect of lover” (119).

gustaban, bello, atractivo, y no comprendía por qué **nunca había llegado a ser un amante para ella**. Amó sinceramente todos los aspectos de su naturaleza, salvo el de amante” (72).

desitjable, i no podia comprendre per què **ell mai no havia assolit de penetrar en el seu ésser in en els seus sentiments com un amant**. Ella havia gaudit de totes les manifestacions de la seva naturalesa llevat de la que l’hauria convertit en amant” (59).

Table 33: References to adultery in Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and translations.

Looking at the translations, it can be seen that both effectively render the passage where the narrator confesses Lillian’s feelings towards the husband. However, Casanueva’s target text employs a strategy that simplifies and softens the passage in question: “*nunca había llegado a ser un amante para ella*” [he had *never been a lover* for her], failing to recreate the idea of penetrating and awakening Lillian’s desires: “he had *never been able to enter her being and her feelings as a lover*.” Arbonès’ Catalan translation, conversely, does evoke the same sensorial imagery “*ell mai no havia assolit de penetrar en el seu ésser in en els seus sentiments com un amant*” [he had *never been capable of penetrating her being and her feelings as a lover*], a more direct rendition than Casanueva’s oversimplification.

In the remainder of this section, I will tackle other “sinful” matters such as abortion, pederasty/abuse, and incest as the concluding affective topics studied from my corpus. Suicide is a theme that the three authors include in passing in at least one of their works. Even though the censors pointed out the existence of it when analyzing some of the novels, all translations are usually “true” to the source texts in mentioning it. The following tables showcase the passages that contain references to suicide and the different translations.

	ST: Nin (2001)	TT1: Alcalde (1969)	TT2: Carbonell (1968)
#1	“Cold Cuts works at the morgue. His constant <b>familiarity with suicides</b> and terrifying description of them <b>keep us from committing it</b> ” (102).	“Cold Cuts trabaja en el depósito de cadáveres. Su <b>intimidación diaria con el suicidio</b> y las terroríficas descripciones que de los suicidas nos hace, nos impide <b>echar mano de ese recurso</b> ” (143).	“En Cold Cuts treballa al Dipòsit de cadàvers. La seva <b>familiaritat constant amb els suïcides</b> i les descripcions terrorífiques que en fa impedeixen que <b>ens suïcitem també nosaltres</b> ” (139).

Table 34: References to suicide in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and translations.

	ST: Miller (1961)	TT1: Iglesias (1962)	TT2: Manzano (1977)
#2	“One day he <b>wants to blow his brains out</b> because he can’t stand this lousy Europe any more” (49).	“Un día quiso <b>levantarse la tapa de los sesos</b> , porque no podía soportar más este agujero inmundo que es Europa” (58).	“Un día quiere <b>volarse la tapa de los sesos</b> porque no puede soportar más este agujero inmundo que es Europa” (68).

Table 35: References to suicide in Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and translations.

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#3	“Of all things <b>his suicide</b> has remained for me an extraordinary and quite inexplicable <i>freak</i> ” (141).	“ <b>Su suicidio</b> en especial, sigue siendo para mí un <i>capricho</i> extraordinario e inexplicable” (143).	“Més que res, el <b>seu suïcidi</b> em sembla una <i>extravagància</i> immensa i totalment inexplicable” (137).
#4	“So from all this you will be able to measure the despair of Justine when that wretched fellow Pursewarden went and <b>killed himself</b> ” (147).	“Ahora comprenderá la desesperación de Justine cuando el pobre diablo de Pursewarden <b>se suicidó</b> ” (149).	“Ara podreu comprendre com va desesperar-se Justine quan aquest desgraciat d’en Pursewarden <b>decidí de suïcidar-se</b> ” (142).

Table 36: References to suicide in Durrell’s *Balthazar* and translations.

If there is something to be pointed out regarding the translations, it is the idea that Carmen Alcalde/Prat's translation into Spanish, once again, takes a freer approach in terms of style and wordiness than, for example, Carbonell's translation into Catalan. This is reflected in passage #1. "His constant *familiarity* with suicides ... keep us *from committing it*," translated as: "Su *intimidat diària* con el suicidio ... nos impide echar mano *de ese recurso*" [Her daily intimacy with suicide ... prevents us from *employ that resource/means*]. Meanwhile, Carbonell's rendering offers a more word-for-word though idiomatic translation of the passage: "La seva *familiaritat constant* amb els suïcides ... *impedeixen que ens suïcitem també nosaltres*" [His *constant familiarity* with the suicides ... *prevents us from committing suicide* as well]. In the same vein, Bernárdez's solution in Passage #3, even though it conveys the reference to Pursewarden's suicide scene, contains a trace of an interesting transfer of the sense "extraordinary and quite inexplicable *freak*," which she translates as "un *capricho* extraordinario e inexplicable" [an extraordinary and inexplicable *whim*], as opposed to de Pedrolo's arguably more accurate choice: "una *extravagància* immensa i totalment inexplicable" [an immense and totally inexplicable *oddness/eccentricity*].

Furthermore, both Durrell's *Balthazar* and Nin's *Ladders to Fire* include a few references to issues of pederasty and abuse of minors, two topics that the censors did not fail to condemn in their reports. For instance, regarding *Balthazar*, a censor mentioned: "There are specific circumstances with degenerate characters (*gigolos, pederasts, sadistic or lesbian love*), ideas contrary to marriage, adultery, *pederasty passage ... and rape*" (File 4078-61, catalogue 21/13434, emphasis added).<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>225</sup> "Circunstancias concretas, personajes degenerados (*gigolós, pederastas, amor sádico o lesbiano*), concepto meramente contrario al matrimonio, adulterio, pasaje de pederastia, amor puramente carnal, prostitución y violación" (Exp. 4078-61, sig. 21/13434).

	ST: Durrell (1958)	TT1: Bernárdez (1970)	TT2: de Pedrolo (1984)
#1	“ <b>Peddyrast</b> ’ he repeated with scorn ... ‘I don’t think they quite understand at Home’ ... ‘Now the Egyptians, they don’t give a damn about a man if he has Tendencies’” (22).	“— <b>Pedirasta</b> —repitió desdeñoso ... —Creo que mis connacionales no entienden nada ... Y a los egipcios les importa un rábano que un hombre tenga Tendencies” (32).	“— <b>Pedirasta</b> , va repetir menyspreativament ... —No crec que hi compreguin res, a casa ... I pel que fa als egipcis, tant se’ls en fot que un home tingui Tendències” (35).
#2	“ <b>Peddyrasty</b> is one thing— <i>hashish</i> quite another” (35).	“La <b>pedirastia</b> es una cosa, el hachís es otra completamente distinta” (35).	“La <b>pederàstia</b> és una cosa, el haixix n’és una altra” (37).
#3	“‘Poor Da Capo,’ she said, ‘he was so terribly shocked and alarmed to be told <b>he had raped me when I was a street arab, a child</b> ’” (145).	“—Pobre Da Capo – continuó Justine--, estaba tan conmovido y asustado cuando se enteró de que <b>me había violado siendo yo una chiquilla de la calle, en un barrio árabe</b> ” (148).	‘Pobre Da Capo’, va dir la noia, ‘va quedar totalment escandalitzat i horroritzat en saber que <b>m’havia violat quan jo era una criatura que corria pels carrers del barri àrab</b> ’ (141).

Table 37: References to pederasty in Durrell’s *Balthazar* and translations.

Nevertheless, as I present in the table above, both translators rendered the selected passages in a direct and equivalent fashion, without omitting or softening the scenes. On the other hand, the passage in *Ladders to Fire* where a character, Djuna, narrates the abuses she suffered when she was a child in an orphan house, is translated by employing an explanatory strategy in both target texts. “Por nuestros cuerpos” (Spanish) and “per sobre els nostres cossos” (Catalan)—both backtranslated as “over our bodies”—are two additions found in Casanueva’s and Arbonès’ translations to the English passage: “he often lifted the corners of our bedcovers, and let his eyes rove and sometimes more than his eyes.”

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#4	“And then there was the old watchman who made the rounds at night. He often lifted the corners of our bedcovers, and let his eyes rove and sometimes more than his eyes... He became the demon of the night for us little girls” (96)	“Además había un vigilante de la noche. A menudo levantaba la punta de nuestros cubrecamas y paseaba su mirada, y a veces más que su mirada, <b>por nuestros cuerpos...</b> Para nosotras, niñitas, era la personificación del demonio de la noche” (42).	“A més, hi havia el vell vigilant que feia la ronda nocturna. Solia alçar la vora del cobrellit i deixava lliscar l’esguard, i de vegades alguna cosa més que l’esguard, per <b>sobre els nostres cossos...</b> Per a nosaltres, menudes com érem, es va convertir en l’encarnació del dimoni de la nit” (39).

Table 38: References to pederasty in Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and translations.

Anaïs Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love* contain the incestual allusions of two male characters towards their mothers. Unsurprisingly, the censors took note of one particular passage: “On page 22 the protagonist’s husband is described as a weak man whose love is for his mother and his wife, but when he lies with his wife, he does not know how to separate her from his mother, and so on throughout the entire work” (File 7086-65, catalogue 21/16626).<sup>226</sup> The passage was marked in red on a copy of the English version, which I present in Example #1:

	ST: Nin (1946)	TT1: Casanueva (1971)	TT2: Arbonès (1976)
#1	“... because <b>he was already possessed by his mother</b> and two <b>possessions</b> meant annihilation” (71).	“... <b>Él ya pertenecía a su madre</b> , y un hombre no <b>puede ser</b> de dos mujeres sin exponerse al aniquilamiento” (13).	“... Perquè <b>ja era posseït per la seva mare</b> , i <b>ser posseït</b> per dues dones significava talment l’anihilació del seu ésser” (19).

Table 39: References to incest in Nin’s *Ladders to Fire* and translations.

<sup>226</sup> “En la página 22 se dice que el marido de la protagonista, es un hombre débil cuyo amor es su madre y su mujer, pero que cuando yace con su mujer, no sabe desligarla de su madre y así por el estilo es toda la obra” (Exp. 7086- 65, sig. 21/16626).



When the two translations are contrasted, one dissimilarity can be found that reminds us of translation solutions discussed earlier regarding Casanueva's translation approach. It can be argued that Casanueva shows a tendency to avoid the term "possession" or "to possess"—see Chapter 7 (#24) and Chapter 8 (#2)—. In this case, even though the meaning of the passage is overall rendered in Spanish, Casanueva opts for "pertenecer" [to belong to] instead of conveying the perhaps more sexual connotation that the source text entails. This is, however, conveyed in Arbonès' Catalan translation: "Perquè ja era *posseït per la seva mare, i ser posseït per dues dones...*" [Because he *was already possessed* by his mother, and *to be possessed* by two women...]. Hence, for translation solutions such as these, it is no surprise that the MIT ended up authorizing Casanueva's Spanish translation of *Ladders to the Fire* in 1971 right after Aymà submitted the text for "consulta voluntaria," unlike the other versions of Nin's novels that received "silencio administrativo."

Similarly, the translations of another incestual passage in *A Spy in the House of Love* bring to the fore one more case of translation by omission, this time in both Alcalde's and Carbonell's target text. The passage in question (#2) references the taboo of incest playing a subconscious role in one of Sabina's lovers: "to the periphery of all that he could caress without breaking the *ultimate taboo: touching his mother's body*." Both translations omit the idea of "touching," in what I argue might have been an attempt to conceal what would indeed constitute an incestual act: "le era permitido rozar sin infringir el *último tabú: el cuerpo de su madre*" [it was permitted to caress without *transgressing the ultimate taboo: the body of his mother*] in Spanish and an identical translation choice in Catalan: "allò que per fi podia acariciar sense infringir l'*últim tabú: Ø el cos de la seva mare*" [that what he could finally caress without *transgressing the Ultimate taboo: the body of his mother*].

	ST: Nin (2001)	TT1: Alcalde (1969)	TT2: Carbonell (1968)
#2	“... it was a caress not to Sabina’s feet but to the periphery of all that he could caress without breaking the ultimate taboo: touching his mother’s body” (85).	“... sus caricias no iban destinadas al pie de Sabina, sino a aquello que por fin le era permitido rozar sin infringir <b>el último tabú: Ø el cuerpo de su madre</b> ” (118).	“... les carícies, no les feia pas al peu de Sabina, sinó a allò que per fi podia <b>acariciar sense infringir l’últim tabú: Ø el cos de la seva mare</b> ” (117).

Table 40: References to incest in Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* and translations.

There is a moral dimension of disgust to bodily wastes and sinful matters, as: “disgust was intimately involved with the determination of the pure and impure, the contaminating and contaminatable. This means that culture will figure greatly in determining what is disgusting, as well as set general disgust thresholds by the extent to which purity is an important value” (Miller, *The Anatomy* 106). In my view, said “fear of pollution” associated with bodily waste—specifically excrement and urine—as well as prostitution, “immoral behaviours” (in the censors’ words), and other taboo or socially condemnable practices may explain the tendency of the actors involved in the translation process to soften or omit references to such content. The idea that language is arguably the most decisive element in conveying affective intensity when translating the “disgusting,” as I already posited in Chapters 7 and 8 is, once again, demonstrated in the selected passages tackled in this chapter. For that reason, the translations that render the crude language of the source texts, mostly Miller’s novels, failed to pass the censorship filter due to a lack of self-censorship performed by the translators and editors.

In addition, women seeking and experimenting with sexual freedom in spite of social and moral norms, as narrated in Nin’s and Durrell’s novels, indeed elicited a negative reaction from the censors, as one clearly sees when reviewing the MIT’s censorship files. Nevertheless, both

*Ladders to Fire* and *Balthazar* were officially approved for publication. In Miller's novels, however, the language used is much less lyrical, less grandiloquent, incommensurably more direct, thus, much more accessible to the public at large. Despite narrating similar events and encounters where—following the censors' logic—spaces of immorality abound (brothels, pleasure houses and the like), the crudeness of the language Miller employs in his descriptions and dialogues is what truly causes the disgust and rejection in the censors-readers. This is noted using words that categorize and name the emotions elicited by the affective language, what I call “affective reactions” in the censors.

Attempting to trace and analyze the transformations of the “romans-à-clef” in my corpus when traveling to the Iberian Peninsula, Part III of this dissertation helps me understand the different layers of censorship that the translations underwent from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Hence, questions such as which novels were the most censored, which translations present more self-censorship, or which themes triggered more opposition in the censors' affective responses are some of the lines of inquiry that arise from this study. Overall, the most manipulated novels are the ones that, by breaching the Francoist moral norms, elicited a stronger reaction of disgust and aversion in the censors. For that reason, it is not a surprise that the most censored translations are those that contain a higher number of sexual references, for “[c]onceptions of morality ... result from embodied, affective responses to our experiences and observations, and contemporary empirical findings buttress Hume's assertion that ‘passions’ motivate our moral judgments” (Blake 218).

The examples presented in this section, organized as they were in terms of censurable content as defined by the censors themselves, showcase the transformations undergone by these texts as they negotiated the Francoist censorship apparatus. Ultimately, a trend to “soften” content

via self-censorship is present throughout the examples, regardless of author. The reception of these translations in Francoist Spain clearly demonstrates that the more self-censored the book was in translation, the more likely it was to be published. While self-censorship and softening of the register and tone, as translation strategies, were in no way a guarantee that the book would be published, failing to do so by equivalently rendering the tone of the source text, however, significantly increased the chance that the work would be flagged for further censorship or outright rejected and, in some cases, sequestered.

In this vein, the selected passages show that Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring* were the most censored of the corpus when transferred to Spanish and Catalan, but also demonstrate that their content is virtually identical in terms of "censurable subject matter" to the other cases—eroticism, prostitution, women's sexuality, references to bodily wastes, blasphemous content, etc.—the main difference laying in Miller's informal register and crude tone. His use of language can be described as more vulgar, colloquial, even common when compared to Nin's and Durrell's, something that was as well signaled by the censors in their reports. For that reason, the three chapters that form this final section prove that language and tone are the most determining factors for translators and editors to self-censor the translation of a novel, even more than content itself. Issues such as the vulgar, the coarse, the sexually explicit, the disgusting—when described using a common, colloquial language—were the most persecuted elements in my corpus of source and target texts. In other words, it is not solely about the topic in question but about in what terms it is described.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the significance of tone and register as a determining factor for censorship pertains to the highly affective content depicted in these kinds of salacious novels, i.e., topics pertaining to immorality and obscenity. Regarding political

allusions contrary to the regime and its institutions, for instance, tone and register would have played a role of little importance for the censors. Nonetheless, political references that could have made these novels a target for the censors—which are scarcely mentioned in my corpus—are not included in the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, it is in areas that, for a lack of clear guidelines, were left more up to the censors' discretion where affect begins to play an important part, as I have noticed in the comments and reports extracted from the censorship and import files of Francoism.

Hence, the results found by analyzing the different translations underline the importance the materiality of a translation holds for rewriters to interpret and reproduce affects satisfactorily enough to communicate that affect across the linguistic barrier to their new readers. I argue that the very own materiality of language, how a word is spelled, what is left out of the target text, etc., is extremely important for the (re)construction of the affect that is present in the source text. An example of this are the many omissions found especially in Miller's Argentine-made translations done by Mario Guillermo Iglesias (*Trópico de Cáncer*) and Patricio Canto (*Primavera negra*) when self-censoring body parts and other "obscenities" by choosing not to spell a word in its entirety: "v..." "p..." (see examples #14, #19 in Chapter 7), "p...." (see Example #12 in Chapter 8). Such a self-censoring strategy employed by the translators—nothing leads me to think that this might have been mandated by the publishers since the translations were edited by different publishing houses, Sudamericana and Santiago Rueda, respectively—reminds us of the expletive signal we hear on TV, on the radio, or on social media platforms when speakers use words that are socially considered taboo, this way, performing a mild form of censorship.

Although one cannot consider these examples complete omissions—such as the ones seen in, for example, Jordi Arbonès' Catalan translation of *Black Spring*—or even a translation by euphemism or orthophemism, which in fact abound in all the selected translations, the materiality

of the words that are fragmented—broken down—highly modify the affect translators were tasked with transferring to the target texts. In essence, exposing only the beginning of the word by emulating the effect created by an expletive gives complete interpreting agency to the target reader. Such an agency (that “fill in the gap”), at the same time, creates a distance between the two texts in so much as how both transmit the affect embedded in the passage in question. This idea is artfully explained by affect scholars such as Mieke Bal and Van Alphen with their notion of “visuality:”

emotional substantiation is the result of affects transmitted by the concrete, visual quality of the image. This visual quality does not need to be literal *visuality*. It can be the kind of imagined visuality that comes about in the reading of literary texts when they have strong, powerful descriptions ... without visualization, the text will have meaning, of course, but that meaning is not really embodied. (Van Alphen 28)<sup>227</sup>

Moreover, the differences between the self-censorship that I have identified in Miller’s novels in translation, more specifically the Catalan and Argentine target texts, and those of Nin and Durrell also reinforce the idea of materiality— “visuality” for other scholars—that is conveyed in written language by means of how translators transfer tone and register. To better formulate this, I will turn to Miller’s opening of *Tropic of Cancer* (2):

No, this is a prolonged insult, a god of spirit in the face of Art, a kick in the pants to God, Man, Destiny, Time, Love, Beauty... what you will. I am going to sing for you, a little off key perhaps, but I will sing. I will sing while you croak, I will dance over your dirty corpse.

---

<sup>227</sup> In this instance, Van Alphen draws from Mieke Bal’s “On the visual substance of literature.”

I argue that Henry Miller is the antagonist of the censors; he is the free man, the madman, the common man who talks about what he wants with no limitations. He is the “body without organs,” the real writer and, as such, he embodies and spreads the “affect” the Francoist censors tried to deter, to cleanse from previously Republican Spain.<sup>228</sup> For that reason, Miller’s language, his tone and register, is either self-censored by the translators and editors in an attempt to make the novels more palatable for the target contexts—a rather hard distinction to measure—or outright banned for circulation by the hands of the institutional censorship.

Nonetheless, why such powerful affective reactions on the censors’ end and also why such drastic measures employed by most of the translators/editors in regard to Miller’s narrative? Considering that affect is contagious, the accessible language employed in Miller’s novels as opposed to the higher register and style present in Nin’s and Durrell’s, in my view, posed a greater threat for the Francoist censors. Miller’s plain, crude, direct language—the common language of the lower classes of society<sup>229</sup>—is arguably more affect-loaded than that of his counterparts, even though all novels share a very sexual outlook. Anaïs Nin’s and Lawrence Durrell’s novels, with their poetic, mystical-surrealist, exotic, lyrical, and refined prose carry with them another kind of affect, one that I daresay is not as accessible to the everyday reader. Miller’s novels studied herein are coarse, full of obscenities without disguise that are narrated with the vulgarity typical of people without shame, without a gag. Shyness elicited by “ugly feelings” is, therefore, much stronger in Miller’s works and, as this dissertation explores, in the Spanish-made translations carried out by Carlos Manzano and Carlos Bauer/Julián Marcos.

---

<sup>228</sup> I present this idea in Chapter 6, section 6.2.1.1, as well as in Chapter 1.

<sup>229</sup> In his autobiographical novels, Miller presents himself as a working class New-Yorker who for a time pretty much sleeps among rats and who endlessly begs his bourgeois friends in Paris for sustenance.

The links between this idea of affect and class have also been observed by scholars such as Audrey Jaffe, for whom affect is ideological, this way:

linked in its origins to another subject whose definition is also usefully unstable and also a matter of ideological investment: social class ... Within this system of representations, lower-class figures are characteristically represented as *being in thrall to impulse and desire, to an animality assumed to be their inherent affective state* ... [Hence] class identity is defined by metonymic cues and visceral reactions: evocations of smell, dirt, and the rasp and roughness of voice, along with an inability to control bodily functions (nosebleeds; appetite; the sound of eating; the marking of objects by greasy hands). (715-718, emphasis added)

I claim that it is because of this affective state that the censors show a tendency to block these “romans-à-clef” for mass circulation in the Peninsula. Editors, cognizant of this, would try to persuade the censors by claiming that a certain novel would only be printed in costly or limited editions, as Aymà suggests in one of their letters to the censorship board regarding Arbonès’ translation of *Tropic of Cancer* in Catalan: “a literary work of great quality cannot be hindered in our country, especially in the case of a book whose print run and price would determine a restricted diffusion that would make it practically unaffordable for the sector that is little prepared for the consumption of literature of this character” (File 4979-75, catalogue 73/04812).<sup>230</sup> Furthermore, in 1967, assessing Miller’s *Tropic*, the resolution of File 2791-67 (catalogue 21/18052) points out

---

<sup>230</sup> “Si esto es así, si España ha evolucionado y sigue evolucionando hacia moldes de gradual democratización, creemos que ha llegado el momento de establecer que una obra literaria de gran calidad, como la referida, que circula libremente por todo el mundo civilizado, no puede ser obstaculizada en nuestro país, máxime tratándose de un libro cuyo tiraje y precio determinarían una difusión restringida que lo harían prácticamente inasequible por el sector poco preparado para el consumo de una literatura de este carácter” (Exp. 4979-75, sign. 73/04812).



a similar occurrence: “on several occasions the above-mentioned publisher has been permitted to publish certain works that are morally controversial based on the high price of the copies.”<sup>231</sup>

Another example of this is Iglesias’ Argentine translation of this novel being repeatedly accepted for importation in Spain from 1963 to 1976, despite all domestic translations being rejected in this period. Such an operation would entail a minimum of thirteen copies in circulation, assuming that only one copy of the novel was imported per year, which is a very low sum. It follows then that a limited printing or importation of a salacious work, in order that a few dusty copies may be kept secreted away by those connected parties interested in this sort of literature for their own private consumption was their business and one matter, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, sections 6.2. and 6.3. For this work to be mass produced and printed on Spanish shores and subsequently available to the public at large was another matter entirely. Thus, the more accessible the work was both in terms of distribution and register, the more threatening it was for the censors and, naturally, for the readers as large.

---

<sup>231</sup> “En diversas ocasiones se ha autorizado a la citada editorial la edición de determinadas obras moralmente conflictivas en base al alto precio de los ejemplares” (Exp. 2791-67, sign. 21/18052).

### **Conclusion. Translating and Censoring Literature: Towards an “Affective” Approach**

On January 10th, 2023, at her humble apartment located in the heart of Plaça d’Espanya in Barcelona, Carmen Alcalde experienced a remarkable affective response to the censorship files about her translation of Anaïs Nin’s *A Spy in the House of Love* (Aymà 1969). At the age of 87, 55 years after she completed her translation of the novel into Spanish, Alcalde was by no means aware of the process her translation underwent. Upon finishing the project that her friend, Aymà’s literary editor Joan Oliver had assigned to her, she took it to him in 1968 and, a year later, she picked up some copies of the book fresh off the presses. For five decades, that was where she left it. Alcalde had no idea of the extensive process of scrutiny her translation underwent at the hands of the Francoist censorship board or the process of appeals and exchanges between the publisher and the MIT. I tell her that the censorship board, after several letters with Aymà, branded the novel “*silencio administrativo*” in 1969, which I assumed meant that the publisher did not go as far as to publish the novel after all. “It was published. I picked up some copies,” she declares. The novel was published. “But the files state *silencio administrativo*. There was no formal authorization to publish this book, your translation,” I tell her, almost doubting her response. “Do you think they only published a few copies?” I ask. “When Oliver was working for Aymà, they sure were bold,” she answers. “He was always getting in trouble with the publisher because of his literary picks,” Alcalde continues. “Apparently with the censorship board too,” I add.

At this point in our interview, I can tell her curiosity is piqued and, to my surprise, I observe that she is now the interviewer and I the interviewee. She wanted to know more about these files I allude to, namely the censorship reports and the fate the novel faced in the late 1960s. Together,

we read various reports on my laptop, most of which discuss feminine desire, lesbianism, immorality, and “modern love” theme of *Una espía en la casa del amor* (File 7088-65, catalogue 21/16626; File 3170-69, catalogue 66/02838, etc.). “They roasted her. Why so much ire against poor Nin, against this novel? It was a beautiful story, lyrical, full of music, mysticism, surrealism. It could not have been further away from pornography. It was a masterpiece. A novel we all needed,” she claims. Alcalde was horrified; her face changing as we skimmed the files on her translation. She laughed incredulously, almost on the verge of tears.

I remember, all too well, experiencing a similar reaction to what Alcalde felt on my very first trip to the AGA. Back in 2015, I was investigating the reception of Sylvia Plath’s *The Bell Jar* (1963) in late Francoism and I could not believe the reviews that the censors wrote on Plath and her *oeuvre*. Akin to Alcalde, I was horrified and furious to encounter such comments, that they could have such a poor understanding of a book I had cheered for so many years as I grew up. As a reader, the novel—in its original language—had made me react and feel on so many levels, however, the censorship files gave me a much stronger affective response. So did some of the translations, later, when I found out Argentine editions in circulation during the 1960s-1970s.

When I decided to continue studying translations done during said decades via other authors, such as the ones included in this dissertation, a very “affective” sense of justice, somehow, haunted me:<sup>232</sup> justice for the translations, justice for the translators, justice for the authors, and justice for the readers. Some years ago, I would not have included the publishers and editors—even some censors—in this group of actors I sympathized with for having operated in the margins

---

<sup>232</sup> Isabel Jaén, employing Jo Labanyi’s term “haunting,” explains the historical past as “something that chases us, obsesses us ... What matters about the past is its unfinished business, which requires critical reflection and action in the present” (806).

of a dictatorship, having to navigate, resist, and coexist with a hierarchical system that tried earnestly to stall cultural production in the country. But again, little did I know that “affect” and the idea of “affective responses” to these editions, to the censorship and import files, and to archival material itself were going to be so central a component to my research.

As a student of literary translation, I have always been moved, affectively speaking, by the task of translating. As a reader of world literature, I have always been moved by the foreign, by otherness, drawn to what is not so well-known to me. As a reader I seek to be affected. As a translator I am aware of the norms and guidelines I have learned as to what is or makes a good translation. As a person I evolve with the culture(s) and context(s) I live in and mingle with, I know the expectations society has of what I write and say, thus, I try to be as politically correct as I can be, depending on the communicative context. I have never been a censor *per se* but that is not entirely true. I have acted as a reviewer and editor for some academic journals; I have reviewed papers of my peers. In non-academic contexts, I have told people not to say something because I did not think it right. Hence, I can attest that to censor and to be censored are affect-eliciting acts, for we tend to be guided either by passions, convictions, appropriacy, or societal and legal norms.

Still, I am removed from the context of Francoism and its censorship, even though I am, somewhat, a result of it, for my parents were born during the dictatorship. A society cannot shake and shed almost forty years of political and cultural repression so easily, even if for decades we have pretended that was the case. Spanish and Catalan readers of Henry Miller’s, Anaïs Nin’s, and Lawrence Durrell’s novels were exposed to censored translations for a few decades, if they were lucky to even access the translations at all, even after new editions were in circulation following the end of the dictatorship—though sometimes not until the 1980s. However, how can something that has been read and passed around, a book that exists in someone’s home library or at an antique

bookstore, be stopped from being read and spread? Readers of a society have fixations, as Lawrence Venuti reminds us. That is also very affective, as Kaisa Koskinen's notices: "Critics and regular readers alike seem to approach retranslation not only analytically but also *emotionally*" (65, emphasis added). Reaching these realizations made me doubt, question, and distrust translations for a long time. Now that this project is concluded, I would like to believe that I view translation in a more positive light, as I introduced in the first pages of the dissertation.

I opened my work with Adrienne Rich's lines about words as maps and purposes. In my view, literary translations are also maps through which readers and scholars can explore the world—the "wreck" as Rich puts it. I undertook this project with the idea of exploring the wreck that is translation and censorship—or rather, translating literature under contexts of censorship—in order "to see the damage that was done" to the literary field (translation field, I should say) under late Francoism as well as "the treasures that prevail." There are indeed hidden treasures in the archival files I consulted and, what is more, upon assessing the "damage done" to these translations and with these translations, true treasures were unearthed. The institutional archive has been central to my findings, especially to underscore essential information and metadata regarding the editions that I chose to analyze, in addition to which novels were requested for importation in Franco's Spain, which of the books could circulate in translation, what content was censored, and who were the agents and actors involved in the translation flows from Argentina to Spain during the 1960s and early 1980s.

The archive has been an excellent starting point to begin to understand "the damage that was done" via the translations of my three authors' works into Spanish and Catalan. Nevertheless, going beyond the archive was necessary to identify the treasures that prevail. Carrying out a combination of archival and historical research to pinpoint the translation flows and a sociological

and relational approach to translation and cultural exchanges, I have been able to follow the actors involved in the translation processes of my corpus of novels (Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*; Nin's *Ladders to Fire* and *A Spy in the House of Love*; and Durrell's *Justine* and *Balthazar*) from translators, to censors, publishers, editors, and readers. Furthermore, taking into account the Latourian premise to "follow the actors" in order to find out more about the products—"artefacts"—I moved beyond the limits of the primary sources and mapped out the changes, transformations, and exchanges the translations of the selected novels experienced upon circulating in their Spanish and Catalan versions during late Francoism.

In mapping out the translation flows, their intermediaries, and the networks that affected the translation processes and outcomes of the six "romans-à-clef," I observed the formation of translation spaces and publishing zones that shed light on the translations' conditions of production in Spain and Argentina (Parts I and II)—conditions that enabled, challenged, or resisted the circulation of Miller's, Nin's, and Durrell's novels in translation. The reasons behind this "translation flow" are multifaceted due to the myriad of socio-political and economic variables and powers that operated in these transnational transfers. Some of the most influential causalities that shaped and enabled this flow of translations include major by-products of the Spanish Civil War that led to the collapse of the Spanish publishing market and the loss of its cultural position at the centre of the Spanish-speaking world. Such position was soon be filled in the Americas, spurred on—in part—by Spanish *émigrés*, including many prominent intellectuals, fleeing Spain in the war's aftermath leading them to found many new publishing houses in Latin America, notably in Argentina and Mexico. Buenos Aires then became the source from which many of the translated texts that were subsequently imported back into Spain originated from (such as Miller's and Durrell's object of this analysis). All these factors gave rise to transatlantic networks of writers,

publishers, translators, and readers that is the crux of this study, for they facilitated literary and cultural transfers, including the overlooked but significant phenomenon of smuggled translations published outside of the Iberian Peninsula, as I detailed in section 6.3.

Naturally, one of the first results highlights the importance of the dates in the construction of a translation and its outcomes both in Spain and Argentina. For example, Lawrence Durrell's *Balthazar* (1958) was approved for circulation in Spain in 1970 in Aurora Bernárdez's Spanish translation (first published in 1961 Argentina, Editorial Sudamericana) edited by publisher and distributor Edhasa after the importation of Sudamericana's edition was rejected on many occasions. The Catalan translation of *Balthazar* carried out by Manuel de Pedrolo was published in 1984 (Aymà) years after the end of the dictatorship, resulting in a gap of fourteen years since de Pedrolo translated Durrell's *Justine* (1957). In this case, both translations of *Justine*, Bernárdez's Spanish version also published by Sudamericana in 1960—always rejected for importation in the Iberian Peninsula by the MIT—and de Pedrolo's Catalan rendering done in 1969 (Aymà), were branded with “silencio administrativo.”

Henry Miller's novels underwent a similar process. The only book formally accepted for publication in Franco's Spain was *Black Spring* (1936) in its Catalan translation authored by Jordi Arbonès in 1968, published with changes—self-censorship—in 1970. The Spanish translations done both in Argentina (authored by Patricio Canto, published by Rueda in 1964) and Spain (Carlos Bauer and Julián Marcos in 1970, not authorized for publication until 1978, Alfaguara/Bruguera) were outright rejected. On the other hand, the Argentinian-made translation of *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) carried out by Mario Guillermo Iglesias in 1962 (Rueda) was accepted for importation in Spain with a reduced number of copies. Nevertheless, none of the domestic translations of *Tropic* were officially authorized for publication by the censorship board. As a

result, the Catalan translation by Jordi Arbonès (1967) and Carlos Manzano's Spanish rendering (1977) were not officially in circulation until 1977.

Meanwhile, Anaïs Nin's novels in Spanish and Catalan translations were exclusively edited in the Iberian Peninsula. In this specific case, a translation flow was not bound from Argentina to Spain but in the opposite direction. The only version of Nin's works officially authorized by the censorship board was David Casanueva's Spanish translation of *Ladders to Fire* (1946), published by Aymà in 1971. The board did not oppose said publication. The Catalan translation was once more done by Jordi Arbonès in 1976, resulting in another publishing success for Aymà. *A Spy in the House of Love* (1959), inversely, faced several issues with the MIT. First, Aymà submitted Spanish and Catalan translations of the novel in 1968, translated by Carmen Alcalde/María Rosa Prats and Manuel Carbonell, respectively. Both versions were severely criticized by the censorship board and, after negotiations with Aymà, both novels received "silencio administrativo." Carmen Alcalde's statements, however, confirmed that Aymà decided to carry on with the publication of Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* in 1969, at least they registered the Spanish and Catalan titles, as one can see in the Spanish National Library's repository of books.

An interesting observation from the translations' metadata (see pages 73-75) is that 1977 seems to be a key year for the publication of some of these novels in Spain, while the early 1960s are recurrent for the Argentine translations. The dates alone demonstrate the leading role of the Argentine publishing market from the 1940s-1960s and show the decline they experienced in the subsequent decades, leaving a space that would be filled again by the Spanish publishing market, making a comeback around the end of the Francoist dictatorship. Apart from the idea of translation spaces that emerged throughout the mid- and late twentieth century in Spain and Argentina as influential causalities that contributed to the production and circulation of my corpus of



translations, it is important to mention the notable spaces of dissidence created due to and despite institutional censorship.

For example, publisher Aymà's network of writers, editors, and translators offers a clear insight into not only how the translation market operated in Franco's Spain, but also on a broader scale: their efforts to compete with the Latin American publishers is as well indicative of an urge to overcome the dark veil of institutional censorship. This urge is exemplified in their repeated failures to push translations through the censorship apparatus—unless heavily self-censored—yet they were not dissuaded from trying to make these works accessible to the public in as “faithful” a translation of the original as they could get away with or by going ahead and publishing a book after receiving “silencio administrativo” from the board. See, for instance, the Spanish and Catalan translations Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love*. Following the fall of the Francoist dictatorship and the end of the censorship system, publishers would succeed in publishing the works that had been held back through the final years of the regime. That is the case of Henry Miller's domestic translations in Spanish published by Alfaguara/Bruguera, which are still in print and circulating all throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

Exploring the possibility of negotiation spaces where agents communicated among each other, namely translators, publishers, and censors, I have noticed a twofold resistance in the part of the local publishers. On the one hand, publishers such as Alfaguara/Bruguera and their translators show a resistance to collaboration with the censorship apparatus. This explains why the translations of Miller's novels into Peninsular Spanish do not contain traces of self-censorship or heavy domestication and why none of them were approved for circulation until after the end of the dictatorship. It is not an understatement to claim that they are, in fact, the closest target texts to the “original” novels included in my corpus, as I illustrate when comparing the different editions in

Part III. Hence, Alfaguara/Bruguera's resistance to adhere to the censorship requests—“submit a translation that contains the cuts underlined by the censors”—and refusal to negotiate and self-censor their works kept the translations away from the Spanish readers for almost a decade. However, in waiting to publish these novels in 1977, they resisted the handlings of the Francoist censorship system and today their translations are still widely consumed and equally praised.

On the other hand, publishers such as Aymà tried unceasingly to negotiate with the censorship board after receiving their verdicts. Aymà's letters to the MIT were a constant stream. For every translation in my corpus that they edited and attempted to publish there is a letter appealing to the censors when the resolutions were unfavourable. Accessing the extratextual materials that surrounded the translation processes of the editions carried out by Aymà and their translators has been key to not only understand the actors' resistance in their urges to negotiate and persuade the censorship board, but also to detect the reasons behind the phenomenon of self-censorship, as well as other much more conscious strategies such as the materiality of the editions. On top of euphemistically announcing the matter of self-censorship in their translations, Aymà's letters to the board likewise addressed the issue of readers' accessibility in regard to their publications in terms of targeting either a moneyed type of reader or a reader of “refined taste and intellect.” In other words, Aymà's negotiations and dialogues with the MIT aimed at the “books for minorities” categorization established by the censorship board. Under such a category, censors were asked to judge complex or costly books more benevolently, since they were intended for an elite, economically solvent, and educated readership. Restricting access to the consumption of “books for minorities” was, therefore, a move that Aymà recurrently made, though it was not always a guarantee of success, as my case studies demonstrate. These appeals and the censorship board's tacit approval of certain “books for minorities” illustrates not only the arbitrary nature of

the Spanish censorship system, but how accessibility and potential number of readers were leading factors in the reception of a literary work.

About the translations done on the other side of the Atlantic, the issue of self-censorship is extremely hard to measure, for they were products of a context without a well-established censorial mechanism from the State, though they had an international market in mind, including that of Spain. Accessing extratextual material such as archival data has proved a very difficult task. Nonetheless, we cannot isolate the translating actors from their circumstances. In my view, negotiations did not solely happen between the censors and the publishers, at least in the editorial market of Spain under Francoism. Translators also had to negotiate their own choices every time they faced affective content such as the passages analyzed in Part III.

Bearing in mind all these contributing factors, I have studied the translations comprised in my corpus as a map of their time and context and as literary works as being a product of many different actors: an amalgamation of viewpoints, norms, a myriad of barriers and obstacles, as well as affects. Following this logic, tracing and analyzing the role of affect in the construction of the translated novels and their outcomes becomes imperative to the study of censorship and what accounts for it. After examining the censurable content as presented by the Spanish censors in their reports of the novels and their translations, I find that the actors' affective reactions can be classified by A) immoral content, i.e., sex, sexuality, pornography (Chapter 7), homosexuality and lesbian eroticism (Chapter 8), religious taboos and taboos of the body (Chapter 9); B) language accessibility, materiality of language, and other linguistic factors (tone, register, language, and dialect); and C) accessibility relating to numbers of potential consumers in the target languages—both Spanish and Catalan—i.e., print run numbers, price of the editions, and distribution impact.

In terms of immoral content, the selected works evoked different, and sometimes, polar opposite reactions in many of the actors involved in their translation and circulation. I thus argue that transformations are primarily connected to the affective content that the novels contain: erotic passages, sexually explicit content, queer characters, scatological references, obscenity, women's desire, free love, and an array of taboo elements. In 1968, Minister Carrero Blanco wrote to Franco about the role of the State censorship as a "frontier" meant to prevent the "circulation of books that directly challenge the Catholic dogma, the legitimacy of the National Uprising; or directly offend the Catholic Church, the first Magistracy of the State; or advocate communist ideology, *or only aim at pornographic incitement*" (Rojas, my translation). In this vein, self-censorship and the softening of the source texts' affective elements also reflect on how the translators negotiated their translation choices when it came to taboo language.

An interesting finding after assessing the translation strategies of affective language is that register and tone prove to be determining factors in how translators convey the affective intensity when translating the "immoral" content. The case studies evidence that the more vulgar, colloquial, or dysphemistic language was— "obscene" or "repulsive" in the censors' dialectics—the higher the chances for a translation to either be self-censored or not authorized for publication. The examples analyzed in Part III demonstrate that the translations' outcomes in late Francoism might not have been so much about the regime's ultraconservative morality being threatened because of one character behaving immorally, nor because of an allusion to a sex scene or other obscenities. Issues such as the vulgar, coarse, sexually explicit, disgusting—when described using a common, colloquial language—were the most persecuted elements in my corpus. Consequently, I contend that it was about how language was used to signify that which was considered taboo by the censors. This explains why self-censorship is much more prominent in the translations of Henry Miller's

novels—especially in the Argentine and Catalan translations—and also why, at the same time, the weight of the institutional censorship fell more heavily on those novels. What is more, the affect present in Miller's works is so strong, visceral, and controversial that it may have inspired two opposing extremes on the part of the translators: a desire for either notoriety, exemplified in Jordi Arbonès' Catalan translations, or that of anonymity by way of a pen name, in the case of Mario Guillermo Iglesias' Argentine edition.

The very own materiality of language, how a word was spelled, what was left out of the target text, etc., proves to be of extreme importance for the (re)construction of the affect that is present in the source text. Considering that affect is contagious, the accessible language employed in Miller's novels as opposed to the higher register and style present in Nin's and Durrell's, in my view, posed a greater threat for the Francoist censors. Miller speaks with the voice of the masses, plain, crude, direct, accessible, and loaded with affect. Nin and Durrell, with their more lyrical, romantic, and high-minded prose, though still sexually charged in their content, failed to elicit the same degree of ire at the hands of the censors.

Regarding the materiality of the language and factors beyond tone and register, I also noticed that linguistic affect embedded in a specific dialect is another central element as to how the translations were received and the outcomes they faced in their reception. For instance, the use of different Spanish dialects triggered diverse affective reactions on the readers and target audiences, i.e., Argentine versus Castilian. Despite of the linguistic homogenization that Argentine publishers with international projection advocated for, many Peninsular critics harshly rejected the South American editions, as Francisco Ayala claims: "From Spain, they wanted to veto [Latin American editions] pretending to do so for the sake of the purity of the language, when in reality the real interest was economic" (cited in Pegenaute, "El pensamiento"). Notwithstanding Ayala's

contention that this hostility towards Argentine translations was purely economic is not reflected in the primary sources, where the “superiority” of the Castilian dialect is still clearly entrenched in the minds of censors, editors, and some critics alike. Language, as Vidal explains in *La traducción y la(s) historia(s)*, becomes “an instrument of capital importance, for words ‘are like fingers that touch you. Sometimes they scratch you. Sometimes they caress you ... When a book is truly alive, it breathes and touches you’” (55, my translation). The affective reactions experienced by the censors and written in their reports clearly demonstrate that many of them were indeed “scratched” by the “romans-à-clef” I study, just like the “second and third readers.”

There is also the matter of Catalan translations in Franco’s Spain and how, after the 1960s, translations into Catalan could have been treated with more forgiveness than Spanish translations due to the low numbers of Catalan readers. This could have resulted in censors being more permissive with authorizing Catalan translations due to the restricted audience in the country, that is viewing Catalan as a minority language in Spain. Out of the six Catalan translations analyzed—all of them edited by publisher Aymà—three were officially authorized by the MIT for publication. Two translations received “silencio administrativo” and were subsequently published at Aymà’s own risk. Only one of the translations was outright denied for publication. When comparing these rates with the censorship board’s resolutions towards the translations into Spanish, a divergence surfaces in terms of the number of editions rejected: four translations were banned for publication, two branded with “silencio administrativo”—both Aymà’s editions just like in the Catalan case—and two authorized.

Comparably, the importance of the accessibility component in terms of target readers entails yet another affective factor in regard to the physical materiality of the editions vying for circulation. This can certainly be grasped when tackling the censors’ reports, especially when the

files have mentions to the particular readers that the books targeted. Aymà's letters recurrently referred to their intended readership in an attempt to revert the MIT's evaluations of their translations, surmising that novels by authors such as Miller, Nin, and Durrell were meant for a kind of sophisticated audience, a "refined readership with a higher intellect," as both Aymà and the censors put it.

Furthermore, akin to the affect embedded in the literary texts and how it was transferred in the translations, this dissertation proves the intersection of archival research and affect theory as a critical framework to surmount a solely descriptive approach to the study of translation and censorship. This methodology requires to take a step further in comprehending how these affective novels were transformed by means of translation, upon assessing what I have called the "affective responses" recorded by the different actors involved in the transfer and reception of my corpus of translation. In this vein, tracing said affective responses in the extratextual materials has allowed me to gain a more nuanced understanding of how these novels travelled and were received in Franco's Spain through the lens of affect. For instance, in regard to affective connections, much can be said about the author-translator relationship, tracking affective reactions in the translator's influences and desires towards a work. This has been seen mostly in Jordi Arbonès' letters to Henry Miller and his publisher Aymà: the translator is affected by the novel and, thus, motivated to introduce the work into his/her literary field (into the Catalan literary field in Arbonès's case).

Similarly, the translators' and publishers' positionality and agency, due to the political and cultural panorama in Franco's Spain, tend to show political and cultural motivations towards translating these novels (as seen particularly in Aymà correspondence to the censorship board). This can be also linked to the agents' desire to translate the work in question because of their affinity or relationship with the author as well as their militancy or affiliation to a literary

movement or political ideology, as I pointed out earlier. An example of this is Arbonès' thoughts on how to translate classic literary works like those of Miller's, that is, his understanding of the role of language (he uses archaism and refrains himself from using trendy turns of phrase). Hence, his target texts show how he moves away from the source texts'—Miller's in particular—tone, register, and trendiness in an attempt to make his translation timeless by drastically domesticating the texts. Arbonès' worldview on translation differs greatly from the approaches taken by other translators of my corpus, such as Manuel Carbonell and Carlos Manzano (see Chapter 4), who are more prone to foreignizing their translations by staying closer to the source texts.

Other ways of finding affect and drawing connections through it is by means of the censors' affective responses to both source and target texts. Looking at the censors' reports and evaluations, I encountered affective reactions present in words such as disgust, threat, fear, madness, danger for society, aberration, corruptive and immoral modern love, sinful, etc. The censorship files are proof of how the censors as first readers were driven by the affect embedded in the texts, which in turn motivated their decisions as to whether to authorize the publication of a novel, abdicate themselves from responsibility by utilizing the "silencio administrativo" verdict, or ban it altogether. Further affective connections can be found in publishers' negotiations with the censorship board, where they highlighted the use of self-censorship as a mechanism to publish the novel, despite the cuts and deletions that may suffer. On many occasions, Aymà tried to persuade the censors to let them publish a translation, using an array of reasons why that particular book and author are needed in the "new" modern Spanish society in the eve of the 1970s. Many of the reasons Aymà alludes to are indeed very affective from a discourse analysis perspective. Subsequently, the censors granted them "silencio" three times, a tacit conferral that led them to



publish small print runs of Nin's *A Spy in the House of Love* (both in Catalan and Spanish) and Durrell's *Justine* in Catalan, in spite of not having a formal authorization from the MIT.

In many ways, the verdict of “silencio administrativo” can be viewed as a microcosm of the Spanish State during Francoism. Even the name in itself, “administrative silence,” is an affect-loaded way to brand a book and seems to be a representative of a broader culture of silence that pervaded within Spanish society following the horrors of the Civil War. By branding a book with “silencio,” the censorship board was not approving nor denying a publication. Instead, the law served as a grey area in which the MIT could turn a blind eye to the possible existence of a work, a figurative “sweeping under the rug” of a potentially controversial piece of writing. This arbitrary, even bizarre law is difficult to understand for one not familiar with Francoism. However, when one views “silencio administrativo” as a continuation of government policy towards a host of issues, sweeping an issue under the rug is completely keeping with the character of the regime.

For that reason, stepping beyond the institutional archives such as the AGA is paramount to include an investigation of the critics'—second readers'—responses to a certain translation or edition, as I discuss at the end of Chapter 6. That is the case with, for instance, Francisco Umbral's reactions to the Argentine translations of Henry Miller he was exposed to because the Spanish domestic translations were banned until the late 1970s. He also uses the affective term “disgust” in his evaluation, although very differently from the censors' reactions. In his case, he talks about these translations being smuggled into the country and being well used and passed around to multiple owners, though perhaps there is an implication towards a low quality of said editions as well—however, that is up for interpretation. In any case, the second readers' reactions show yet another affective response to a translation and even the materiality of it.

Additionally, the expectations about the censorship system that was established in Franco's Spain lead one to believe that it is predictable for the selected novels to have been somewhat censored and/or self-censored if they were to legally circulate during the decades under scrutiny. However, my study shows that self-censorship—or a softer censorial mechanism on the part of the translation actors—can likewise be observed in the translations done in Argentina, especially those of Henry Miller's novels. The sociocultural contexts in which they were produced, despite not yet having an institutional censorship system such as the one established during Franco's regime in Spain—though, as explained in Chapter 3, from 1958 onwards Argentina began to implement various mechanisms regarding the censorship of books. As a result, agents implemented strategies in order to render target texts more tolerable for their audiences or more admissible for the cultural authorities of the Hispanic world due to their transnational projection. Again, this emphasizes the fine line that separates censorship and self-censorship and the propagation of the two as extremely affective and powerful phenomena. What happened in Spain in terms of censorship had repercussions on the publishing market on the other side of the Atlantic and vice versa.

All in all, making history, reflecting upon history, and writing about history through translations and the stories hidden in them is perhaps the most commendable component of my work, as Anne Malena asserts: "Historiography needs to concern itself with the silences, the unheard, lost or strangled voices as much as with the written, official, authoritative and sanctioned documents" (89-90). By studying the Spanish, Catalan, and Argentine translations as processes and products, together with their actor-networks, conditions of production, and reception, I have shown the becoming and transformations Henry Miller's, Anaïs Nin's, and Lawrence Durrell's affective novels underwent in the context of late Francoism. Exploring the affective responses and reactions to these novels and their Spanish and Catalan translations beyond the archive has enabled

me to also trace the evolution of the Spanish literary field and translation market and to understand the changes that Spanish society at large experienced on the eve of democracy.

Hence, affect has been a compelling framework to study the networks, relationships, and connections upon which the social is constructed and manifested, giving rise to bigger social and cultural events. The events leading up to the opening of Spain was triggered in part by cultural elites: the dissident publishing houses such as Aymà, the exiled (re)writers in South America, and other agents that facilitated the socio-political and cultural changes of late Francoism made banned, censored, smuggled, and clandestinely read literature crucial from the 1970s onwards. Very much inspired by foreign works such as the ones analyzed in my dissertation, the longed-for Spanish cultural revolution of *Destape*, *La movida*, and the gradual reopening of Spain to the world at large could finally take place.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Durrell, *Balthazar*. E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1958.
- . *Balthazar*. Trans. Aurora Bernárdez. Sudamericana, 1961.
- . *Balthazar*. Trans. Manuel de Pedrolo. Aymà, 1983.
- . *Justine*. E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1957.
- . *Justine*. Trans. Aurora Bernárdez. Sudamericana, 1960.
- . *Justine*. Trans. Manuel de Pedrolo. Aymà, 1969.
- Miller, Henry. *Black Spring*. Grove Press, 1963.
- . *Primavera negra*. Trans. Patricio Canto, Ediciones Rueda, 1964.
- . *Primavera negra*. Trans. Jordi Arbonès. Aymà, 1968.
- . *Primavera negra*. Trans. Carlos Bauer y Julián Marcos, Alfaguara-Bruguera, 1970.
- . *Tropic of Cancer*. Grove Press, 1961.
- . *Trópico de Cáncer*. Trans. Mario G. Iglesias. Santiago Rueda, 1962.
- . *Tròpic de Cáncer*. Trans. Jordi Arbonès. Aymà, 1977.
- . *Trópico de Cáncer*. Trans. Carlos Manzano. Alfaguara-Bruguera, 1977.
- Nin, Anaïs. *Ladders to Fire*. Gunther Stuhlmann NY, 1959.
- . *Escalas hacia el fuego*. Trans. David Casanueva. Aymà, 1971.
- . *Escales cap al foc*. Trans. Jodi Arbonès. Aymà, 1976.
- . *A Spy in the House of Love*. Gunther Stuhlmann NY, 1959.
- . *Una espia a la casa de l'amor*. Trans. Manuel Carbonell. Edicions Proa, 1968.
- . *Una espia en la casa del amor*. Trans. Carmen Alcalde and M<sup>a</sup> Rosa Prats. Aymà, 1968.

## Works Cited

- Abellán, Manuel Luis. *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)*. Península, 1980.
- Adamo, Sergia. "Microhistory of Translation." *Charting the Future of Translation History*, ed. Georges Bastin and Paul Bandia. U of Ottawa P, 2006, pp. 81-100.
- Alcalde, Carmen. Personal interview. 10 Jan. 2023. No pag.
- Alcalde, Carmen. "Respuesta." *Papers: revista de sociología*, vol. 9, 1978, pp. 317-320.
- Alfandary, Rony. *A Psychoanalytic Study of Lawrence Durrell's The Alexandria Quartet: Exile and Return*. Routledge, 2018.
- Alsina, Victòria. "Jordi Arbonès i Montull: Translating in difficult times." *Less Translated Languages*, eds A. Branchadell and L. Margaret. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005, pp. 375-89.
- Aguilar, Andrea. "Las muchas vidas de Alfaguara." *El País* 2021, Web. No pag.
- Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh UP, 2004.
- . "The organisation of hate." *Emotions: A Cultural Studies Reader*. Ed. Jeniffer Harding and Deidre Pribram. Routledge, 2009, pp. 251-266.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Verso Books, 2006.
- Andrés, Gabriel. *La batalla del libro en el primer franquismo: política del libro, censura y traducciones italianas*. Huerga & Fierro, 2012.
- Apter, Emily. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. Verso, 2013.
- Arbonès, Jordi. "Carta a Henry Miller." 1967. Web. No pag.
- [https://www.omnia.ie/index.php?navigation\\_function=2&navigation\\_item=%2F164%2F49299&repid=1](https://www.omnia.ie/index.php?navigation_function=2&navigation_item=%2F164%2F49299&repid=1) no pag. Accessed Nov. 2021.

- . "Carta a Henry Miller." 1968. Web. No pag.  
[https://www.omnia.ie/index.php?navigation\\_function=2&navigation\\_item=%2F164%2F49300&repid=1](https://www.omnia.ie/index.php?navigation_function=2&navigation_item=%2F164%2F49300&repid=1) no pag. Accessed Nov. 2021.
- . "La censura sobre les traduccions a l'època franquista." *Revista de Catalunya*, vol. 97, 1995, pp. 87-96.
- "Aurora Bernárdez." *Agencia literaria Carmen Balcells*,  
<https://www.agenciabalcells.com/autores/autor/aurora-bernardez/> No date, No pag.
- Avellaneda, Andrés. *Censura, autoritarismo y cultura, 1960-1983*. vol. 1, Centro Editorial de América Latina, 1986.
- . "La ética de la entropierna: control censorio y cultural en la Argentina." *Hispanamérica*, vol. 15, no. 43, 1986, pp. 29-31.
- Bacardí, Montserrat. *La traducció catalana sota el franquisme*. Punctum, 2012.
- Bahima y Toha, Francisca. "Jordi Arbonès en Argentina: Un traductor del inglés al catalán." *Olivar*, vol. 12, no. 15, 2011, pp. 175-192.
- Baker, Mona. "Translation and Activism: Emerging Patterns of Narrative Community." *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2006, pp. 462, 84.
- Bandia, Paul. "Introduction: Orality and Translation." *Translation Studies*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2015, pp. 125-27.
- Barcellandi, Eleonora R. "Dictatorships, censorship, and translation in Nazi Germany (1933-45), Argentina (1976-83), and Brazil (1964-85)." MA thesis, U of Massachusetts Amherst, 2005.
- Barillé, Elisabeth. *Anais Nin Naked under the Mask*. Trans. Elfreda Powell. Lime Tree, 1992.
- Barthes, Roland. *The Pleasure of the Text*. Trans. Richard Miller. Hill and Wang, 1975.

Bassnett, Susan. "From Cultural Turn to Translational Turn: A Translational Journey."

*Literature, Geography, Translation*. Eds. Stefan Helgesson et al. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 67-80.

---., and André Lefevere. *Translation, History and Culture*. Pinter, 1990.

---. *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation*. Cromwell P, 1998.

Baumgarten, Stefan, and Jordi Cornellà-Detrell. *Translation and Global Spaces of Power*.

Channel View Publications, 2018.

Ben-Ari, Nitsa. "When Literary Censorship Is Not Strictly Enforced, Self-Censorship Rushes."

*TTR*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2010, pp. 133–166.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zohn. Schocken Books, 2007.

Billiani, Francesca. *Modes of Censorship and Translation: National Contexts and Diverse*

*Media*. St. Jerome Pub, 2007.

---. "Renewing a Literary Culture through Translation: Poetry in Post-War Italy." *Translation as*

*Intervention*, ed. Jeremy Munday. Continuum, 2007, pp. 138-60.

---. "Censorship." *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. Mona Baker and

Gabriela Saldanha, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Routledge, 2019. 56-60.

Blake, Thomas. "Affective Aversion, Ethics, and Fiction." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect*

*Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave

Macmillan, 2017, pp. 207-234.

Blinder, Caroline. *A Self-made Surrealist. Ideology and Aesthetics in the Work of Henry Miller*.

Camden House, 2000.

Bogic, Anna. "Uncovering the Hidden Actors with the Help of Latour: The 'Making' of The

Second Sex." *MonTI*, vol. 2, 2010, pp. 173-92.

- Boll, Tom. "Penguin Books and the Translation of Spanish and Latin American Poetry, 1956–1979." *Translation and Literature*, eds. Jeremy Munday and Jacob Blakesley. vol. 25, no. 1, Spring 2016. pp. 28-57.
- Bonilla, Juan. "Una versión española del canon." *Club de traductores literarios de Buenos Aires*. 2007. No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022  
<https://clubdetraductoresliterariosdebaires.blogspot.com/2017/11/una-version-espanola-del-canon-4.html>
- Borges, Jorge Luis. "The Argentine Writer and Tradition." Trans. Esther Allen. *Jorge Luis Borges. Selected Non-Fictions*. Ed. Eliot Weinberger. Penguin, 2000, pp. 420-427.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Trans. Matthew Adamson. Stanford UP, 1990.
- . *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Trans. Randal Johnson. Columbia UP, 1993.
- Breger, Claudia. "Affect and Narratology." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 235-257.
- Brems, Elke, and Sara Ramos Pinto. "Reception and translation." *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 4*. Eds. Luc van Doorslaer and Yves Gamier. John Benjamins Publishing, 2013. pp. 141-147.
- Brinkema, Eugenie. *The Forms of Affect*. Duke UP. 2014.
- Broeck, Raymond van den. "Translation Theory after Deconstruction". *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, vol. no. 22, 1988, pp. 266–288.



- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Oxford UP, 1990.
- Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. Routledge, 2021.
- Buzelin, Hélène. "Translations 'in the making'." *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. Eds. Michaela Wolf, and Alexandra Fukari, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007. pp. 135-169.
- . "Unexpected Allies: How Latour's Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analysis in Translation Studies." *The Translator*, vol. 11. no. 2, 2005, pp. 193-218.
- Caball, Josefina. "Les Segones Jornades sobre Traducció i Literatura: Traduir contra el franquisme: Maria Aurèlia Capmany i Manuel de Pedrolo." *Estudis Romànics*, vol. 30, 2008, pp. 588-593.
- Carbajosa, Mónica, and Montse Mera. "Aurora Bernárdez: la presencia invisible." *Hispanamérica* vol. 47, no. 141, 2018, pp. 25-32.
- Carbonell, Manuel. "Tra-duir i tra-duir." *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, vol. 15, 2008, pp. 31-33.
- Chamizo Domínguez, Pedro José. "Tabú y lenguaje: las palabras vitandas y la censura." *Thémata: Revista de filosofía*, no. 40, 2008, pp. 31-46.
- Cisquella, Georgina, et al. *La represión cultural en el franquismo: diez años de censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa (1966-1976)*. Anagrama, 2002.
- "Citizens for Decent Literature." *The First Amendment Encyclopaedia*. Web. No pag.  
<https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1177/citizens-for-decent-literature>
- Clough, Patricia Ticineto, and Halley, Jean O'Malley, eds. *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*. Duke UP, 2007.

- Coffman, Christine. *Insane Passions: Lesbianism and Psychosis in Literature and Film*. Wesleyan UP, 2006.
- Córdoba Serrano, María. "Actor-Network Theory (ANT)." *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha. Routledge, 2019. 5-10.
- . *Le Québec Traduit En Espagne: Analyse Sociologique de l'exportation d'une Culture Périphérique*. Les P de l'U d'Ottawa, 2014.
- Cornellà-Detrell, Jordi. "The Afterlife of Francoist Cultural Policies: Censorship and Translation in the Catalan and Spanish Literary Market." *Hispanic Research Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2013, pp. 129-43.
- . "Barcelona, la Ciutat dels llibres prohibits. Importació, venda i consum de llibre il·legals durant el franquisme." *L'avenç* 419, 2016, pp. 40-48.
- . "Franco's Invisible Legacy: Books across the Hispanic World Are Still Scarred by His Censorship." *The Conversation*, 2019. Web. N. pag. <https://theconversation.com/francos-invisible-legacy-books-across-the-hispanic-world-are-still-scarred-by-his-censorship-115488>
- . "El terratrèmol de les lletres catalanes: Traducció, censura i mercat del llibre en català als anys 60." *Traducció i censura en el franquisme*. Ed. Laura Vilardell. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat. 2016, pp. 97-126.
- Cronin, Michael. *Translation and Globalization*. Routledge, 2003.
- "Curriculum de Carlos Manzano." *ACEC. Asociación Colegial de Escritores de Cataluña*. Web, <http://acec-web.org/spa/PREMIOAC.ASP?CURRI=21> No pag. Accessed July 2022.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Duke UP, 2003.

De Blas, Andrés. *El libro y la censura durante el franquismo: Un estado de la cuestión y otras consideraciones*. UNED, 1999.

De Diego, José Luis. "Un itinerario crítico sobre el mercado editorial de literatura en Argentina." *Iberoamericana X*, 40, 2009, pp. 47-62.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *The Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. U of Minnesota P, 1983.

---. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi. U of Minnesota P, 1987.

Delgado, Luisa Elena. "Public Tears and Secrets of the Heart. Political Emotions in a State of Crisis." *Engaging the Emotions in Spanish Culture and History*, eds. Luisa Elena Delgado, Pura Fernández, and Jo Labanyi. Vanderbilt UP, 2016. pp. 262-282.

De Los Santos, María Paula. "La censura cultural durante la dictadura militar argentina: 1976-1983." *Philologica Urcitana*, vol. 12, 2015, pp. 51-78.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Trans. Eric Prenowitz. U of Chicago P, 1996.

De Tena, Ramón. "Lidia Falcón y la defensa de la literatura feminista durante la censura franquista" *Confluencia*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2019, pp. 142-154.

D'hulst, Lieven. "Why and How to Write Translation Histories." *Emerging Views on Translation History in Brazil*. Ed. John Milton. Humanitas, 2001, pp. 21-32.

"Dossier. Traduir contra el franquisme: Maria Aurèlia Capmany i Manuel de Pedrolo". *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció*, vol. 14, 2007, pp. 39-75.

Durrell, Lawrence. *The Best of Henry Miller*. Heinemann, 1960.

- Eisner, Cornelia. "Carbonell, Manuel." *Diccionario Histórico de la Traducción en España*.  
<https://phte.upf.edu/dhte/catalan/carbonell-manuel/> No pag. Accessed July 2022
- Escapa, Ernesto. "Leoneses con lápiz rojo." *Diario de León*, No pag, Nov. 2014, Accessed June 2023 <https://www.diariodeleon.es/articulo/filandon/leoneses-con-lapiz-rojo/201411160500031474849.html>
- Estany, Lara. "Los efectos de la censura franquista sobre la traducción catalana de narrativa en los años sesenta: una perspectiva panorámica." *Trans: Revista de traductología*, no. 24, 2020, pp. 245-262.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." *Poetics Today*, vol. 11, no.1, 1990, pp. 45-52.
- Falcón, Alejandrina. "¿Un Meridiano que fue exilio? Presencia española en el campo cultural argentino (1938-1953)." *El exilio republicano español en México y Argentina*. Ed. Andrea Pagni. Iberoamericana, 2011, pp. 107-127.
- ., and Patricia Willson. "Argentina – historia de la traducción literaria." *ENTI (Encyclopedia of translation & interpreting)*. AIETI. 2022. Web. No pag. Accessed Sep. 2023.
- Falcón, Lidia. "Prólogo." *La mujer en la Guerra Civil española*. Carmen Alcalde. Editorial Cambio, 1976. pp. XX
- Farvoretto, Mara. *Alegoría e ironía bajo censura en la Argentina del Proceso (1976-1983)*. Edwin Mellen P, 2010.
- Ferreira, Fernando, and Néstor Ruiz. *Una historia de la censura: violencia y proscripción en la Argentina el siglo XX*. Grupo Editorial Norma, 2000.
- Finchelstein, Federico. *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War: Fascism, Populism, and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina*. Oxford UP, 2014.

- Flatley, Jonathan. *Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism*. Harvard UP, 2008.
- Fólica, Laura. “El español rioplatense y representaciones sobre la traducción en la globalización editorial.” *Traductores y traducciones en la historia cultural de América Latina*. Ed. Andrea Pagni, Gertrudis Payàs, and Patricia Willson. El Estudio, 2011.
- Fondebrider, Jorge. “Recuerdo de un traductor (VIII).” *Club de Traductores Literarios de Buenos Aires*, <https://clubdetraductoresliterariosdebaires.blogspot.com/2010/02/recuerdo-de-un-traductor-viii.html>, 2010, No pag. Accessed May 2023.
- Friera, Silvina. “La hora de Aurora Bernárdez.” *Pagina12*, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/203749-la-hora-de-aurora-bernardez> 2019, No pag. Accessed July 2022.
- Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Janet E. Lewin. Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Gentzler, Edwin, and Maria Tymoczko, eds. *Translation and Power*. U of Massachusetts P, 2002.
- Gibbels, Elisabeth. “Translators, the Tacit Censors.” *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference*, ed. Ní Chuilleanáin E, Cuilleánáin C. Ó, and David L. Four Courts P, 2009.
- Gimbernat González, Ester. *Aventuras del desacuerdo. Novelistas argentinas de los 80’*. Danilo Albero Vergara, 1992.
- Gociol, Judith, and Hernán Invernizzi. *Un golpe a los libros: represión a la cultura durante la última dictadura militar*. Eudeba, 2010.

- Godayol, Pilar. "Carbonell i Florenza, Manuel." *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*.  
<https://visat.cat/diccionari/cat/traductor/166/carbonell-i-florenza-manuel.html> No pag.
- . "Depicting Censorship Under Franco's Dictatorship: Mary McCarthy, a Controversial Figure." *New Approaches to Translation, Conflict and Memory*. Eds. Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez and A. Castillo Villanueva. Palgrave Studies, 2019, pp. 91-111.
- , and Annarita Taronna. *Foreign Women Authors under Fascism and Francoism: Gender, Translation and Censorship*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018.
- Gómez, Cristina, "Censorship and narrative at the crossroads in Spain and Portugal. An overview of the literature translated in periods of dictatorship in the Iberian Peninsula." *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*, vol 2. Eds. César Domínguez. John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2016, pp. 424-437.
- . "Censorship in Francoist Spain and the Importation of Translations from South America: The Case of Lawrence Durrell's *Justine*." In *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference*, 2009, pp.132-46.
- . "¿Traduzione Tradizione? El polisistema literario español durante la dictadura franquista: la censura." *RiLUnE*, vol. 4, 2006, pp. 37-49.
- . "Translation and Censorship Policies in the Spain of the 1970s: Market vs. Ideology?" *New Trends in Translation and Cultural Identity*, ed. Micaela Muñoz, and María del Carmen Buesa Gómez. Cambridge Scholars, 2008, pp. 129-38.
- . "Translation Choices as Sites of State Power: Gender and Habitus in Bestsellers in Franco's Spain." In *Translation and Global Spaces* ed. Stefan Baumgarten and Jordi Cornellà-Detrell, 2019, pp. 109-24.
- González Espita, Juan Carlos. *On the Dark Side of the Archive*. Bucknell UP, 2010.

- Gouanvic, Jean-Marc. "A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances." *The Translator*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2005, pp. 147-166.
- Gragera de León, Flor. "'En busca del tiempo perdido', la traducción de nuestras vidas." *El País*. *elpais.com*. Web.  
[https://elpais.com/cultura/2013/11/11/actualidad/1384173041\\_436751.html](https://elpais.com/cultura/2013/11/11/actualidad/1384173041_436751.html) 2013, No pag. Accessed May 2023.
- Gregg, Melissa, et al. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke UP, 2010.
- Guzmán Martínez, María Costanza. *Mapping Spaces of Translation in Twentieth-Century Latin American Print Culture*. Routledge, 2021.
- Halperín, Tulio. *Argentina y la tormenta del mundo*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2003.
- Hamilton, Denise. "How One Thing Leads to Another." *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 26, 1993. No page. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-09-26-bk-39348-story.html>
- Harding, Jeniffer, and Deidre Pribram, eds. "Introduction." *Emotions: A Cultural Studies Reader*. Routledge, 2009, pp. 1-24.
- Harvey, Keith. "'Events' and 'Horizons': Reading Ideology in the 'Bindings' of Translations." *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology-Ideologies in Translation Studies*. Eds. Maria Calzada-Perez, et al. Taylor & Francis Group, 2002. pp. 43-69.
- Heilbron, Johan. "Towards a sociology of translation: Book translations as a cultural world-system." *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1999, pp. 429-444.
- Hermans, Theo. *The Manipulation of Literature*. St. Martin's P, 1985.
- . *Translation in Systems. Descriptive and System-oriented Approaches Explained*. St. Jerome Publishing, 1999.

- . "Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework." *Translation, Power, Subversion*, eds. Román Álvarez and M. Carmen África Vidal. Clevedon, 1996, pp. 25-51.
- Herring, Scott. *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History*. U of Chicago P, 2007
- Hogan, Patrick. "Social Identity: Categorization, Cognition, and Affect." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 183-205.
- Hokkanen, Sari, and Kaisa Koskinen. "Affect as a Hinge: The translator's experiencing self as a sociocognitive interface." *Translation Spaces*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2016. pp. 78 –96.
- Holmes, Jerome. *The Name and Nature of Translation Studies. Translated Papers on Literary Translation Studies*. Rodopi, 1988.
- Houen, Alex. *Affect and Literature*. Cambridge UP, 2020.
- Hubscher-Davidson, Séverine. *Translation and emotion: a psychological perspective*. Taylor and Francis, 2018.
- Inghilleri, Moira. "The sociology of Bourdieu and the construction of the 'object' in translation and interpreting studies." *The translator*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2005, pp. 125-145.
- Jaén, Isabel. "Fascism, Torture, and Affect in Postwar Spain: *Memoria Histórica* Narratives and audience Empathy." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald R. Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 803-826.



- Jaffe, Audrey. "Affect and the Victorian Novel." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 713-733.
- Jané-Lligé, Jordi. "Literary Translation and Censorship: Günter Grass in Franco's Spain." *Perspectives on Translation*, ed. Anna Bączkowska. Cambridge Scholars, 2016, pp. 235-57.
- . "La traducció de narrativa dels anys 60 i la censura." *Traducció i censura en el franquisme*. Ed. Laura Vilardell. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat. 2016, pp. 75-96.
- . "Traducción, censura y construcción del discurso literario. La labor de los editores J. Janés, C. Barral y J.M. Castellet durante el franquismo." *Traducción y censura. Nuevas perspectivas. Quaderns de Filologia de la Universitat de València. Estudis literaris*, 2015, pp. 73-90.
- Jareno, Claudia. "Los fondos de Lidia Falcón: un archivo para la historia del movimiento feminista desde los 60." *Investigaciones Feministas. Ediciones Complutense P.*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2021, pp. 27-44.
- . "La revista *Vindicación Feminista* (1976-1979) y el feminismo radical español en un contexto transnacional: actrices, intercambios e influencias." Diss. Thesis. U Autónoma de Madrid and U Paris VIII, 2019.
- "Joan Baptista Cendrós i Carbonell." *Gran enciclopèdia catalana*.  
<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/ec-gec-0016854.xml> No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022.
- Jong, Erica. *The Devil at Large —Erica Jong on Henry Miller*. Chatoo and Windus, 1993.
- Keith, Allan, and Kate Burridge. *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language*. Cambridge UP, 2006.

Koskinen, Kaisa. *Translation and Affect: Essays on Sticky Affects and Translational Affective Labour*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2020.

Kristeva, Julia. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez. Columbia UP, 1980.

---. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. Columbia UP, 1982.

Kung, Szu-Wen. "Bourdieu's Capital and Latour's Actor-Network Theory as Conceptual Tools in Translation Research." *Translation and Cross-cultural Communication Studies in the Asia Pacific*. Eds. Leong Ko and Chen Ping. Rodopi, 2015, pp. 389-405.

Labanyi, Jo. "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War." *Poetics Today* vol. 28, no. 1, 2007, pp. 89-116.

LaCapra, Dominick. *History in Transit. Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Cornell UP, 2004.

"La editorial." *Edhasa*. [https://www.edhasa.es/quienes\\_somos](https://www.edhasa.es/quienes_somos). No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022.

Lafarga, Francisco, and Luis Pegenaute. *Aspectos de la historia de la traducción en Hispanoamérica: autores, traducciones y traductores*. Academia del Hispanismo, 2012.

Lago Carballo, Antonio, and Nicanor Gómez Villegas, eds. *Un viaje de ida y vuelta. La edición española e iberoamericana (1936-1975)*. Siruela, 2006.

LaPrade, Douglas. *Censura y recepción de Hemingway en España*. U de València, 2005.

Larraz, Fernando. "Gender, Translation and Censorship in Seix Barral's 'Biblioteca Breve' and 'Biblioteca Formentor' (1955-1975)." *Foreign Women Authors under Fascism and Francoism*. Eds. Pilar Godayol and Annarita Taronna. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018, pp. 126-146.

---. *Letricidio español. Censura y novela durante el franquismo*. Trea, 2014.

- . "Semblanza de Editorial de Antonio López Llausás." *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes - Portal Editores y Editoriales Iberoamericanos (siglos XIX-XXI)* EDI-RED, 2018. No page. Accessed 27 April. 2023.
- . "Semblanza de Editorial de Antonio López Llausás." En *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes - Portal Editores y Editoriales Iberoamericanos (siglos XIX-XXI)* - EDI-RED, 2018. No page. Accessed April 2023.
- Latham, Sean. *The Art of Scandal: Modernism, Libel Law, and the Roman à Clef*. Oxford UP, 2009.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Clarendon. 2005.
- Lázaro, Alberto. *H. G. Wells en España, estudio de los expedientes de censura (1939-1978)*. Editorial Verbum, 2004.
- . "The Spanish version of E. M. Forster's Maurice: a curious censorship case." *Perspectives Studies in Translation Theory and Practice*, vol. 27, no. 6, 2019, pp. 1-12.
- Lefevere, André. *Translation, Rewriting & the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. Routledge, 1992.
- . *Translating Literature. Practice and Theory in a Comparative Literature Context*. The Modern Language Association of America, 1992.
- Leonardi, Vanessa. "Foreign Women Writers in Fascist Italy: The Case of Danish *Bibi* and Her Double Censorship." *Foreign Women Authors under Fascism and Francoism*. Eds. Pilar Godayol and Annarita Taronna. Cambridge Scholars, 2018. 61-79.
- Levi, Giovanni. "On Microhistory." *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, Polity P, 1991, pp. 93-113.

- Linder, Daniel. "The censorship of sex: a study of Raymond Chandler's *The Big Sleep* in Franco's Spain." *Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2004, pp. 155-182.
- Lobejón, Sergio, Cristina Gómez Castro, and Camino Gutiérrez Lanza. "Archival research in translation and censorship: Digging into the 'true museum of Francoism.'" *Meta. Journal des traducteurs* vol. 66, no. 1, 2021, pp. 92-114.
- López Laval, Hilda. *Autoritarismo y Cultura: Argentina, 1976-1983*. Editorial Fundamentos, 1995.
- Lucci, Marcela. "El activismo patriótico de los 'catalanes de América' de Buenos Aires: Desde 1916 hasta el final del Casal Català." PhD diss. U Autònoma de Barcelona, 2009.
- Luo, Wenyan. *Translation as Actor-Networking: Actors, Agencies, and Networks in the Making of Arthur Waley's English Translation of the Chinese Journey to the West*. Routledge, 2020.
- Malena, Anne. "Where is the 'History' in Translation Histories?" *TTR* 2 vol. 4, no. 2, 2011. 87–115.
- Manrique Girón, Raúl, and Claudio Pérez Miguel. "La traductora de los mejores." *El Mundo*, <https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2014/11/11/5461cb8622601daf5a8b456d.html> 2014, No pag. Accessed Sep. 2022.
- Mar-Molinero, Clare, and Angel Smith, eds. *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula Competing and Conflicting Identities*. Berg Publishers, 1996.
- Martínez, Jesús. "Entrevista a Carmen Alcalde, autora de *Vete y ama*." *Ojos de papel*. <http://www.ojosdepapel.com/Index.aspx?article=3727> 2010, No pag.
- Massot i Muntaner, Josep. "Pròleg." *Traducció i censura en el franquisme*. Ed. Laura Vilardell. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat. 2016, pp. 5-8.

- Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the Virtual*. Duke UP, 2002.
- Mecca, Daniel. "La musa infinita y rebelde. Estela y su hermano Patricio: Canto de literatura e izquierda." *Clarín*, [https://www.clarin.com/cultura/estela-hermano-patricio-canto-literatura-izquierda\\_0\\_SJ-gkPASb.html](https://www.clarin.com/cultura/estela-hermano-patricio-canto-literatura-izquierda_0_SJ-gkPASb.html) 2017, No pag. Accessed July 2022
- Memba, Javier. "Anaïs Nin, el erotismo como la exaltación de la libertad." *El Mundo Libro*, 2002, No pag. Accessed May 2023  
<https://www.elmundo.es/elmundolibro/2002/04/07/anticuario/1018002543.html>
- Merkle, Denise. "Presentation." *Censorship and Translation in the Western World*. *TTR* vol. 15, no. 2, 2002. 9-18.
- . "Translation and Censorship." *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics*. Eds. Fruela Fernández and Jonathan Evans. Routledge, 2018, pp. 238-253.
- Meyer, Michael J. *Literature and Homosexuality*. Rodopi, 2000.
- Millán, Carmen and Francesca Bartrina. *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*. Routledge, 2013.
- Miller, Brook. "Affect Studies and Cognitive Approaches to Literature." *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Eds. Donald Wehrs and Thomas Blake. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 113-133.
- Miller, Henry. *Henry Miller: Years of Trial & Triumph, 1962-1964: The Correspondence of Henry Miller and Elmer Gert*. Ed. Elmer Gertz and Felice Flanery Lewis. Southern Illinois UP, 1978.
- Miller, William Ian. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Harvard UP, 1997.
- Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. Columbia UP, 2016.

Milton, John, and Paul Bandia. *Agents of Translation*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009.

Monzón, Sofía. “Traducción, afecto y censura desde el mundo hispánico: *Nightwood*, de Djuna Barnes, y *Tropic of Cancer*, de Henry Miller.” *Traducción e interpretación (auto)censuradas en los mundos hispánicos*. Eds. Marian Panchón Hidalgo and Raphaël Roché. *Mutatis Mutandis*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2023. 429-452.

---. “Censores, traductores y editoriales transatlánticas: la circulación de *Primavera negra* de Henry Miller en España (1960-1980).” *Entreculturas revista de traducción y comunicación intercultural*, no. 12, 2022, pp. 101-11.

---. “Censoring Poetics through Translation: The Filtered Reception of Sylvia Plath in Franco’s Spain.” *Translation Matters*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2021, pp. 110-124.

---. “The struggles of translating Henry Miller in Franco’s Spain (1939-1975): the different versions of *Black Spring* (1936).” *Transletters. International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*, vol. 4, 2020, pp. 203-19.

---. A Transatlantic Flow of Spanish and Catalan *Romans-à-clef*: Publishers, Translators, and Censors from Argentina to Franco’s Spain (1960-1980).” *Translation Flows: Exploring networks of people, processes and products*. John Benjamins Publishing. 2023, pp. 43-67.

---, and M. J. Monzón. “Surrealist Venus in Translation,” 2021. doi:10.7939/r3-2yr2-p564.

Moraña, Mabel, and Sánchez, Ignacio, eds. *El lenguaje de las emociones*. Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2012.

Morcillo, Aurora G. *Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*. Bucknell UP, 2010.

Munday, Jeremy. *Translation As Intervention*. Continuum, 2007.

- . *Introducing Translation Studies*. Routledge, 2012.
- . "The Role of Archival and Manuscript Research in the Investigation of Translator Decision-Making." *Target*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2013, pp. 125-39.
- . "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory of Translation and Translators: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns." *The Translator*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2014, pp. 64-80.
- , and Blakesley, Jacob, eds. "Agents, Actors, Networks, Contexts." *Translation and Literature*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2016.
- Muñoz, Micaela, and Carmen Buesa-Gómez. *Translation and Cultural Identity: Selected Essays on Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication*. Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010.
- "Neap tide." *Cambridge Dictionary*, 21 May 2023,  
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/neap-tide>
- Neuschäfter, Hans-Jörg. *Adiós a la España eterna. La dialéctica de la censura. Novela, teatro y cine bajo el franquismo*. Trad. Rosa Pilar Blanco. Anthropos, 1994.
- Ngai, Sianne. *Ugly Feelings*. Harvard UP, 2005.
- Ní, Chuilleanáin E, Cuilleánáin C. Ó, and David Parris. *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference*. Four Courts P, 2009.
- Nin, Anáis. *The Journals of Anáis Nin*, Vol. 6 (1955–1966). Quartet Books, 1967.
- Nussbaum, Martha. *From Disgust to Humanity: Sexual Orientation and Constitutional Law*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*. Belknap–Harvard UP, 2013.
- O'Leary, Catherine, and Alberto Lázaro. *Censorship Across Borders: The Reception of English Literature in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011.

- Olivares, Mónica. *Graham Greene's Narrative in Spain: Criticism, Translations and Censorship (1939-1975)*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.
- Oropeza, Clara. *Anais Nin: A Myth of Her Own*. Routledge, 2018.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. *Meditations on Quixote*. Trans. Evelyn Rugg and Diego Marín. Norton, 1961.
- Pagni, Andrea, ed. *El exilio republicano español en México y Argentina*. Iberoamericana, 2011.
- Pegenaute, Luis. "Censoring Translation and Translation as Censorship: Spain under Franco." *Translation and the (Re)location of Meaning, CETRA Research Seminars in Translation Studies, 1994-96*. U Católica de Lovaina, 1999, pp. 83-96.
- . "El pensamiento sobre la traducción en el siglo XX: época franquista." *Historia de la Traducción en España*. U Pompeu Fabra. [http://phite.upf.edu/hite/siglo-xx-xxi/pegenaute-2/ N. pag](http://phite.upf.edu/hite/siglo-xx-xxi/pegenaute-2/N.pag). Accessed May 2022.
- Petersen, Lucas. *Santiago Rueda: edición, vanguardia e intuición*. Tren en movimiento, 2019.
- . "Santiago Rueda un editor insólito." *Noticias. Cultura*. 2019. <https://noticias.perfil.com/noticias/cultura/2019-08-13-santiago-rueda-un-editor-insolito.phtml>. No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022.
- . "Las traducciones de Santiago Rueda Editor en la encrucijada de su tiempo." *Revista de Historia de la Traducción*, vol. 13, no. 13, 2019, No pag.
- Pijuan i Villaverdú, Alba. "Entrevista a Jordi Arbonès." *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció*, vol. 10, 2004, pp. 153-163.
- . "Dossier. Traduir de lluny. El llegat de Jordi Arbonès". *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció*, vol. 12, 2005, pp. 9-113.



---. "Jordi Arbonès i Montull." *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*.

<https://visat.cat/diccionari/cat/traductor/38/arbones-i-montull-jordi.html> No pag.

Accessed June 2022.

---. "Manuel de Pedrolo. Not just a prolific translator." *Less Translated Languages*. Eds. Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005. pp. 339-351.

---. "Manuel i Sánchez de Molina, Manuel de." *Diccionari de la traducció catalana*.

<https://visat.cat/diccionari/cat/traductor/611/pedrolo-i-sanchez-de-molina-manuel-de.html>

No pag. Accessed June 2022.

Pillièrre, Linda. *Intralingual Translation of British Novels. A Multimodal Stylistic Perspective*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.

Pintado, Lucía, and Alicia Castillo. *New Approaches to Translation, Conflict and Memory: Narratives of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Pym, Anthony. "Complaint Concerning the Lack of History in Translation Histories." *Livius Revista de Estudios de Traducción*, vol. 1, 1992, pp. 1-11.

---. "Humanizing Translation History." *Hermes*, vol. 42, 2009, pp. 23-48.

Rabadán, Rosa. *Traducción y censura inglés-español, 1939-1985: estudio preliminar*. U de León, 2000.

Rich, Adrienne. *Diving into the Wreck: Poems 1971-1972*. W. W. Norton & Company, 1973.

Richards, Michael. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*. Cambridge UP, 1998.

- . "Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years." *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula Competing and Conflicting Identities*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith. Berg Publishers, 1996, pp. 149–67.
- Rioja, Marta. "English-Spanish Translations and Censorship in Spain 1962-1969." *InTRAlinea*, vol. 12, 2010.
- Riquer, Borja de. "Social and Economic Change in a Climate of Political Immobilism." In *Spanish Cultural Studies, an Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*, ed. by J. Graham, and J. Labanyi. Oxford UP, 1995.
- Robinson, Douglas. *The Translator's Turn*. Johns Hopkins UP, 1991.
- Rodríguez-Espinosa, Marcos. "Identidad nacional y traducción: Entrevista con Jordi Arbonès i Montull (1929-2001)." *Trans*, vol. 6, 2002, pp. 215-224.
- Roelvink, Gerda, and Magdalena Zolkos. "Posthumanist Perspectives on Affect: Framing the Field," *Angelaki* vol. 20, no. 3, 2015, pp. 1-20.
- Rojas Claros, Francisco. *Dirigismo cultural y disidencia editorial en España (1962–1973)*. Publicaciones de la U de Alicante, 2013. No pag.
- Rojo López, Ana María. "The Role of Emotions." *The Handbook of Translation and Cognition*. Eds. John W. Schwieter and Aline Ferreira. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017. pp. 369-385.
- . "Why do Emotions Matter in Translation?" *Translation, Cognition & Behavior*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2018, pp. 291-297.
- "Roman-à-clef." *Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/art/roman-a-clef/additional-info> 2021. No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022.
- Romero, Luis, and James Brennan. *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*. The Pennsylvania State UP, 2013.

- Rosset, Barney. "Profiles in Censorship: Henry Miller and *Tropic of Cancer*." *Evergreen*  
<https://evergreenreview.com/read/profiles-in-censorship-barney-rosset/> No date, No pag.  
 Accessed Sep. 2023.
- Rosón, María, and Rosa Medina Domenech. "Resistencias emocionales. Espacios y presencias de lo íntimo en el archivo histórico." *ARENAL* vol. 24, no. 2, 1027, pp. 407-439.
- Ruétalo, Victoria. *Violated Frames: Armando Bó and Isabel Sarli's Sexploits*. Ed. Annie Sprinkle, U of California P, 2022.
- Ruiz Bautista, Eduardo. *Tiempo de censura: la represión editorial durante el franquismo*. TREA, 2008.
- Rundle, Christopher. "Historiography." *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Routledge, 2019. 232-37.
- . "Translation and Fascism." *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics*. Eds. Fruela Fernández and Jonathan Evans. Routledge, 2018, pp. 238-253.
- Saladrigas, Roberto. "Los riesgos de traducir a Proust." *RdL. revistadelibros.com*  
<https://www.revistadelibros.com/en-busca-del-tiempo-perdido-de-proust-traduccion/>  
 2001, No pag. Accessed May 2023.
- Sánchez Zapatero, Javier. "La recepción de la narrativa del exilio republicano español: memoria, distorsión y olvido." *Memoria y testimonio. Representaciones memorísticas en la España contemporánea*. Ed. Georges Tyrastor and Juan Vila. Verbum, 2012, pp. 75-91.
- Santaemilia Ruiz, José. "The Translation of Sex-Related Language: The Danger(s) of Self-Censorship(s)." *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, redaction*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2008, pp. 221-252.

- Santoyo, Julio-César. "Blank Spaces in the History of Translation." *Charting the Future of Translation History*, ed. Georges Bastin and Paul Bandia. U of Ottawa P, 2006.
- Sanz-Gallego, Guillermo. "Translating Taboo Language in Joyce's "Ulysses": A Special Edition in Spanish for Franco and Perón." *Atlantis*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2013, pp. 137-54.
- Sapiro, Gisele, and Johan Heilbron. "Outline for a Sociology of Translation." *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. Eds. Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari. John Benjamins, 2007. pp. pp. 93–107.
- Seruya, Teresa, and María Lin Moniz. *Translation and censorship in different times and landscapes*. Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2008.
- Shread, Carolyn. "On Becoming in Translation: Articulating Feminisms in the Translations of Marie Vieux-Chauvet's *Les Rapaces*." MA, U of Massachusetts Amherst, 2008.
- Simeoni, Daniel. "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus." *Target*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1998, pp. 1-39.
- "Societat Anònima Editora Aymà." *Gran enciclopèdia catalana*.  
<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/ec-gec-0006357.xml>. No pag. Accessed Nov. 2022.
- St-Pierre, Paul. "Translation as a Discourse of History." *TTR*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1993, pp. 61-82.
- Stredová, Katerina. "Critical Archival Research in Translation Studies: When a Translation Scholar Becomes an Archivist-Researcher." *Latin American Translation Journal*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2019, pp. 500-18.
- "Sudamericana." *Nuestros sellos*. Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial  
<https://www.penguinrandomhousegrupoeditorial.com/sello/sudamericana/> No pag.  
 Accessed July 2022.

Tahir, Şehnaz. "Translation History." *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed.

Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina. Routledge, 2013, pp. 131-43.

Tena Fernández, Ramón. "Reacciones de la editorial Fundamentos ante la censura franquista:

Entrevista a Cristina Vizcaíno Auger." *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, nov. 93, 2018, 383-394.

Tookey, Helen. *Anais Nin, Fictionality and Femininity*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Toury, Gideon. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. John Benjamins Publishing, 1995.

"Turd." *Merriam Webster Dictionary*. 25 May 2023. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/turd>

Tyulenev, Sergey. "Sociology." *ENTI (Encyclopedia of translation & interpreting)*. AIETI.

2022. Web. No pag. Accessed June 2022.

Tymoczko, Maria. "Ideology and the Position of the Translator. In What Sense is a Translator 'In

Between'?" *Apropos of ideology: translation studies on ideology, ideologies in translation studies*, St. Jerome Pub, 2003, pp. 181-201.

---. "Translation: Ethics, Ideology, Action." *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2006, pp. 442-61.

---. "Censorship and Self-Censorship in Translation: Ethics and Ideology, Resistance and Collusion." *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference*, ed. Ní Chuilleanáin, and David Parris, Four Courts P, 2008, pp. 24-45.

Umbral, Francisco. "Tribuna: Diario de un snob: Henry Miller." 1977.

[https://elpais.com/diario/1977/12/28/sociedad/252111610\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1977/12/28/sociedad/252111610_850215.html). No pag.

Accessed Nov. 2021.

- Van Alphen, Ernst. "Affective Operations of Art and Literature." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53-54 (2008): 20-30.
- Vandaele, Jeroen. *Estados De Gracia: Billy Wilder y La Censura Franquista (1946-1975)*. Brill, 2015.
- Varón González, Carlos. *A hombros de la Falange: representation, affect and mourning in fascist Spain*. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 22: "Interrogating Critical Fields in Spanish Cultural Studies." Ed. Jo Labanyi. 2021, pp. 187-197.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *Contra Instrumentalism: A Translation Polemic*. U of Nebraska P, 2019.
- . "On a universal tendency to debase retranslations or the instrumentalism of a translation fixation," on February, 26<sup>th</sup> 2022. U of Calgary. No pag.
- . *The Translator's Invisibility*. Routledge, 2018.
- Vidal Claramonte, M. Carmen África. *La traducción y la(s) historia(s): nuevas vías para la investigación*. Editorial Comares, 2018.
- . "Translating: a Political Act." *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Eds. Román Alvarez Rodríguez and M. Carmen Africa Vidal. *Multilingual Matters*, 1996.
- . and Susan Bassnett. *La Traducción y Los Espacios: Viajes, Mapas, Fronteras*. Editorial Comares, 2012.
- Vilardell, Laura. *Traducció i censura en el franquisme*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2016.
- Villena, Luis Antonio de. "Aurora Bernárdez, traductora y corazariana (Obituario)." 2014, No pag, <http://luisantoniodevillena.es/web/articulos/aurora-bernardez-traductora-y-cortazariana-obituario/>
- Vorderobermeier, Gisella, ed. *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*. Rodopi, 2014.

- Wehrs, Donald R., and Thomas Blake. *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Weigel, John A. *Lawrence Durrell. Revised Edition*. Twayne Publishers, 1989.
- Wetherell, Margaret. *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*. SAGE, 2012.
- Williams, Colin, and Anthony Smith. "The national construction of social space." *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 7, 1983, pp. 502–518.
- Willson, Patricia. *La Constelación del Sur: traductores y traducciones en la literatura argentina del siglo XX*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2004.
- . *Página impar. Textos sobre la traducción en Argentina: conceptos, historia, figuras*. Ethos Traductora, 2019.
- "The Winter of Artifice." *The Official Anaïs Nin Blog*, 2009. No page.  
<https://anaisninjournal.wordpress.com/tag/the-winter-of-artifice/>
- Wolf, Michaela. "Censorship as Cultural Blockage: Banned Literature in the Late Habsburg Monarchy." *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction. Etudes sur le Texte et Ses Transformations*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2002, 45-61.
- , and Alexandra Fukari. *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2007.
- Woods, Michelle. *Censoring Translation*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012.