



This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-00164. The volume is solely the responsibility of the Network and the authors; the European Community cannot be held responsible for its contents or for any use which may be made of it.

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Lungarno Pacinotti, 43
56126 Pisa
Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945
info-plus@edizioniplus.it
www.edizioniplus.it - Section “Biblioteca”

ISBN 88-0000-000-0

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The Censorship of Literary Narrative in Franco's Spain: an Historiographical Approach

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En el presente artículo se intenta recopilar los estudios que tratan de forma más relevante la relación entre el poder que ejerció la censura establecida por Franco y la cultura de la narrativa en España. Con la finalidad de conseguir este propósito, se ofrece un enfoque multidisciplinar que recoge las principales investigaciones llevadas a cabo por expertos en diversas áreas de estudio, tanto hispanistas y filólogos como sociólogos e historiadores. Asimismo, destacamos la variedad de las fuentes históricas en las que se basan estos estudios. El análisis de los expedientes oficiales, de las novelas escritas en esta época y de los testimonios de escritores y editoriales, nos permitirán conocer de primera mano esta realidad histórica.

Por un lado, se describen los aspectos políticos que condicionaron de manera más relevante la cultura literaria de España en este periodo. Se ofrece al lector una vista panorámica del funcionamiento del órgano censorial creado para la supervisión de las producciones literarias; por lo tanto, se incluyen los estudios relacionados con la investigación de los criterios establecidos, los documentos empleados, los temas prohibidos y la legislación vigente entre otros. En segundo lugar, se recogen las principales investigaciones que analizan las consecuencias de la censura sobre la literatura. Por un lado, se comenta, de manera general, los estudios que analizan tanto la evolución de la literatura nacional en España como aquellas que comentan la actitud del poder hacia la literatura internacional. A esta censura estatal, hay que sumar dos clases más de censura ejercida sobre la literatura. Se incide especialmente en la censura editorial antes de presentar un libro para que se autorice su publicación y en la autocensura literaria que los propios escritores se imponían a la vez que recurrían a toda clase de recursos para poder escribir libremente. Para finalizar, se examinan aquellos estudios que descubren los peligros que conlleva conocer la historia de España a partir de textos que han sido revisados por el lápiz rojo de los censores.

Throughout European history, political powers have endeavoured to determine individual identity. Totalitarian systems, above all, embody despotic purposes and the desire to eradicate any discrepant cultural manifestation and, alternatively, to foster interests in cultural traditions supportive of the political party in power. What we are now, what we believe in now, how we behave now is, to some extent, the outcome of different authoritarian political interventions at some decisive moments in our European

adventure. In order to understand and illustrate these statements, this paper considers the general question of power and culture and their close relationship with the recent history of Spanish censorship. Particular emphasis will be placed on how Spanish authors and works have been studied and presented during this period.

Franco's dictatorial power, from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 until his death in 1975, was mirrored bitterly in the culture of the country. The omnipresent authoritarian regime drenched the images of cinema, pulled the strings of on-stage characters, manipulated the machinery of the free press, and flooded literature. An endless list of scholarly investigations has been devoted to researching these far-reaching tentacles of Spanish dictatorship. However, for practical purposes, the scope of our study will be narrowed to describe studies of literary narratives, that is fiction and other prose forms.

In general, works which deal with the close relationship between Spanish literary narratives and the censorship office set up to regulate this form of literary expression during Franco's regime seem to fall into two main areas of study. The first category includes the comprehensive analysis of the whole censorship system, that is to say, the consideration of every element involved in the process from the very moment that publishers submitted a book for authorisation, to the moment of its final publication (with or without omissions and amendments) or its prohibition. The other area of study is related to the investigation of how this dictatorial authority impacted upon the writers and their literary productions, mainly from the points of view of theme and style.

For a complete overview of this narrative development we must consider the words of the Spanish philologist, José Sánchez, as part of our starting point:

*"censorship acted as a cordon sanitaire to protect Spanish readers from external influence; [...] not only Marxist authors and exiled Spanish writers were banned, but also a large number of works which are among the most significant of the century. The literary space that these authors - Sartre, Camus, Faulkner, Vittorini, Pavese, etc. - left empty was occupied by popular sub-literature.[...] The young writer born pre-war or in the first years of the post-war period was deprived of the most important European literary production"*¹.

Taking this crucial passage into consideration, we must scrutinise how international literature generated in Europe was received by the rigorous Spanish political system, and to what extent its presence or absence influenced the culture and thought of Spanish writers that, sooner or later, would be reflected in their writings. For pragmatic purposes, we will limit the investigation of this worldwide production to the reception of English literary narratives, since the number of works from the English-speaking world arriving in Spain is the most significant in comparison to other foreign narratives². Therefore, the examination of the censorial treatment of national and international narratives will provide an overview of the topic.

Most researchers start from the definition of the term 'censorship' and its different meanings throughout history. Subsequently, a carefully elaborated description of the

most relevant aspects of the organisation and functioning of censorship follows. This entails a detailed description of the tasks of the board of censors who carried out this process, involving diverse documents (files, galley proofs, reports, questionnaires and application forms among others), and the criteria that were used to classify books³. Such thorough analysis of the criteria sheds light upon the three elements upon which Franco's totalitarianism was based: the regime, its institutions, and the church.⁴ Each body had the power to exert censorial functions, thus, on some occasions there was an overlap. Books which were authorised by one entity could be considered unacceptable by another.

Furthermore, Spanish governmental development is commonly introduced into discussions of censorship⁵. Critics underline that the different ministers in power highly influenced the degree of censorship of literary narratives. Special emphasis is placed on the contrasts between the so-called 'dark censorship' of Gabriel Arias-Salgado who presided over the *Ministerio de Información y Turismo* [Ministry of Information and Tourism] between 1951 and 1962, and the liberalisation process brought about by the minister who succeeded him, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who held the post from 1962 to 1969.

The approaches to political issues also set out to investigate in depth the different laws that regulated national book policy. They set in opposition the two main laws enacted in order to emphasise the differences. Hence, the *Ley de Prensa* [Press Law] enacted in April 1938, and the law that attempted to make censorship less stringent, the *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta* [Press and Print Law] enacted in March 1966, are contrasted. Most researchers agree that the 1966 law was less tolerant than the population thought it would be. According to the writer Antonio Beneyto, although the law seemed lenient towards erotic and sensual elements, it caused difficulties as publishers had a greater chance of being punished if the authorities considered the book offensive⁶.

Moreover, dictatorial power restricted the culture to which the reader had access; thus, parts of cultural knowledge remained obscure. It is worth considering Georgina Cisquella's depiction of the subject matters which were frequently prohibited⁷. This journalist shows how the so-called 'damned topics' were notably related to the history of Spain and the political regime that prevailed after the victory of the Civil War 1936-1939: the army, the head of state, present problems, conflicts, strikes, the nationalities, etc. Cisquella also includes the categories of Marxism, anarchism, sexuality, and religious texts which introduced a progressive Christianity. Finally, she takes into account the category of 'morals and customs' which prevented writers from referring to subjects such as divorce, abortion and drugs.

In addition, research on Franco's censorship reports the writers' relationship with politics in these troubled times. From the end of the Civil War onwards, political factors proved to be determinant in writers' self-censorship. Writers of popular romantic novels or supporters of the state ideology were upheld, while writers who were suspected of subversion had serious difficulties in publishing. Nonetheless, by 1950, authors of so-called 'realist novels' were raising their pens against the tyrannical system and begin-

ning to disclose the authentic reality of the economic and cultural poverty that Spain was experiencing.

The sociologist Manuel Abellán was the first researcher to deal with the question of historiography in the field of literary censorship under the regime, and he is a key figure when considering the origins of studies of Spanish censorship. His opinions on the main problems of Spanish literary historiography were discussed in his article *Problemas historiográficos en el estudio de la censura literaria del último medio siglo* [Historiographical problems in the study of literary censorship in the last half of the century]. The main ideas of Abellán's article will be employed to understand the main difficulties in our consideration of literary narratives under Franco's totalitarianism.

The first issue he addresses is related to the extent of studies of literary censorship. He notes the small number of works on the topic, and states that new investigations might have been expected to emerge immediately after the death of the dictator in 1975, since the new democracy guaranteed more freedom of expression. Nevertheless, this was not the case and, fourteen years later, he considered that much remained to be done in this field. Additionally, Abellán comments on the first works that studied the effects of censorship on Spanish literary narrative. The first study that he mentioned was written just one year after the end of the dictatorial system. Beneyto took the initiative in collecting the opinions of 43 writers in his book *Censura y política en los escritores españoles* [Censorship and politics in Spanish writers]. These authors shared with him their personal experiences under censorship.

In the same year, this trend of bringing together interviews in order to study the dictatorship was shared by Fernando Álvarez Palacios. He took the experiences of 26 writers as historical sources through a well-structured questionnaire in *Novela y cultura española de postguerra* [The post-war Spanish novel and culture]. He is the first historian to describe the development of the Spanish novel and culture since the Civil War, after the end of the dictatorial system. When he opposes the literary tendencies developed in this period, we see that the post-war culture was an inevitable product of censorial power. On the one hand, he comments on the 1940s, when writers were largely out of contact with the historical and cultural reality of Europe, and the tear-jerker *literatura luminosa* [luminous literature] became widespread. On the other hand, he opposes the social criticism of the *novela social* [social novel] of the 1950s, an obvious sign of the political opposition forces' resistance against the authoritarian regime⁸.

Paradoxically, although his work was among the first carried out at the end of censorial period, Álvarez is not mentioned in Abellán's article on historical accounts of Franco's censorship. His work was not cited until almost thirty years later in the last edition of the book entitled *La novela española entre 1936 y el fin de siglo* [The Spanish novel between 1936 and the end of the century] by the historian Juan Martínez Cachero⁹. Like Abellán, Martínez became interested in the life and vicissitudes of the Spanish novel in this period and had published his book for the first time in 1973. The comments he made in the 1997 edition were quite negative. While he characterised Beneyto's inter-

views as “meticulous, curious, serious or regrettable accounts in relation to the censorial action of literary activity”, he states that in the collection of interviews by Álvarez, we find ‘daring ignorance and political malevolence’¹⁰.

Researchers also turned their attention to publishing houses as historical sources, rather than focusing on authors. Georgina Cisquella, José Luis Erviti and José A. Sorolla researched on censorship in the period 1966-76. The results of their investigations were published in *La represión cultural en el franquismo: diez años de censura de libros durante la ley de prensa (1966-1976)* [Cultural repression under Franco's regime: ten years of book censorship under the Print Law (1966-1976)]. We find, for the first time, invaluable disclosures of the publishers' stormy contacts with the censorship office. Abellán does not share this approach. His article refers to Martínez's book as a ‘firm reference’ but he does not show the same consideration to Beneyto's work, commenting that “it does not intend to be a contribution to the study of the topic”. He was also critical of Georgina Cisquella's book stating that “its mere title fully exceeds its content”¹¹. It is evident that he does not accept the importance of the works of these researchers. Their works are based on subjective opinions, either of writers or publishing houses, but interesting contributions to discussions of censorship can be found throughout. Abellán also drew on interviews to construct one of his books¹².

Furthermore, Abellán points out that ‘the obligatory point of reference’ is his book *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)* [Censorship and literary creation in Spain (1939-1976)]. He also asserts that his own work is the first research based on reliable data. Indeed, Abellán was the first researcher who had become aware of the importance of the files in the archives of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. He must be admired for being the first Spanish citizen to have accessed these files in 1976 and to have disclosed the secrets of this aspect of culture that, for a long time, had been hidden from the population. However, a wave of criticism arose due to his indiscretion in revealing the names of the readers who were in charge of reviewing the literary works¹³. He justified his action by arguing that a large number of documents that he had intended to examine had mysteriously disappeared before they could reach him. Fortunately, this kind of ‘vendetta’ or resentment has not been shared by most historians, critics and literary researchers of censorship, who respected, and still respect, the job that readers had to perform in the past and, consequently, show consideration for their right to privacy.

From the very moment that Abellán searched for verifiable data, researchers have looked for new historical sources to illustrate the intricacies of this period. F. Javier Cristofol has tried to demonstrate that Spanish detective stories could also be considered valid sources of historical knowledge. In fact, his dissertation *Estudio crítico de la novela policíaca española de posguerra (1940-53)* [A critical study of the post-war Spanish detective novel (1940-53)] proves to be a “valuable tool of historical knowledge in the first part of Franco's regime”. In his view, “the combination of censorship together with the imitation of foreign novels led to a detective story hybrid which mirrored fictitious societies which, in a partial way, pictures the hard Spanish censorship together with elements of social criticism”¹⁴.

Abellán's article on literary historiographical problems drew attention to studies about the censorial machinery. Similarly, he claimed that the number of works on the analysis of the procedures of censorship had not significantly increased since 1980 when he wrote his first book. Yet, the situation has completely changed and more studies have been carried out. Moreover, the investigation shows that opinions on the effectiveness of literary censorship procedures seem to occupy two opposing views. On the one hand, writers like the hispanist, Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, think that Spain and Franco's regime never reached the "perfectionist and detailed character of the German censorship". On the other hand, researchers such as Alberto Lázaro declare that the system normally worked with "severity, firmness and efficiency"¹⁵.

Abellán highlighted that under Franco's rule studies on peninsular literatures were also scarce. In fact, there is only the work of Joseph Massot i Muntaner who published on Catalan literature in *La represa del llibre català a la postguerra* [The repression of the Catalan book in the post-war period]. However, Abellán did gather together most current experts on the effects of this oppressive power on literature produced in the Galician, Catalan and Basque languages in 1985. The book *Censura y literaturas peninsulares* [Censorship and peninsular literatures] includes, for example, Basilio Losada Castro's article about literature in Galicia, detailing a list of Galician writers who were banned and who had to leave the country. It also includes Joan Mari Torrealдай's invaluable article about censorship and the Basque country¹⁶.

Abellán's complaint about the lack of studies of the various peninsular literatures seems to have triggered interest and new works were written on the topic. In 1991 María Josepa Gallofré i Virgili published *L'edició catalana i la censura franquista (1936-1951)* [Catalan publication and the Francoist censorship] about the situation of publishers in Catalonia. In 1995 Jose María Torrealдай published *La censura gubernativa y el libro vasco, 1936-1983: análisis de los informes de lectorado* [Governmental censorship and the Basque book 1936-1983: an analysis of readers' reports]. In 1998 he also illustrated the Basque situation when he published *La censura franquista y los escritores vascos del 98* [Francoist censorship and the Generation of 1898 Writers] about the group of writers who created a new trend in Basque literature at the end of the 19th century.

On the other hand, in his literary historiographical article Abellán might also have referred to those researchers who contributed to descriptions of the situation of non-Castilian literatures throughout their works, even when this was not the main purpose of their investigations. This is the case with Valeriano Bozal in *La edición española. Notas para su historia* [Editing in Spain: notes for its history], which discusses the rising growth of Catalan literature, both creative writing and essays, which became available to the public in larger editions in the 1950s and early 1960s. He also notes, however, two serious hindrances facing Catalan editions. Firstly, the market was limited, so that the number of print runs was small and the books comparatively expensive. Secondly, there was a rivalry with the cheaper Spanish version¹⁷.

Other researchers reaffirm the point that after the Spanish Civil War no Catalan work was allowed to be published until 1946. Due to the allied victory in the Second World War, Franco was forced to downplay his sympathies with Germany and Italy in the War and show that he was more tolerant. Finally, in the 1960s, the regular publication of books written in other national languages in Spain became one of the most significant pieces of evidence of the weakening of the censorial power. Rosa Rabadán's comments are also noteworthy. She explains that "the works written in other peninsular languages, Euskera, Catalan or Galician [...], although they suffered from delays in their revision in some cases, and many readers were against their authorisation, were not censored for linguistic reasons but for their content". She helps us to understand that the dictatorship's criteria took moral and political issues more into consideration than linguistic ones¹⁸.

The fact that interdisciplinary links provide important support for this study is beyond question. This is another historiographical problem that Abellán took into account. He emphasised that many aspects of literature are still waiting to be explored; that new data may come out from the "unexploited land of the relations between the publishing world and censorship"¹⁹. Prior to Abellán, Bozal had already commented on the lack of studies on the "political guidelines that so much influenced the publishing policies"²⁰. Although his words date from 1969, during the censorship, he stated that books were subject to political criteria and extreme interventionism, and he described the political institutions created to control the existing publishing houses. Bozal praised those new publishing houses which made an effort to update Spanish literary production, such as the collection *Biblioteca Breve* by the publishing house Seix Barral which had a striking cultural impact on the promotion of the innovative social novel in the 1950s. He also had words of gratitude for Seix Barral because it paved the way for access to the European culture which influenced university students and that later would have social influence²¹.

We should also take account of Georgina Cisque's work as an historical account of publishing²². She notes details such as the fact that the regime blackmailed some publishers, and that even when a book did not reach the market, this did not only mean an attack on culture as it is widely known, but also an attack on the unsteady economies of the publishing houses. In other cases, if there were rumours that a book was going to be banned and that ban did not become effective, public interest in reading the book heightened, and, consequently, sales doubled.

What is most striking is the fact that historians have recently discovered that censorship carried out by publishers themselves has had as negative an impact on the reading public as that carried out by official censors. Publishers partially modified or cut literary works before they were reviewed by the readers, in order to increase the chance that they would be acceptable to the censorship office. On other occasions, publishers thought that more subtle strategies, such as establishing contacts with the most influential censors, would be useful. This was the case with José Manuel Lara Hernández, founder of the publishing house Planeta, who, according to Douglas LaPrade, "was one of the few publishers who had access to censors of the third level"²³. Other publishers,

as Georgina Cisquella explains, employed simpler, yet also efficient, tactics to deceive the board of censors. If censors advised against a book, publishers changed the titles or the covers of the book and re-submitted it, or in other cases, inserted a pre-war publication date, so that they had a greater chance of being published²⁴. We must also note how certain foreign publishers challenged the power of the censorship office. José Sánchez comments on the case of the publishing house Joaquín Mortiz in Mexico which specialised in publishing works that had been previously banned in Spain²⁵.

The most striking censorship of Spanish literary culture was not that of the dictatorial system nor that of the publishing houses; it arose from the inner nature of the writers themselves. In the very process of writing, authors felt inhibited, and so silenced their inner voices because they were highly aware of the moral and political strictures of the regime. Alternatively, some writers were reluctant to alter their works and decided not to publish until Franco's term of office expired, while others decided to fight, and used their political contacts to publish abroad. Authors also attempted to negotiate the words to be suppressed with the political authorities or disguise the truth through manipulating their language. In this last case, their words became an invisible weapon to fight and transmit their thoughts and opposition to the brutal regime while, at the same time, going unnoticed by the authorities.

Antonio Sánchez carried out an excellent and detailed study on the linguistic resources employed by writers under the pressure of censorship in *Palabras tachadas: retórica contra censura* [Censored words: rhetoric against censorship]. Sánchez describes how authors deliberately located references to current harsh Spanish reality at an historical distance, and how, in many instances, the reader was invited to identify symbols and to read between the lines. Consequently, the narratives were able to show situations that were part of contemporary Spanish life without being spotted as such by the board of censors.

In this paper, a comparison is also posed between the national literary narrative described above and the reception of international literature in Spain. This comparison highlights how, and to what extent, international literature contributed to the development of Spanish culture and literary narrative from 1939 to 1975. Firstly, this research shows that a conceptual development can be observed in the study of national and international writers. On the one hand, in Beneyto's first study, interviews with writers suggested that the dictatorial system discriminated against Spanish authors in comparison to international authors. In subsequent studies, this judgement seems to disappear. The national and international literatures are considered as having the same status with regard to the censorship office, with the same 'damned topics' that could not be mentioned in either literature. Douglas LaPrade demonstrates this similarity, showing that Hemingway's Spanish version of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* could not be published without cuts until 1968. This was because the topic of the Civil War was taboo at that time²⁶.

The first post-war discussion of the comparison between national and international literature appeared in 1969, when Bozal pointed out that translations of foreign works,

particularly English novels, rose consistently in the 1940s, yet the problems of Spanish international policy meant that “only those translations of an impeccable orthodoxy and literary quality” were promoted²⁷. There are two different opinions about the extent to which international writers were known in Spain. Lázaro made this evident when he considered that Domingo Pérez Minik “somewhat exaggerates” when he states that “the Spanish translation of English novels was scarce” in his *La novela extranjera en España* [The foreign novel in Spain]. At the same time, he opposed Bozal's view that “the translation of contemporary English novels doubled in number during the 1940s”²⁸.

At this point, we must highlight Douglas LaPrade's contributions to the reception of international English-language literature. His study of Hemingway, *La censura de Hemingway en España* [Censorship of Hemingway in Spain], represents the first research in this field. He uncovered the administration's hypocritical attitude towards foreign literature. Censors considered Hemingway a threat, but at the same time, Hemingway's worldwide fame became a means to disseminate knowledge of Spanish culture in Europe²⁹. LaPrade identified this as an instance of how culture had been manipulated for political purposes, in this case, to replace the Spanish image of tyrannical cruelty and poverty with a picture of happiness, festivities and bullfighting.

We must also be careful when we consider literary narratives in this period as historical sources. In 1966 Julio César Santoyo, specialist in the analysis of historical aspects of translation, was the first to warn that translations of foreign works were subject to alterations that could distort perceptions of reality under Franco. He emphasises the case of *El día en que murió Guernica* [The day Guernica died] by Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, which was sold as a truthful account of events, but which, in Santoyo's words, “has been openly altered, modified and several sentences have been mutilated in order not to harm political susceptibilities”³⁰. LaPrade's study of Hemingway also demonstrated that the effects of censorship on literature were still apparent at the end of the 20th century. He explains that the publishing house Caralt was still publishing an incomplete version of *Farewell to Arms* and other works omitting Franco's name. He complains that “while publishers and readers do not consider Hemingway a political writer we will not realise that in the past his texts were modified”³¹.

It was not until 2001 that undeniable evidence of how a distorted narrative has been used as an historical source was offered. This is the case with the British writer George Orwell and his *Homage to Catalonia*. Lázaro explains in *George Orwell's Homage to Catalonia: A Politically Incorrect Story* that Orwell's book was ‘polished’ by the censorship board to the extent that his views on the Spanish Civil War had been distorted. He regrets that Spanish critics like José Gutiérrez Álvarez judge *Homage to Catalonia* to be a trustworthy source for historians when, in Lázaro's opinion, “the literary work does not offer Orwell's true vision of the war but a distorted reflection of the armed conflict”³².

In conclusion, as a result of research on literary narratives during the period of censorship, we can see the cultural paralysis of a country which was deprived of links to the wider European

context. At the same time, we are made aware of Spanish opposition to stifling totalitarianism, when shrewd subversive writers drew on stylistic strategies to convey their thoughts. These investigations allow us to acknowledge the extent to which international culture became a political means to prevent the population from awareness of the tough reality.

We conclude by emphasising the richness of the historical sources of the studies analysed here. The files of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, social criticism hidden in detective novels, and interviews with editors and authors who developed their creativity under the yoke of tyranny, have all left the door open to new and interesting sources for the study of Spanish history. However, as this paper shows, the available narrative sources for history can only be taken as truthful if we are absolutely sure that the novels we are dealing with were not modified, suppressed or cut to the extent that the texts offer a distorted version of Spanish history.

NOTES

- ¹ “La censura actuó como un cordón sanitario para proteger a los lectores españoles de la influencia exterior; [...]no sólo fueron prohibidos los autores marxistas o los españoles exiliados, sino una gran cantidad de obras que se encuentran entre las más importantes del siglo. El espacio que estos autores – Sartre, Camus, Faulkner, Vittorini, Pavese, etc. -, dejaron vacío fue ocupado por una subliteratura de consumo. [...] Al joven escritor nacido en la preguerra o en los primeros años de la postguerra se le privaba de conocer lo más importante de la producción literaria europea” extracted from J. Sánchez, *Palabras tachadas: retórica contra censura*, Alicante 1988, pp. 19-20.
- ² For a full description of this issue, see V. Bozal, *La edición en España. Notas para su historia*, “Cuadernos para el diálogo”, 14, 1969, pp. 85-93.
- ³ See M.L. Abellán, *Censura y creación literaria en España (1939-1976)*, Barcelona 1980, pp. 19, 87-96.
- ⁴ Abellán, *Censura y creación literaria* cit., pp. 111-12.
- ⁵ A clear explanation of the different phases can be found in J.M. Torrealdei, *La censura de Franco y los escritores vascos del 98*, San Sebastián 1998, pp. 96-101.
- ⁶ See A. Beneyto, *Censura y política en los escritores españoles*, Barcelona 1975, pp. 16-17.
- ⁷ See G. Cisquilla (ed.), *La represión cultural en el franquismo: diez años de censura de libros durante la Ley de Prensa (1966-1976)*, Barcelona 2002, p. 90.
- ⁸ For an analysis and contrast of both kinds of literature see Álvarez, *Novela y cultura española*, pp. 15-22, pp. 43-53.
- ⁹ In the 1985 edition of J.M. Martínez Cachero, Álvarez is not mentioned.
- ¹⁰ Beneyto is commented on on p. 683 and Álvarez on p. 671.
- ¹¹ Abellán, *Problemas historiográficos* cit., p. 20.
- ¹² Abellán, *Censura y creación literaria* cit., pp.57-66.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-110
- ¹⁴ E.J. Cristofol, *Estudio crítico de la novela policíaca española de posguerra (1940-1953)*, Barcelona 2000.
- ¹⁵ See H.J. Neuschäfer, *Adiós a la España eterna la dialéctica de la censura: novela, teatro y cine bajo el franquismo*, Barcelona 1994; L.A. Lázaro, *H.G. Wells en España: estudio de los expedientes de censura (1939-1978)*, Madrid 2004, pp. 29-30.
- ¹⁶ J.M. Torrealdei, *La censura gubernativa y el libro vasco, 1936-1983: análisis de los informes de lectorado*, Bilbao 1995.

- ¹⁷ Bozal, *La edición en España* cit., pp. 91-92.
- ¹⁸ D.E. LaPrade, *La censura de Hemingway en España*, Salamanca 1991, pp. 13-15; R. Rabadán (ed.), *Traducción y censura, Inglés-Español, 1939-1985. Estudio preliminar*, León 2000, p. 224.
- ¹⁹ Abellán, *Problemas historiográficos* cit., p. 21.
- ²⁰ Bozal, *La Edición en España* cit., p. 85.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
- ²² Cisquella, *La represión cultural* cit., p. 58.
- ²³ LaPrade, *La censura de Hemingway* cit., p. 15.
- ²⁴ Cisquella, *La represión cultural* cit., pp. 103-13.
- ²⁵ Sánchez, *Palabras tachadas* cit., p. 14.
- ²⁶ LaPrade, *La censura de Hemingway* cit., p. 56.
- ²⁷ Bozal, *La edición en España* cit., pp. 86-87.
- ²⁸ See *The Emergency Voice: A Review of Spanish Scholarship on Virginia Woolf*, in *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe*, London 2002, pp. 247-62, pp. 416-20.
- ²⁹ LaPrade, *La Censura de Hemingway* cit., p. 14.
- ³⁰ See J.C. Santoyo, *El delito de traducir*, León 1966, p. 93.
- ³¹ LaPrade, *La censura de Hemingway* cit., pp. 66-67.
- ³² Lázaro, *George Orwell* cit., pp. 34-35.

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