

Translated Overseas, Manipulated in Spain: Two Argentinean Translations Facing Censorship in the Last Franco's Years

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1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of the Spanish Civil War and with the beginning of Franco's political regime (1939), many Spanish intellectuals went into exile in Latin America and founded publishing houses there with the idea of publishing all the material that was not allowed in their native country due to the system of censorship established by the dictator. Mexico and Argentina were the countries which established the closest links with Spain and which benefited most from the interchange of printed material that used to take place between them at the time (Larraz, 2016). The geographical closeness of these countries with North America together with financial interests favoured the importation of books in English to be translated in Latin America and then also published in Spain, where they would have to go through the system of official control. The translators working in the Latin American countries were in a different situation from those working in Spain, who knew their translations would have to comply with the moral demands of Franco's regime. Therefore, the idea of a panhispanic translation which could be made available in all Spanish-speaking countries seemed unrealistic since, as the analysis here will confirm, the activity of translation is intimately linked to the context in which it takes place (Toury, 1995) and the Spanish censors would not tolerate what was permitted in other countries with no system of book control¹. The obsession of the censors with the purity of the language and with the avoidance of sexually charged scenes is clear to see in most of their verdicts (Herrero-Olaizola, 2007), and this led to changes in the area-specific versions of the translations. The translations analyzed in this article belong to the last period of Franco's dictatorship, the seventies, when a new climate of freedom started to take hold of society. However, it will be seen how

¹ "The Franco regime certainly feared that the success of established publishing houses in Mexico and Argentina (and the newly created *Casa de las Américas* in Cuba) could translate into a different linguistic and cultural approach (their versions, if you will, on the promotion of Hispanism" (Herrero-Olaizola 2005, p. 196).

these translations still clashed in some aspects with the established system in Spain, be it apparently more lenient or not.

2. CENSORSHIP IN FRANCOIST SPAIN: THE OFICIAL FRAMEWORK FOR MANIPULATION

The censorship period in Spain began immediately after Franco's victory in the civil war and its first Press Law dates from 1938. Early on, the system of censorship was strict and publishers were required to submit all titles for censorship, official readers were assigned and a judgement was issued. This Law was in force until 1966, when it was replaced with a new Law of Press and Print, which brought changes to the system of censorship in line with the general social climate of increased freedom. During this period, compulsory prior permission to publish was no longer a requirement and control was based mainly on two procedures: the 'previous consultation' or 'advance censorship', which were similar to prior permission but voluntary and which could result in a positive or negative report about the book under review, and the 'archiving' (depósito) of the printed work in the aforementioned Ministry, without the need for a censor's judgement. All publishers, however, regardless of whether they had submitted their books for previous consultation or not, were required to deposit all titles with the censors prior to distribution. Besides, the 'archiving' (depósito) could mean the confiscation of the book by the authorities if, once on the market, it was believed that its distribution should be avoided. Thus, while granting the permission for book production to go ahead without the regime's direct supervision, the 'archiving' could result in significant economic losses for publishers, making the business of publishing books much riskier than it had been before.

While the 'archiving' and the 'previous consultation' were designed to facilitate the distribution of printed material, another meaningful change in the law was its redefinition of 'silencio administrativo' or 'official silence'. This formula was used by censors when they had objections to the content of a work but still saw benefits in authorizing its publication. By remaining officially silent, the authorities did not explicitly approve of a given book or support its moral content; they simply abstained from blocking its commercial distribution.

Despite the difficulty in assessing the boundaries between what was authorized and what was not, there were certain criteria considered as foremost in the behaviour of the

censors at the time since, as José Luis Ertivi commented (1977:30) ‘from the Civil War onwards, cultural repression has been arbitrary in its procedures, but not indiscriminate in its content’²: Manuel Abellán³ identifies a list of criteria which “remained as touchstones until the physical disappearance of Franco and the close of the ensuing transition period under Suárez” (“resistieron más que otros a la erosión del tiempo y fueron la piedra de toque hasta la desaparición física de Franco y la terminación del período de transición suarista”) (1980, p. 88). These are:

- a. Sexual morals: any kind of references to abortion, homosexuality, divorce and extramarital relationships.
- b. Political beliefs: no indications of opposition to the regime.
- c. Use of language that can be considered as indecorous, provocative and incongruous with the good manners which must govern the behaviour of people who define themselves as decent.
- d. Religion: attacks on it as an institution and on its hierarchy.

However, in general, the application of censoring criteria varied depending on the degree of ideological conviction of the Minister in charge⁴ and this fact sometimes led to the exercise of self-censorship on the part of the writers and translators, a practice that has been discussed by some of them, for whom the true power of the censorship mechanism was not that of cutting or banning, but, as Felix Grande put it, “to turn many writers into selfcensors (convertir a muchos escritores en censores de sí mismos)” (Beneyto, 1975, p.158). At the same time, the apparent leniency that was practiced sometimes paved the way for negotiations and behind-the-scenes maneuvering among the different agents involved in the processes of translating, editing and censoring, thus permitting the import of new ideas and concepts into the country.

In the present study, the focus is on the use of improper language and the upholding of sexual morals for two main reasons: the well-known obsession of the Spanish censors

² “Desde la guerra civil, la represión cultural ha sido arbitraria en sus procedimientos, pero no indiscriminada en sus contenidos.” J.L. Ertivi, ‘La censura de libros en la España franquista: el miedo a la cultura’, *El Viejo Topo*, 13 (1977), p. 29–32 at p. 30.

³ Abellán was the first scholar who gained access to the Spanish censorship files; a respected sociologist, he has written rigorous articles on the subject. Therefore, his criteria are taken here as a good testimony of the phenomenon of censorship in those years.

⁴ “what seems to be specific to Franco’s control mechanism is its persistence over time, and the way the application of censoring criteria would vary depending on the degree of ideological conviction of the minister in charge” (Merino & Rabadán, 2002, p.125)

with everything related to sex (see *Normas de decencia cristiana*, 1958) and their close attention to the use of language in works from South America (Herrero-Olaizola, 2007).

3. TRANSLATIONS IMPORTED FROM SOUTH AMERICA INTO FRANCOIST SPAIN.

Once the Spanish Civil War was over, many intellectuals akin to the Republican faction emigrated to exile, being Latin America one of the most frequent destinies where to establish their cultural activity. The effect of these expatriates as a booster of the culture of their recipient countries was evident, since they gave new air to the publishing business with their contributions. Thus, some of them established publishing houses that would later on initiate links with Spain⁵. Mexico and Argentina were the most benefited countries from this activity: in Mexico, we find Fondo de Cultura Económica and Grijalbo among others, both sources of numerous publishing hits, but specifically the latter. In Argentina, several publishing houses are worth mentioning, such as Losada, Emecé or Sudamericana. They were first devoted to culture, but due to economic pressures they sometimes were forced to change their policies and gave priority to finance and the publication of *best sellers*.

The field of translation also constituted a major source of employment for many of the exiles, who sometimes worked for some of the above mentioned publishing houses. One of the most significant cases was that of Jordi Arbonés, described by Rodríguez Espinosa as “traductor en la distancia/translator in the distance” (2002, p. 217), or that of Franciso Ayala, “traductor a destajo/job-rate translator” as he described himself (1988, p. 279).

More than probable due to the physical proximity and also to the dynamism reached by the publishing industry in Latin America, several were the occasions on which North American novels with English as their source language arrived to Argentina or Chile to be translated into Spanish and afterwards commercialized in Spanish speaking

⁵ These relations with Spain were indeed affected by the censoring context ruling in the country. According to Javier Pradera: “Para que los libros de Losada, Fondo de Cultura, Sudamericana, Paidós, Siglo XXI, Era, Emecé o Grijalbo llegasen a los escaparates españoles no solo resultaba preciso conseguir divisas para comprarlos, arriesgar dinero para pagarlos, aguardar varias semanas para recibirlos por envío marítimo (el transporte aéreo era incoachable) y montar una red comercial por toda España para colocarlos: también se necesitaba engañar o sobornar a la censura para conseguir el codiciado número de registro que permitía importarlos legalmente o montar de manera alternativa un circuito clandestino para la circulación de las obras prohibidas” (2004, p. 292).

countries. It was also the case that foreign contemporary authors usually preferred to do business with Latin American publishers instead of with Iberian ones, thus avoiding censorship. What they did not really know was that, many times, their works would still have to face this patronage once their novels were imported into Spain. Translators working in a restrictive environment like the one under Franco were used to the action of the censors, whereas translators performing their jobs in other countries were not necessarily used to those constraints.

The vast majority of translated books imported from Latin America by then belonged to what can be considered as mass literature⁶, an ideal candidate for clashing with the regime's principles since this kind of publication often contained ingredients that would raise the censors' suspicions: erotic scenes, ideological eclecticism and most of the time scarce or no religious attachment (Sutherland, 1981, p. 246). The two novels analysed in this article belong to the category of mass literature and serve to illustrate the power forces at play between the several agents involved in the publication process (mainly translators, censors and publishers).

Spanish translators generally considered the work carried out by their colleagues in Latin America to be of less quality than translations done in the Iberian Peninsula, as the following quotation illustrates:

Evidentemente los traductores españoles son mejores que los hispanoamericanos. Eso está claro. Hasta tal punto que yo puedo decir, y no es ningún secreto, que muchas obras inglesas publicadas en España con mi firma como traductor, habían sido traducidas antes en Sudamérica, y yo he tenido que coger esos textos sudamericanos y ponerlos en castellano. Y me ha costado el mismo trabajo, o quizá más trabajo, que si los hubiera traducido directamente del inglés. (Cano, 1972, p. 18)

It is clear that Spanish translators are better than Hispano American ones. That is for sure. Up to a point that I can say that, and it is not a secret, many English works published in Spain with my signature as translator, had been translated in South America, and I had to put those texts into Castilian Spanish. And it has been just as much work-if not more-as if I had translated them from English myself. (my own translation).

Such a comment reveals the underlying contempt felt by some Spanish translators at the time for their Latin American colleagues. This was in line with the rivalries that had existed between Peninsular and Latin American writers when the boom in Latin

⁶ The term "mass literature" is used here to indicate a kind of production whose main aim is to entertain the reading public and which presents no traces of literary or intellectual pretension.

American writing took place in Spain during the sixties. (Herrero-Olaizola, 2005 & 2007).

What is actually clear is that the official system of censorship during Francoist Spain did not discriminate between national and foreign production when applying their criteria and a similar policy was followed when dealing with the translations accomplished out in Latin America and those carried out inland. Nonetheless, it seemed that they sometimes showed some uneasiness with the use of the Spanish language that Latin American writers exhibited in their works⁷, something they signalled in the censoring files and which therefore directs our attention to the more than possible linguistic refining carried out in the translations undertaken in those contexts: these can lead translators to either reproduce or subvert the dominant discourse, as we are about to confirm in the ensuing analysis of two novels.

3.1. Argentinian Translations which Clashed with the System: Two Examples.

The two translations chosen for our analysis here (of *Love Story* by Erich Segal and *The Betsy* by Harold Robbins) were first carried out in Argentina and arrived to Spain during the seventies. Both were later replaced by a Peninsular translation and they have been chosen because of their category of best sellers in their source language and in Spanish, a status that they still maintain today.

3.1.1. Love Story, by Erich Segal

This book written by University Professor Erich Segal (1937-2010) was controversial from the very moment of its publication: although many found it profoundly moving (*Sunday Express*) and appreciated the simplicity of its depiction of the lives of two college students (*Publishers Weekly*), others considered it unworthy of all the praise it received⁸. Written at the same time the movie was being filmed, the novel was published before the picture was released and it became an overnight *best seller*. When the book

⁷ This phenomenon has been particularly studied by Herrero-Olaizola in his analysis of Spanish censorship concerning Latin American writers: “What I did not expect to see (...) was that the censors focused so much on the command of the Spanish language displayed by Latin American writers, who were often the subject of praise or criticism for their handling of the language’s resources” (2007, p. xiv). And, at some other point: “In many censors’ reports on the works of the Boom writers, language – more precisely, the preservation of what they defined to be the Spanish language- became the determining factor in the approval or rejection of a literary work” (ibid, p. 7).

⁸ For a comprehensive list of the different reviews the book received, see the section entitled “Contemporary reception” of the following web page dedicated to the novel: <http://testfisher.lib.virginia.edu/submissions/23?hl=love%20story>.

arrived in Spain, it left no one indifferent to it: its liberal treatment of premarital sexual relationships and its characters' disregard for both the paternal authority and for the Catholic faith were a shock at the time.

The translation to arrive in Spain was the one by Eduardo Gudiño Kieffer. This translation had been made in Argentina in 1970, also year of its publication in North America. By that time, publication in Argentina was not exempted from a degree of censorship, as Kieffer himself admits⁹. However, the translation was still received with reticence in Spain.

-The Argentinean Translation

Gudiño's translation of the novel was not deemed favourable: the censor considered it very weak and noticed aspects that were not present in the English source text, as the verdict issued shows (censorship file number 2105-71):

Embarrassing romantic “novelette”, riddled with vulgar and rude expressions and with insults to parenthood. It also makes fun of religion; it depicts premarital relationships and an “atheistic marriage” in order to disguise the insipid syrup of the ingenuous story of the “goodies and the baddies” of very “in” overtones (See pages 11,13,18,20,21,23,24,26,27,31,34,47,49,50,53,55,57,58,61,65,66,70,71,75,76,77,79,84,85,88,89, 92,98,101,104,105,107,109,120,121,125,128,131,132,133,134,135,140,141,146,147,150,153,155,162,163,170,183). ***The translation (Spanish American) is very poor, and it may be the reason for the unnecessary bragging expressions of the language which do not seem to present the same aspect and scope in the original in American English.*** (my emphasis). The importation of the book having been previously authorized, and taking into account the high price of the book,

ARCHIVING COULD BE ACCEPTED¹⁰

According to the verdict, the censor considers that the bragging or boasting expressions present in the novel are due to the translation carried out by Gudiño Kieffer. However, although the censor indicated that changes should be made to the text before publication, the book was in fact published as it was, mainly because of its high price — which would make it less accessible to the general public— and because of lack of

⁹ His exact words were the following: “No, no existe la censura previa de libros en la Argentina, [...] Pero, curiosamente, muchos libros son prohibidos después de publicados. O (en la Capital Federal, ‘Atenas del Plata’) declarados de ‘exhibición limitada’, lo que mutila su comercialización. Como estas prohibiciones no se ajustan a cánones o reglas previamente establecidos, es imposible saber de antemano qué las motiva. Por lo tanto el editor se cuida por las dudas, suele ver fantasmas donde no los hay. Desde un punto de vista estrictamente objetivo tiene razón: él no es un Mecenaz. No va a invertir dinero en un producto que después será retirado del mercado, no va a perder dinero. Esto es malo, por cierto. Pero peor es lo que sucede con el escritor, que consciente o inconscientemente se autocensura. ¿Por qué autocensurarse si no hay censura previa? ¡Pues por eso mismo, amigo, también por las dudas!” (Eduardo Gudiño Kieffer). (“Las fronteras de la censura”. Entrevistas y prólogo de Raúl Vera Ocampo, 11: La Opinión Cultural xiv-xvii).

¹⁰ My own translation of the censor’s judgment found in censorship file 2105-71 in the A.G.A. (Archivo General de la Administración) or National Record Office in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, where the censorship documents are kept now.

agreement between several censors. Some believed that what might be considered improper language in the text was in common use among youngsters at the time and, therefore, not really offensive¹¹. The censors made it clear, however, that any subsequent edition of the book should be “softened” (Censorship file number 2105-71) and the second time *Love Story* was evaluated by the official boards the translation was said to have been ‘corrected’, although the only visible change it had undergone was regarding aspects that marked the text as written in Latin American Spanish. This time, the reason why permission for the publication of the book without erasures was granted was the success it had already achieved elsewhere: a press article praising the novel found together with the official censorship documents seems to have tipped the scales towards publication of Segal’s story. After the publication of this translation, a new one by Ramón Hernández, carried out in Spain, was examined by the censors. This did not meet with opposition from the authorities and was published and reprinted time and again, displacing Gudiño’s version.

A closer look at the sexual and linguistic aspects of the novel helps us to understand why the censors were concerned by the Argentinean translation.

-Sexual morals:

The main characters of the novel, Oliver and Jennifer, are two students who fall in love and, disregarding conventional principles, enjoy premarital sex in an atmosphere in which sex is openly referred to and contraceptives are used regularly. There are 24 scenes relating to this theme in Segal's book. In dealing with these scenes, Gudiño seems to aim for adequacy¹² (Toury, 1995), insofar as he does not reduce the offensive, sexual content. In table 1, 4 examples of the 24 where the authorities had expressed offence can be seen.

¹¹ They were, in the end, “the same vulgar expressions, trendy in the youngsters’ language of today”. Censorship file number 2105-71.

¹² If, when translating, the translator opts for modifying the text in a manner in which it becomes closer to the texts written in the target culture, there is more acceptability, whereas if he or she opts for presenting the translation with textual conventions which are similar to those of the source text (sometimes alien to the target text), the adequacy pole is the dominant one (Toury, 1995). This dichotomy has also been expressed by Venuti in the terms of “domesticating” vs. “foreignizing” (Venuti, 1995).

Source Text (1970) ¹³	Censorship on Gudiño's translation (1971)
Phil had crawled into bed with Jenny (it had to be that!). (chapter 4, page 27)	Phil [se zambullera en la cama con Jenny] (¿tenía que ser eso!). (chapter 4, page 47)
Meaning that when we made love, (chapter 5, page 34)	<u>Quiero decir que, cuando hicimos el amor,</u> (chapter 5, page 58)
our being in bed together, and so forth. (chapter 5, page 34)	<u>estábamos juntos en la cama y todo eso.</u> (chapter 5, page 58)
But where did he sleep on those Saturday nights when Jenny and I decided to disobey parietal rules and stay together? (chapter 6, page 36)	<u>¿Pero dónde dormía esas noches de sábado, cuando Jenny y yo decidíamos desobedecer las normas del pensionado y permanecer juntos?</u> (chapter 6, page 61)

Table 1. Examples of sexual related scenes in *Love Story* which clashed with the censorship system

The censor highlighted the examples either by underlining the offensive part or by crossing it out in the Spanish translation, two of the most common ways for the boards to indicate disagreement with aspects of the books they examined (Gómez Castro, 2009, p. 144-145). However, as mentioned above, the censor's suggestions were not followed in the published translation.

-Language:

Regarding the use of offensive language, 193 cases of offensive language were identified in the translation. Segal endowed Oliver and Jenny with a very special way of expressing themselves and thus turned language into an important aspect of characterisation. By means of their continuous use of coarse words and vulgarities they verbalize their rejection of the American Way of Life and of the values traditionally accepted. Theirs is a language considered typical of students, where colloquial expressions can coexist with formal register and Gudiño's translation contains literal renderings, thus maintaining the offensive way in which Oliver and Jenny addressed each other. Some examples display interference¹⁴ from English together with a

¹³ The examples are taken from the following editions:

Segal, E. 1970. *Love Story*. New York: Harper & Row.

Segal, E. 1971. *Love Story (Historia de amor)*. Barcelona: Emecé Editores de España. Traducción de Eduardo Gudiño Kieffer.

¹⁴ By "interference" in this article, we understand the following: the translation is not the result of a good choice due to a strong influence of the source language in the target language and therefore it violates the norms of the latter and gives rise to the colonization of the source language. Its main consequence is the establishment of a translationese (Baker, 1993).

moderation of the expression. Therefore, the main overall effect of the translation with regard to this aspect fluctuates between the adequacy to the source text (and therefore offence to authorities) and acceptability in the target culture (Toury, 1995). Examples of expressions that caused controversy appear in Table 2.

Source Text (1970)	Censorship on Gudiño's translation (1971)
"What the hell makes you so smart?" I asked. (chapter 1, page 3)	—¿Y qué [<u>carajo</u>] te hace tan pero tan inteligente?- pregunté. (chapter 1, page 13)
The Green bastards sensed this, and began to play rougher. (chapter 2, page 8)	Los Verdes hijos de puta se dieron cuenta y empezaron a jugar violentamente. (chapter 2, page 20)
The next thing I knew I was on my ass. (chapter 2, page 10)	Inmediatamente después me habían <u>sentado de culo</u> . (chapter 2, page 24)
Cornell could very possibly win the game—and with it, the Ivy title. Shit— (chapter 3, page 18)	Era muy probable que Cornell ganara el partido... y al mismo tiempo el título de Ivy. ¡ <u>Mierda!</u> (chapter 3, page 34)
"Even the Sonovabitch?" she asked. (chapter 7, page 43)	- ¿También el jodeputa ? -preguntó.
I was disturbing the whole fucking place (chapter 13, page 87)	estaba perturbando todo aquel <u>puto</u> lugar. (chapter 13, page 132)

Table 2. Examples of linguistically controversial passages in *Love Story* which clashed with the censorship system

The offensive aspects of the examples were generally toned down in the later Spanish translation published in Spain, the translator being aware of what could be controversial and changing it in advance. Regarding the Argentinean translation, all in all, the dominant textual pragmatic effect is reduction of the colloquial, vulgar or rude English mainly as a result of down-toning the offences uttered by Oliver and Jennifer, as the examples show. The changes made to the 'corrected' version (see above) also had some effect in this section, implying the intensification of the offence in some cases due to the familiarity of the Spanish expressions used to substitute the geographically located ones.

On the whole, the translation into Spanish of *Love Story* published under Franco but of Argentinean origin adhered to the English expression and content in the case of sex but domesticated the language used by the characters, turning them into a better spoken couple most of the time, this mainly due to the different level of offense the language of

this translation conveyed for an Argentinean reader and a Spanish one. The fact that adequacy was aimed for in the case of translations of content connected with sex can be explained by the nature of the passages in the book, which was quite naïve. *Love Story*, despite all the debate it generated, was a huge success in Spain, both as a book and as a film.

3.1.2. *The Betsy*, by Harold Robbins

Harold Robbins (1916-1997) was one of the most prolific writers of bestsellers in North America. His novels had all the ingredients that readers love in this kind of publications: sex, money, power and violence. He published *The Betsy* in 1971 and the story, like most of his novels, quickly became a *best seller*. Even before it was in the bookshops, negotiations were well under way to make it into a film. The publication history of *The Betsy* in Spain under the official book control system was not an easy one. The first time the censors read the story it was in the form of an Argentinean translation into Spanish by Raquel Albornoz entitled *Betsy*, and the censors considered that the background of the novel was based mainly on harsh pornography which they deemed inadmissible, thus forbidding publication. The possibility of deletions was discarded in this case because too many of them would have been needed, something that would be detrimental to the plot. This verdict was agreed between two censors and the publishing house was obliged to abandon the publication of Robbins' novel at least for the moment. However, “censorship was not passively ‘suffered’ by Spaniards; they developed strategies to counter its effects. Publishers would resubmit the same book with another title or cover (...)” (Labanyi, 1996, p. 213), and that is exactly what was done in this case, accompanied by another translation: a few months later, the censors examined a book by Robbins entitled *Los Ejecutivos* (*The Executives*), translated by the Spanish translator Domingo Manfredi Cano. The censors did not identify it as the Spanish version of *The Betsy*¹⁵ and this time the book passed the examination without any problem since all the offensive material had already been deleted or modified. Thus, in the space of three months, the book had changed from being a dangerous and reprehensible reading to being morally authorised. From that moment on, it was reprinted and sold, to the joy of Robbins fans in Spain.

¹⁵ Otherwise, in the section of the file devoted to “record” they would have indicated the number of the previous file devoted to the book.

-The Argentinean Translation

Even though the Spanish readers never had access to Albornoz's translation of the novel due to its banning (see above), we examine her translation in the same terms as we have done for the other novel we analyse in this article.

-Sexual morals:

When the book was presented for the first time to the authorities, the main source of problems was the 291 erotic or semi pornographic scenes it contained. The detail which these scenes contain was decisive in the censors' decision making. Albornoz's rendering of the English into Spanish was quite literal. However, there were omissions and partial deletions which, in combination, reduced the erotic content of some passages, and which were probably the result of self-censorship by the publishing house after the translation had been made. However, the general tone of the novel was still considered too offensive and, further changes had to be made before publication, as Table 5 illustrates.

Source Text (1971) ¹⁶	Censorship on Albornoz's translation (1972)
I felt the heat in my balls (BOOK I,/C. 2, page 26)	<u>Sentí que me subía el calor a los testículos.</u> (BOOK I,/C. 2, page 24)
She pulled angrily at my cock. (BOOK I,/C. 14, page 107)	[Ella tiró coléricamente de mi pene.] (BOOK I,/C. 14, page 82)
His hands shot out suddenly and took her breasts. (BOOK II,/C. 7, page 183)	[De pronto, extendió las manos y le tomó los pechos.] (BOOK II,/C. 7, page 138)
I want you inside me. (BOOK III,/C. 12, page 347)	[Quiero tenerte dentro de mí.] (BOOK III,/C. 12, page 253)
All they had to think about was tits. (BOOK III,/C. 16, page 383)	No tenían que pensar más que en tetas. (BOOK III,/C. 16, page 278)

Table 5. Examples of erotic charged scenes in *The Betsy* which clashed with the censorship system

¹⁶ The examples are taken from the following editions:

Robbins, H. 1971. *The Betsy*. New York: Trident Press.

Robbins, H. 1972. *Betsy*. Buenos Aires: Emecé Editorial. Traducción de Raquel Albornoz.

Most passages included explicit sexual encounters which are very common in Robbins' novels and which could not be permitted to reach the Spanish audience at the time. When Manfredi Cano was presented with the challenge of making the novel acceptable for the censors, he did not resort to the English text at all but instead worked with Albornoz's translation, changing and deleting what he knew would cause problems if presented to the authorities once more. His work cannot therefore be considered a translation proper as much as a piece of editing. His general "cleaning up" of the text made the novel publishable in Spain.

-Language:

The characters produce 123 examples which can be considered as vulgar language in the whole novel. Once again, the dominant translation technique is the literal rendering, followed by some moderations of expressions. A selection of controversial expressions is illustrated in Table 6.

Source Text (1971)	Censorship on Albornoz's translation (1972)
You bitch! (BOOK II /C. 9, page 194)	—¡Puta! — (BOOK II /C. 9, page 146)
"Ungrateful bastards!" Loren said again, looking out at the crowded rooms. (BOOK II /C. 11, page 216)	—¡Hijos de puta desagradecidos! —repitió Loren, paseando la vista por los salones atiborrados. (BOOK II /C. 11, page 161)
The son-of-a-bitch," she whispered. (BOOK III /C. 1, page 244)	—Ese hijo de puta —murmuró ella—. (BOOK III /C. 1, page 182)
Damn! (BOOK IV /C. 6 page 437)	¡Mierda! (BOOK IV /C. 6 page 316)
You fucked me on the Sundancer too (BOOK IV /C. 12, page 498)	También me jodiste con el Sundancer (BOOK IV /C. 12, page 358)

Table 6. Examples of linguistically controversial passages in *The Betsy* which clashed with the censorship system

Although the censors did not especially stress this aspect due to the fact that sexual content was very prolific in the text, Manfredi was also very cautious and made the necessary adjustments: partial and total omissions and some moderations of

expressions. In both cases, a degree of “interferences” can be detected which reduced the use of rude words and expressions, as was the case in *Love Story* (see above).

The ingredients that made Robbins famous worldwide are present in this novel. However, these needed change or attenuation to make its Spanish version publishable in the Francoist market. After having been refused publication in the Argentinean version by Albornoz due to its literary faithfulness or adequacy to the English source text, Manfredi’s version seemed to comply with the standards of the authorities and, therefore, it was cleared for publication. In 1986 the novel was published by *Plaza y Janés* in a new translation, by Roger Vázquez de Parga, made in Spain.

4. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

The examination of a selection of two novels in this article suggests that the translators' task is directly linked to the context where it is carried out, as Toury states: “translations are facts of the culture which hosts them” (1995, p. 24). The discussion of translations undertaken in Latin America and subsequently imported to Spain has also confirmed that a panhispanic translation was not acceptable at the time of Franco’s dictatorship. The Spanish publishing houses that established affiliated companies in Latin America once the Civil War ended in Spain saw a possibility of financial gain in the interchange of material: the geographical proximity of the Hispanic countries with the USA guaranteed a constant flux of publications and with it the possibility of importing them to Spain. The main obstacle these importations had to face was the official system of censorship established by Franco in Spain. In the case of translations it has been shown how, on the one hand, the presence of linguistic markers of the country where the translation had been carried out, and on the other hand, the licenses these books contained in terms of sexual morals or any other offensive aspect to the dictatorial regime did not match the political agenda of Francoism and, therefore, met with the censorious intransigence in one way or another. This fact has been confirmed by the two Argentinean translations that we have analysed in the current article: in the case of *Love Story*, the novel suffered from censorial indications in several aspects (mainly referring to the improper language used by the characters most of the time) which, nevertheless and as a kind of exceptional situation, were left without change probably due to the tremendous worldwide success of the book. Despite this fact, this translation was, after a short period of time, substituted by another one carried out on Spanish ground and

more in harmony with the Francoist ideology. With reference to the translation of Harold Robbins' novel *The Betsy*, by Raquel Albornoz, the censorship mechanism exhibited its repressive force in all its grandeur and decided to ban it, so it was only after the "cleaning up" and "adapting" operation carried out by the Spanish translator Manfredi Cano that the novel could see the light of day in Spain. The first translations had been done in a context different to the one Spanish translators working under Francoism were used to, and, therefore, their authors had not felt compelled to exert any kind of previous self-censorship. However, their own context was not free of patronage (Lefevre, 1992): the situation in which Gudiño Kieffer and Albornoz carried out their work was repressive a posteriori, just as they confirmed. The Argentinean publishing houses self-censored themselves in order to avoid possible reprisals, and consequently the loss of money. This is the reason why, after the confession of both translators (either directly via personal communication or indirectly via written testimonies) of their lack of self-censorship as their last resort, we should attribute the changes observed in the result of their work to the censoring task carried out by the publishing house and after they had done their job. Be it as it may, it becomes clear that "translators and interpreters shape their words to the needs of the moment" (Tymoczko, 2006, p. 453) and the activities of translation and censorship on many occasions share scenario and are daughters of their circumstances.

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