

TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE POETRY IN POST-WAR SPAIN (1939-1983)

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ABSTRACT: In the years immediately following the Spanish Civil War, the domestic poetry market underwent a lengthy and traumatic transformation stemming directly from the conflict and the Francoist regime's implementation of systematic censorship. The death and exile of many of the preeminent poets from previous generations, along with the closure and relocation to Latin America of many publishing houses, left a considerable cultural void which would be partly filled with translated texts, most of them from authors writing in English. This article outlines some of the main results of a comprehensive study into the impact of censorship on the Spanish translations of English-language poetry between 1939 and 1983. Although the quantitative data point to a high authorisation rate for translated poetry, the regime used several mechanisms to curb the public's exposure to ideas deemed harmful which profoundly impacted the translation and reception of those texts.

KEYWORDS: Translation, Censorship, Poetry, Franco's Spain

1. Introduction

In the mid-1950s, Gabriel Celaya, one of the foremost members of the so-called social poetry movement in Spain, expressed his belief in poetry as a vehicle for social change in his poem "La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro" ("Poetry is a weapon loaded with future"). In view of the revolutionary nature of much contemporary poetry, it is significant that this literary genre has arguably been underrepresented in the study of censorship in Spain. Although several authors have hinted at or speculated about the overall impact of the Francoist censorial system on the publication of poetry (Abellán, 1980, p. 84; Sánchez Reborado, 1988, p. 18), there is limited literature tackling censorship on Spanish poetry, and even less devoted to its effect on translated poetry. With regard to Spanish translations of English-language poetry, only a few isolated studies focusing on a single poem or author can be found.¹ Considering the translation of other textual modes such as film, theatre and narrative texts had already been covered in detail by other researchers,² it was necessary to bridge the gap in our understanding of the Spanish literary system under Franco. This void would eventually be filled by means of a PhD thesis (Lobejón Santos, 2013) examining all the translations of English-language poetry produced in Spain between 1939 and 1983, the most salient aspects of which are presented in this article. It is worth noting with regard to the selected period that although the Nationalist side began censoring books and periodicals in 1938, no English-language poetry books were reviewed until the following

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¹ This includes an analysis of several translations of James Joyce's "The Holy Office" (Lázaro Lafuente, 2001-2002) and an examination of censorship in the translations of Robert Burns' poetry (Mainer, 2011).

² Previous studies include several unpublished PhD theses on the censorship of film (Gutiérrez Lanza, 1999), drama (Bandín Fuertes, 2007) and novels (Gómez Castro, 2009).

year. Furthermore, official censorship did not end with Franco's death, as reports continued to be issued until 1983.

Given that a research methodology for the study of censorship in translation had already been established for other text types,³ it was important, when defining the methodological framework for use in this study, to determine the particularities of poetic texts and to explain how any possible differences with other text types might affect their censorial treatment (see Lobejón Santos, 2013). The data included in the following pages is taken mostly from the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue.⁴ Its analysis paints a comprehensive picture of the various phenomena that helped shape the poetry market in post-war Spain, describing how poetry was translated, published and censored, as well as the specific role of the agents involved in those processes. In order to understand such issues, however, we first need to examine how the poetry market was configured at the time and how it evolved throughout the period studied.

2. The Spanish poetry market (1939-1983)

The Spanish Civil War wreaked havoc on the poetry market in Spain. Many of the poets from the generations of '98 and '27 either died in the conflict or were forced to flee the country, mostly to the Americas (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 25). A considerable number of publishing houses had to close or relocate from Spain to Latin America due to the poor material conditions, paper shortages and devastating effects of official censorship (Bayo, 1991, 15). This effectively meant that the market for both Spanish and translated poetry had to be completely rebuilt after the war. In the meantime, the publication of translated texts suffered a notable decline, and the reception of major works was subjected to substantial delays (Mangini González, 1987, p. 15; Vega, 2004, p. 550).

Although the reading public was generally uninterested in English-language literature translated into Spanish in the years following the Civil War,⁵ this situation would reverse in time, as the publication of translated works accelerated towards the end of the period (Díaz, 1983, p. 195; Santoyo, 1996, pp. 139-140; Vega, 2004, p. 549). The influence of contemporary English-language poetry is also perceived in the poetic output of several leading Spanish poets, who had an interest in translating the poetry of English-speaking authors from previous generations, such as T. S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens and E. E. Cummings, as well as new poets (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 92) such as those of the Beat Generation. A notable example of a Spanish author heavily influenced by English-language poetry is Jaime Gil de Biedma, one of the major anglophiles in the post-Civil War poetic landscape and a self-professed admirer of Eliot's poetry (Dalmau, 2004, pp. 118-119).

Madrid and Barcelona were the main publishing centres during this period, the former being the dominant one until the 1960s (Bayo, 1991, pp. 17, 33). Faced with the

³ For an in-depth description of the TRACE methodology, see Gutiérrez Lanza (2005).

⁴ Abbreviation of TRANslations CEnsored of Poetry in English. The catalogue was compiled as part of the inter-university TRACE project on translation and censorship.

⁵ See Santoyo (1999, p. 215) and Savater (1996, p. 11). These comments fall in line with the data compiled in the TRACEpi catalogue.

challenge of having to market a low-selling genre to the impoverished post-war population, various publishing ventures developed avenues to boost the distribution of translated poetry, the most relevant of which were literary magazines, anthologies and poetry collections. Such publications, as a whole, helped shape the Spanish poetry market as it currently operates (Bayo, 1991, pp. 45-46). These were effectively employed to mitigate the country's cultural isolation by introducing foreign authors to the poetry-reading public in Spain (Blanco Outón, 2000, p. 352). Moreover, the sizeable joint publishing volume of these publications, many of them produced in smaller regions, triggered a series of poetic phenomena that resulted in the redistribution of publishing power between Madrid and Barcelona and the periphery, thus to some extent breaking the de facto publishing duopoly of the two capitals (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, pp. 35-36).

Literary and cultural magazines in post-war Spain, many of which were devoted to poetry, proliferated during this period, filling the void left by those poets who died during the Civil War or had gone into exile (Rubio, 1976, pp. 16-17). These publications were instrumental in the evolution of national poetry (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 123). In particular, magazines played a critical part in the translation and publication of English-language poetry, including contemporary authors barely known in Spain (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 93). For instance, the noted literary magazine *Ínsula* "introduced the work of booming foreign writers of that period, almost unknown in inward-looking 1940s Spain" (Mangini González, 1987, p. 44, my translation). This was far from an isolated phenomenon tied to a single publication. At least 20 magazines were involved in the publication of Spanish translations of English-language poetry.⁶ This includes publications from smaller towns in the periphery, such as *Espadaña*, a León-based magazine in which poems by authors such as Archibald MacLeish, T. S. Eliot, Laurie Lee, Dylan Thomas, Kathleen Raine, Lawrence Durrell, Charles David Ley or W. H. Auden were published (Blanco Outón, 2000, p. 333).

Interestingly, censorship appears to have been less rigorously enforced in the case of these magazines.⁷ This might explain the fact that magazine editors would often include poems which, because of their subject matter or use of language, had no other viable means of publication (Mangini González, 1987, p. 45; Rubio, 1976, p. 233). Of the cornucopia of magazines published during those years, a few may be highlighted for their relevance in articulating post-Civil War culture. Among these are *Garcilaso* (1943-1946) and *Espadaña* (1944-1950), representatives, respectively, of the regime's official cultural model and the social (or political) poetry movement (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, p. 124; Rubio and Falcó, 1981, p. 37). Other magazines notable for their role in defining several poetic groups include *Cántico* (1947-1957), *Postismo* and *La Cerbatana* (both published in 1945).

⁶ This figure is the total count of such publications listed in Rubio (1976).

⁷ It should be noted that the reviewing boards for periodicals and books operated separately and followed different internal guidelines. While book censorship was centralised and undertaken by a monolithic body, that of periodicals was entrusted to various regional boards.

The publication of anthologies grew steadily throughout the dictatorship, particularly from the 1950s onwards, and played a fundamental role in defining the poetic evolution in Franco's Spain (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres, 2005, pp. 126-127). Poetry collections also experienced a constant increase, with more than 350 collections partially or completely devoted to poetry published during that period (Bayo, 1991, pp. 44-45). In fact, collections would become the primary avenue of publication for poetry, with the vast majority of titles at the time being published through this means (Bayo, 1993, pp. 27-28). Although a large number of collections launched during these years were short-lived, a characteristic shared with poetry magazines, the rest would go on to achieve a modicum of popularity. Poetry collections have served as platforms for introducing novel or little-known poets and for solidifying the reputation of others. The major collections when it comes to the translation of English-language poetry are: *Adonais* (1943-present), *Selecciones de poesía universal* (1970-1986) and, particularly, *Visor de poesía* (1969-present), which featured a considerable number of poets unknown to the Spanish public at the time (Rubio and Falcó, 1981, pp. 88-89).

2.1 Book censorship

Publishing during the regime was regulated through two major pieces of legislation: the 1938 Press Law and the 1966 Press and Print Law.⁸ The latter introduced a major change whereby the review process shifted from being compulsory before publication to voluntary. This meant that publishers could then release books without prior consultation, provided they complied with the legal deposit requirements. However, this attempt at liberalisation was curtailed by the clear limitations of the new law, which regarded any criticism levied against the regime as potentially punishable and gave authorities the power to sequester copies of any book deemed unlawful (De Llera, 1995, p. 16).

Arguably, Spanish poetry was not affected by censorship to the same extent as other literary genres (Abellán, 1980, pp. 84-85; De Llera, 1995, p. 26; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, p. 18). This opinion, far from being exclusive to the Spanish context, has been expressed with regard to other literary systems, such as the Czech or the Portuguese (Burt, 1999, p. 188; Burton, 2003, p. 172; Lugarinho, 2002, p. 280; Luján, 2005, p. 51). Several reasons account for the more lenient treatment of poetry in Francoist Spain. The first stems from its marginal position in the book market (Alcover, 1977, pp. 70-71). Even when the subject matter of poetry volumes clashed with the tenets of the regime or its members, their publication was often allowed on account of their narrow distribution (Hierro, 1988, p. 114; Wright, 1986, p. 1). This factor explains the existence of works that were authorised on the sole condition that they were released as limited or deluxe editions, or restricted to academics (Ruiz Bautista, 2005, pp. 296-297). Some books that did not receive the regime's full approval, but were otherwise tolerated, also had their public exposure and promotion limited by law (De Blas, 1999, p. 290).

⁸ *Boletín Oficial del Estado – BOE* [Official State Gazette], 23 April 1938 (amended in *BOE* 24 April 1938) and 19 March 1966.

The apparent permissiveness of censors towards poetry can also be explained by their lack of competence in noticing criticism against the regime (Mangini González, 1987, p. 125). A constant feature throughout Franco's dictatorship was the lack of intellectual stature of many censors, most of whom were mere civil servants (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007a, p. 28; Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007b, p. 27; Sinova, 1989, p. 278). That belief can be substantiated by simply perusing the censorship reports, which are often fraught with numerous glaring spelling and factual errors and displaying blatant ignorance of the works and authors they reviewed (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007b, p. 29). The exception to this pattern can be found in the years following the Civil War, in which the book censorship staff consisted entirely of intellectuals affiliated to the regime, many of whom had a substantial academic background (Abellán, 1980, p. 159; Ruiz Bautista, pp. 284-285).

There were, however, a series of factors that determined the degree of censorial scrutiny. Poetry books written by authors whose liberal ideology was well known and protest books released by left-wing publishing houses came under censorial fire (Abellán, 1980, p. 212; De Blas, 1999, p. 291; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, pp. 24, 30, 51), while the opposite often held true for books produced by publishing companies operated by regime advocates or collaborators, which were received more favourably (Moret, 2002, pp. 133, 134, 257). Moreover, titles with wider distribution were automatically placed in the censors' crosshairs, for they were then regarded as being potentially more damaging. This also seems to be a constant feature in other censorship systems. For instance, regarding Charles Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal*, "A key factor in the [French] government's decision to pursue his book, according to the prosecutor Ernest Pinad, was that Baudelaire's poetry might prove accessible to a larger audience" (Burt, 1999, p. 188).

Despite what appears to be a somewhat milder censorial treatment, textual changes often had a more profound impact on poetry than on other genres. Even if some poems were allowed to be published with deleted lines or stanzas, on many occasions, due to the difficulties in maintaining semantic and metrical coherence, publishers decided to cut entire poems (Abellán, 1980, p. 142; Beneyto, 1977, p. 347; Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, p. 50). In such circumstances, given that a single deletion could alter the whole meaning of the poem, omitting it from the published volume was sometimes regarded as the lesser evil (Montejo Gurruchaga, 2007a, p. 6). Government censorship also had a decisive influence in the development of self-censorship. Poets would often write between the lines, dealing with controversial issues by employing unrelated terms. This cryptic terminology allowed them to allude to topics which would have been immediately rejected by the censors if mentioned explicitly. This mode of writing, however, had a double negative effect: the constant repetition of the same metaphors, which was necessary for them to be understood, lessened their impact over time. Moreover, it risked alienating a part of their audience unaware of such references (Sánchez Reboredo, 1988, pp. 162-163).

Another element of poetry which could have an alienating effect on readers and censors alike has to do with "its subject matter and formalism [which] remove it far enough from the experience of most readers" (Burt, 1999, p. 188). Such characteristics, as per Burt,

explain why “lyric poetry does not appear an attractive target for censorship” (p. 188). Commenting on the formal features of poetry, Burton (2003, pp. 172-173), citing Milan Kundera, explains that, according to the latter:

the language of poetry is acceptable to dictatorships because it does not “refer”, because “rhyme and rhythm possess magical power: the formless world enclosed in regular verse all at once becomes limpid, orderly, clear, and beautiful.” Poetry reconciles man to himself, to the world, to society, while the novel, through its analytical, deconstructive bent, makes such an atonement impossible. Dictatorships, says Kundera, love poets and poetry, but cannot but view novels and novelists with the gravest suspicion.

Poets, translators and publishers began to develop a series of self-censorship mechanisms affecting, either unconsciously or deliberately, each stage of poetic production (Beneyto, 1977, p. 170). In the case of foreign-language texts, unconscious self-censorship is typically associated with translators, who did not have a financial stake in the publication of the texts. By contrast, publishers often privileged economic interests over cultural ones, making conscious decisions to alter the text before publication. Although the presence of self-censorship in translated texts can be ascertained via textual comparison between source and target text(s), unless explicitly mentioned by any of the parties involved in the publication process, it is not possible to determine in most cases whether such changes were implemented by the translators or the editors and the reasons, if any, for those alterations. A thorough study of the self-censorship carried out by publishing houses would prove useful. However, even if direct witnesses testify that such activity was common, there are many administrative hurdles that prevent researchers from gaining access to the publishing companies’ archives (Abellán, 2007, pp. 10-11; Rodríguez Espinosa, 1997, pp. 157, 160), including the fact that “the vast majority (...) have been lost for good” (Rojas Claros, 2013, p. 29).

The analysis of the target culture outlined in the previous pages is crucial to understand the evolution of the form and content of poetry translation, which need to conform to the shifting historical configurations of the target culture. What follows is a description of the main tool employed in this study, the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue, and an overview of the main conclusions that can be drawn from its analysis.

3. Methodology: the TRACEpi (1939-1983) catalogue

The TRACEpi catalogue is an electronic database devoted to censored translations of poetry written in English.⁹ It consists of 1,279 records compiled from two main types of sources: the censorship files located at the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, as well as a series of bibliographic indexes and online catalogues spanning the whole period. The latter include *Bibliografía hispano-americana*, *Bibliografía hispánica*, *Bibliografía española*, *El libro español*, *Boletín del Depósito Legal de obras impresas* and

⁹ The catalogue also includes self-translations and mediated translations.

Index Translationum, as well as online databases and catalogues such as those of the publisher Visor, the Spanish ISBN Agency,¹⁰ and the Spanish Public Libraries Catalogues.¹¹

Records were selected using a defined set of criteria. The source language would have to be English and the target language Spanish. Translations into other Iberian languages were also added. These include 82 translations into Catalan, six into Basque and two into Galician, although they are beyond the scope of the analysis carried out here. Additionally, the titles in the catalogue must have entered either the censorship system or the book market between 1939 and 1983. Finally, books had to feature some form of poetry. It is important to note in this respect that the TRACEpi catalogue covers information not only about books exclusively devoted to poetry, but also about others containing poetry fragments. This enables the study of various translation phenomena across several different text types. To account for this diversity and to facilitate the subsequent analysis, several subcatalogues were created, one for each of the following text types: titles strictly devoted to poetry (which amount to 43% of the entire catalogue); texts with poetry fragments (whether complete poems, stanzas or verses) interspersed with other genres (28%); volumes with whole sections of poetry (24%); and other types of texts, such as poetic dramas and poetic prose (5%). The following analysis, however, is centred around the first group, that of books consisting solely of poetry.

Employing the above criteria, titles were selected and exhaustive data about each of them was gathered and systematically compiled into a computerised database. The collected information, which covers three main areas (censorship, publication and consulted sources), is analysed in the following pages.

4. Results and discussion

The analysis of the catalogue reveals several significant trends. Quantitatively, the role of poetry in the Spanish book market of the period is negligible in terms of the overall number of published books. This is particularly true in the case of poetry translated from English. While Spanish poetry titles account for a mere 3% of the entire market during the studied period, translations of English-language poetry do not even amount to 0.1% of all the published books. In a single year, 1983, 920 Spanish poetry volumes were published, over twice as many as the 433 translated from English in the 45 years covered in the present study (see Figure 1).

¹⁰ Available at: www.mcu.es/webISBN (Accessed: 1 February 2020).

¹¹ Available at: <http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCBIP/cgi-ccbip/abnetopac> (Accessed: 1 February 2020).

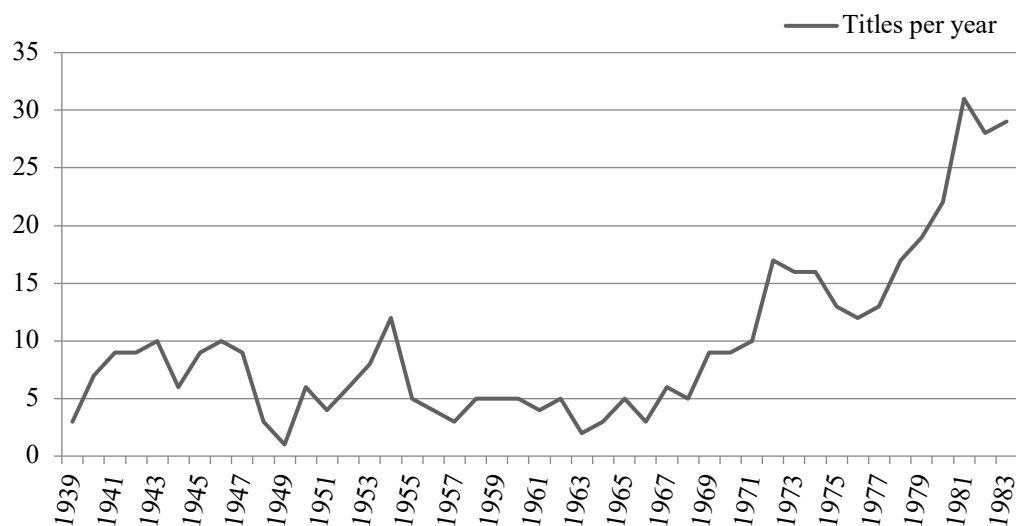


Figure 1. Poetry titles translated from English per year (1939-1983).

Focusing on the number of English-language poetry titles translated into Spanish, two markedly different periods can be isolated. In the years following the Civil War there was neither a market for such poetry nor a clear publishing effort to create it, save for a few honourable exceptions such as the *Adonais* collection. This is reflected in the fluctuating and extremely low publication figures that very rarely reached double digits in a year. From the late 1960s onwards, there was a sizeable increase in the amount of published translations. In fact, almost half of all the English-language poetry translations were released in the last decade of the period. This upward trend is hardly random, as it coincides with a substantial change in publishing practices taking place during these years.

As previously stated, after the Civil War, many publishing houses left the Spanish market, leaving a void that would be filled by new ventures. By the end of the 1960s, the new ecosystem had reached its maturity. Until then, the market was dependent on imports to meet demand. Most of these would come from Spanish publishing houses that had relocated to Latin America after the war. Comparing imported books to the ones produced nationally, differences seem to be minor in terms of published titles and authors. This suggests that imports were employed for logistical and economic reasons rather than as a means to fill a cultural void. After the 1960s, poetry translation imports were not a pressing demand, for new poetry collections, such as *Visor de poesía* and *Selecciones de poesía universal*, supplied much-needed momentum to the publication of translated poetry. These collections redefined the standard publication format for translated poetry by favouring bilingual editions and contributed to the renewal of domestic literary models by focusing on the publication of works by novel writers. Their role cannot be understated, even from a purely quantitative point of view. Four of these collections (*Visor*, *Selecciones*, *Adonais* and Ediciones 29's poetry series) published 37% of all the books in the catalogue. This fact underscores their vital role in the transformation of the publishing model of translated poetry in Spain.

The experimental nature of many of the new poetry collections emerging in the late 1960s contrasts with the publication trends of the first three decades of the period, when most publishers were significantly more risk-averse. Such a stance, arguably reasonable in view of the scarce economic incentive offered by poetry publishing, was reflected in conservative publishing plans which played it safe in terms of the selection of works and authors. In fact, most published poets at the time were either canonical or popular contemporary authors. New or lesser-known writers had almost no presence in the market. It is also worth mentioning that the vast majority of authors were male; only ten titles from six women were published in Spanish translation (Lobejón Santos, 2017). The best-selling English-language poets of the period, mostly of British and American origin, were, by number of printed copies: Geoffrey Chaucer, John Milton, Lord Byron, Rabindranath Tagore, Walt Whitman, William Shakespeare and Edgar Allan Poe. Their overwhelming popularity relegated other writers to a marginal position. Thus, the poetry books of other prominent English-language authors would remain untranslated for most of the dictatorship. For instance, no translations of Samuel Beckett, John Donne, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Gerard Manley Hopkins, James Joyce or Wallace Stevens were published until the 1970s, aside from isolated poems included in anthologies. The work of other well-known authors such as W. H. Auden, D. H. Lawrence and Williams Carlos Williams would be further delayed until the 1980s.

The renaissance experienced by the Spanish poetry market at the end of the 1960s was also manifested in the high volume of bilingual translations produced at the time (see Lobejón Santos, 2015). This phenomenon, driven mostly by the four aforementioned poetry collections, would ultimately change reading habits in Spain. Between 1974 and 1983, bilingual editions became standard practice, with 43.5% of all translations of English-language poetry produced in this format. This trend became ingrained in the Spanish market, persisting as the norm to this day (Gallegos Rosillo, 2001; Pariente, 1993). The sudden growth in bilingual publication can be attributed to three factors: increased contact of the Spanish population with the English language (Vega, 2004, p. 564); improved economic conditions, which enabled the production of books with a larger number of pages and public access to a more varied range of reading options; and, lastly, the risk assumed by a series of publishers who managed to create a market that was, until then, virtually non-existent. In the case of poetry, the lack of economic incentive meant that publishing and translating work would often be done *pro bono*.

There is yet more evidence of the shifting nature of the market in the last 15 years of the period, which is linked to the poetic genres being published. In this regard, although publication numbers for narrative poetry remained consistent and on a par with lyric poetry for the first three decades of the period, the latter became the most translated genre in the last 15 years by a wide margin. This trend mirrors contemporary poetry creation, which is largely synonymous with lyric poetry (Myers and Simms, 1985, p. 172). Poetry collections were the main vehicle for the publication of most lyric poetry. Narrative poetry was, by contrast, published mostly in literary, non-poetic collections. It is worth mentioning that in

most translations of narrative and dramatic poetry, narrative and dramatic elements were often privileged over poetic ones, as most of these works were translated into prose.

Another salient feature of the poetry market during the period studied relates to the publication of anthologies, which would become the preferred publication format for English-language poetry, amounting to 43% of all the translations produced at the time. The most important of these are translation anthologies, which highlight the role of the anthologist, who moulds the reception of certain authors or, even, literary movements or national literatures in the recipient context (Korte, 2000, p. 3). The way in which the translated texts of contemporary writers were assimilated into the Spanish literary system would affect the development of poets, beginning with the second post-war generation. This influence explains in part the transition that took place in Spain between the 1940s and 1950s, from social poetry to a poetic style more concerned with aesthetics (Bregante, 2003, p. 669; Carnero, 2004, pp. 654-656).

In many cases, the processes of poetry writing, translating, editing and publishing were assumed by the same agents. Spanish poets were heavily involved in translated works, leaving their imprint on many of them. In fact, almost half of all the poetry translators of this period were poets themselves. This phenomenon, intimately linked to this genre, may be predicated on the widespread belief that only poets can translate poetry. Thus, the poetic idiosyncrasies of these texts led some publishing houses to hire poets to translate them. In other cases, poets approached publishers directly with translation proposals based on their interest in the work of a particular author. The lyric genre is the most translated by poets, perhaps due to the fact that lyric poetry translation usually focuses on formal concerns, allowing poet translators to showcase their talents. By contrast, narrative and dramatic poetry translations, which, as we have previously alluded to, tend to reduce or eliminate the poetic elements, were mainly produced by professional, non-poet translators.

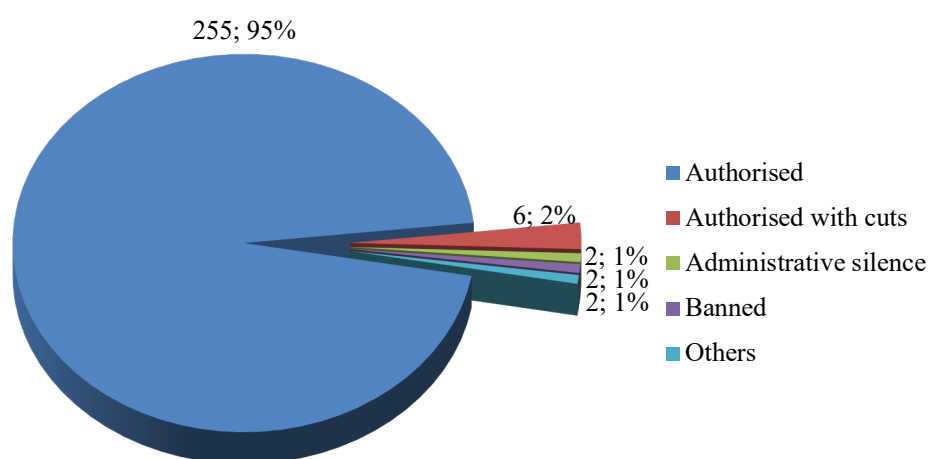


Figure 2. Official censorship ratings in English-language poetry translations (1939-1983).

The trends which have just been examined played a significant role in the way translated poetry was censored. In this regard, as per the catalogue data, hardly any poetry translated from English was either banned or authorised with cuts (Figure 2). Most of these books were authorised or, after the 1966 Press and Print Law, directly published and archived in accordance with the legal deposit system without being submitted to the voluntary censorship review. This circumstance can be explained by several factors: 1) the limited publication numbers of poetry, averaging 3,000 copies per edition, restricted its potential impact among the Spanish audience; 2) the semantic ambiguity inherent to poetry could disorient the censors, as supported by the censorship files we have examined; 3) most published authors conformed to the pattern of classic orthodoxy, which prompted their systematic publication due to the prestige they conferred to the regime; 4) poetry translated from English hardly ever alluded to the Spanish political situation, a characteristic common to much domestic poetry. Many censors placed emphasis on the paratexts rather than on the main texts, which indicates that the primary source of conflict had to do with those textual fragments. While many of the texts published dated back several decades or even centuries and were, therefore, likely to be unproblematic from the regime's standpoint, the production of most paratexts overlapped chronologically with Franco's dictatorship, which made direct references to the regime more probable.

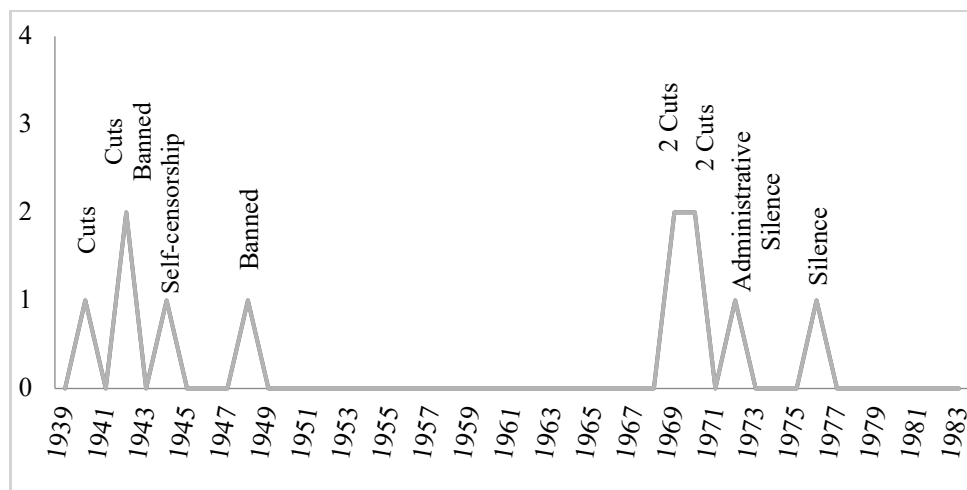


Figure 3. Non-authorisations of English-language poetry translations (1939-1983).

Only two books were banned between 1939 and 1983. Six were authorised on condition that cuts were made. Another two received a verdict of administrative silence, which meant that the regime accepted no liability in the event legal action was taken against the publisher for the contents of the book. Lastly, one title was overtly self-censored, as noted in its censorship report.¹² Focusing on these 11 works, three distinct

¹² This is the case of a 1943 translation of Byron's *Don Juan* published by Mediterráneo (file 3597-76). The censorship report indicates that the translation could be authorised, it being a well-known work. Surprisingly, the censor acknowledges that some parts that may offend the Spanish public had already been removed. It

phases in the evolution of official censorship can be isolated (Figure 3). In the first one (1939-1948), several books were affected by various forms of direct censorial intervention. This gave way to a period in which English-language poetry tended to be favoured, which corresponds with the years following World War II, when the regime had the pressing need to present a liberal façade to the international community. From the late 1960s onwards, there is a profound renovation of the poetry catalogue translated from English. The preponderance of the English classics subsided and a new generation of poets, mainly North American, emerged in the Spanish market, such as the Beat Generation writers, Leonard Cohen and Bob Dylan. These tended to focus on contemporary social, religious and political commentary, including explicit references to sexuality and drugs and the use of crude language. Such themes and content would not go unnoticed by the censors, resulting in their renewed zeal between 1969 and 1970. The temporal distribution presented in the chart is unlikely to be random, for it coincides with two key periods which are often identified as the heights of censorial zeal: the years immediately following the Civil War, in which censorship was overseen by the fascist party Falange, and the last part of Manuel Fraga Iribarne’s tenure as head of the Ministry of Information and Tourism and that of his replacement, Alfredo Sánchez Bella (1969-1973) (Cisquella, Erviti and Sorolla, 1977, pp. 68-69).

Target Title	Author(s)	Translator(s)	Publisher	Year	Rating and file number	Bilingual
<i>El paraíso perdido</i>	John Milton	M. J. Barroso Bonzón	José Bergua (Madrid)	1940	Cuts (217U-40)	No
<i>De la india lejana: los cantos a la luna naciente</i>	Rabindranath Tagore	Zenobia Camprubí and Juan R. Jiménez	Lucero (Barcelona)	1942	Cuts (494-42)	No
<i>Sonetos</i>	William Shakespeare	Angelina Damians de Bulart	Montaner y Simón (Barcelona)	1942	Banned (823-42)	Yes
<i>Cuentos de Canterbury</i>	Geoffrey Chaucer	Juan G. de Luaces	Iberia (Barcelona)	1946	Tolerated (3618-46)	No
<i>Canto a mí mismo</i>	Walt Whitman	León Felipe	Losada (Buenos Aires, Argentina)	1948	Banned (1580-48)	No
<i>Poemas</i>	Walt Whitman	Armando Vasseur	Prometeo (Valencia)	1969	Cuts (5388-69)	No
<i>Poemas manzanas</i>	James Joyce	José María Martín Triana	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1969	Cuts (7672-69)	Yes

(continues)

is clear that publishers implemented self-censorship mechanisms, as they often privileged economic interests over textual integrity. Therefore, the fact that book contents were altered to guarantee or, at the very least, increase the likelihood of publication, was not unheard of. It is unusual, however, that the censor appeared to have been notified of the situation in advance.

Target Title	Author(s)	Translator(s)	Publisher	Year	Rating and file number	Bilingual
<i>Antología de la "Beat Generation"</i>	Various	Marcos-Ricardo Barnatán	Plaza & Janés (Esplugues de Llobregat)	1970	Cuts (1445-70)	Yes
<i>Poesía Beat</i>	Various	Jerónimo-Pablo González Martín	Alberto Corazón (Madrid)	1970	Cuts (5687-70)	No
<i>Poemas escogidos</i>	Leonard Cohen	Jorge Ferrer-Vidal	Plaza & Janés (Esplugues de Llobregat)	1972	Silence (409-72)	Yes
<i>Aullido</i>	Allen Ginsberg	Sebastián Martínez, Jaime Rosal and Luis Vigil	Producciones Editoriales (Barcelona)	1976	Reservations (1042-76)	Yes

Table 1. English-language poetry translations not directly authorised by official censors (1939-1983).

By examining the books that were not directly authorised by the censors (Table 1), we can identify several patterns. At times the regime felt the need to publish certain internationally renowned authors in order to appear more open to foreign cultural influences, while still curtailing free access to ideas that were contrary to its fundamental tenets. In order to achieve both goals, several measures were employed. These included severely restricting marketing, as well as publishing limited and deluxe editions, some of them aimed at the intellectual elite. The implementation of these mechanisms can be exemplified by the 1946 version of *The Canterbury tales* published by Iberia. The censors noted Chaucer's satirical portrayal of religion and its representatives, which, under different circumstances, would be grounds for banning the book or, at least, for authorizing it with cuts. This being a classic title, however, its publication was tolerated,¹³ which meant, as per a 1 June 1945 Law,¹⁴ that it could not be publicly displayed in bookshops. Another example of the regime's tendency to limit public access to certain titles is the first of the two works banned during this period, a 1942 bilingual translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* produced by Montaner y Simón. Despite the negative verdict, the censor suggested the ulterior authorisation of a special edition aimed at academics. Accordingly, the publication of a 300-copy limited edition would be authorised two years later. This highlights the fact that the main obstacle to the translation's authorisation was the 2,500-copy print run originally proposed by the publisher. The other banned book is a 1948 imported translation of Walt Whitman's *Song to myself*, first published in Argentina by Losada. While no reason is given for that decision in the censorship report, it may have been banned due to its translator being exiled Republican poet León Felipe. In fact, even though several

¹³ A few years after this report, through a 25 March 1944 law (*BOE*, 7 April 1944), Spanish literary works published before 1800 were exempted from prior censorship. Data from the TRACEpi catalogue indicate that the same criterion was largely applied to English-language works written prior to the 19th century.

¹⁴ *BOE*, 29 June 1945.

translations of Whitman's poem would be published in subsequent years, Felipe's version remained unpublished until 1981, several years after the end of the regime.

As previously mentioned, sometimes censors would stipulate changes to the paratexts rather than to the main texts, due to their contemporary nature. That is the case of a 1940 translation of *Paradise lost*, for which cuts to the prologue were required by the censor. Milton's text, however, being a classic, was not suspect and, as such, the censor did not think it necessary to read it. Similarly, although a prior edition of Whitman's anthology entitled *Poemas* had been authorised uneventfully in 1947, a new 1968 edition would face censorial problems. The volume included a poem in which Whitman extols the First Spanish Republic. However, the censor did not deem it unpublishable in his report, since that reference was considered irrelevant, "as it has been undoubtedly overcome as pure historical progression" (my translation). Rather, the main objection regarding that book stemmed from a comment found in the prologue in which the translator criticised the pitiful state of Spanish-language literature. This was unacceptable to the censor, who asked the publisher to remove that passage.

On other occasions, some of the content in the main text was considered unfit for public consumption and therefore cut. For instance, a 1942 edition of Rabindranath Tagore's *The crescent moon* was authorised with cuts. The problematic fragment, according to the censor, dealt with a morally dangerous subject, in the form of a child asking his mother where he came from. Given the age of the prospective readers, its removal was considered compulsory. Also, the censors ordered publisher Alberto Corazón to cut two poems from a 1969 translation of James Joyce's *Pomes Penyeach* (Lázaro Lafuente, 2001-2002). Both compositions, "The Holy Office" and "Gas from a burner", contain harsh attacks on the Catholic Church, which meant that a specialist reader, most likely a member of the clergy, would be drawn into the process. The publisher, ignoring the suggested cuts, merely modified the parts containing such attacks, leading to the text's authorisation.

Two other works, both 1970 Beat poetry anthologies, were authorised with cuts: *Antología de la "Beat Generation"* (Plaza & Janés) and *Poesía Beat* (Visor). Regarding the former, the censor reported that several poems could not be published, one for its support of Fidel Castro and others for their obscene and irreverent nature. The book went on to be released after the fragments flagged by the censor were removed. The censorship report on the second anthology notes several reprehensible aspects, including frequent allusions to drugs, sex and communism. Although the censors suggested cuts across several pages, the publisher decided to put the translation's release on hold until 1977, when such references were permissible. Censors also targeted a 1976 Beat anthology, Allen Ginsberg's *Aullido*. The report notes that the text clearly displays irreverence and obscenity, particularly in its extolment of homosexuality, which had been openly condemned by the regime. Due to its content, for which the publishers could still be liable to legal action, the work was authorised with reservations, a verdict used during the latter years of the period, particularly after Franco's demise, effectively equivalent to that of administrative silence.

Another anthology by a contemporary North American poet, Leonard Cohen's *Poemas escogidos*, published by Plaza & Janés in 1972, would receive the same treatment. The censor highlighted the presence of several references to sex and the military, but the major obstacle to its publication were a series of allusions to religion. These prompted the intervention of a religious advisor, who opined that those passages dealing with religious matters were too ambiguous to be conclusively seen as attacks against the Catholic faith. However, all these aspects being potential legal liabilities, resulted in the volume receiving a verdict of administrative silence.

5. Conclusion

It should be noted that the examples discussed in the previous section are exceptional. Over 95% of all poetry titles translated from English were authorised at the time, and most of those that were not would end up being published at a later date. It is evident that the Francoist regime was not overly concerned about English-language poetry, given the low circulation numbers for this genre. Nevertheless, it might be argued that another important reason for such a reaction lies in the kinds of titles that publishing houses tended to favour. The publication of canonical authors and titles, which was the norm at the time, facilitated their release. By contrast, those of contemporary authors, especially the likes of the Beats, who were against many of the fundamental beliefs on which the regime was founded, were problematic. The increased publication of such authors highlights the tensions derived from the clash of two forces: on the one hand, the historical demands imposed by the opposition movements of late Francoism, for which the publication of contemporary English-language poets as a form of sociocultural renewal was an overwhelming imperative; on the other, the speech limitations enforced by the official censorship apparatus. In that sense, going back to the sentiment expressed by Celaya in "La poesía es un arma cargada de futuro", maybe the question is not whether translated poetry reached a wide audience at the time, but, rather, whether it reached those who could help bring about the much-needed social change.

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