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Ph.D. Dissertation

***From the Periphery to the Canon: Detective Fiction in
Spain Through the Works of García Pavón, Cain,
Vázquez Montalbán and Thompson. An Application of
Polysystem Theories of Translation.***

By: Isabel Palomo Merino

Directed by: Dr. Javier Ortiz García, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Madrid, 2017

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Detective fiction has become one of the most popular genres in our present times; but why and how did detective fiction become so popular in Spain? This dissertation studies the development of the genre of detective fiction in Spain, written both by Spanish writers and as translations from American authors, framed within the historical period that extends from the Franco Regime up to our present days. It was during the dictatorship that translations of foreign detective fiction started to reach the country and a sense of collective imagination on the topic began to be created, influenced also by the movie adaptations that reached Spain, by the numerous pseudotranslations, and by journals like *El Caso*.

The foreign model of detective fiction was adopted by national writers who re-created it within a new context: classic detective fiction influenced the work of Francisco García Pavón, and hardboiled detective fiction –analyzed through the works of James M. Cain and Jim Thompson in a descriptive analysis of excerpts of their translations as part of our hypothesis- was the reference for Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's series. Censorship was one of the elements common to all these writers, and its influence over the genre's development is hereby assessed, as well as in relation to each author.

In this dissertation it is claimed that translation was the innovative force that brought the genre of detective fiction into the Spanish Polysystem: the genre remained at the periphery of the system upon its arrival, but slowly and progressively has moved away from that position into a central canonical one, resulting in a literary *boom* of detective fiction.

Keywords: Detective Fiction, Hardboiled Detective Fiction, Polysystem Theories, Translation Theory, Francisco García Pavón, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Jim Thompson, James M. Cain, Censorship, Spanish Literature, Canon, Translation Studies.

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El género policíaco se ha convertido en uno de los más populares en la literatura contemporánea, pero ¿cómo y por qué es este un género tan relevante en España? La presente tesis doctoral estudia el desarrollo del género policíaco y negro en España, escrito por escritores nacionales, y mediante traducciones de autores estadounidenses, comprendiendo el periodo que se extiende desde el Régimen franquista hasta nuestros días. Precisamente fue durante la dictadura cuando comenzaron a llegar al país traducciones de novelas de género policíaco y, de esta manera, se empezó a crear un imaginario colectivo en torno al género, con ayuda de adaptaciones cinematográficas extranjeras y numerosas pseudotraducciones, así como periódicos como *El Caso*.

Varios escritores nacionales adoptaron el modelo extranjero del género policíaco y negro, recreándolo en un nuevo contexto: Francisco García Pavón tomó el modelo policíaco clásico como referente y, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán por su parte, lo hizo con el *hardboiled* –que en esta tesis analizamos en un estudio descriptivo de las traducciones de la obra de James M. Cain y Jim Thompson como parte de nuestra hipótesis respecto al desarrollo del género en términos de polisistema-. La censura fue un elemento al que todos estos autores tuvieron que hacer frente y, por tanto, en esta tesis se examina su influencia sobre el desarrollo del género en el país, así como en referencia a cada uno de los autores.

Esta tesis doctoral afirma que la traducción fue la fuerza innovadora que introdujo el género policíaco y negro en el polisistema literario español y que su desarrollo en el país ha seguido los parámetros de la Teoría de los Polisistemas: el género inicialmente permaneció en la periferia del sistema y, de una manera progresiva, se ha ido moviendo de la periferia al canon, resultando en un *boom* literario que persiste hasta nuestros días.

Palabras clave: Novela policíaca, novela negra, traducción, Teoría de los Polisistemas, Teoría de la traducción, Francisco García Pavón, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Jim Thompson, James M. Cain, censura franquista, literatura española, canon.

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O que é escrever?

Lo que no se ve, lo que nunca llega a la hoja de papel que uno entrega.

In loving memory of

Mariana Grajales

and my father.

Acknowledgements

Every dissertation is, in a way, like a police investigation. We, as researchers, try to find answers, reasons and ways to understand and explain some issue; our goal is to provide a narrative that sheds light into some topic, and to share it with others who might be interested on the same matter.

Every investigation, however, has a moment or two when the detective feels completely lost and is about to give up. When that happened, I was lucky enough to have my advisor, Professor Dr. Javier Ortiz García, who always provided insight and lighted the darkness around me. He has been one of the most inspirational people I have ever met, and has shaped my view of what a professor should be like. Javier introduced me to translation theory when I took my first undergraduate courses, then he helped me pursue my MA at Binghamton University, and finally, coming back full-circle in this process, he has advised me on my PhD. I thank him for helping me every single time that I needed it.

Being a detective in this investigation was also at times exciting, especially when visiting the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA) in Alcalá de Henares, and checking all the original censorship reports that made possible this investigation. Some of those red marks led the way into shaping this dissertation, and understanding the relation between some of its elements.

Even though they rarely appear in the stories, detectives have mothers too, and mine has shared every step of this process, offering her support. I grew up always surrounded by books –I remember now her Agatha Christie collection, her books by P.D. James, Ruth Rendell and Patricia Highsmith, and the times she received the new volume marked by the initial of Sue Grafton’s alphabet series- and I thank her for

sharing her universe with me. I thank my grandfather too, for showing me what it means to be perseverant, honest and, above all, to pursue happiness. I feel grateful for having such a supportive family.

Unfortunately, during this process I did not have a sidekick like a lot of detectives do, but I did have plenty of friends who were there for me over time, and helped me in different ways: Edu, Marta, Álex, Hande, Rui, María, Tony, Vince, Loquis, Lorena, and Cecilia. Thank you all for believing in me.

Introduction

Detective fiction has become one of the most popular genres in our present times: whether we go to a bookstore, to the movies, or switch on the television, we find detective fiction in its different forms and representations. This is only one of the signs that show the dramatic change in literature consumption over a period of four decades or so. But why and how did detective fiction become so popular in Spain?

This dissertation studies the development of the genre of detective fiction in Spain, written both by Spanish writers and American authors in translation, framed within the historical period that extends from the Franco Regime up to the contemporary period. To do so, Polysystem Theories of translation will serve as the theoretical framework from which we understand the evolution of the genre in Spain. Given the historical and political particularities of the country, the beginning of this analysis takes place during the dictatorship; thus, we consider it necessary to analyze the censorship that was enforced at the time and which has shaped the genre and some of the translations up to the present day. Multiple studies have analyzed censorship by itself (Ruiz Bautista), and its relationship to translation (such is the case of the TRACE project, which began in the late 90s), and others yet theorize on the emergence of detective fiction in Spain (such as those by Salvador Vázquez de Parga, José Colmeiro or Patricia Hart) or develop Polysystem Theories of translation (Even-Zohar, Lefevere, Iglesias Santos). However, my goal is to understand the interactions between the following elements during Francisco Franco's Regime (1939-1975): detective fiction, censorship and translation; and, ultimately, to show a direct

application of Polysystem Theories in the case of the development of this genre in Spain. Claiming that translation serves as an innovative force within the Spanish Polysystem, we will analyze the initial development of the genre in the country, and how the foreign model was adopted by national writers and recreated with different particularities within a new context. We will also analyze the impact of censorship on both the translation of detective novels in Spain during the Franco Regime, as well as the national production of writing within this genre. In order to do so, I will focus on the work of two Spanish writers (Francisco García Pavón and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán) and the translations of two American writers (James M. Cain and Jim Thompson) into Spanish. A common factor that shaped all these works was the censorship that took place at the time of their publication under Franco's dictatorship:

El 15 de julio de 1942 la censura apercibe al I.N.L.E. de que es su criterio, a los efectos de aprobación de los planes editoriales, autorizar tan sólo «el mínimo de novelas de «tipo policiaco», donde abundan la degeneración, el juego, los vicios, venganzas, robos y crímenes». El ideal de la censura era llegar «a la completa suspensión de este tipo de obras», y especialmente «las traducciones (sic) americanas». (AGA Cultura in Ruiz Bautista 70)

Why did the Franco Regime consider detective novels dangerous? Did all authors of detective fiction encounter the same attitude from the censorship committees? If not, why? Why did they specifically target American translations? How did translations affect the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain?

How does Polysystem Theory fit into the Spanish context? These are some of the questions I would like to address in this dissertation, in addition to the following: 1) issues related to the censorship of Spanish detective fiction publications; 2) issues pertaining to the translation of this genre from the American literary market, given that the culture of the United States greatly influenced the Spanish collective imagination concerning detective and crime novels; and 3) an application of Polysystem Theories of translation in the case of detective fiction in the Spanish context, and in the development of the genre until the present day.

I thereby propose a project that will examine (1) the origins of detective fiction in postwar Spain under Franco's dictatorship; (2) the effects of censorship on the development of this genre; (3) the translation of the American detective fiction genre into the Spanish context and its relationship with the Spanish one; and (4) the application of Polysystem Theories of Translation in the case of Spanish detective fiction. Given the current weight of detective fiction in the literary panorama of the country –and its worldwide presence–, the motivation and relevance of this project is to provide an analysis of the development of the genre, and the causes and process that led detective fiction to hold the canonical and central position it does today.

In Chapter One, an introductory framework will be provided as a foundation from which to understand the context of Spain's historical, social and political issues. In the same vein, a brief introduction is given on the development of detective fiction as a publishing phenomenon in the country. And lastly, an account of the different Theories of Translation is presented with special attention given to Polysystem

Theories. In Chapter Two I will argue that the work of Francisco García Pavón (1919-1989), with his character Plinio, marks the debut of Spanish detective fiction. Because García Pavón is considered a pioneer in this genre, I shall analyze the effects of censorship on both his work and on the subsequent development of the genre in Spain. My aim is to understand how the Spanish censorial apparatus used the Press Law as a framework to foster an archetype of Spanish identity, into which it would socialize the national population during the period of Franco's reign. I will also analyze the impact of foreign detective fiction on his work, and how this relates to the expansion of the genre in Spain. In Chapter Three I will consider the influence of translation of detective fiction by American author James M. Cain (1892-1977) on the evolution of Spanish detective fiction and the efforts of the Franco Regime to suppress this influence. In this same Chapter, we will apply Polysystem Theories of translation to analyze how we believe the detective fiction genre reached the Spanish context and began to develop. In Chapter Four, I will contrast Francisco García Pavón's work with that of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003), who introduced a postmodern component into this genre through his character Detective Carvalho, and whose experience with the censorial apparatus was much more contentious than García Pavón's experience. Montalbán represents a further development of detective fiction in Spain and, in particular, of hardboiled detective fiction. In Chapter Five, by analyzing Jim Thompson's translations (1906-1977), I will examine the last death throes of the Regime and the posterior evolution of the genre in our country and its current position in the national polysystem.

As a conclusion, I claim that, by applying Polysystem Theories of Translation, detective fiction was introduced in Spain through translation and has now acquired a

canonized status in the center of the Spanish literary Polysystem. We can see the continued interest in the genre when we analyze the number of publications in print today, the festivals and conferences that have evolved around the subject, and the number of Spanish writers that have advanced the genre over recent years.

Censorship was one of the main tools with which the Francoist Government controlled and modeled Spanish society for nearly 40 years (1936-1975). The censorial apparatus exacted constant control over writers, translators, and editors with regards to religious, political, and ideological matters, thus determining what material it would allow to be published. Censorship committees targeted detective fiction due to its popularity among Spanish audiences, charging themselves with the task of safeguarding the moral integrity of the Spanish people. I shall argue that, while García Pavón was never openly political in his work, he was considered a liberal writer, and yet escaped heavy censorship. The ideology of the Franco Regime was expressed through his character Plinio, who embodied the values that the Regime expected the average Spanish citizen to internalize. By contrast, detective novels that departed from the governmental scheme were either banned for their imputed dangerous and immoral content, or were heavily edited before publication, as was the case with the work of Montalbán and Cain.

In addressing these issues, I will refer to the censorship reports (*expedientes de censura*) of these authors, drafted by censors regarding each work before its publication. These files are stored at the General Administration Archive (AGA) in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid. I also shall refer to the Press Laws of 1938 and 1966, which the Franco Regime promulgated as the basis of the censorship program.

Chapter One

Framework: Spanish Context and Polysystem Theories

If we want to trace the origin of the development of detective fiction in Spain, we must go back to the 60s and 70s, the years after the Civil War in which the first systematic publications of the genre began to appear. Before that, some isolated and periodical publications were likely to have been in circulation in the country, but it is impossible to conceptualize it as an existing consolidated genre. For that reason, we must situate the context in which the development of the genre took place: that is, the coinciding years of the Francoist dictatorship –in which its exerted censorship was in effect- and its posterior disappearance. This will allow us to assess whether the Regime, and the censorship that was in place at the time, had an impact on the reception and the development of the genre in the country.

The first chapter of this dissertation will provide the necessary framework for understanding the context in which the genre of detective fiction developed in Spain, both in terms of historical, social and political issues of the country, as well as in terms of Translation Studies and, more importantly, Polysystem Theories of Translation. This framework will serve as the basic theoretical ground for our study, and as a tool for the analysis that will be exposed in further chapters and exemplified by means of

a review of the detective fiction work by the four authors under study in this dissertation.

The study of the dictatorship is not new in the country and I reviewed different analyses and accounts by scholars who have dealt with this period in order to understand the reigning ideology at the time, and the ways in which the Francoist government tried to exert control over the cultural sphere. Multiple studies have analyzed censorship as a discipline, but I shall highlight the work carried out by Eduardo Ruiz Bautista (2007). He thoroughly explains the way in which censorship functioned during the Franco years, with a great deal of detail and information that allows for a complete understanding of the system, its members, and its functioning. Manuel Abellán (1987) is, without a doubt, the scholar who began the study of censorship in relation to cultural affairs in the country. And others like Alcover (1977), Andrés de Blas (1999), Beneyeto (1977), Cisquella (1977), Moret (2002), or Pegenaute (1996) have also advanced the study of censorship, adding different perspectives and nuances in their accounts. There is as well a very influential group of scholars who study the relationship of censorship and translation in Spain and whose work is highly enlightening: the TRACE group (Censored Translations), whose work started in 1995. They study censorship in relation to translation in a systematic and pioneering way, providing a corpus and a wide variety of articles and resources that can be used for further research on the topic. Their work is highly influential due to the various aspects they touch upon (children's literature, drama, novel, film adaptations) and because of the different stances their members hold on the topic. In relation to detective fiction, some authors who study the emergence of the genre in Spain, and whose work I take as my starting point, include Salvador

Vázquez de Parga (1993), José Colmeiro (1994) and Patricia Hart (1987). Vázquez de Parga provides a complete overview of the genre in a detailed and highly descriptive way. José Colmeiro, aside from being one of Montalbán's most accurate readers, also studies the development of the genre, providing a mix of practical and theoretical analysis. On the other hand, Patricia Hart is, perhaps, the author who analyzes the development in a more personal and analytical manner, providing description together with her own interpretation. Even though these authors provide a broad survey of detective fiction in Spain, including works by Francisco García Pavón and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, they do not directly address the censorship these writers experienced. Instead, they focus on the emergence of detective fiction in Spain and its development as a genre in the country without considering it as a global phenomenon affected by translation theory. Other authors writing on the topic who can be highlighted here include Balibrea (2002), Coma (1986), Frechilla (2013) and Valles Calatrava (1991). In a similar fashion, a brief historical recollection of Translation theories is provided by authors such as Venuti (2004), Robinson (2002), Vega (2004) and many others. In this case, even though we partly touch on some theoretical aspects of translation, similarly to these scholars, we will try to highlight the importance of Polysystem Theories of translation and provide an application to the Spanish case.

My work differs from these sources in the sense that it aims at understanding the relationship between censorship and the work by the selected authors, both in Spanish and in translation, as well as the importance of translation in the creation and development of this genre in Spain. It provides specific examples of the randomness of censorship during those years, but also the possible ways in which the detective

fiction genre could be used against or in favor of the Franco Regime. I also consider the impact of Polysystem Theories of translation on the development of this genre in our country, and I will provide two case studies (James M. Cain and Jim Thompson) to assess its relevance and to exemplify the process in relation to two national writers (Francisco García Pavón and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán).

To develop my study of the censorship of the authors under analysis, I consulted files that are stored in the General Administration Archive (AGA) in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid. I also shall refer to the Press Laws of 1938 and 1966, which the Franco Regime promulgated as the basis of the censorship program.

1.1 Socio-historical Overview of Post Civil War Spain: Franco and Censorship

The years that immediately followed the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) were years of extreme poverty, hunger and a dearth of resources that led most of the population to despair. In the years that preceded the Civil War, the Second Republic of Spain (1931-1939) tried to impose measures to modernize and improve the country, such as developing a new educational curriculum in order to eradicate illiteracy (around 50% of the population was illiterate at the time), turning Spain into a non-denominational state, recognizing the autonomy of certain regions, developing a land reform program that involved expropriating lands and giving them to farmers and peasants, and even offering the possibility of getting divorced. However, the global economic crisis at the time and the extreme poverty of the rural population made success for the Second Republic difficult. Simultaneously, the more conservative portion of the population began to organize and plan a military uprising. The population was split dramatically between the landowners, Catholics and the right-wing thinkers on one side, and the farmers, the intellectuals and anarchists on the other. In 1932, a first coup was attempted, led by the general Sanjurjo, but it failed, resulting in his capture. In April of 1936, a military uprising failed in the Moroccan protectorate, partially due to its inability to capture Madrid and other large Spanish cities. This second coup led to the beginning of the three-year Spanish Civil War, which saw national allegiance divided between the Republican and Nationalist factions.

At this juncture, Francisco Franco rose to power, dissolved the Parliament, and established a dictatorship, assuming the position of Caudillo (leader) and Head of

State. As Javier Tusell (1989) points out “el régimen fue, a diferencia de algunas dictaduras hispanoamericanas y de las fascistas, una dictadura personal, no colectiva de un partido o de un estamento social o profesional; de ahí la denominación de *franquismo*” (Tusell 32). With the rise of conservative power, scores were soon settled with all who had been even remotely involved with the Republic. An undetermined number of opponents were killed, while those who survived went into exile. According to Robert Graham (1985), “between 350,000 and 400,000 people fled from Spain in 1939, mostly across the border to France, a few by crossing to French North Africa or by boat direct to Latin America... at least 150,000 went into longer term or permanent exile” (Graham 35). This exodus of large numbers of teachers, artists, writers, and university professors, all once affiliated with the Republic, adversely affected Spanish public education. Franco’s politics continued throughout his nearly forty years in power, during which time he repressed the possibility of dissident thought by meting out sentences of capital punishment and imprisonment to the rebellious. During this time, the nation militarized, and Catholicism totalized prevailing discourses of Spanish identity. The two elements that, without a doubt, depict Franco’s dictatorship at its best can be summarized as National-Catholicism:

The most culturally influential ‘families’ were the Church and the Falange, while the role of the armed forces and the monarchists, if less well defined in ideological terms, was politically and economically significant. Rather than a single coherent ideology or cultural project, several overlapping political and moral discourses were blended together in a common language of crusading *Nacional-catolicismo*

(National Catholicism) that, long after the war was over, continued to define the culture of Francoism in political speeches and publications, the press, education, and the arts. (Perriam 6)

Both the Church and the Regime's politics were deeply present in the lives of every Spaniard in such a profound way that this influence can still be observed in today's Spanish social and political atmospheres. One of Franco's legacies is that he managed to build a climate of political complacency and lack of interest in the notion of social change in Spain. As Manuel Vázquez Montalbán brilliantly depicts (1980):

Esta crónica sentimental se escribe desde la perspectiva del pueblo, de aquel pueblo de los años cuarenta que sustituía la mitología personal heredada de la guerra civil por una mitología de las cosas: el pan blanco, el aceite de oliva, el bistec de cien gramos, el jabón bueno, un corte de buen paño. La mitología del racionamiento y de las restricciones está presente de una manera obsesiva en los años cuarenta. La sentimentalidad colectiva se identifica con una serie de signos de exteriorización: las canciones, los mitos personales y anecdóticos, las modas, los gustos y la sabiduría convencional... En los años cuarenta, la radio, la prensa, la literatura de consumo se apresuraron a despolitizar la conciencia social. Lo consiguieron casi totalmente e introdujeron el reinado de la elipsis, tácitamente convenido, para expresar lo que no podía expresarse. (Vázquez Montalbán 16)

The Spanish people managed to survive nearly forty years by focusing almost exclusively on day-to-day existence. During this period, the dictatorial apparatus suppressed the expression of dissident thought to such an extent that the average citizen succumbed to its power to silence. Carmen Martín Gaité speaks of this power of the Spanish state in her account of postwar Spain (1987): “Todos los comentarios a la política, a las enfermedades venéreas, a las ejecuciones capitales, a los negocios sucios o a la miseria del país eran velados y clandestinos... El nuevo Régimen había establecido como norma: ‘la obediencia, el cuidado de no murmurar, de no concedernos la licencia de apostillas... la fórmula es ésta: el silencio entusiasta’” (Martín Gaité 17-18).

Censorship was one of the main tools by which the Francoist Government controlled and molded Spanish society for nearly 40 years (1936-1975). The censorial apparatus exacted constant control over writers, translators, and editors concerning religious, political, and ideological matters, determining what material it would allow to be published.

Before the end of the Civil War, in 1938, a Press Law was issued by the Francoist party that would remain in force for 28 more years. This Press Law required editors to submit all works for review by censorial boards prior to publication. Committees recommended such actions as publication with changes or omissions, prohibiting publication, or imposing administrative silence. In principle, no preference was given either to works in translation or works written in Spanish. Yet, in practice, Spanish works seemed to be prioritized and foreign works were published with limitations, allegedly because of the lack of paper in the country following the

Civil War: “En especial por lo que respecta a publicaciones procedentes del Extranjero, existen razones de orden económico, relacionadas con la situación de la industria del papel en las actuales circunstancias, que aconsejan la adopción de medidas restrictivas en cuanto a la producción” (B.O.E. 30/04/38 Número 556). At the same time, this Law banned pornographic, socialist, communist and other dissenting printed material. Moreover, publications in any peninsular language other than Castilian Spanish were strictly prohibited. According to Manuel Abellán (1990), who was one of the pioneers in studying Spanish censorship, the main censorship criteria included critical opposition to the Regime, to public morality, or to the civil order, defense of Marxist or non-authorized ideologies, and the prohibition of authors politically and ideologically opposed to the Regime:

Las Comisiones depuradoras [...] ordenarán la retirada de los mismos, de libros, folletos, revistas, publicaciones, grabados e impresos que contengan en su texto láminas o estampados con exposición de ideas disolventes, conceptos inmorales, propaganda de doctrinas marxistas y todo cuanto signifique falta de respeto a la dignidad de nuestro glorioso Ejército, atentados a la unidad de la Patria, menosprecio de la Religión Católica y de cuanto se oponga al significado y fines de nuestra gran Cruzada Nacional. (B.O.E. 17/09/37 Número 332)

There were two main elements at stake in Franco’s ideology, which could be summarized as National Catholicism: the Catholic Church and the Falange. These two institutions assumed the power and responsibility of deciding what cultural material

was either legitimate or pernicious for Spaniards, thus erasing any kind of opposing opinion that could threaten the Catholic doctrine, tradition, or the moral customs they imposed. However, Ruiz Bautista, among others, has argued that certain tensions emerged between the two groups.

As García González shows (2007), the “Censorship Section” was under the control of different institutional bodies such as the: “Ministerio de la Gobernación (1939-1941), Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular de la Falange (1942-1945), Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1946-1951)... Ministerio de Información y Turismo” (García González 220). In 1966, a new Press Law was enforced by Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne. This is considered a relatively liberal period because the editors were not required to submit texts for censorship before publishing them. However, it has been argued that, despite this fact, the level of control was just the same or even worse than during the previous period (when the first Press Law took place), leading to the self-censorship of any controversial material by the editors and writers themselves, and the seizure of publications, which led to economic losses for the publishing houses, fines, and the closure of publishing houses.

Another subtle way in which censorship was applied involved approving for publication certain ‘controversial’ works that would then be controlled and dissuaded by different mechanisms, such as limiting the print run, establishing higher retail prices, or publishing large volumes of collected works in order, once again, to artificially manipulate prices, etc. All the mechanisms used by the censorial committees aimed to control the popular readership which, according to the Regime, was not smart enough to know better, as opposed to a small group of highbrow intellectuals who were either already not the target of the Regime, since they thought

they could not be controlled, or who had the ability to distinguish good from bad (in terms of their established ideology):

La comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza [...] hará la siguiente clasificación: 1) Obras pornográficas de carácter vulgar sin ningún mérito literario. 2) Publicaciones destinadas a propaganda revolucionaria o a la difusión de ideas subversivas sin contenido ideológico de valor esencial. 3) Libros y folletos con mérito literario o científico que por su contenido ideológico puedan resultar nocivos para lectores ingenuos o no suficientemente preparados para la lectura de los mismos. Los pertenecientes a los dos primeros grupos serán destruidos y los del tercero guardados en cada biblioteca en un lugar no visible ni de fácil acceso al público. (B.O.E. 17/09/1937 nº 332)

An interesting phenomenon of those years is pseudotranslations. The TRACE project points out that “an astonishing number of texts presented as translations, but written originally in Spanish by Spanish authors, were fictitious translations, i.e., pseudotranslations” (Merino and Rabadán 138). As Vázquez de Parga also describes: “Algunos de los escritores de novelas criminales de este tipo adoptaron seudónimos de fonética extranjera para hacer más creíble la procedencia foránea de la narración y a la vez fomentar el exotismo del género” (Vázquez de Parga 131). According to the material found by TRACE, most of the pseudotranslations were associated with popular literature, such as Westerns, romantic novels or even detective novels during the 60s: “These fictitious translations added external characteristics to textual cloning

that helped potential readers identify them as foreign: the covers, very often partial reproductions of film posters or film scenes, the name of the author, always a pen name and Anglophone.” (Merino and Rabadán 139).

Besides their investigation of pseudotranslations, Merino and Rabadán (2002) show that censorship did not end with the beginning of the democracy: “Although in 1977 official censorship was abolished, records show that it continued under democracy, at least until 1983, when the first socialist government was already in power” (126). Though it may seem shocking that this procedure continued during the first years of the socialist government, at the same time, records found during those years are merely testimonial since there was no banning and no real scrutiny of authors and their work.

The Spanish situation at the time was similar to that of other surrounding countries such as Portugal, Italy and Germany, where other dictatorships were unfolding at the same time. Ruiz Bautista (2008) analyzes this parallelism and focuses on the interactions between propaganda and censorship in the case of Spain, something that was probably more obvious in Hitler’s Germany with Goebel as the propaganda minister. As part of the Spanish propaganda, all the countries with totalitarian regimes were presented as allies and, therefore, their enemies became the enemies of Spain. This fact also affected the censorship of books banned in the country, since Spanish officials would receive a list of books that could not be published and others that should be, based on the indications of other dictatorships taking place in Europe.

Just as all sorts of literary publications were previously subjected to censorship, so were movies. “In 1941 Franco passed a law declaring that Castilian

was the sole language of translation and that all films had to be dubbed” (Gutiérrez-Lanza 2000). It is worth keeping in mind the famous case of *Mogambo* (1953), a film by John Hurt starring Clark Gable, Ava Gardner and Grace Kelly, which was dubbed into Spanish and the censors, in order to eliminate an adulterous relationship, turned Donald Sinden and Grace Kelly into brother and sister. However, what they did not realize is that they turned the adulterous relationship between the two characters into an incestuous one. Movies are still dubbed into Spanish nowadays, both in cinemas and TV broadcasts, while many of the changes made to books during the dictatorship still haven’t been corrected up to this day.

1.2 Detective Fiction in Spain as a Publishing Phenomenon

Spanish society was mainly rural during the first decades of the dictatorship due to the country's lack of infrastructure, but also to the policy of autarky imposed by Franco. During the 1960s, Spain experienced economic growth and an ongoing change that caused the Spanish economy to depend on industry and the service sector. At the same time, the population started to move to the biggest cities in the country, there was a high rate of emigration and, consequently, smaller cities slowly became depopulated. The modernization of the country led to the emergence of an urban middle class that had not existed up until that moment; it also led to the usual problems of an urban society: delinquency, crime, drugs, alienation, etc., with these being precisely the topics that we encounter in detective novels. José Colmeiro (1994) illustrates this fact in his critical analysis of detective fiction in Spain:

La ausencia en la España de entonces (y en buena parte aún en la del siglo siguiente) de una verdadera economía industrial capitalista, de una burguesía poderosa y una demografía urbana, y como consecuencia la falta de una infraestructura policial moderna como la inglesa, francesa o norteamericana, no hizo factible la aparición de una novela policiaca española. Así pues, el buscar en la literatura española una tradición de este género en sentido estricto ha resultado, hasta hace muy poco tiempo, una empresa abocada al fracaso. Los contados casos que se podrán encontrar, como Pardo Bazán, Joaquín Belda o Mario Lacruz, aparecen aislados unos de otros, más directamente relacionados con la tradición del género en Europa o Norteamérica que con el resto de la

producción literaria española, surgiendo más como anómalas excepciones que integrados en una corriente literaria. (Colmeiro 89)

As José Colmeiro or Emilio Frechilla note, Spanish detective novels did not really develop until the seventies and the eighties¹. Before and during the Civil War there were no writers who published exclusively on this topic and barely any who dealt with it at all. At the same time, as Vázquez de Parga accounts for, there were multiple isolated cases of writers who either translated stories related to the genre or wrote under a pseudonym, but we cannot strictly speak of a consolidated genre until posterior years. The first case that can be traced back is that of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón who, in 1853, wrote a short novel called *El clavo*, which has been identified as the first detective novel in Spain (see Colmeiro 90; Hart 17). This story, however, was proved to have been plagiarized from a French story by Hippolitte Lucas². Salvador Vázquez de Parga presents in his book, *La novela policiaca en España* a highly detailed panoramic account of the history of the detective novel in Spain which can be consulted for further reference. I will only present here an overview of some of the main detective novel writers to give a sense of the context of detective novels in the country before presenting the authors that I will focus on.

At the beginning of this century, numerous translations of detective fiction were imported: “A juzgar por la abundancia en las ediciones de estas traducciones

¹ In the words of Emilio Frechilla: “En España, la novela negra se desarrolla paralelamente a la democracia, a la libertad política y a las nuevas formas de progreso intelectual y social, aunque lo haga explorando artísticamente los componenetes más oscuros del ser humano. La crítica es unánime al considerar que el auténtico movimiento innovador y redescubridor de la novela negra propia española nace o despunta definitivamente alrededor de los años 70 con el restablecimiento de la democracia” (Frechilla 45).

² The case of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón is carefully traced by José Colmeiro in an epigraph of his book *La novela policiaca Española: teoría e historia crítica* (1994) that comprises pages 89-96.

debemos pensar que obtuvieron una inmediata popularidad entre el público español” (Colmeiro 97), as well as penny and kiosk novels related to this kind of subject matter (Hart 18). This shows that there was an interest in this kind of literature from the Spanish population and that the literary market slowly changed and made it possible for Spanish authors to explore this genre. We will see how this fits within Polysystem Theories and how translation works as an innovative force within the Spanish literary system.

Another main early incursion into the genre was *¿Quién disparó?* (1909), by Joaquín Belda, though it has been argued to constitute a parody of the traditional detective novel more than a genuine example: “But in general, *¿Quién disparó?* is more madcap than mystery, and Bermúdez [the main character] is more spoof than sleuth. There is not really a logical investigation process in the book; instead, the plot is an excuse for social satire with its roots in both the picaresque tradition and *costumbrismo*.” (Hart 22).

A few years later, Emilia Pardo Bazán published *La gota de sangre* (1911). She was already a relatively famous writer because of her contributions in newspapers, her essays and books, as well as her interest in European literary and philosophical trends such as naturalism. Her book is an attempt to show the more human side of detective fiction. According to Vázquez de Parga, Pardo Bazán was trying to emulate the British detective models, such as the those written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, in order to introduce them into the Spanish literary market. However, Vázquez de Parga seems to think that this only constituted an isolated attempt in her versatile career.

The first main contribution to the genre after the Civil War was Mario Lacruz's novel *El inocente* (1953). Many critics now consider this author a pioneer, and his literary value is considered closer to Kafka or Dostoyevsky than to the main detective fiction writers (Hart): "En 1953, ganará, con su novela *El inocente*, el premio Simenon, convocado por la editorial Aymá. Al poco tiempo el libro sería publicado, otra vez, por la editorial Luis de Caralt. La novela se tradujo a ocho idiomas y fue adaptada al cine en 1959, con el título, por razones de censura, *Muerte al amanecer*" (López Sánchez 323-324).

That same year, in 1953, Francisco García Pavón published his first story in which Plinio makes an appearance, entitled "De cómo el *Quaque* mató al hermano Folión y del curioso ardid que tuvo el guardia Plinio para atraparle". This story would later be reedited and published in further compilation volumes (see Colmeiro 152).

However, it was not until the democratic stage, when censorship was no longer controlling publications, that a few writers began to focus on this genre, allowing us to start talking about a Spanish detective novel. Up until that point, most of the detective fiction available in the country consisted of translations, pseudotranslations, or imitations of the American and Anglo-Saxon novels. As Polysystem Theories of translation state: "Los grupos y los individuos interesados en controlar, dominar y regular la cultura a menudo se muestran también activos en la configuración de su repertorio. Se podría argumentar que más que producir nuevos repertorios estos grupos [...] parecen más inclinados a adherirse a un repertorio ya existente que a crear nuevas opciones" (Iglesias Santos 41-42). During the Franco Regime, a genre such as detective fiction was potentially dangerous and had to be repressed or otherwise used to its own advantage. The Regime, instead, promoted old literary formulas that would

allow for controlled entertainment. The closest we can get to a national production of detective fiction would be the previously mentioned pseudotranslations –and, given the fact that the authors, as well as their pseudonyms, were known by the censors, it seems that the authorities gave their consent for publication and did not deem them dangerous. All in all, we can say now that detective fiction was already in a germinal state in Spanish society, but it would not bloom until years later. During the first period, detective fiction was still considered something foreign, since it had arrived through a process of translation, and it would take a few years to settle in. As Maria Luisa Moraga states (2007):

La narrativa española, salvo excepciones, ha permanecido al margen del género policíaco. El número de relatos españoles de este tipo es considerablemente inferior al de los escritos en otros países y, hasta tiempos muy recientes, no ha habido en España un número estimable de escritores dedicados sólo a la novela policíaca. Una de las razones la expuso Paco Ignacio Taibo II al reconocer que el género surgió en España afectado por dos elementos autodestructores: la falta de credibilidad y estima.

Hasta los años setenta, los narradores ocultaban su identidad tras seudónimos, los protagonistas tenían nombres anglosajones y las novelas españolas eran simples imitaciones de obras inglesas, norteamericanas o francesas, que no se adaptaban a las circunstancias literarias y ambientales del país. Nos encontramos casi con traducciones que al cambiar tan sólo a veces los decorados no

transmitían la sensación de autenticidad. La novela policíaca ha sido vista como un género importado y, por lo tanto, se consideraba que todo intento local sería necesariamente inferior, falso, ridiculizable [...]. (Moraga 244)

As Moraga shows, this genre was not widely developed by Spanish writers until the seventies and eighties because of the lack of confidence among writers and editors and their lack of credibility among the country's readers. Because of this notion of detective fiction as an imported genre, a phenomenon such as pseudotranslation could appear; numerous translations and adaptations were produced and Spanish writers were reticent to develop detective fiction with national characteristics. Precisely because of this fact, Francisco García Pavón is considered a pioneer in the genre. Some think of him as the first author who created a Spanish detective series, writing consistently on this topic and publishing a series of books that presented detective fiction within the Spanish context. Despite this fact, I am not arguing that García Pavón was the first Spanish author to write on this topic and, as a matter of fact, there were many documented cases of people writing detective stories as Vázquez de Parga shows in a detailed manner (1993)—as has been noted in the previous pages comprising the brief account of the beginnings of detective fiction in Spain³. However, most of those authors represent isolated events, and García Pavón, on the other hand, has been recognized as one of the first authors to make a conscious

³ Note that, as Vázquez de Parga shows, there had been publications in *folletín* that accompanied newspapers and magazines (23); a collection entitled “La Novela Moderna” by Casa Editorial Sopena specialized in crime stories even though it disappeared before reaching one year old (25); and already mentioned cases like the one of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Joaquín Belda and the numerous pseudotranslations.

and continuous effort towards the development of this genre in Spain, combining detective formulas with literary value. After García Pavón, authors such as Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Eduardo Mendoza, Francisco González Ledesma, Andreu Martín or Juan Madrid successfully established this genre in the country. After Franco's death, detective and crime fiction started to proliferate in Spain because censorship was no longer enforced and the country had started a democratic process.

1.3 Overview of Translation Theories

Translation seemed to have a substantial impact on Spanish readership in the past, but especially during the Franco years. The dictatorship's strict control and a desire for freedom and cultural interests led the population to yearn for ways they could escape their own reality and imagine other possible ways of living. As has been mentioned, it seems that a wide array of translations of detective fiction were in circulation in the country and there were even some Spanish writers writing under foreign pseudonyms to maintain the illusion of being from abroad.

The preliminary question posed in this dissertation regarding the translation of American authors within the context of the dictatorship in Spain is: how did translations of American detective novels shape the Spanish literary polysystem? Given that many of the decisions a translator makes are political, how are these affected by external factors such as a dictatorship? My goal is to address these issues from a translation theory perspective rather than from a corpus-based perspective (which is what most of the studies in this field have been done, such as the work developed by the TRACE group⁴). Even though I understand the importance of studying and analyzing these facts in a detailed and perhaps numerical and analytical

⁴ Some members and PhD students from the TRACE group have published papers and dissertations that are based or highly focused on the compilation of different corpuses. One of the goals of TRACE was to create a computer-based corpus “que contenga información suficiente y necesaria para identificar los textos originales (TOs), sus respectivos textos meta (TMs) y las características de la recepción de estos últimos en España” (Gutiérrez Lanza, 57). Based on that corpus, different scholars carried out several types of investigation. Such is the case of Cristina Gómez Castro in her dissertation from 2009 *Traducción y censura de textos narrativos inglés-español en la España franquista y de transición: TRACEni (1970-1978)*. In her case: “El nombre asignado al catálogo es el de TRACEni (1970-1978), acrónimo de TRAducciones CEnsuradas de narrativa inglesa, y contiene en la actualidad 9269 registros correspondientes a traducciones al castellano de obras narrativas en lengua inglesa realizadas tanto en España como en Hispanoamérica.” (Gómez Castro 4). Gómez Castro then creates another corpus that contains some specific case studies in which she compares original texts and translations. Marta Rioja Barrocal also performs a corpus-based investigation (2008).

way, I lean towards a more theoretical approach, which does not necessarily pertain to the details or specificities of individual translation decisions but that uses it to study or exemplify larger claims. Furthermore, Polysystem Theories in Translation Studies allow us to think about the influence that translation generates within a literary system. Specifically, given the fact that detective fiction was a genre imported to Spain through translation, we can take this example as a case study that will allow us to understand in practical terms the ideas of the Polysystem Theories: how translation shaped the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain.

Translation Studies is a relatively young field of study compared to other disciplines. Translation has usually been considered a secondary or derivative activity, always in the shadow of fields like comparative literature or language studies within academia and university setting, or as inferior to writing in a given native language in the field of literature. However, in recent years, the interconnectedness between translation and other disciplines, as well as its direct relation with society, has received special attention within Translation Theory and has become one of its main objects of study⁵. Due to the efforts and achievements of contemporary translation approaches, it seems inevitable that the way societies perceive translators will also shift as time passes. Besides, we can already observe this change in the way in which translation

⁵ By looking at the latest publications on Translation Studies, we can observe this interdisciplinary approach. To name a few: Castro, Olga. *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and Transnational Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 2017; Chan, Sin-wai. *The Future of Translation Technology: Towards a World Without Babel*. London & New York: Routledge, 2017; Cronin, Michael. *Eco-translation: Translation and Ecology in the Age of the Anthropocene*. New York: Routledge, 2017; Desjardins, Renée. *Translation and Social Media: in Theory, in Training and in Professional Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; Inghilleri, Moira. *Translation and Migration*. New York: Routledge, 2017; Kenny, Dorothy. *Human Issues in Translation Technology*. New York: Routledge, 2017; Apter, Ronnie. *Translating for Singing: the Theory, Art, and Craft of Translating Lyrics*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016; Bielsa, Esperança. *Cosmopolitanism and Translation: Investigations into the Experience of the Foreign*. New York: Routledge, 2016; Brownlie, Siobhan. *Mapping Memory in Translation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016; Gambier, Yves (ed). *Border Crossings: Translation Studies and Other Disciplines*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016.

theorists themselves have understood and conceptualized translation over time up until present times.

Despite changes in conceptual shifts developed within the field of Translation Studies, there is still a historical and social construction of the figure of a translator and what is expected of their work. This generalized perception was even more acute in the past, when all these efforts by contemporary approaches in the Translation Studies field had not yet been made and a critical and analytical effort was missing in the discipline.

Traditionally, the relation between translation and society has not been acknowledged or, even, overtly considered in Western translation history. The main concern of translators was to find the *truth*, the *hidden meaning* behind the text to be able to convey it into another language. Translators seemed to be concerned with the text itself, its linguistic and stylistic particularities, disregarding any external elements that could be influential to their translation. Therefore, this understanding implied that there was only one possible correct rendering of the true meaning of a text. The task of the translator, then, was to be able to 1) find and unveil the correct and true meaning, and 2) render it accordingly, without any modifications, into another language. As Augustine exemplifies:

Many translators are deceived by ambiguity in the original language which they do not understand, so that they transfer the meaning to something completely alien to the writer's intention... And such translations are not obscure; they are *false*... since many translators err from the sense of the original authors unless they are very learned, we

must either seek a knowledge of those languages from which Scripture is translated into Latin or we must consult the translations of those who translate word for word, not because they suffice but because by means of them *we may test the truth or falsity* of those who have sought to translate meanings as well as words. (Augustine in Robinson 33; my emphasis)

Augustine exemplifies the generalized idea that translators can act in an invisible and aseptic way, without interfering with the intention of the original writer. On the other hand, if the translator were to transfer some alien meaning, they would be creating a “false” translation, far removed from the true, original meaning. From this point of view, the dilemma between word-for-word translation or sense-for-sense is established and becomes central for translators. As we can see, for Augustine, word-for-word translation is a way to test the truth of any given translation, a way to discern a true translation from a false one. However, other authors at the time, such as Cicero or Jerome, opted for the second method as the best way to translate a text: “Now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek –except of course in the case of Holy Scripture, where even the syntax contains a mystery – I render, not word for word, but sense for sense. For this practice I have behind me the authority of Cicero himself” (Jerome in Robinson 25). Despite Jerome’s selection of a sense-for-sense method, the same understanding of translation is being shared, the same implication that there can be one true conveyable and stable meaning in an author’s text that must be rendered and transferred when translating.

If we further analyze this understanding of translation, we can see that it is closely related to some of the characteristics of society at the time. Religion, for example, was the basis of Western society and played a very important role in the lives of all these writers and in how they thought. This connection with religion allows us to observe some common elements with how translation was understood: the existence of a stable universal truth, the unveiling of meaning, the exact rendering of these words, the sacredness and faithfulness of the original, etc. The way religions function in any given society is reflected, at the same time, in the way society perceives other activities (such as translation). In this sense, the author becomes a God-like entity: “The sense of an author, generally speaking, is to be sacred and inviolable” (Dryden in Robinson 174).

The model of translation that I have described so far has been denominated within Translation Studies as the “essential approach” or “instrumental model” (Venuti 483). Venuti’s definition of the instrumental approach explains that it comes from the “assumption that language is direct expression or reference, the instrumental model treats translation as the reproduction or transfer of an invariant which the source text contains or causes, typically described as its form, its meaning, or its effect” (483). The same paradigm can be observed in what has been called the “linguistics-oriented” approach in translation. Just as Augustine, Jerome, Cicero or Dryden understood the original text as the receptacle of truth and essential meaning, Eugene Nida, Jean Paul Vinay or Jean Darbelnet continue with the same tradition in Translation Studies.

Eugene A. Nida conceptualized translation as a scientific method based on the traditional notion of translation —universals, kernel or essence, transfer of meaning,

etc. In his article (1969), Eugene Nida defines translation as “reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the message of the source language, first in terms of meaning and second in terms of style” (Nida 495). Translation for Nida is a process of analysis, transfer and restructuring from a source language to a target language in rather static terms: “Word-for-word translating is perhaps the surest way of running into serious difficulty and even absurdities” (Nida 16). In the same vein as Nida, authors such as Vinay and Darbelnet created procedures and methodologies to help and guide translators in a mathematic way by means of linguistic formulas: “These seven methods are applied to different degrees at the three planes of expression, i.e. lexis, syntactic structure, and message... This range of possibilities is illustrated in Table 11.1, where each procedure is exemplified for each plane of expression” (Venuti 136). According to the methodology proposed by both Nida and Vinay & Darbelnet, translators follow the provided steps to achieve a perfect result in their translation. However, this theory does not include other factors apart from those present in the linguistic equation. The same rules apply to all translations, no matter the circumstances and the context. The only agency of the translator is to follow the rules and transfer the meaning of the text.

Both of these approaches considered that language could be studied scientifically; therefore, there could be equivalence between languages, and linguistic universals could be established. As can be observed, these approaches do not take into consideration any political, cultural or historical issues and are mainly preoccupied with the text as a closed discursive entity. These concerns can be also found in Lawrence Venuti’s chapter on “Heterogeneity” (1998):

The most worrisome tendency in linguistics-oriented approaches is their promotion of scientific models. Because language is defined as a set of systematic rules autonomous from cultural and social variation, translation is studied as a set of systematic operations autonomous from the cultural and social formations in which they are executed. (*The Scandals* 25)

In the same way that religion was central to society, and therefore exerted its influence over the first tradition of translation theory described here, Science became the substitute for devotion in more contemporary societies. In this case we again see that, though apparently the linguistics-oriented approach does not deal with any social issues, it is related to and motivated by a change in society. The relationship between these traditional approaches and society must be closer than what is usually thought since many of the premises that were established in the past continue to be embedded in today's social construction of translators and their task. Nowadays, the original text continues to have supremacy and is still held to be true and considered pure, together with the superior intention of the author which is in a hierarchical opposition to the translation and the translator.

During the 80s and the 90s a new turn came about that was denominated the Cultural Turn by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990). This approach explicitly starts to consider translation as one of the elements that conform culture in any given society, thus moving away from previous considerations of equivalence in translation as established by linguistic scientific approaches, from "text" to "culture" (Bassnett 1). From this period, we can highlight the work developed by the Manipulation

School, with Theo Hermans as its main representative, and the Polysystem Theory developed mainly by Itamar Even Zohar and Gideon Toury. Both approaches try to leave behind the idea of the text as an isolated entity, and start to focus on the relation with the society in which a translation is being created: its norms, expectations, literary systems, etc. Theo Hermans explains Even Zohar's idea of a polysystem and summarizes its characteristics (1985):

[Even Zohar] developed the notion of literature as a “polysystem”, i.e. as a differentiated and dynamic “conglomerate of systems” characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts. Among the oppositions are those between “primary” (or innovatory) and “secondary” (or conservative) models and types, between the centre of the system and its periphery, between canonized and non-canonized strata, between more or less strongly codified forms, between the various genres, etc. The dynamic aspect results from the tensions and conflicts generated by these multiple oppositions, so that the polysystem as a whole, and its constituent systems and subsystems, are in a state of perpetual flux, forever unstable. Since the literary polysystem is correlated with other cultural systems and embedded in the ideological and socio-economic structures of society, its dynamism is far from mechanistic. (Hermans 11)

As we can see, this type of approach integrates many other perspectives into the study of translation, and it acknowledges the role it plays within society and vice

versa. Special attention is directed towards the source and the meta cultures and their circumstances as a whole: their literary system, their norms, their conventions, their status, etc. The text is no longer isolated, but situated within a bigger system and interrelated with a number of other elements. Furthermore, with this approach, the status and the relevance of translation as a differentiated part regarding the rest of the polysystem is acknowledged and is considered an element capable of establishing change and challenging the canon. André Lefevere refers to translation as “rewriting” (1992) and shows the constant tension between a canonized or central system and the periphery:

Significantly, though, works of literature canonized more than five centuries ago tend to remain secure in their position... This is a clear indication of the conservative bias of the system itself and also of the power of rewriting, since while the work of literature itself remains canonized, the “received” interpretation, or even the “right” interpretation in systems with undifferentiated patronage, quite simply changes. In other words, the work is rewritten to bring it in line with the “new” dominant poetics. (Lefevere 19)

The Manipulation School bases its rationale on the idea that all translation entails some degree of manipulation, and that there are some factors that mediate the process of translation in different ways: “From the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (Hermans 11). Ideology and poetics are, according to Lefevere, the

main forces that shape translations within any literary system. These two elements, however, change over time and, therefore, the expectations for what a “good” translation is within society changes accordingly. Another determinant factor is patronage, “the powers (persons, institutions) which help or hinder the writing, reading and rewriting of literature” (Lefevere in Hermans 227). Patronage consists, at the same time, of three elements: ideology, the economic component, and status. The form of patronage has varied over time: from the House of Medici in Italy, for example, during the 14th century, to present day when media, publishing houses and editors control and determine the writing and rewriting of literature. As we can see, this contemporary approach completely accepts the relevance of sociological factors as key to the way translation works. Because society changes, translation perceptions, poetics and ideology change too. A translation is no longer considered a fixed text, but something that is undergoing constant change and that is determined by outside factors pertaining to social, historical and political spheres. Furthermore, a translation can be anything that the target culture considers it to be, not necessarily a “faithful” rendering as in previous approaches.

In more recent times, deconstruction and post-colonialism have widened the scope of the interrelation between society and translation. Deconstruction, in particular, has offered translation a perspective from which to challenge the hierarchical binary opposition between the original/copy, author/translator. In Derrida’s terms, instead of a transfer of meaning there is a transformation of it. Derrida presents this idea of translation as a regulated transformation in his interview with Julia Kristeva:

A notion of transformation: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another. We will never have, and in fact have never had, to do with some "transport" of pure signifieds from one language to another, or within one and the same language, that the signifying instrument would leave virgin and untouched". (Derrida 20)

This notion challenges the essentialist approaches of translation. It also shows the shifts that have occurred in society, where first religion had a central part, then science, and now there is a more complex rationale that problematizes the previous pivotal notions.

Postmodernism and deconstruction were the starting point for other approaches. Douglas Robinson summarizes some of the main concerns of postcolonial translation theory (1997): "translation has been used to control and "educate" and generally shape colonized populations in the past; translation in the present remains steeped in the political and cultural complexities of postcoloniality; and one of the hopes of postcolonial translation studies is that translation might open new and productive avenues for the future" (Robinson 6). Until these approaches emerged, one of the dominant discourses regarding translation considered it an equal exchange between two distinct cultures. However, postcolonial theories of translation show that there is no such thing as an exchange and that in these interactions there is usually a subaltern culture whose voice needs to be addressed. For Tejaswini Niranjana "any attempt to come up with a new conception of translation will first have to take into account what the discourses [of domination] suppress: the asymmetrical relations between languages" (Niranjana 72). In the same vein, Gayatri Spivak is one

of these postcolonial authors who has tried to raise awareness of the fact that translations into English have specific consequences and are culturally and ideologically mediated:

I am a translator *into* English, not just *from* specific languages. Because of the growing power of English as a global lingua franca, the responsibility of the translator into English is increasingly complicated... it is of course true that the responsibility becomes altogether more grave when the original is not written in one of the languages of northwestern Europe. (Spivak 94)

From this standpoint, the agency and responsibility of translators is understood in a completely different way than in the past. The translator is now placed between different cultures, texts, and languages and is able to use her position with a political or social goal in mind. Her task is no longer to produce a text that is regarded as a translation in a target culture, but to be aware of all the implications at stake in this process between two distinct cultures, where power and ideology are always playing a significant role. As can be observed, the contemporary conception of translation is much more complex and includes many interconnected realms and perspectives. Society has started to acknowledge the pivotal role of the translator as an active agent, as a mediator, as a visible part in the translation process. Lawrence Venuti is one of the translation theorists who has analyzed the generalized translator's invisibility, its causes and its consequences:

The translator's invisibility is also partly determined by the individualistic conception of authorship that continues to prevail in British and American cultures... This view of authorship carries two disadvantageous implications for the translator. On the one hand, translation is defined as a second-order representation: only the foreign text can be original, an authentic copy, true to the author's personality or intention, whereas the translation is derivative, fake, potentially a false copy. On the other hand, translation is required to efface its second-order status with the effect of transparency, producing the illusion of authorial presence whereby the translated text can be taken as the original...The translator's invisibility is thus a weird self-annihilation, a way of conceiving and practicing translation that undoubtedly reinforces its marginal status in British and American cultures. (*Invisibility* 6-7)

In the past years, contemporary translation theorists have made an active effort and are shifting the ways in which the relation between translation and society is understood. In these approaches, the relation between the two has been overtly acknowledged, as opposed to previous approaches in which there was a lack of awareness of the interconnection of society and translation. However, as we have seen, such connection was always there, in a more or less obvious way.

As far as the study of censorship, I consider that the Manipulation School, together with the Polysystem Theory, might be helpful approaches to further understanding the interplay between society and translation in the specific case of a

totalitarian regime. In particular, the concept of “patronage” developed by Lefevere comprises this kind of scenario, in which a totalitarian regime may hinder or promote certain publications: “Patrons rarely try to influence a literary system directly. They usually operate by means of institutions set up to regulate the writing or at least the distribution of literature: academies, bureaus for censorship...” (Hermans 228). The power of writings and rewritings becomes evident in this scenario, where a totalitarian regime decides to ban certain publications for considering them “dangerous” or inconvenient to its own ideology. At the same time, it also opens a space for translators under a totalitarian regime or under the gaze of censorship to be subversive, since this approach assumes that translation necessarily entails some degree of manipulation: “Translators, to lay the old adage to rest once and for all, have to be traitors, but most of the time they don’t know it, and nearly all of the time they have no other choice” (Lefevere 13). The idea of treason within this context is understood in a positive way, as opposed to the old *traduttore traditore*. Translators are traitors because there was no true meaning to be faithful to from the beginning. This realization makes translators aware of their power. As it becomes clear that no translator can be faithful to the original, they are no longer faced with the pressure of having to transfer some stable universal meaning; instead, they construct the meaning of their work within the culture they are translating into. From this point of view, translators could use their power as rewriters to subvert the established order of a totalitarian regime:

The translation of literature, then, must be heavily regulated because it is potentially – and often actually – subversive, precisely because it offers a cover for the translator to go against the dominant constraints

of his or her time, not in his or her own name... but rather in the name of, and relying on the authority of a writer who is considered great enough in another literature so as not to be ignored in one's own. (Hermans 238)

By looking at the specific case of Spain under the Franco Regime (1939-1975), we observe two other particularities that can provide a case that exemplifies some of the ways in which a polysystem works: the case of pseudotranslations, and the way in which translation functions as an independent system within the literary polysystem.

As Hermans mentioned in the previous quote, translators (especially in the past) might use their anonymity in their favor –even though the concept of the invisibility of the translator has further implications, as Lawrence Venuti has shown. In the specific case of Spain, however, we encounter the case of pseudotranslations during the Franco Regime as studied by the TRACE (Censored Translations) project: “an astonishing number of texts presented as translations, but written originally in Spanish by Spanish authors, were fictitious translations” (Merino and Rabadán, 138). According to the material found by TRACE, most of the pseudotranslations were associated with popular literature, such as Westerns or even detective novels during the 60s. This phenomenon was caused by a high demand for this kind of literature, and was also motivated by the American movies that the Spanish population had access to, as well as due to the fact that it gave Spanish writers credibility to hide under a foreign pseudonym. However, the board of censors was aware of this kind of practice and both names (the real name together with the pseudonym) would be on file for the book in question. This fact “proves that translation was broadly accepted

and that it enjoyed prestige and acceptance among Spanish readers at the time” (139). In this context, Gideon Toury has argued that pseudotranslations function as “genuine translations” (Hermans 20) since that is how the target culture perceives them.

The Manipulation School and Polysystem Theories of translation provide a theoretical framework from which the case of Spain can be further studied and analyzed. Translations, at same point, became the central element in the Spanish polysystem, since most of the Spanish literature (except for the one in agreement with the Regime’s ideas) was either banned, or most of the writers and intellectuals were in exile or had been exterminated during the Civil War. Within this context, Spanish editors imported a lot of material, both in terms of translations (from Latin America) and texts written in a foreign language (mainly English) to be translated in Spain. Translation, therefore, could have been an element for introducing change and innovation into the country: “Rewritings, mainly translations, deeply affect the interpretation of literary systems, not just by projecting the image of one writer or work in another literature or by failing to do so... but also by introducing new devices into the inventory component of a poetics and paving the way to changes in its functional component” (Lefevere 38). Despite the efforts of the censors, whose work was careless at times, translations enjoyed a central position in the Spanish polysystem and influenced Spanish writers and readers by establishing a specific poetics and ideology of their own.

For all these questions, I will take as a starting point one of the theories of translation, the Manipulation School, which studies the complex and changing literary system. In the words of Theo Hermans:

The theory of the polysystem sees literary translation as one element among many other in the constant struggle for domination between the system's various layers and subdivisions. In a given literature, translations may at certain times constitute a separate subsystem, with its own characteristics and models, or be more or less fully integrated into the indigenous system; they may form part of the system's prestigious center or remain a peripheral phenomenon... From the point of view of the target language, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose. (Hermans 11-12)

Translation, therefore, within any given literary polysystem, can either alter the canonized order, by importing new elements, or can serve as a tool for re-establishing the dominant structures already in place. In the Spanish literary polysystem at the time, the censors wanted translation to remain on the periphery because it was considered a threat, something that could provoke change and could challenge the canonical status of the Regime. Meanwhile, at the same time, Spanish editors and readers were pushing for a change to the polysystem, wanting translation to become a central element: "Meanwhile, the periphery [...] attempts to replace those functions dominating the center" (Even Zohar 86). This tension within a polysystem is what generates a change in the elements that are either at the center or on the periphery. Despite the efforts of the censors and the Francoist Regime, at some point translation became the central element in the Spanish polysystem (both because of the importation of translations from Latin American and because of the translations

created in Spain from American authors). But, instead of serving the purposes of the Regime (which they did to the extent that changes were made based on the censors' decisions), I argue that translations necessarily introduced innovation and resistance, as well as a new genre that would later be developed and interpreted by national writers.

On the other hand, and according to Lefevere, those who hold the power in any given system will not want change or any sort of interference with their power to come about. For this reason I think that, in some specific cases, the censors may have allowed the creation of a hero-like character (such as García Pavón's Plinio) in order to manipulate the Spanish readership into entertaining themselves with this "inoffensive" kind of literature and representation.

1.3.1 Polysystem Theories

As has been mentioned before, Polysystem Theories emerged during the seventies as a reaction to prescriptive approaches that had been operating as the main lens for understanding cultural representations. These theories developed mainly in Israel, postulated by Itamar Even-Zohar⁶, taking root in the Russian Formalists, and have been relevant until the present day, affecting a wide variety of fields, from literary analysis to Translation Studies. Our lives are permeated by culture, understanding culture as a multicultural and interdisciplinary set of interests that characterize our way of living. Any given literary system is just one of the elements that conforms our cultural sphere: “Literature is thus conceived of not as an isolated activity in society, regulated by laws exclusively (and inherently) different from all the rest of the human activities, but as an integral –often central and very powerful— factor among the latter” (Even-Zohar 2). For Even-Zohar, it is crucial that phenomena be studied from an approach that acknowledges the relations and interconnections between the different elements that can be found in a (poly)system; this perspective replaces the previous static understanding of a system in which separate elements are united as a whole but can be identified as conglomerates of different types. This is the reason why Even-Zohar coined the term “Polysystem” in order to “make explicit the conception of a system as dynamic and heterogeneous in opposition to the synchronistic approach. It thus emphasizes the multiplicity of intersections and hence

⁶ “El grupo se fue formando en una serie de ‘congresos internacionales sobre traducción literaria que organizaron varias universidades: el primero, en la Universidad de Lovaina en 1976 (las Actas se publicaron en 1978 bajo el título de *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, editadas por J. S. Holmes, J. Lambert y R. Van den Broeck); el segundo, en la Universidad de Tel Aviv en 1978 (con las Actas en un número especial de *Poetics Today* editado en el verano-otoño de 1981 por I. Even Zohar y G. Toury); y el tercero, en la Universidad de Antwerp en 1980 (*Dispositio*, 1982, editado por A. Lefevere y K.D. Jackson)” (Vidal Claramonte 61).

the greater complexity of structuredness involved” (12). A polysystem, therefore, can be defined as “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent” (11). We see that literature is just one of the existing polysystems within a culture, and it is itself conformed by different systems: texts, genres, repertoires. All these elements move dynamically and their relations change, affected by tensions of hierarchy, status, canonicity, and competition: “in this centrifugal vs. centripetal motion, phenomena are driven from the center to the periphery while, conversely, phenomena may push their way into the center and occupy it” (14). The elements that make it to the center are usually canonized, “accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture” (15) as opposed to the non-canonized norms or texts that remain at the periphery of the system. However, the center would stagnate if no competition from the periphery took place; the contents in the center of the system need to be challenged for them to evolve and in order to achieve innovation, and “without the stimulation of a strong “sub-culture” [popular literature, popular art, “low culture”], any canonized activity tends to gradually become petrified” (17). One of the necessary elements for these changes to take place is translation. Often, translation brings new models into a system and stimulates it with foreign innovation by transforming its canon, its center and its periphery.

This is maybe why the implications of Polysystem Theories have been related to the field of Translation Studies. The approach found in Polysystem Theories puts into question the prevailing notion of equivalence, providing a much more complex understanding of what translation is and how it is framed within a literary system.

Even-Zohar claimed (2004) that the relevance of translation within literary polysystems is usually not acknowledged or clearly stated, that translation had been studied as an isolated item instead of studying it as a key factor that is just as important as others. Because of Polysystem Theories, the weight of translation can be observed as one of the most significant elements that generate change and innovation, challenging the center and the canon, being “likely to become one of the means of elaborating the new repertoire” (47). According to Even-Zohar there are three major cases in which this happens:

- a) When a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is “young,” in the process of being established;
- b) When a literature is either “peripheral” (within a large group of correlated literature) or “weak,” or both;
- c) When there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (47)

Polysystem Theories, therefore, acknowledge the role and importance that translation bears within a literary system and they analyze the relation it has with the other items undergoing constant change and evolution.

Chapter Two

Crime in the Heart of Spain: Francisco García Pavón

In this chapter, I study the detective novels by Spanish writer Francisco García Pavón (1919-1989) and the censorship this author encountered during the Franco Regime. His work represents a singular approach to detective fiction writing in Spain, and is considered an anomaly in the genre's development in the country -as will be further explained. With this chapter, I will try to depict the time period that this author represents through his novels, and will indicate how his work is situated in the social and political context -as described in Chapter One- that was the reality of the time. Francisco García Pavón started to write when the genre was not widely popular in the country and when most of the detective fiction available consisted of different translations of foreign authors. We consider this initial stage the beginning of the positioning of this genre within the Spanish literary polysystem, and therefore, we must take into consideration the theoretical framework described in the previous Chapter.

García Pavón can be considered a pioneer in the national writing of this genre for having created a detective fiction saga that became quite popular in the country, through which he inevitably reflected the Spanish society of the period when he was

writing. Throughout this chapter I will first analyze the values that I believe to be reinforced by Plinio that made Pavón appealing to the Regime and, therefore, barely censored; afterwards, I will present the censorship reports that show the Regime's attitude toward Pavón's work in order to show how he was praised and perceived by the censors. I will also analyze the relationship between the work of García Pavón and the Francoist Regime by means of the censorship that said regime implemented. A priori, most of Pavón's works underwent censorship due to the fact that he spent most of his life writing under Franco's dictatorship in Spain, producing works from the year 1953 until 1985. This places him within the historical framework depicted in the previous Chapter, coinciding with both the rise of the dictatorship and its demise.

This analysis allows us to study the development of a literary genre under the Franco Regime, as well as the different subjective treatments that authors received during this period; it helps us to understand the kind of ideology that was in place, the ways in which society was meant to be shaped by the Regime, and the responses in the writers' attitudes towards these issues. In other words, this work understands literature as a means to resist or reinforce a political stance, and aims at analyzing the way these authors approached the situation in Spain at the time. I consider García Pavón to have been significant to the development of detective fiction in our country, though some do not grant him such status, as we will see.

My aim is to study the differential censorial treatment received by García Pavón and by the writers to follow, by means of analyzing the pattern found in the censorship reports (*expedientes de censura*) for these authors' publications. Additionally, I aim to discern the positions taken by each of them, consciously or unconsciously, with respect to the Regime, through their detective fiction sagas, and

to understand how these positions challenged the Regime's approach to their work. To do so, I will look at detective fiction through a new lens, from the perspective of censorship. I shall argue that the work of Francisco García Pavón (1919-1989), through his character Plinio, marks the debut of Spanish detective fiction. While García Pavón was never openly political in his work, he was considered a liberal writer, and escaped heavy censorship, while he reflected the Franco Regime's ideology through his character. His work is distinguished by his skillful deployment of Spanish vernacular, his use of cultural referents, and his depiction of national customs. I believe that Pavón's character served as an archetype of Francoist Spain, depicting its morals and values with little pretense of critique.

2.1 How did a Guy from La Mancha Begin to Write a Detective Fiction Saga? Pseudotranslations, Cinema and the Press.

The origins of detective fiction have been traced back to Edgar Allan Poe and his detective Dupin during the mid-19th century: “En 1857 aparece la primera obra de Poe en castellano [...] a esta obra le seguirán muchas otras, retraducidas de las versiones francesas, pero no es hasta 1884 que se traduce del inglés al castellano la obra policiaca seminal de Poe *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* [...] traducido en Buenos Aires” (Abio Villarig 47). However, it was not until Arthur Conan Doyle took up this model and recreated it with his detective Sherlock Holmes that this type of literature became extremely popular in our country:

En el período que va de la mitad de la primera década hasta el comienzo de la Primera Guerra Mundial la traducción y edición de novelas policiacas foráneas alcanza un primer momento de auge espectacular. A juzgar por la abundancia en las ediciones de estas traducciones debemos pensar que obtuvieron una inmediata popularidad entre el público español. De entre todos los autores extranjeros protagonistas de esta “invasión” destaca inmediatamente por la abundancia de su obra publicada, su repercusión popular y su influencia en los autores locales, el autor británico Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. El éxito obtenido por este autor en España fue inmediato y prácticamente coetáneo con la fiebre holmesiana extendida por el resto de Europa [...] En esta primera época de auge se rescata también a autores policiacos del siglo anterior como

Poe. (Colmeiro 97, 99)

During this period, a few writers acquired certain fame and an avid readership; such was the case of Conan Doyle⁷, but also Wilkie Collins, Edgar Wallace, or the episodes of Nick Carter. In a similar fashion, authors who wrote in French like Simenon, Emile Gaboriau, or Maurice Leblanc were also translated and widely read at the time. In 1934, Agatha Christie appeared in the Spanish literary system and over the following years would publish up to 66 novels (see Orozco-Jutorán (2001)), becoming one of the most read writers in Spain and other countries.

Up until that moment, the genre of detective fiction took up the classic model form (also called traditional or *formal detective novel*), which necessarily included a mystery in which the task of the detective was to solve an enigma. At the end of the story “good” usually prevailed over “bad” and order was reestablished in society: “Las principales convenciones de este subgénero consisten en la infabilidad e invulnerabilidad del investigador [...], la utilización de un método de encuesta supuestamente científico y racional, los sucesivos sospechosos inocentes, la sorpresiva resolución final del problema en que se descubre al culpable en “la persona menos sospechosa”” (Colmeiro 56). Classic detective fiction was the most popular variant of this genre then, and the most available during the first years of its

⁷ “Aparte de Poe no podemos olvidar las aportaciones de Wilkie Collins (en 1894 aparece la traducción de *The Woman in White* como *El vestido blanco*) y Conan Doyle y su mítico Sherlock Holmes (en 1902 aparece en España en la revista *La Patria de Cervantes* con el relato *El dogo sabueso de los Baskervilles*, publicado sólo diez meses más tarde que su versión inglesa aparecida en la revista *Strand Magazine*)” (Abio Villarig 48).

“En España, las obras de Conan Doyle producen un efecto sin precedentes por la inmediata popularidad de sus obras que se extiende, incluso, entre lectores de mayor nivel intelectual” (Álvarez Maurín 20).

development; this model, however, will be contrasted with that of hardboiled detective fiction in the years to come.

After claiming that detective fiction reached Spain through translation practices, how can we explain that a Spanish writer from Tomelloso –a small municipality in the province of Ciudad Real, La Mancha- suddenly creates a successful detective saga out of the blue? We believe that the writer was influenced by several factors⁸ that made it possible for Francisco García Pavón to become one of the pioneers of detective fiction in the country: namely, pseudotranslations, as well as cinematic adaptations, together with periodical and press publications. These elements, in combination with the authors who had been already translated –such as Poe, Agatha Christie or Conan Doyle-, as well as the few Spaniards that had published within the genre –Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Joaquín Belda or Mario Lacruz- surely influenced García Pavón and allowed for him to pen his contributions to the genre.

The beginnings of detective fiction in Spain have already been partially traced in Chapter One⁹. We have claimed that Detective Fiction was a genre imported and introduced to the Spanish literary system through translation and that, before this happened, it was not a genre that was autochthonous to the country:

Así pues podemos observar que el nacimiento del género policíaco en nuestra lengua también va ligado estrechamente a una labor traductora,

⁸ We consider these factors to be different cases of translation, since we take pseudotranslations to be as such because of the effect they created on the readership who thought they were real translations, as well as foreign movies, that we also consider as translations in the Spanish context.

⁹ See section 1.2 of Chapter One (pages 27-33).

sobre todo del inglés al español, prolífica y poco reconocida, que a lo largo de más de 100 años ha hecho de este género uno de los más fecundos en lo relativo a obras traducidas publicadas en español. (Abio Villarig 47)

It is important, therefore, to keep in mind the volume of translations that were available at the time and how these works may have affected both Spanish readers and writers:

Imported texts represent a surprisingly high percentage of published popular fiction in Spain at the time. Suffice it to say that translated texts during the period covering the late 50s through to the early 80s represent 20-40% of all published materials in Castilian Spanish, though in the case of some genres, notably translated children's literature in the late 70s the volume reached approximately 50%. (Merino and Rabadán 137-138)

According to Even-Zohar, as seen in Chapter One, under certain circumstances translation serves as an innovative force and fosters the creation of a new repertoire in a given country. In this case, detective fiction developed in other countries such as the UK or the US and was imported into the Spanish literary polysystem. In Spain, we saw some exceptional examples and adaptations before the War, which then evolved into a considerable number of translations imported during the first years of the dictatorship. As Carlos Abio Villarig shows (2013), the sequence of the genre's development in Spain was as follows:

Las estrategias de traducción en las traducciones que hemos analizado se adaptan y a la vez reflejan la época y las circunstancias históricas en que fueron realizadas.

- 1) 1931-1936. II República, traducciones sin censura institucional. Publicaciones mayoritariamente en revistas.
- 2) 1936-1945: Guerra y posguerra. Vacío editorial, apenas aparecen 4 publicaciones de novela negra norteamericana. El grado de censura gubernativa más alto de todos los periodos estudiados.
- 3) 1946-1955: Autarquía franquista, aislada del contexto internacional, años de fundamentalismo franquista y censura nacionalcatólica.
- 4) 1956-1965: Incorporación progresiva de España a las instituciones internacionales, leve liberalización de la censura y presión social para la apertura del régimen.
- 5) 1966-1975: Transición hacia una mayor flexibilidad en las normas censorias con criterios ideológicos y morales más permisivos. Años finales denominados del destape. Comienzo del auge de la novela negra norteamericana. (Abio Villarig 15)

One of the situations in which translation brings change and a new repertoire into a literary system is when there are “turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature” (Even-Zohar 47). We can think of Spain as undergoing one of these moments during the Civil War and during Franco’s dictatorship over a period of more

than forty years. Not only were there infrastructural impediments that prevented the Spanish literary system from developing during and after the War, but also events such as the censorship exerted by the Regime, that caused a halt to the country's literary production. We see the Spanish scenario much like the one explained by Even-Zohar: a national literature that is not very strong and that imports foreign models using translation as a medium to elaborate a new repertoire.

The Spanish panorama, therefore, allows us to provide a case study in which we can apply polysystem theories to explore them and provide a matter-of-fact application within the context of Spanish literature. The particularities of the country's political and social reality illuminate aspects of the theory developed by Even-Zohar, such as the effects of a totalitarian regime over the development of a genre and over a country's literary system, the influence of translation on a genre and within a specific polysystem, and the application of these theories to popular culture and genre creation. So far, polysystem theories have been applied mostly to the case of children's literature in translation (Zohar Shavit among others), or to study specific authors or cases related to national literatures (see Rakefet Sheffy, Milan V. Dimic, José Lambert, among others). In this instance, we will look at the case of specific authors while taking as a reference the detective fiction genre in the Spanish polysystem.

For a long time during the dictatorship translation was at the center of the Spanish polysystem; it introduced innovation into the Spanish literary system despite the desires of the Regime. In this case, translation inspired innovation in terms of genre, themes and formal literary issues, but it remained a "factor of conservatism" (48) due to the influence of censorship and how it used literature as "a means to preserve traditional taste." (49) What the Francoist censorship boards did, in fact, was

assess the type of innovation they allowed into the literary system, and leave out everything they even remotely deemed inappropriate. In this sense, translation and literature were used in accordance to their own ideals. The following idea, introduced by Clem Robyns (1990) in the French context, applies to the case of Spain as well: “During the first years after the war, translations monopolized the genre system: French originals were only published as pseudo-translations. This shows how the American model, though accepted on the condition of being ‘foreign’, still wasn’t fully integrated in the French system.” (Robyns 25) Translations were the vehicle through which a lot of the genre writing was developed.

a) Pseudotranslations

However, during the Franco Regime in Spain, instead of translations, there were mainly cases of pseudotranslations related to genre novels, as shown by the TRACE investigations¹⁰ and authors like Vázquez de Parga (1993), among others. Due to the enormous impact and popularity of pseudotranslations, they are one of the factors that we consider influential in the work of García Pavón and other writers of the time:

Debido al enorme éxito de la novela negra importada de EEUU (este éxito también se debía en gran medida a la enorme difusión por medio del cine y la televisión de esos mismos personajes en España) surgieron por doquier colecciones y escritores españoles que satisfacían esa

¹⁰ See information already provided in this dissertation on pages 24-25, 30-31.

demanda, dentro de un proceso imparable de pseudotraducciones. En la mayoría de los casos se plegaban a las temáticas estadounidenses y se imitaban desde el nombre (seudónimo del autor en inglés) hasta la localización de la acción: Nueva York, Los Ángeles y otras ciudades norteamericanas, excepcionalmente británicas. (Abio Villarig 59)

Pseudotranslations, as well as real translations, filled the void of detective fiction genre writing that was present in Spain. Some of the main examples of these pseudotranslations can be found in Vázquez de Parga (1993): mostly during the 40s Guillermo López Hipkiss (Vázquez de Parga 131), who was a translator of detective and adventure novels for the Molino publishing house¹¹, would use his initials and his second last name to write a tremendous amount of detective fiction stories and serials under this pseudonym. Another case is that of Enrique Cuenca Granch, who would sign under his initials and his second last name, and was also a translator for Molino, but who wrote adventure and western type-stories and short novels (idem 134-135). Brothers Luis and Guillermo Gossé also published detective novels for the “Colección Misterio” collection and used different pseudonyms such as Lewis and William G. Cleyman or G and L.G. Cleyman, or E. Van Davin (idem 137-138). Vázquez de Parga lists many other writers, including Adelardo Fernández Arias, who adopted the names Austin Warren and Gary Wells and created the British private detective Toby Loy (idem 142), or Octavio Cortés Faure who created inspector Winston Sinclair under

¹¹ Vázquez de Parga also accounts for some of the publishing houses that were popular at the time and that incorporated these stories written under pseudonyms: “si los anteriores autores de novelas policiacas, aunque surgidos muchos de ellos de la editorial Molino, se agruparon en torno a las ediciones Cliper, editora de las nuevas colecciones populares policiacas, otros se acogieron a la nueva etapa de ‘La Novela Aventura’, huérfana ya de escritores extranjeros, y un tercer grupo hizo sus primeras armas en la editorial Bruguera, aunque todos en definitiva publicaron después en diversas editoriales” (Vázquez de Parga 139).

the pen name of O. C. Tavin (idem 143). Merino and Rabadán (2002) also provide the following examples: “Silver Kane, Tex Taylor, Keith Luger, Donald Curtis, Glen Parrish, men and women whose real names were Francisco González Ledesma, Miguel Oliveros Tovar, Teresa Núñez” (Merino and Rabadán 139).

However, the board of censors was aware of this kind of practice and both names (the real name together with the pseudonym) would be on file for the book in question; this means that pseudotranslations were not used to escape censorship, but for other reasons such as those described above. This fact “proves that translation was broadly accepted and that it enjoyed prestige and acceptance among Spanish readers at the time” (idem 139). Once the impediments and control factors of the Regime disappeared and there were no publishing limitations, the genre began to fully develop in the country by means of a wide variety of translations and publications by Spanish authors.

b) Cinema

Together with pseudotranslations, another phenomenon that occurred -and that we consider to be highly influential for the Spanish public and for writers alike- was the importation of movies related to crime and detectives, and cinema adaptations of detective fiction books: “La enorme influencia que, junto a las traducciones, ejerce la visión de la cinematografía criminal, principalmente americana, en nuestros autores, siendo factor decisivo del inicio del conocimiento de la novela negra estadounidense” (Valles Calatrava, tesis, 55, tomo II).

This factor was, probably, the most influential in the process of importing the

genre from abroad, since cinema reached a wider audience (especially those who could not, or did not read) and the visual component made a more powerful impression on viewers: “Curiosamente la penetración de este subgénero entre el público español parece haber ocurrido más a través del cine que de la propia literatura” (Colmeiro 29). Foreign crime and detective movies laid out the collective imagination and referents that Spaniards needed to begin to conceptualize this literary genre. It also gave them the necessary tools to understand the conventions of the genre and to be able to understand this type of literature in years to come:

Popular fiction in translation gained massive acceptance among the Spanish public because it made available to readers genres that they were already familiar with thanks to the very popular radio serial and the Sunday afternoon cinema; translations of popular fiction were also attractive, because they enjoyed the favour of audiences eager to consume new foreign products (i.e. American products), that would give them an aura of modernity and would hint at an ideological opening from the authorities, and, most important, censors found them “safe”, which meant no delays in publishing authorizations, and no extra, expensive changes. In the mid-fifties, these sociological considerations, together with the fact that there was a growing market and a demand for this type of product, led publishing houses to chain produce popular novels as cheaply as possible. (Merino and Rabadán 138)

These imported movies seem to have come mainly from the United States and, therefore, were closer to the hardboiled tradition than to the classic form of detective fiction:

En las pantallas españolas se venían proyectando un gran número de películas americanas basadas en esta variante del género [la novela negra] desde los inicios de los años treinta [...] El cine español de temática criminal presenta una producción abundante durante los años cuarenta y cincuenta, y muchos de los escritores de la narrativa *hard-boiled*, W. R. Burnett, James M. Cain, Dashiell Hammett o Raymond Chandler fueron conocidos en España a través de sus versiones cinematográficas [...] El cine americano sustituye el vacío de la novela negra americana y son los cineastas españoles quienes consiguen, después de un siglo de incursiones literarias, que la producción española tenga un capítulo propio en la historial universal del cine de este género. (Álvarez Maurín 27, 32, 37)

Álvarez Maurín (2012) demonstrates the progressive interest shown towards this type of movie and the influence over Spanish movie directors, who also began to create some national productions¹². Here we only present a brief overview to get an idea of the state of the genre at the time; further information can be found in Javier Coma's *Diccionario del cine negro* (1990) and Elena Medina's *Cine negro y policiaco*

¹² Such is the case of *El desaparecido* (1934) by Antonio Graciano, *Al margen de la Ley (El crimen del expreso de Andalucía)* (1935) by Ignacio F. Iquino and *Nuestro culpable* (1938) by Fernando Mignoni. (Ávarez Maurín 30)

español de los años cincuenta (2000).

c) The Press: *El Caso*

The press had an impact on the Spanish population similar to that of the cinema: it reached a wide audience regardless of their cultural or social background, it represented popular culture and a culture of evasion, and it was able to leave a permanent impression on the collective imagination of an entire country. There was no television at the time, meaning that entertainment was reduced to reading periodicals and newspapers and going to the cinema every once in a while. We will focus here on one publication that we believe was a landmark in Spanish history: *El Caso*.

El Caso was a weekly newspaper published from 1952 to 1997, and founded by Eugenio Suárez, that covered the country's most gruesome and lurid crimes and scandals:

El estilo de *El Caso* era popular y sensacionalista, sobre todo por su presentación formal (grandes titulares de color rojo y algunas escabrosas fotos), pero no amarillista, puesto que no inventaba las noticias, sino todo lo contrario: buscaba en exclusiva los sucesos que acontecían en la calle y sus redactores lo difundían con un estilo claro, crudo y directo. (Rodríguez Cárcela 228)

The first print runs consisted of 10,000 copies when it first started and, over

two years, this number ascended to 200,000 –on one occasion, when it covered one of the most famous crimes, that of Jarabo in 1958, it reached 480,000. Because of its tabloid component, many upper-class individuals read it under disguise or pretended not to be familiar with it; but the truth is that everybody read it. As Tomás Sastre explains in an article for the newspaper *El Periódico*:

‘El caso’ fue un éxito de ventas desde el primer momento, aunque muchas personas lo compraban a escondidas y lo doblaban dentro del diario ABC o se lo encargaban al servicio doméstico, ‘porque no estaba bien visto’. Pocos saben que el dictador Francisco Franco fue un ávido lector. Que para escritores como Juan Goytisolo el semanario fue ‘una fuente de información fidedigna sobre la evolución social y cultural de los españoles’. O que Camilo José Cela llegó incluso a publicar un reportaje en un especial de 'El Caso'. (Sastre)¹³

It seems that *El Caso* developed some sort of collaborative relationship with police officers and even with the censorship authorities; otherwise, it would have been impossible to publish some of the material that it did. However, despite this collaborative relationship, writers and journalists still tried to escape and find loopholes in the censorial limitations:

Todas pasaban obligatoriamente por un censor franquista y otro eclesiástico que solicitó el mismo Suárez. ‘Era para adelantar trabajo y

¹³ <http://www.elperiodico.com/es/noticias/dominical/caso-semanario-sucechos-5000624>

tener al enemigo controlado en casa’, confesó.

Por orden de las autoridades, los crímenes publicados se limitaron a uno por número y semana, aunque en la redacción pronto supieron cómo darle la vuelta a la prohibición, realizando ediciones especiales y monográficos. Los archivos de ‘El Caso’ llegaron a ser tan efectivos y estar toda la información tan bien ordenada que la policía solía llamar por teléfono a la redacción pidiendo ayuda. (Ídem)

As was the case with writers and their novels, censors established ridiculous limitations for journalists at *El Caso*:

‘La palabra semidesnudo estaba prohibida. Al fundador se le ocurrió poner semivestido y eso pasaba la censura’, explica Juan Rada. ‘Tampoco se podía utilizar la palabra aborto, sino interrupción del embarazo’. Y respecto a las imágenes, ‘con el gráfico se subían escotes y se bajaban faldas’. (RTVE)¹⁴

But at the journal, they found ways in which they could bypass some of the limitations established by the regime:

Por ejemplo, con el crimen, ¿qué se hacía? Sólo se podía dar uno a la

¹⁴ In 2016, a TV series was aired for one season by RTVE based on the newspaper *El Caso* and entitled “El Caso. Crónica de sucesos”. This information appears on their web page as well as additional information provided by RTVE on the peculiarities of the publications of the newspaper: <http://www.rtve.es/television/20160211/siete-cosas-no-sabias-sobre-caso-van-dejar-estupefacto/1308969.shtml>

semana. Y a veces coincidían cuatro o cinco perfectos. Teníamos un truco. Si uno había ocurrido en Galicia y otro en Cataluña, hacíamos ediciones diferentes, de tal forma que en la edición de Sevilla el censor veía que sólo había un crimen. Y lo mismo en Galicia. Se hacían hasta cinco ediciones diferentes, pero cada una con un único crimen. (Zulet)¹⁵

Besides the relationship *El Caso* had with the authorities, Franco aimed at achieving a culture of evasion, which entailed allowing certain types of entertainment. After all, the only information available at the time was the official version that was established by and through the Regime, which silenced everything that went against its purpose. It is somewhat surprising that *El Caso* was allowed within the context of the dictatorship, but we must keep in mind that the depicted cases always ended up being solved and the murderer accordingly punished, therefore serving a moralizing purpose in the eyes of the Regime as it portrayed the police performing their duty as saviors:

La historia de El Caso la supo plasmar, con magistral tino, Francisco Umbral: ‘Era una manera de dar la España real contra la España oficial de la dictadura. Los sucesos fueron una tercera vía para dar la verdad del país (como el Pascual Duarte de Cela, en muy diferente y altísimo nivel literario). Franco permitió ‘El Caso’ porque pensaba que la gente, distraída con el crimen de la portera, la gata con alas o el hongo milagroso, se iba a despolitizar, como así fue’. (Sastre)

¹⁵ Íñigo Zulet interviews one of the former writers of *El Caso*, Juan Rada, reporting for *El Español*: http://www.elespanol.com/reportajes/entrevistas/20160729/143736375_0.html

Despite not being part of the development of the detective fiction literary genre, *El Caso* mixed literary and cinematographic components through the images it evoked in its stylistic elements and its narrative style: “San Andrés (1987: 83) califica al semanario de la siguiente forma: ‘La novela negra por entregas, que llegó a los rincones más apartados de la geografía española y, en su tiempo, el único vínculo con la información de muchos españoles’” (San Andrés in Rodríguez Cárcela 229). It represented the initial encounter with the *noir*: everything that must be repressed and yet causes the most tremendous fascination. The newspaper had a significant impact on the Spanish audience, providing them with the necessary tools and conventions so they could understand the posterior development of the genre when publications began to appear. *El Caso* -together with the occasional movies that Spaniards had access to as well, as translations and pseudotranslations- represents the germinal status of the detective fiction genre in the country, influenced by translations and slowly but surely developed by national writers alike.

It is within this context that García Pavón was writing, and we can guess that he was probably acquainted with some of the existing publications in detective fiction at the time. His exposure, of course, was more limited than what it would be nowadays but, given the success of these kinds of publications and his taste for the genre, it is completely plausible that he read some translations of foreign detective fiction into Spanish: “En estos treinta años, de 1930 a 1960, se produce una auténtica avalancha de obras del género policiaco procedentes en su mayoría de Gran Bretaña y de Estados Unidos, con la consiguiente aparición de numerosas colecciones especializadas en este género y con unas ventas en continuo crecimiento.” (Abio Villarig 51). García

Pavón published his first story in which his detective Plinio appears in 1953, followed by the novel *Los carros vacíos* in 1965 and *Historias de Plinio* in 1968. This timeframe allows us to see that, before the first Plinio story in 1953, he had been exposed to at least 20 years of publications of detective fiction in Spain. Carlos Abio Villarig details the sequence of publications in his dissertation (2013)¹⁶; only a few works will be mentioned here so as to offer an idea of the exposure that Pavón could have had. In 1884, the first translation of Poe was made into Spanish; in 1902, Conan Doyle is published with Sherlock Holmes; in 1909, Maurice Leblanc and his detective Arsène Lupin, and in 1911 multiple stories with detective Nick Carter; in 1929, Edgar Wallace; in 1932, Georges Simenon; in 1933, the Maltese Falcon is translated and published in Spanish; also in 1933, the creation of the “Serie Amarilla de la Biblioteca de Oro” collection by the Molino publishing house, which is specialized in this type of literature; in 1934, Agatha Christie; and in 1945, the first translation of Raymond Chandler with *Farewell, My Lovely*. There are many more literary references, together with theatre adaptations and detective fiction collections from different publishing houses, apart from the first movie adaptations, that reached our country. According to Even-Zohar: “In such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become of the means of elaborating the new repertoire. Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before” (Even-Zohar 47). This fact is also corroborated by the extensive number of translation that were made during those years and the substantial figures that we can observe in terms of publications:

¹⁶ For a complete sequence of the evolution and timing of translations in Spain of detective fiction novels check Abio Villarig, Carlos. *Políticas de traducción y censura en la novela negra norteamericana publicada en España durante la II República y la dictadura franquista (1931-1975)*, (pages 47-77).

Para hacerse una idea de las proporciones que había tomado la literatura negra policiaca importada de Estados Unidos podemos fijarnos en los datos ofrecidos por la Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress, en cuyo estudio de 1963, *Spanish and Portuguese Translations of United States Books 1955-1962* en el apartado de narrativa, de 303 autores traducidos 46 corresponden a este género (más específicamente 27 a novela negra incluidos en este estudio y 19 a un tipo de novela policiaca tradicional). (Abio Villarig 58)

It seems likely that García Pavón would have been in contact with some of these publications in the genre –whether it be actual translations, or movies, or surely *El Caso*- and that this seed, in combination with his own labor as a writer, spurred his own adaptation of the genre within the Spanish context:

No pueden construirse productos sin un repertorio [...] los nuevos elementos [...] solo pueden ser generados en conexión con el repertorio disponible. Esto no significa que un producto consista sencillamente en la realización o actualización de un modelo. Todo repertorio permite más de una posibilidad de combinación de elementos concretos y modelos ya existentes. Cualquier instancia de producción se mueve entre una meticulosa puesta en práctica de modelos conocidos y preestablecidos por un lado, y la innovación por otro. [...] Por consiguiente, la posición del productor frente al repertorio no debería

verse siempre y exclusivamente confinada a la reproducción de opciones preestablecidas. Dado que la producción implica poner en práctica una serie de opciones conlleva también, de manera inherente y permanente, una negociación dinámica de dichas opciones. (Iglesias Santos 43-44)

Pavón was seen by many as a *costumbrista* writer more than a detective fiction writer; however, I believe it is precisely in this passage about polysystem theories that we see how Pavón was able to borrow something foreign and produce his own combination of this element, and others that he was familiar with, without following a specific mold.

I suggest that García Pavón was not censored by the Regime as a strategy, conscious or unconscious, that would allow for some sort of controlled entertainment—similar to the situation with *El Caso*, as previously described. At the time, there were many submissions to the censorship boards for translations of American and British detective fiction novels that were seen as threats by the Regime (such is the case with Chandler, Cain, or Thompson, among others). It is therefore understandable that Pavón was an appealing author in the eyes of the Regime compared to many other writers. Pavón was endorsed by the Regime, he was given a respected status, and he represented what the boards wanted the canon to look like; in the words of Even-Zohar: “Official culture as manifested *inter alia* in standard language, canonized literature, patterns of behavior of the dominating classes” (Even-Zohar 14).

Once the genre had been imported into the Spanish polysystem, Spanish writers started to copy and develop the detective fiction model: first via simple

reproduction and then through innovative forms such as the one that Montalbán was closer to achieving. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed that Pavón was one of the firsts to be able to internalize the innovation brought by these translations and -once he had understood the genre and the foreign repertoire- to begin to create a series of his own. His works, in turn, work as the first examples of a Spanish repertoire on detective fiction.

Pavón's work has been considered an anomaly in the Spanish panorama of detective fiction by theorists who suggest that the development of the genre began years later, around 1974, with writers like Vázquez Montalbán, or Eduardo Mendoza. As Colmeiro (2015) claims: "El caso excepcional de Francisco García Pavón constituye una anomalía en la tendencia de la novela policiaca española con subtexto político-social escrita durante la dictadura" (Colmeiro 20). This anomaly is due to the fact that the genre reached the country through translation and yet Pavón embeds it completely within the Spanish context, mixing it with different genres and perspectives. It is also an anomaly because his writing is somehow isolated in time and is not progressively developed before or after him: his work stands alone until there is a boom in the late 70s. It is also argued that the detective novel that developed in Spain is closer to the hardboiled model than to the classic one, which is not the case with Pavón -who follows the enigma type of novel, closely related to Agatha Christie or Conan Doyle:

Los autores negros españoles se confiesan más influenciados o más cercanos a los modelos de inspiración americana de Chandler o Hammett que a los de Europa de Conan Doyle o Simenon [...] Como

dice Bados Ciria, ‘los códigos de la novela norteamericana se avienen mucho mejor con los parámetros existentes en la sociedad española’ (2010:144)” (Frechilla 47).

However, as we have seen, the influences of his work might have been plenty and might explain the reasons behind his writing in this genre. Translation was, then, the innovative force that brought change to the Spanish polysystem and, through its impact, Spanish authors like García Pavón began to acquire this innovation and to work with it within a new context.

The many authors that come after him contribute to the autochthonous repertoire, maintaining a constant conversation with the translations and retranslations of foreign repertoires that are being published.

2.2 A Detective Somewhere in La Mancha: Francisco García Pavón

Francisco García Pavón was born in 1919 in Tomelloso, Ciudad Real (Spain) in the province of La Mancha where he spent most of his life, together with Madrid, where he died in 1989. The city of Tomelloso is the place where the majority of García Pavón's stories take place and his work depicts the customs and way of life in this part of Spain, as can be observed in his detective series whose main character is detective Plinio, chief of the Municipal Police of Tomelloso, a true manchego.

It seems that the inspiration for his detective novels came, in great part, from his own experience in his hometown as well as from popular stories that he heard old-timers tell, or fragments he remembered from his childhood, all combined with a pinch of imagination. García Pavón himself described his style in this manner:

Lo que no deja lugar a dudas es el reiterado fondo autobiográfico de casi toda mi obra literaria, así como su terco arraigo en mi tierra. También, su realismo – “realismo irónico” lo llamó algún crítico-; las ráfagas de imaginación más o menos surrealista, y el humor de muy varios registros, creo que conforman sus discretas luces maestras” (García Pavón in Moraga 41).

Some writers, including Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, claimed that García Pavón's style was leaning more towards a *costumbrista* style rather than “true” detective fiction. However, the author himself did not agree with this distinction: even though *costumbrismo* might be a characteristic of his descriptions, it is not the main purpose of his works. His goal, as Pavón himself described, was to create high quality

Spanish detective fiction literature: “Yo siempre tuve la vaga idea de escribir novelas policiacas muy españolas [...] Novelas con la suficiente suspensión para el lector superficial que sólo quiere excitar sus nervios y la necesaria altura para que al lector sensible no se le cayeran de las manos” (*Mis páginas preferidas* 9). Despite the author’s intentions, critics like Vázquez de Parga have argued that the suspenseful element in his novels tend to lack relevance compared to their literary and artistic aspects. Vázquez de Parga would agree with Montalbán in the fact that readers specifically interested in detective fiction would not find Pavón to be a good fit for their expectations, because of the weakness of the development of this aspect in his novels¹⁷. However, as the first Spanish writer to ever attempt to write a detective fiction saga, the relevance and significance of his work is undeniable.

García Pavón’s main achievement was being able to create a Spanish detective that was both believable and funny, that resonated with the Spaniards’ experiences, with their imagination while, at the same time, preserving a certain literary value and style: “García Pavón consiguió con la saga de Plinio, como ningún otro autor anteriormente, establecer una auténtica serie policiaca española sin dependencia directa de moldes extranjeros, y con su fuerte apego a la tradición literaria española contribuyó a ennoblecer el género ante el público culto” (Colmeiro 154). It may be true, as Vázquez de Parga argues, that readers strictly interested in detective fiction would be unsatisfied with Pavón’s novels. However, as Colmeiro argues, his novels also may have helped a group of readers to become interested in a genre that, at the

¹⁷ “Y ciertamente captó al público «sensible», pero no al aficionado a la novela policiaca, porque García Pavón dio mucha más importancia al elemento artístico que al contenido genérico, y si sus novelas policiacas poseen una indudable altura literaria, sacrificaron a ella la «suspensión», que es lo que mantiene vivo el interés por la novela policiaca.” (Vázquez de Parga 180)

time, had mostly depended on poor translations of foreign novels.

García Pavón's rural settings and his descriptive style contributed both to his being labeled as *costumbrista*, and later on to the diminishing of his "pure" detective fiction, as well as to his wide reception among the Spanish population and his contribution to the Spanish detective tradition: "Reviewers have praised his descriptions and the careful reproduction of popular speech, and they have almost universally branded García Pavón as *costumbrista*, a title the novelist bristles at, asserting that it refers to a specific type of nineteenth-century sketch, and not to his novels" (Hart 38). Overall, and as has already been argued, Pavón (*costumbrista* or not), without a doubt, made a great contribution to the Spanish development of detective fiction. García Pavón "translated" foreign detective novels into a Spanish model that is necessarily different to the former one. It might be the case that detectives in Spain –or at least the type of detective that García Pavón wanted to depict- are not hard-boiled, but are kindhearted, play with language, think about food and enjoy simple pleasures. García Pavón re-created what he thought a detective would have looked like in a country where this genre was not popular, when a dictatorship was taking place and when all publications were subject to censorship, when portraying a police detective was taboo. Instead of applying the same formula to resemble the "original" detective novel, both García Pavón and, later, Vázquez Montalbán, created their own version, a version that does not merely imitate the American canon, but that re-creates the detective novel within a different context. Of course, we must keep in mind the era and the circumstances that influenced García Pavón's own attempt, which now may seem old-fashioned and obsolete. As Patricia Hart or José Colmeiro point out, the humanity and compassion of the Plinio character

is one of the key points that made him attractive to the Spanish readership: “Plinio’s very humanity is in the end a great deal of the basis of his appeal to his fans” (Hart 39).

There are at least two distinct stages in Pavón’s detective novel writing: the first period in which his stories “tienen un formato uniforme: son breves, sin apenas episodios al margen del eje de la narración ni rasgos de humor. La acción se sitúa en Tomelloso durante los años veinte” (Moraga in Galán Gall 52-53). The second period starts with the publication of *El reinado de Witiza* (1968) and includes almost ten books that narrate Plinio’s cases¹⁸. In this second phase, the time period described in the novels is the sixties and seventies -with the last novel taking place during the eighties, a jump in time compared to the twenties, when Plinio made his first appearances. The reader accepts this poetic license, even though it would be realistically impossible for him to have been appointed for such a prolonged period of time.

Apart from his detective novels, García Pavón was well known for his articles, essays and contributions to newspapers¹⁹ as well as for his short stories, which are still highly valued in literary circles. García Pavón also developed other intellectual activities such as organizing successful conferences in his hometown. He was the director of the Taurus publishing house for over ten years, he was considered as a candidate to be a part of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, and he directed

¹⁸ These novels include: *El reinado de Witiza* (1968), *El rapto de las Sabinas* (1969), *Las hermanas coloradas* (1970), *Nuevas historias de Plinio* (1970), *Una semana de lluvia* (1971), *Vendimiario de Plinio* (1972), *Voces en Ruidera* (1973), *El último sábado* (1974), *Otra vez domingo* (1978), *El hospital de los dormidos* (1981).

¹⁹ Such as *Lanza* or the magazine *Albores de Espíritu* (see Moraga in Galán Gall 35).

the Escuela de Arte Dramático²⁰. Pavón published an anthology of short stories that was very successful, together with a critical collection of theatrical pieces. His first novel, *Cerca de Oviedo* a finalist candidate for the Premio Nadal in 1945, the year in which Carmen Laforet won the prize for her book *Nada*. Years later, García Pavón was granted the Premio Nadal in 1969 for one of his Plinio novels: *Las hermanas coloradas*, after being a finalist on another occasion.

García Pavón is considered part of the first postwar literary generation or the generation of 36. This generation, the first after the Civil War, experienced heavy censorship and is often associated with existentialism and realism. Pavón, however, was somehow able to create a style in which tradition and modernity went hand in hand:

El proyecto de García Pavón busca un difícil equilibrio entre su compromiso con la propia tradición –el parentesco directo con la novela clásica por antonomasia de la lengua castellana- y su intento de adaptación al mundo actual –la inmersión dentro de un género nuevo como el policiaco que aunque conocido permanece fundamentalmente extraño a la tradición española-. (Colmeiro 151)

The tension and contrast between city, modernity, countryside, and tradition is present in García Pavón's work. Perhaps one of the most obvious instances of this contrast in the Plinio series can be observed in *Las hermanas coloradas*, the novel that won the Premio Nadal in 1969, in which Plinio leaves his hometown and goes to

²⁰ This might be indicative of Pavón's status in the context of the Regime –though there is no proof of any link or association between them, just speculation.

Madrid to solve an unresolved crime involving some Tomelloso natives. In this novel, we realize that Plinio's experience in Tomelloso, his hometown, is one of control and tranquility since the detective knows its inhabitants, their customs and even their habits and daily routines. In the following passage, we can observe how Plinio is comfortable and acquainted with his surroundings:

El personal está tan afincado en sus horarios y rutinas, que Plinio sabía casi fijo quién iba a aparecer de un momento a otro por la calle Nueva, quién entraría en la carnicería de Catalino, con quién se pararía Jerónimo Torres y quiénes saldrían, sin marrar, de la misa de ocho. La plaza, su plaza, era un escenario en el que todos los días se representaba la misma función con muy poca variación de divos y figurantes. (*Las hermanas coloradas* 12)

The fact that he is so used to the town and the area, its inhabitants and their customs, makes his job as a detective much easier than in a big city where people are not acquainted with each other. Furthermore, this experience of a town in which people know each other so intimately was comparable to any other Castilian or Spanish town at the time and, therefore, was an experience that most Spanish readers would understand and could relate to. On the other hand, in this same novel, we observe for the first time the detective's experience outside Tomelloso, in Madrid, when he goes to solve a case. In the city, however, Plinio finds himself in a sadder mood, lost in the chaos, having to face new technologies, traffic, and alienation from society: "Ambos con las manos en los bolsillos del pantalón, como dejados caer,

instintivamente insolidarios con aquella marabunta de automóviles, luces y gentes. Un poco destemplados por el viaje, sentían sobre sus rostros aquellos reflejos, sombras de cuerpos y palabras cortadas, como algo muy ajeno y difícil de amar. Se sentían cosas en aquel mundo apretado y ruidoso” (idem 41). Plinio and his assistant Don Lotario are completely out of place in this big city and they find it hard to relate to or feel included in its rhythm. Plinio, as always, focuses on the investigation, putting these feelings aside, but at times, when enjoying some free time from his job, Plinio analyzes the ways and consequences of this city lifestyle far away from the tranquility of his hometown:

—Cuántas personas y qué ajenas unas de otras —comentó Plinio pensativo—. Fíjese en todos esos que vienen hacia acá por el paso de peatones, rozándose unos con otros y sin mirarse. Como si fuesen cosas. Son gentes que viven por dentro, cada uno en sus cavilaciones, y por fuera no hacen otra cosa que andar, moverse, enajenados. Todos parecen forasteros entre sí.

—Es verdad, en los pueblos convivimos más. Aquí las personas están colocadas sobre la misma ciudad, pero no se conocen ni parece que quieran conocerse. (Idem 62)

Not only does he feel alienated from the material city itself, but also from society, from its inhabitants —a feeling he does not have in his town, where everyone knows each other and one feels welcomed and included at all times. Plinio finds himself outside his comfort zone in this novel, while throughout the rest of the saga,

he is able to perform his job productively by using his observation skills and making deductions from the personalities and inclinations of the characters he already knows: “Por eso en Madrid, ser policía es una cosa científica y mecánica. Hay que empezar por averiguar quién es quién. En el pueblo el ser policía es ejercicio humanísimo porque hay que rebuscar aquel rincón último de los que conocemos. Los pueblos son libros. Las ciudades periódicos mentirosos...” (idem 76). This contrast also reflected a transitional stage that the whole country was experiencing during Franco’s dictatorship: the evolution from an agrarian country and a traditional society into an industrialized consumer society.

José Colmeiro analyzes *Las hermanas coloradas* in an article (2015) as García Pavón’s most political work, and one that could serve as an allegory for the Spanish situation under Francoism:

La más obviamente política, y para muchos críticos la mejor [...] fue la primera novela que abordaba abiertamente la realidad de los *topos*, prisioneros en sus propias casas, y una metáfora apropiada para todos los que vivían en un exilio interior en su propia patria bajo la dictadura. [...] *Las hermanas coloradas* constituye un explícito intento de investigar y recuperar los fragmentos del pasado borrados de la memoria colectiva. Esta novela nos muestra un buen ejemplo en el que la clave para resolver los misterios del presente reside precisamente en descubrir las historias escondidas del pasado franquista. (*Novela policiaca* 21)

We have mentioned that this novel reflects a different reality than the rest of the Plinio series. Colmeiro's suggestion is interesting, and must be considered; it definitely fits the descriptions of Pavón that reflect the liberal character usually associated with the writer. However, since the majority of Pavón's body of work does not have the sort of political implications that *Las hermanas coloradas* does, we may have to consider it an anomaly in his work that, nevertheless, might have set a precedent for other writers that came after him.

The success of the Plinio novels in Spain during the sixties and seventies was also mirrored in 1972 by a color TV series based on the saga. Because of the economic changes occurring in the country, having a TV or a car were now priorities for the middle class. We should keep in mind that, at the time, there were only two channels available on national television. This means that most of the country watched the programs that were broadcast, since there was so little variety of choice. In this case, it was one of the first series in color that to ever be broadcast in the country. The television series was not as successful as the books and many critics have suggested that its quality was inferior to the writing of García Pavón. Nevertheless, thanks to this TV series, the popularity of the detective Plinio grew even greater in the country and the novels became known to a public that they might not have reached otherwise.

Despite all these facts, it has been argued that García Pavón has not been widely recognized, and that his work, together with his intellectual figure, has been cast into oblivion (Moraga 18; Belmonte Serrano). From my experience in Madrid, his books are hard to find nowadays and most people are not familiar with his work, except for those who read him at the time he was being published and enjoying great

success. I would like to provide a possible explanation for this fact, drawn from the conclusions I reached after gathering information on the censorship reports at The General Administration Archive (AGA). As I will develop in this chapter, while García Pavón was never openly political in his work, he expressed the ideology of the Franco regime through his character Plinio, who embodied the values which the Regime expected the average Spanish citizen to internalize. By contrast, detective novels that departed from the governmental scheme were either banned for their imputed dangerous and immoral content or were heavily edited before publication, as was the case of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán. I will argue that the fact that García Pavón was barely censored suggests that his novels were, to a certain extent, in tune with the Franco Regime –or, at least, they did not challenge it at all. Because of this fact, reading Pavón in the present, despite its great literary value, feels outdated (mostly concerning social and cultural issues). This could be one of the reasons why García Pavón's works are not as available nowadays, because, though they are fun, witty and enjoyable to read, at the same time, some of the content can be socially and politically incorrect in present day society. Another reason that might explain the current lack of popularity of his work is the fact that the figure of the detective in Spain has evolved and is now closer to the American hardboiled model. There are many more writers and publications in crime and detective fiction, such that García Pavón might sound outdated to newer generations. At any rate, the literary value and the ingenuity of his works are unquestionable no matter how many years have passed.

2.3 Francisco García Pavón and his Detective Plinio.

Francisco García Pavón was considered a liberal; he did not openly support any specific party or ideology and, therefore, he was not targeted a priori by the Regime. His detective character —Manuel González, alias Plinio— is similar to himself in that regard; he stays away from politics, is ambiguous enough, is open to different ideas, listens to everybody, and gives the benefit of the doubt. Despite this lack of political signification, I argue that Plinio's character could be considered, somehow, as complicit with the Franco Regime. By analyzing García Pavón's novels and the censorship reports, we reach the conclusion that, in some ways, the values and moral conduct of both parties seem to be closer than expected. The fact that García Pavón did not oppose or question the values and the order of the reigning system at the time in Spain could have also been used by the censorial committees as a strategy to promote a hero-like character that Spaniards could read innocently and that would not smirch the standards of Franco's ideas. At the same time, it recreated the Regime's archetype contributing to the ruling ideology. As Belmonte Serrano (2005) points out: "García Pavón ha sido acusado, en más de una ocasión, de mostrar cierta tibieza a la hora de afrontar en sus obras los problemas políticos y sociales de España durante la dictadura militar" (Belmonte Serrano in Galán Gall 22). It might be argued that, at the time, this attitude was the only option if an author wanted to be published and escape censorship; the substantial number of authors who were censored during the years of the dictatorship, on the other hand, proves that there were other ways of facing publication and politics in the country. The fact is that, consciously or unconsciously, Pavón's writings did not at all challenge the ideology of the Franco Regime and, consequently, they were barely censored. Furthermore, a couple of his novels (not

included in the detective saga that he wrote) that did seem to be “offensive” or “questionable” to the censors were still allowed to be published without further problems. I believe that the censors of the Franco Regime found in García Pavón an archetype, or a harmless entertainment that reflected to a certain extent the reigning values in the country. Some of the values we see in Plinio that were in tune with the dictatorship include the concept of a traditional family –after all, Plinio is happily married and has a daughter, which is something not very common for fictional detectives-, the representation of women as inferior to men or as simply incapable human beings, nationalistic pride and the characterization of Spain, his appeal to readers through humor, as well as Plinio’s righteous moral conduct and values. For this reason, I believe, Pavón was barely censored and was allowed to become popular reading material, since he did not question the Regime and reinforced some of the national-catholic values of the dictatorship:

Una de las más notables [ausencias] es la omisión del estereotipo más simbólico de este género: la figura del detective privado, de comportamiento moral ambiguo y con un código de justicia propio, cuya función era la de poner de manifiesto la corrupción de las instituciones o la ineficacia de las leyes, no podía tener cabida en el contexto ortodoxo español. La normativa exigía explícitamente que la acción contra el crimen fuera conducida por un miembro del aparato oficial, cuya honestidad y rectitud se presentara como incuestionable. (Álvarez Maurín 34)

Pavón was appealing to the censors because his detective fiction embodied many of the values and moral conducts that the Regime was trying to impose. It must have seemed to the censors that Pavón was doing something laudable by creating a “real” and “true” Spanish detective that represented the national customs, types and characters; that did not challenge any of the Regime’s values and even reinforced them through the portrayal of a righteous moral detective; that portrayed women in a highly traditional way; all while providing the right dose of humor and credibility for the readers. In short, Plinio is overall an archetype of a “good Spaniard” in the eyes of the Regime, one that can be entertaining without challenging the dictatorship.

The fact that Pavón had certain similitudes with the Regime, or did not challenge it, was even recognized in the censorial reports on García Pavón’s work that I checked at the Archivo General de la Administración (General Administration Archive) in Alcalá de Henares, in which he seems to be perceived as a harmless writer by the censors. A report from 1968 of one of the first substantial books in the Plinio saga, *El reinado de Witiza*, can be used as an example in which the censor admits that this is a “novela que no ofrece ninguna dificultad tecnica [sic], ya que no roza ningun [sic] problema social ni politico [sic]” (Exp. 2060-68 AGA). García Pavón writes Spanish detective fiction stories in which he avoids any social or political allusion. By omission, however, his work aligned with the Regime being, therefore, inherently political and signifying itself in that ideological direction by portraying certain social and political realities of the time in a positive light and without any sort of criticism. As Patricia Hart (1987):

If García Pavón’s novels are naively unaware of their own sexual

politics, they are even more vague and simplistic when it comes to Spanish politics in general... It is little wonder that the Franquist censors saw little to worry... their very existence [G.P. novels] with the simplistic explanations they offer shows better than a stack of critical opinions just what kind of political content was acceptable in a detective novel in Franquist Spain". (Hart 42-43)

The fact that the censors could allow publication of his books without much objection proves that they did not think the books opposed Franco's ideology. In fact, regarding certain topics, such as women and sexual politics, they were very much in line. These are definitely topics that can be found throughout the Plinio novels that were completely in tune with the Franco Regime.

Portrayal of Family and Women in the Plinio Novels

We can find numerous examples of women portrayed as inferior and incapable beings throughout the Plinio novels. The following is just one of the multiple instances in which similar remarks are made: "Lo que ocurre, es que las mujeres, como estáis más próximas a la condición de los irracionales, tenéis indolencia para pensar en la putrefacta. No queréis saber de ella. Sois más terruñeras, más coseras, más carnestolenderas y más reacias a la empinación del pensamiento que nosotros, los cerebros varones" (*Las hermanas coloradas* 15). There are also references in this same novel to the woman's role and duty to become a mother as their main goal in life, in the same way that Plinio thinks of his own daughter, who has not yet gotten married and does not have children: "Y Plinio trasladó el pensamiento a su hija, a su

pobre hija, ya madura, que tal vez quedase sin matrimonio [...] Una mujer con el papo intonso y la barriga sin creación es el ciprés más triste y entristecedor del mundo” (idem 58). As we can see, this depiction of women fits right into the Catholic standards present in Spain at the time, together with the ultraconservative and machista Francoist ideal.

Along these lines, Patricia W. O’Connor (1973) studies Plinio’s sexual politics and argues that, despite García Pavón’s allegedly liberal character, women always play a secondary role in his novels and are consistently patronized by men:

Pavón is politically liberal, but his settings seem to evoke another era, and his feminine characters suggest a nineteenth-century inspiration. Unfortunately, however, they may represent a selective reality of rural Spain in 1972 [...] Plinio’s attitudes are not only Moorish and medieval, but some have the ring of classical antiquity. He consistently sees women as uncomplicated, instinctual creatures only slightly more evolved and sophisticated than salmon, whose obsession to spawn they share. (O’Connor 67-68)

It is hard to judge whether these novels show a generalized attitude in the country at the time, or whether they show Pavón’s own ideas. Nonetheless, an ultraconservative portrayal of women is undoubtedly present in García Pavón’s novels.

Similarly, the portrayal of the traditional family is represented through Plinio’s wife, Gregoria, and daughter Alfonsa. In a Catholic country, as Spain was at the time of Franco’s dictatorship, not only was divorce completely out of the question, but

within the family, women took on a submissive and devoted role. Plinio's wife and daughter are always at home, ready to answer any demands that Plinio might have and are thus subject to his changing moods. Their only role is that of being a housewife and a devoted daughter, ironing his shirts while he takes a nap and having dinner ready whether he appears at home for dinner or not. The following is an example of a typical interaction in the Plinio family, taken from *El rapto de las Sabinas*:

Al vivir solo entre mujeres notaba que le faltaba algo. [...]

—Desde luego, es que tu padre, que por lo demás es un santo, cuando tiene un caso penoso entre manos, no hay quien lo aguante.

—¡Ea, madre, qué va usted a hacer! El pobre se preocupa mucho de todo lo de su oficio. [...]

—Ea, madre, Dios lo ha dispuesto así. Yo... claro que es otra cosa verlo como hija que como mujer, lo prefiero como es.

La madre suspiró y buscó en la radio algo que le gustara. [...]

—Yo lo quiero mucho, madre — dijo con los ojos húmedos —, a pesar de que es muy despegao.

—Los hombres, vamos, entiendo yo, son siempre un poco despegaos [...]

—¿Qué espiabas, cansina?

—Quería ver si dormías y plancharte el uniforme. [...]

—Tú anda y plancha, que voy a refrescarme un poco. [...]

—Chica

—¿Qué, padre?

—Dame un cafetillo.

—Voy al contao. Ya teníamos el agua a calentar.

—Aquí tienes el uniforme. (*El rapto de las Sabinas* 85-89)

This is the type of interaction that occurs with Plinio's wife and daughter, and their only dimension as characters in the novels. In the same way, female characters are usually not relevant in most of the stories, and their feelings and desires are ignored: "Aside from Gregoria and Alfonsa, the only woman to appear regularly in the novels and stories is the Andalusian *buñolera*, Rocío: loud, vulgar, wisecracking – yet friendly and likeable. She works outside the home but is hardly liberated, for she spends her life behind the counter in servitude to men" (O'Connor 73). As can be seen, this depiction of women poses absolutely no threat to the Regime; as a matter of fact, it reinforces the figure and role of women in the eyes of the retrograde dictatorship. It can also offer us an explanation for the current oblivion into which García Pavón has been cast.

Nationalistic Pride and Representation of Spain in the Plinio Novels

There is a central nationalistic component in the Plinio saga in the sense that García Pavón wanted to write "novelas policiacas muy españolas" (Vázquez de Parga 179). To create a saga with this characteristic, García Pavón set the action in a rural town, used colloquial language that was close to the reader, humorous remarks and popular jokes, and descriptions of typical Spanish landscapes and sceneries, as well as of types of characters that can be found in Spanish society. In his novels we can

find numerous, elegantly written descriptions of typical Castilian landscapes that appeal to the Spanish reader who is familiar with the references and the descriptions: “El estrecho Guadiana, por aquellos predios, en el otoño, toma color de vena y arrastra juncos dormidos y hojas como mechones de cabello castaño. Los álamos del río son color cana; los chopos repelones y las amapolas de los pastizales, ya viejas, forman charcos morados. Los lagartos, cubiertos de ceniza verde, ven morir la tarde junto a la ceña de los molinos aguadores” (*El rapto de las Sabinas* 63).

Besides the descriptions of landscapes, we also find reflections on the life and psychology of the society, often associated with the passing of times and the influence of modernity upon traditional customs. There is some sort of nostalgia for past times, as if the past were always better, and Spaniards were losing some important knowledge and customs: “Habría que hacer una revolución para volver a las cosas sencillas. La gente lucha por conseguir mercancías que le complican la vida y le quitan el sabor de vivir. La paz, el campo solo y el vino honrado, son tres bienes que ha perdido la humanidad [...] Los hombres de ahora luchan por el lujo y la tontería” (idem 55). As we have already seen, modernity is beginning to have a presence in Tomelloso and in Plinio’s life, and therefore in Spanish society as a whole; but it plays a complex role of desirable progress as well as undesirable loss of tradition. In this sense, the Franco Regime also experienced a complex relationship with modernity and exercised a complete return to ultraconservative values and lifestyles.

The effect of modernity is also reflected through the changes in the landscape and the typical Spanish scenery: “Desde que se acabaron los carros y las mulas, desde que labriegan las máquinas, aquellas llanuras se han quedado solas como plazas de toros en lunes. Han vuelto a ser el desierto de antaño. Leguas y leguas sin arado,

mulas, carro, perro ni oveja. Campos sin solar ni población [...] Ya no hay de eso.” (idem 107). Advanced modes of production have had an impact on both the Spanish landscapes and on society’s employment and usage of time. Plinio often expresses his nostalgia for Spain’s past, something that most readers would share at the time and would continue to experience years later. A second example can be seen in the implementation of a wine cooperative that replaced the traditional wine cellars: “Se le trasladó el pensamiento a otra cosa que ocurría en su pueblo últimamente: el final de las cuevas y bodeguillas caseras [...] Desde que pusieron la cooperativa, que verifica y administra el vino de la mayor parte que [sic] los labradores medianos y picholeras, las cuevas que minan Tomelloso quedaron vacías. Son ahora calabozos de tinajas huera” (idem 136). The nostalgia that Plinio expresses usually concerns traditions that are being lost and that are considered unique within the country.

As we can see, the values that Pavón portrays do not challenge any aspect of the Regime. It is true, however, that the religious aspect is missing in Pavón’s novels: there are barely any references to Catholicism at a time when the country was deeply religious. The allusions are usually linguistic and can be found in daily expressions such as: “Sepa Dios qué habrán hecho con esta pobre muchacha” (idem 69) or “Dios lo ha dispuesto así” (idem 86). Despite this fact, Plinio and his friend Braulio often reflect on the meaning of life and death, without specifically alluding to a religious component but, at the same time, without differing deeply from it.

Humoristic element in the Plinio novels.

One of García Pavón’s greatest skills was the use of vernacular in the Plinio novels. Not only did this element appeal to the readers because of its humoristic effect,

but it also allowed him to fulfill his desire to create a typical Spanish detective fiction saga. The humor that García Pavón used is quite local; it is a cultural element bound to those who are familiarized with typical expressions and cultural referents. We can find multiple examples of humor that make the reader develop empathy and affection towards the novels and their characters:

“—Padre, debía usted comprarse calzoncillos más cortos, ya no se llevan así.

—¿Y cómo lo sabes tú, puñeto?” (*El rapto de las sabinas* 89).

Or another example from the first Plinio novel:

—Desde luego es que siempre entre muertos, pierde uno el tino del *almenaque*.

—Menudo *almenaque* estás tú hecho.

—Es que este Matías es un juevista — dijo *el Faraón*.

—¿Qué es eso de juevista? —preguntó Plinio.

—Yo, ni juevista ni narices; lo que pasa es que no paro en *to* el día.

(*El reinado de Witiza* 19; italics from the original)

As Patricia Hart points out: “His speech is full of terms so characteristic of Tomelloso that the first three novels actually included glossaries so that the uninitiated from other locales could look up terms like “*quiquilicuatre*” and “*hurre*”” (Hart 39).

Humor might not be, per se, an element complicit with the Regime. However, sometimes jokes are made with some sort of political undertone, or at the expense of

women or other “inferior” or stigmatized sectors of society. This is the case in *El rapto de las Sabinas*, when an old parrot dies in the town and everybody goes to pay their respects:

Cuando nos llevaron a la guerra de Cuba, gritaba a todo el que se paraba en la ventana: “Yanki jodío, yanki jodío, rrrrrrrrrr”.

—Es que este loro siempre fue muy patriota —coreó un hombre gordo con una verruga vinosa en la nariz—, porque cuando la guerra de África decía cosas contra los moros. (*El rapto de las Sabinas* 140-141)

In general, humor provided an appealing element for the reader, as well as for the censors. The humor found in the Plinio novels is very culturally specific, something that had not been developed in any sort of national detective fiction at the time. The translations and films that were widely available in the country spoke of foreign elements that were appealing and desirable to Spaniards, yet they were deprived of the necessary elements to decode the cultural referents. However, Plinio was speaking a language they understood to perfection, that they could relate to, and that permeated their very existence. As Valles Calatrava noted in his dissertation (1986):

Surgen igualmente la ironía y el sarcasmo, que García Pavón utiliza en sus narraciones como recursos fundamentales de otro de los rasgos sobresalientes de su producción: el humor. Al respecto dice V. Claudín: “Algo fundamental en la obra de García Pavón es el humor, ese humor

tan esencial heredado de su tierra y de los hombres de su pueblo”. (14). Este humorismo cobra cada vez más importancia según aumenta el número de sus relatos criminales [...] El tratamiento del humor abarca [...] la plasmación con intención cómica de algunas situaciones absurdas, el juego con la polisemia o paronimia de algunas palabras y la transcripción de algunas opiniones, anécdotas o cantarillos real o supuestamente populares. (Valles Calatrava, tomo II, 106-107)

Humor is a crucial characteristic in the translation of a foreign genre into a culture-specific literary production since it situates a work within another environment, and inserts it into its cultural and social realm: humor helps Pavón construct his detective in the Spanish context and make a unique contribution at the time.

Plinio’s Righteous Moral Conduct and Values

As Patricia Hart or José Colmeiro have argued, the main appealing factor of Plinio is his humanity: “Plinio also illustrates a previously-mentioned characteristic of the Spanish sleuth: he is above all things human [...] Plinio’s very humanity is in the end a great deal of the basis of his appeal to his fans” (Hart 39). Plinio is a calm, patient and observant man, reserved yet loyal to his friends and to his sense of duty. In short, he is an upright honorable man, an example to follow for the other characters in the town as well as for the readers. Plinio is praised by the rest of the town inhabitants, a mechanism by which we also come to understand his effect on them, as well as his characterization as a righteous example to follow: “Tú eres uno de esos

pocos hombres que nunca se pueden olvidar. Mi padre, que tenía pasión por ti, siempre me lo decía: “Plinio es el único hombre de este pueblo” [...] En Tomelloso, con Plinio, no hay nada que temer... [...] dispuesto a prestarle su inteligencia, su autenticidad, su honradez... y sus pálpitos” (*El rapto de las sabinas* 124). In the same vein, don Lotario, Plinio’s helper, describes the detective’s character by praising him constantly and showing his admiration and respect:

A él lo que de verdad le gustaba –había llegado a esa conclusión– era Plinio. Era Plinio, el hombre bueno. Plinio, el honrado. Plinio, el amigo. Plinio, el de los pálpitos. Plinio, el entusiasta de su profesión. Si Plinio hubiera sido carnicero, cura, aparejador, o médico, sería igual, estaba seguro. Plinio era el semeje más próximo a lo que él había pensado siempre que debía ser un hombre. Sin orgullo, sin petulancia, tan llano, tan auténtico, tan justo y benigno. (166-167)

It is for this reason that censors found little to worry about. Moreover, they found an archetype that could serve as a model of a righteous man with laudable values and moral code, that would reach Spanish society in an implicit way through the entertainment of a product of mass culture, such as detective fiction. As Colmeiro explains, Plinio’s moral code is also linked to the rural lifestyle, closer to tradition and contradictory and anachronistic at times. It also reflects the difficult transition Spain underwent during Franco’s time and after his death:

El fuerte apego de Plinio, y por ampliación del autor, al pasado, a la

vida campesina, también conlleva una aceptación implícita de unas actitudes vitales asociadas con los modos de vida tradicionales, y por ende, con unas posturas morales conservadoras. Así, junto a la descripción detallada de las costumbres ancestrales (bellas estampas de la vida rural con sus fiestas y celebraciones rituales, sus comidas, sus trabajos y diversiones) y echando mano del rico y castizo lenguaje de la región manchega, el autor parece acatar las conductas anacrónicas existentes en el mundo novelesco que quiere representar. La actitud sexista generalizada en todos los personajes [...] Igualmente enraizada en la tradición es la obsesiva actitud xenofóbica y homofóbica de la población rural, siempre defensora de sus atávicas usanzas y especialmente recelosa ante todo lo nuevo y extraño [...] tanto Plinio como su autor, un autoconfesado liberal a la antigua usanza, revelan una ideología caracterizada por la contradicción, la ambigüedad y el anacronismo [...] Plinio se muestra políticamente ambiguo [...] Plinio defiende ante todo el *statu quo* imperante, como corresponde al Jefe de la Guardia Municipal. (Colmeiro 158-159)

As Colmeiro points out, by omission, Pavón defends the ruling status quo in Spain; in other words, the Franco Regime's politics, religion, tradition, beliefs, values and moral conducts. All the conservative, traditional traits found in his novels fall into a similar ideology and do not present any threat whatsoever in terms of censorship. These characteristics from García Pavón's works have shown some of the ways that Plinio could have been appealing to the censors and that, most likely, could

have influenced the fact that he was not censored. His novels, as we can see, present little to no problem. At the same time, the characteristics presented here are those that are particular to a singular approach of detective writing in the country at that time.

2.4 Censorship of García Pavón

I will now present the analysis of the censorship reports, in which Pavón's works are in most cases praised and enjoyed by the censors. From my investigation at the Archivo General de la Administración, all the Plinio books by García Pavón were granted permission to be published with the exception of one, *Una semana de lluvia*, which was catalogued as administrative silence. Furthermore, by reading the reports written by the censors, we get the impression that they even sympathized with the detective, finding him funny and praising his adventures (as can be observed in this report written in 1978 on one of García Pavón's last books *Otra vez domingo*):

También la lengua castellana, y la Mancha en particular, tienen derecho a contar con detectives agudos y casos intrincados por resolver. Esta novela es un ejemplo. En Tomelloso pocas cosas ocurren de auténtica novedad. El cura, el veterinario, el alcalde, el médico y los buenos vecinos [...] La novela es interesante, limpia, de costumbres castizas tanto como de intriga policíaca. Todo es amable, sin violencia, tranquilo como los pueblos manchegos. (Exp. 12747-78 AGA)

As we can see, there is some sort of nationalistic praise for the Castilian language, La Mancha, and the fact that a Spanish detective is the main character rather than the typical American or foreign detective that was famous at the time. The censor shows in the report the idea that we, Spanish people, can also have detectives and cases to solve. This is precisely the space, the niche that García Pavón filled with Plinio, a true Spanish detective that embodies national customs and values, together

with a little bit of modernity. It does not seem surprising that, within this context, the censors did not find it appropriate to ban these publications. Why would they? As a matter of fact, these novels and the detective protagonist almost served to reinforce an archetype of the Spain they were trying to represent, and as a counterpart to the flood of foreign translations coming from the United States and other countries that represented a threat to the Regime.

This next example belongs to a different report that analyzes *Nuevos artículos de costumbres*, a book that is not included in the Plinio saga. In this case, the censor even takes the liberty of comparing the Spanish author to Simenon:

Francisco García Pavón es, en estos momentos hartamente conocido. Su libro “Nuevos Artículos de Costumbres” se aparta un poco del género peculiarísimo suyo, de Simenon a la española. No se trata de una novela. Sino de cortos ensayos en torno a la [sic] vida actual española tratados con su ironía y su objetividad de siempre, pero no carentes de gracia. Su libro se lee de un tirón, y a pesar de su sarcasmo, no tiene nada que objetar. Aceptado. (Exp. 3254-72 AGA)

In this case, there is only one allusion to the writer’s sarcasm, which implies some sort of “misconduct” or that could be contested by the censor. However, despite this unspecified sarcasm, the censor considers that it should be published. The fact that the censor considers García Pavón to be an objective writer and that, despite his sarcasm, there is nothing to change, shows again that the ideas presented in his books were not found challenging by the Regime and its censors. Once again, upon reading

the report, we get the impression that the censor enjoyed the essays and that he empathizes with Pavón.

A different censor, when analyzing the Plinio novel *Los carros vacíos*, is suddenly compelled to compare himself to Cervantes in the way he starts his report: “En un pueblo de la Mancha, Tomelloso, (parece que voy a comenzar un nuevo Quijote) se han cometido tres asesinatos con robo de los que han sido víctimas tres meloneros.” (Exp. 1107-65 AGA). These quotes show both the relationship of the censors to the works of García Pavón and the attitude of some of the censors regarding their work and the task they were carrying out. As I have expressed before, the reports show a positive attitude from the censors together with nationalistic praise that can be observed both in the fact that they compare the Spanish detective Plinio with other famous foreign detectives and because they incorporate into their analysis another central Spanish literary figure such as Quixote. They are all quite positive reviews, which at the time was difficult to achieve considering the political and social restrictions in place. Regarding the attitude of the censors themselves, we must keep in mind that they were responsible for either allowing writers to be published or for banning their works; in other words, they oversaw major decisions that could hinder or help the careers of a lot of different people. However, they act almost as if it were a game, and they literary critics capable of judging literary quality and value: “Los censores eran, y son, figuras grises, funcionarios o aspirantes, meros peones a los que, si algún cargo habría que imputarles, sería el de servilismo desmedido, exceso de celo, ínfulas de literato frustrado y la crasa ignorancia y competencia lectora que exhibían en muchos de sus juicios y sus prejuicios” (Ruiz Bautista 84). Ruiz Bautista also shows (2008) that, because of the ridiculously high number of books reported on by

some censors on a monthly basis, and because their salary was based on this number alone, they had to be only glancing through the content of the books to be able to reach a decent number of books reviewed each month²¹. They probably ended up taking so many liberties because of the leeway they had in their reports to make such comments and judgments.

The only book in the Plinio saga that seemed to have been more contested was *Una semana de lluvia* (1971), which received the denomination of Administrative Silence. This category was a novelty of the Press Law of 1966 and was somewhat of a fuzzy denomination. It was theoretically not banned, but its publication was not advised. It was up to the editor to decide whether she was going to go forward with the edition or not, knowing that it could have further consequences. In this case, we seem to find the reasons for their verdict in the report where the censor argues:

La novela es de un vocabulario demasiado vulgar para ser leído [sic], como ocurre en las páginas [sic]: 22-25-29-38-39-51-53-83-85-98-99-107-115-118-125-129-130-131-133 [...] En las páginas 161 y 162 hace unas alusiones un poco desacertadas políticamente. Después de lo autodicho no conteniendo nada imputable se la puede considerar ACEPTABLE pero con los reparos consiguientes. (Exp. 5272-71 AGA)

Despite the report made by this censor on the 26th of May of 1971, the document has a handwritten mark cataloguing it as “Silencio” with the date of the 27th

²¹ For further reference on the role of the censors check Ruiz Bautista’s works.

of that month. The book tells the story of several pregnant girls who commit suicide. Plinio and his assistant, don Lotario, try to find the man who is behind this situation. From my reading, most of the parts that the censor points out as problematic include insults, swear words, vulgar descriptions or comments about suicide. This was, without a doubt, a taboo topic during Franco's Regime. As far as the political remarks that the censor claims to have found on pages 161 and 162, we can see some sort of criticism that implies the Spanish population has been dazed and absentminded:

Todo por un polvo, por vaya usted a saber qué lío de ideas y de mitos antiquísimos, adobados durante siglos por unas manadas de aparvados. Que la primera cosa que hay que hacer, palabra, antes que la reforma agraria, la nacionalización de la banca o la investigación de los capitales robados, de verdad, lo primero que hay que hacer, te lo digo sin reservas, créeme, muertecita Bolívar, es desentontecer España. Es el primer punto del programa. (*Una semana* 161-162)

This is probably one of the few examples where we can intuit some political concerns in García Pavón's writing and where we can attest to the writer's fame of being a liberal thinker. Still, this novel was not banned and was published with all the material that the censor considered questionable.

I believe that because García Pavón's novels and main character Plinio fit with the Regime's ruling ideology to a certain extent, and did not present any threats, the censors allowed certain expressions and ideas in Pavón's work that were automatically repressed in other authors such as Montalbán or Cain, as will be shown

in the chapters to come. In this particular Pavón novel, there are numerous swear words and instances of cursing, yet censorship was not deemed necessary. On the other hand, as Manuel Vázquez Montalbán commented, he was required to change the word “sobaco” to “axila” throughout an entire book, or they would not grant him permission for publication (Bilbao-Henry 100).

Several of the reports written on García Pavón’s novels show that the censors considered passages of his novels as “vulgar” or “inappropriate” yet, because of their perception of the author’s general tone and overall intentions, the censors looked the other way and the novels were passed and approved for publication. Needless to say, other authors did not receive this treatment and were even denied publication for much less than being “vulgar” or “inappropriate”. As for García Pavón, vulgarity seems to turn into casual language and flair according to the censors, as can be observed from a report of *Vendimiario de Plinio*, 1972: “[esta] es la trama de esta última novela de García Pavón con su personaje Plinio, que no para hasta descubrir el hecho, con su lenguaje desenfadado y característico de siempre, el estudio de tipos, y la gracia inconfundible del escritor. Nada que objetar” (Exp. 5046-72 AGA).

We find another example in the report of *Los carros vacíos* (1965) when a censor claims that it is acceptable but “no es obra para lectores infantiles” (Exp. 1107-65 AGA). With the strategy of restricting the novel’s audience, the Regime was trying to limit the readership and the repercussions of the novel, though I am not sure to what extent these kinds of recommendations were met.²²

The last report from the Plinio saga that I found in the archive was from *El*

²² For further reference on the topic of children’s literature during Franco’s Spain, check Fernández López (2005), as well as Merino Álvarez (2002) for information on the translations of this genre made in Spain during the Franco era.

último sábado (1975) in which the censor summarizes the Regime's overall attitude regarding García Pavón: "El ambiente popular y los protagonistas reflejan la verdad de hombres reales, conocidos bien por el autor. Lo vulgar, con todo, está ausente de sus temas. No presentan los diferentes relatos ningún aspecto negativo a destacar, no presentando inconveniente su aprobación" (Exp. 1241-75 AGA). Some of García Pavón's achievements included portraying the Spanish society of the time, the vernacular, and some of the types of characters that can still be recognized up until the present day. As a result, his detective Plinio and his own particular mister Watson, don Lotario, were familiar to the readers, and it was easy for Spaniards to relate to the other characters, their jokes and the scenery of the novels. Plinio was great entertainment and still is, leaving aside the controversial social and sexual connotations. García Pavón's main accomplishment was creating a detective figure that surpassed all expectations and impediments at a controversial time in the country. He was a pioneer in developing a detective fiction saga, and effectively translating the foreign models into his own vision. We can also consider it an achievement that he was able to avoid being censored while portraying a detective that was the chief of the local police of Tomelloso.

2.5 Francisco García Pavón and the Censorship of his Other Works

Apart from the Plinio detective saga, the censors' same attitude can be observed in the reports on the rest of his works. These works seem to have some political relevance or, at least, we can find that the censors were a little bit more challenged. Despite this fact, the result is the same: the censors did not consider the transgressions enough to ban the book or they considered that these were isolated events that were no longer relevant and, therefore, allowed their publication. This again suggests that, despite the works in which García Pavón might have been a little more critical, the censors did not consider it relevant or worrisome in the way they did with most other writers. From observing all of Pavón's reports, it is clear that the censors had a positive reaction to and perception of his works, even when they were somewhat controversial. This positive perception may have inclined them towards a more benevolent verdict regarding publication. However, this was not the norm and most of the country's intellectuals suffered the pains of the censors.

A report from 1967 on *La Guerra de los dos mil años*, a science fiction novel that Pavón wrote, illustrates the fact that despite its tone and ideas, and even though the censor considers it has a clear anti-Regime tone, this work was not censored:

Narraciones encadenadas de tipo alegórico, surrealista y kafkiano con gran dosis de onirismo y sensualidad. Sin embargo, la intención principal del libro es política. El autor y una mujer extraña bella y sensual, [sic] Ella, que parece símbolo de la Verdad, hacen una serie de visitas a diversos lugares, lo que da pretexto para criticar la moral, la familia, la religión, el régimen, el pasado, la Historia de España, el

inmovilismo del régimen. [...] El libro está magníficamente escrito y toda la crítica hecha con gran habilidad, amparándose en la alegoría constante. Sin embargo, la intención antirrégimen es clara. No creo, sin embargo, que el volumen sea denunciabile, pero tampoco puedo aceptar el depósito. (Exp. 9983-67 AGA. Underlining from the original)

The document has a handwritten comment linked to the underlined sentence from the above passage, where a different censor confirms the impossibility of denouncing this novel claiming that a third censor shares the same opinion. The note reads as follows: “el lector Sr. Alvarez [ilegible] confirma la imposibilidad de denunciar esta obra y el Sr. [ilegible] es de igual parecer” (idem). It seems hard to believe that the censors, despite all the negative and “anti-Regime” elements of the book, did not ban the edition, especially because other authors were automatically censored for far less than this. Furthermore, the basic criteria that the censors had to answer in the reports were a series of questions: does it attack the Dogma? The moral? The Church or its Ministers? The Regime and its Institutions? Those who have collaborated in the past or in the present with the Regime? Based on the previous report, it seems obvious that the first censor considered that the novel did attack or critique several of the previous fields. Not only that, the censor perceives a clear anti-Regime tone in the novel and yet thinks it’s not enough to be banned. Then, a second censor or “reader” (as they were euphemistically called after the Press Law of 1966) confirms the impossibility of denouncing it. As I have suggested before, I think that García Pavón enjoyed some kind of “favoritism” from the Regime and, because of this, was granted more space for his own style than other writers, and the censors were

more permissive with the publication of his work.

The fact that other authors did not enjoy the same treatment from the Regime and García Pavón did (possibly together with other authors) only suggests that they thought it was beneficial for some reason. I do not think that García Pavón supported the Franco Regime; he was a liberal, as the general opinion of those who knew him attests. However, the conclusion that I reached after reading his work alongside the reports of the censors is that he was used to a certain extent as an archetype by the Franco Regime because of the lack of political signification in his books and their depiction of Spanish society and values. As several of the reports show, the censors, the most visible arm of the repression exerted by Franco, were somehow proud of the fact that the main detective in Pavón's novels was a *true* Spaniard. William J. Nichols argues in his book *Transatlantic Mysteries* that some authors, like Vázquez Montalbán or Taibo II, revitalized the genre and used it to further their own political purposes. On the other hand, popular fiction is used by dominant classes to “legitimize their position by fabricating and inculcating consent [...] Through an “exchange relation”, then, individuals “consume” what seem to be “natural” representations yet whose latent discourse exerts conformity to a social, collective identity that upholds the hegemony of the bourgeoisie” (Nichols 23). This second scenario, I argue, would be the case of Francisco García Pavón in Spain.

Ten years later, in 1977, we find a report for *Los nacionales* (the third part of a trilogy García Pavón wrote on the Spanish Civil War). The report reads as follows:

El libro consiste en una serie de cuadros cortos sobre la ocupacion [sic] de Tomelloso por los nacionales, al fin de la guerra. Parece innecesario decir que el libro está destinado a atacar a la España nacional y así abusa

de la represión, los encarcelados, las venganzas y en general todo lo que pueda dañar a la imagen de la ocupacion [sic] por los nacionales de la zona roja.

Como se refiere a una epoca [sic] ya vieja de cuarenta años, y a hechos locales en un pueblo, carece de amplitud para que se pueda considerar agresivo. Por otra parte no ataca ni a la Monarquía [sic] ni a la Patria ni al Ejercito [sic] por lo que a pesar del tema creemos hay que considerarlo NO IMPUGNABLE. (Exp. 6825-77 AGA).

This is just another example of a text that a censor found to be controversial and yet allowed to be published without further consideration. The censor claims that one of the goals of the book is to attack the nationalist Spain from the years of the Civil War and that, in order to do so, it portrays an unrealistic panorama of that faction. However, because it goes back many years and it takes place in the hometown of García Pavón, a small town in La Mancha, he does not consider it to be relevant or detrimental to the ideas and values of the Regime.

One of the questions posited in this chapter was to find the possible influences of Pavón's writing, given that we claimed that detective fiction reached the country through translation. We have laid out the context of the beginnings of the genre's development and placed Pavón within it. In addition to pointing out the ways in which detective fiction was imported, we have gathered further information on how Pavón's works were placed in society and we have provided information found in the archive regarding his relationship to censorship. Even though detective fiction reached the country through different translation practices, Pavón himself too, in a way, performs

an act of translation while the genre is still at the periphery of the literary system. In further chapters, we will contrast his work to that of other writers of this genre and to hardboiled detective fiction as well -which developed years after and which has been quite relevant up to the present day. The goal in further chapters is to track the changes and movement of the genre in the Spanish polysystem with respect to the original peripheral position that was hereby presented.

Chapter Three

Hardboiled Translations: James M. Cain

The next step in our process of tracing the development of detective fiction in Spain is to contrast the classic model that was presented in Chapter Two, which represents the first stages of the genre, to that of the hardboiled style that developed shortly after and that continues to be widely read in present times. Subsequent to the first boom of British and French-speaking writers, there was a second period in which American authors developed an approach to detective fiction that was different from the previous one, dealing with urban problems, sex, violence, drugs, alienation, etc. The authors of detective novels, such as Raymond Chandler, Dashiell Hammett or James M. Cain, were perceived as tough writers and their novels were denominated as hardboiled:

Especialmente a partir de mediados de los 70, se aprecia un predominio absoluto de la novela negra sobre la novela-enigma, mucho más en boga hasta entonces, debido, probablemente, a la mayor consideración de dignidad literaria del género negro, al reciente descubrimiento de los clásicos americanos por un público generalmente intelectual y progresista y debido, sobre todo, a la relación que las facetas de

realismo testimonial y crítica social de esta novelística puede mantener con la situación española de crisis económica y transición política. (Valles Calatrava, Tesis, 58, tomo II)

Upon the successful arrival of this type of detective fiction in Spain, the classic formula's popularity slowly began to decrease and Spanish writers took up the hardboiled model in the subsequent years: "Los relatos de la escuela "hard-boiled" americana que emanan de las populares y numerosas revistas "pulp" de la época, provocarán una profunda alteración en los parámetros de esta composición hasta llegar a desplazar, en pocos años, la supremacía hasta entonces únicamente ostentada por el relato de enigma clásico" (Álvarez Maurín 23).

Hardboiled detective fiction is more realistic than the classic one: it presents a crude depiction of violence, an informal usage of language that can be heard on the streets, and the detectives are usually not above the rest of the humans, they have flaws just like the reader. From this perspective, American authors were those whose translations challenged the Franco Regime in a more open way because of the topics they dealt with, as well as the implicit ideas that their novels portrayed. There seemed to be a clear distinction between the reading interests of Spanish readers and publishers, who were eager to consume this type of literature, and the type of material that Franco and his censors wanted to allow inside the country. Censors were ultimately in charge of deciding whether to grant approval to the material proposed for publication by publishing houses, in this way establishing what was considered to be *appropriate* for the Spanish readership. Regarding foreign publications, there were two possible scenarios: a book that had not been translated and was presented in

English by a publishing house for approval of its translation into Spanish; or a book that had been translated in Latin America (mainly Argentina or Mexico)²³ and a Spanish publishing house was asking for permission to import it for publication in Spain. In the first case, there were only a limited number of censors who could read English but, from the records I consulted, most of the books presented in a foreign language ended up not being approved.

In this chapter, I will study an American author who is considered part of the hardboiled paradigm, James M. Cain, and his translation into Spanish. This part of my dissertation will try to explore the influence translation had over the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain through the lens of the polysystem theory within translation studies. In other words, it will show the development of detective fiction in Spain by trying to assess the influence translation had over it.

My choice of this author is motivated by the fact that other writers in this paradigm have already been widely studied, enabling us to consult the works already written on the subject to help with our own analysis. Such is the case of Daniel Linder, who has widely studied the reception of hardboiled detective fiction in Spain, with a special focus on the works of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett in articles such as “Translating Irony in Popular Fiction: Raymond Chandler’s *The Big Sleep*” (2000) or his dissertation from 2008, *The American Detective Novel in Translation: the Translations of Raymond Chandler’s Novels into Spanish*, as well as a study of the relationship between Chandler and censorship in “The Censorship of Sex: A Study of Raymond Chandler’s *The Big Sleep* in Franco’s Spain” (2004), only to name a few.

²³ For further information and a complete analysis, consult Daniel Linder’s dissertation chapter (2008), “Reception of the target texts: Argentina and Spain.”

Other articles regarding Hammett have been written by Rabadán: “La traducción del sociolecto criminal en *Red Harvest* de Dashiell Hammett” (1991) and by Javier Franco Aixelá in “Ideology and Translation. The Strange Case of a Translation Which Was Hotter Than the Original: Casas Gancedo and Hammett in *The Falcon* of the King of Spain (1933)” (2008), and “Manipulación ideológica y traducción: atenuación e intensificación moral en la traducción de la novela negra norteamericana al español” (2009) by Franco Aixelá and Abio Villarig, where they deal with the works of both Chandler and Hammett and their translations.

The choice of James M. Cain is also because the movies based on his novels were quite successful during Franco’s time, so we can be sure that there was an interest in his works in Spain. He was one of the first hardboiled writers to reach the country at a time when the influx of foreign writers in translation was highly influential to the development of the genre. Therefore, to study the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain, it is necessary to focus on at least one author of this paradigm. The influence of hardboiled detective fiction began to reach Spain in 1930 when, according to Abio Villarig, the first American *pulp* translation was carried out²⁴ and SS Van Dine published the Philo Vance²⁵ detective saga. However, 1933 was crucial because of the publication of the translation of Hammett’s *The Maltese Falcon*²⁶. In 1943, the first translation of Chandler’s *Farewell, My Lovely* was published in Argentina and it reached Spain in 1945: “Se puede decir que este año

²⁴ “La narración se titula *Manos poderosas*, editada en la *Revista de aventuras*, Prensa Moderna, Madrid, 1930 y su autor es Philip P. Judson, también conocido por su seudónimo Hugh Pentecost. Más tarde, en 1931 publicará otro relato en la misma colección titulado *La fórmula destructora*” (Abio Villarig 51).

²⁵ The series “‘Detective’, publicada por la editorial Aguilar” (Abio Villarig 51).

²⁶ “Traducida en 1933 con el título, *El halcón del Rey de España* (Editorial Dédalo). Esta obra no volverá a ser publicada hasta 1953, ya con el título de *El halcón Maltés* y, en años sucesivos, continuarán apareciendo nuevas traducciones de sus obras” (Álvarez Maurín 24).

marca el retorno de la normalidad en cuanto a la publicación de autores de novela negra norteamericana en nuestro país, tras un paréntesis de doce años” (Abio Villarig 55). And in the 50s it seems that the genre began to consolidate itself in Spain: “Fue también en los años cincuenta cuando se empezó a utilizar en España la expresión ‘novela negra’” (Vázquez de Parga 148). Given the success of these authors, Spanish editors created mystery series of novels and different collections such as “El club del crimen” by Luis de Caralt in 1950, “La Novela Negra” by Mépora in 1952, or “Biblioteca de oro” by Editorial Molino. In 1957 three other main collections appear: “El Búho” by Gerpla, “El lince astuto” by Aguilar, and “G.P. Policiaca” by Plaza y Janés. During the 60s, the boom continued to expand and many writers and publishing houses focused on this topic²⁷. The influence of hardboiled detective fiction reached its peak and consolidated during the 70s and, in particular, from 1975 onwards: “A lo largo de la década de los setenta se va a producir una auténtica invasión de traducciones de novelas negras, lógico si tenemos en cuenta que se venía retardando en algunos casos hasta cuarenta años (por ejemplo, Hammett) y en otros veinte o treinta (Chandler, Himes)” (Colmeiro 167).

As authors like Valles Calatrava, Abio Villarig or Frechilla argue, the hardboiled model was the most influential one for Spanish writers in the genre and remains so. The influence of this type of detective fiction -reaching the country at a time described by Even-Zohar as a critical point in which translation brings innovation and change- was decisive for the movement from the periphery to the center in terms of Polysystem Theories, and would influence the way Spanish writers develop their own national works: “Un grupo de escritores norteamericanos comienza a transformar

²⁷ For further reference check Abio Villarig 57-61.

la novela policiaca tradicional británica debido a razones tanto de la dinámica propia del polisistema literario (agotamiento de la fórmula) como del contexto social (nueva realidad, nuevas demandas, nuevo lenguaje, nuevas convenciones poéticas” (Abio Villarig 78). It is therefore necessary that we study this paradigm, through the figure of James M. Cain in this case, and that we understand how it affected writers who developed their work in Spain shortly thereafter.

3.1 Life and Works of James M. Cain

James M. Cain (1892-1977) was a best-selling writer in the U.S. during the late thirties and the forties. He was born in Maryland, where he unsuccessfully tried to pursue a musical career, following in the footsteps of his mother who had been an opera singer, but was drafted to the army. He became a writer during his army service and especially in the years after, collaborating with various newspapers in Baltimore and New York. Cain also spent some years writing screenplays for Hollywood, though this seems to have gone unnoticed, since his contribution to the film studios has barely been credited.

In 1934, he published *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, which became an instant best seller. Two years later, in 1936, *Double Indemnity* was published and was equally successful. His love for music was also portrayed in several of his novels, such as *Serenade* (1937), *Mildred Pierce* (1941), or *Career in C Major* (1943). Several Hollywood adaptations were made based on his novels:

Today it is perhaps more through the films of his novels that we remember Cain: *The Postman Always Rings Twice* was filmed with Lana Turner and John Garfield in Hollywood, and later (without authorization) in Italy as the basis of Luchino Visconti's first film *Ossessione*. Billy Wilder's *Double Indemnity*, with a script by Raymond Chandler, is a classic thriller; Joan Crawford won an Academy Award for the lead role in *Mildred Pierce*. (Zinsser – The Paris Review)

Cain managed to captivate readers providing short intense stories that were easy to read and easy to relate to. His books usually take place in rural settings and the main characters are normally antiheroes, narrating their stories in the first person, as if some sort of criminal confession. As Cain himself explains, regarding his style, in the preface of *Three of a Kind*:

For if I in the third person faltered and stumbled, my characters in the first person knew perfectly well what they had to say. Yet they were very homely characters, and spoke a gnarled and grotesque jargon that didn't seem quite adapted to long fiction [...] But then I moved to California and heard the Western roughneck [...] Once my ear had put this on wax, so that I had it, I began to wonder if that wouldn't be the medium I could use to write novels. This is the origin of the style that is usually associated with me. (Cain in Durham 133)

Because of this writing style, readers develop ambivalent feelings towards his characters since, on the one hand, they are criminals who kill or commit other crimes while, on the other, due to the narration, the reader feels empathy for them. This shift in the narration contrasts with authors like Chandler or Hammett, whose novels are narrated by the figure of a private detective, an authority hired to solve some crime or mystery, rather than the person responsible for it. However, these two types of narrators are not actually as different from each other as one might think: after all, Sam Spade or Philip Marlowe are antiheroes in a way too, who follow their own moral code, despite their position on the side of the law. Cain is usually grouped with

Hammett or Chandler as a hardboiled writer: “The two writers most frequently associated with James M. Cain in any discussion of hard-boiled fiction are, of course, Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler, and indeed the three men's lives and careers have much in common” (Irwin 255). In his article (2002) Irwin points to the various similarities that these authors shared in their lives in terms of being drafted and experiencing the war, sharing locations (especially California), previous working experiences, writing Hollywood scripts, sharing the same publisher (Knopf), etc. Despite this association, neither Chandler nor Cain seemed to like being paired together:

I hope the day will come when I don't have to ride around on Hammett and James Cain, like an organ grinder's monkey. Hammett is all right. I give him everything. There were a lot of things he could not do, but what he did he did superbly. But James Cain —faugh! Everything he touches smells like a billygoat. He is every kind of writer I detest, a faux naïf, a Proust in greasy overalls, a dirty little boy with a piece of chalk and a board fence and nobody looking. Such people are the offal of literature, not because they write about dirty things but because they do it in a dirty way. (MacShane 101 in Irwin 256)

As we can see from Chandler's words, there has also been a popular conception of Cain as an inferior writer²⁸, of not being at the level of other such

²⁸ I would like to point out this example *Cine en blanco y negro* (García) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I4jPuFlvzrQ> where, in a famous Spanish TV debate on cinema, Cain is precisely compared to Chandler or Hammett and not considered to be high quality. The speaker even claims that his success as a writer was highly motivated by the Hollywood movie adaptations of his work.

authors. One of the reasons behind this idea might have been caused by the fact that “Hammett and Chandler wrote detective fiction exclusively, while Cain never wrote a detective story” (Irwin 256). As we have seen, Cain wrote from the perspective of the criminal, rather than the detective, so technically he did not write *detective stories*. Together with that fact, it happens that he also wrote novels and other pieces in different genres. However, there is no one rule that argues that a detective story must be written from the detective’s perspective or that it must use a specific tone and style. In any case, these three writers are usually named together and are considered to be representatives of hardboiled detective fiction in the States.

3.2 The Translation and Censorship of James M. Cain in Spain

In Spain, it took a while for James M. Cain's work to be published and translated because of the censorship. Initial attempts to publish this author in Spain were obstructed by the censorship boards. In 1946, the editor Joaquín de Oteyza García asked permission to import 500 copies of the translation of *The Postman Always Rings Twice*. However, the book was banned for "attacking the moral," and the report shows the following statement from the censor that justified this action: "Historia de un criminal y adúltero, contada por él mismo con excesivo cinismo y prolijidad. Véanse las páginas: 19, 20, 21, 27, 38, 40, 63, 64, 120, 121, 122 y 154" (Exp. 3378-46 AGA). The next year there was a petition from the publishing house EDHASA to import from Argentina *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, translated as *El cartero llama dos veces*, but it was denied without further comment. In 1948, there was a petition for *El suplicio de una madre* (*Mildred Pierce*) which was also deemed inappropriate for publication "por su fondo francamente inmoral" (Exp. 3938-48 AGA). In 1953, there was a new request to import *El suplicio de una madre* which was denied once again.

In 1955, the publishing house Gallimard tried to import the French version of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and it was again turned down under the following pretext "se trata, evidentemente, de una novela no apta para menores pero posee valores literarios fuertes, concisos: la expresión es directa a veces descarnada y brutal (pg. 139). Toda acción, apasionamiento [...] Se sugiere autorizar la importación pero denegar la traducción" (Exp. 6589-55 AGA). The censor, therefore, would approve its importation and publication in a foreign language (at the time, knowledge of a foreign language was extremely limited among the Spanish population), but would

not allow its translation into Spanish so as to ensure it wouldn't reach a wider audience. There is a second report in the same file that also considers the novel immoral: "La novela es bronca y de perfiles duros. En realidad opino por negar su importación, pues además de ser narración francamente inmoral, para nada enriquece la literatura francesa ni el nivel de los lectores españoles. NO DEBE PUBLICARSE" (idem).

The first book by James M. Cain imported from Latin America and published in Spain was *Double Indemnity* in 1956, translated as *Pacto de Sangre*, almost ten years after its publication in the US. It seems somewhat surprising that this novel was accepted for publication in Spain at the time, both because of the plot and because of the censorial committees' attitude towards works of similar characteristics from this author that were banned. *Double Indemnity* "is the story of insurance salesman Walter Huff who, in paying a call on a client one day, meets instead the client's wife Phyllis Nirdlinger, finds himself immediately attracted to her, and guesses, when she asks if she can take out an accident policy for her husband without his having to know, that something fishy is going on" (Irwin 257). From then on, they plan her husband's death, Phyllis acting like a femme fatale who leads Walter astray and into committing a crime, until he finds out her dubious past as a nurse who killed numerous people. They are finally discovered as the murderers and are shipped in a boat to Mexico, though they both commit suicide in a poetic and somewhat fuzzy ending. It may be the case that this novel was not as harshly judged and was not censored because of the ending, in which the main characters, after committing crimes and being immoral, are punished for their own evil, thus setting an example for the readers. At the same time, it is hard to identify the elements that make this novel significantly different from

others that were banned: the tone and setting are similar, the narrator tells the story as a first-person confession, there are immoral actions and behaviors, etc. The plot is quite similar in its essence to *The Postman Always Rings Twice* which, in both the novel and movie version, was censored and banned in our country. Therefore, it is unclear why *Double Indemnity* was less concerning to the censors or less “dangerous” for the Spanish public.

The same publisher tried again with the translation of *The Embezzler* as *El estafador*, but it was also banned from importation (though the report is missing from the AGA file Exp. 3883-46). The second publication of James M. Cain in Spain was *Simulacro del amor* published by Emecé as the translation of *Love’s Lovely Counterfeit* (the report is also missing). In 1956, another 3,000 copies of *Pacto de sangre* were imported, showing that there was a large demand both for Cain and, especially, for his detective fiction. Up until this point, this was the only book that had been granted permission to be imported with the rest of his detective fiction books having been considered too *immoral*. In 1956, there was a new petition for the importation of *The Postman* that was denied. Two years later, in 1958, the censors approved the publication of *Celo de mujer*.

The Moth was published in 1960. This is not one of Cain’s most famous books and its choice for publication seems to have been motivated by the “immoral” content of his other books, in the eyes of the Regime. Up to this point, except for *Double Indemnity*, none of Cain’s most popular books had been allowed to be published in Spain. *La Mariposa* (1962), translation of *The Moth*, was Cain’s first book translated by a Spaniard during Franco’s Regime. It had to undergo significant changes before

it could be published (it took two years between its submission to the censorial committees and its final publication) that mostly consisted in deletions and omissions and a back and forth submission process with the censorship boards. It was translated at a time when Spain had been closed off for many years and was just starting to open up to international ideas. The reception of Cain's first translation in Spain was mediated both by the external censorship that it encountered and possibly by the self-indulged censorship of the translator himself. The book was translated by Jesús López Pacheco, a poet, translator and writer who ended up in exile due to his communist sympathies. He translated *The Moth* from the Italian version, rather than from the English. The majority of the translations of Cain's most well-known books were imported from Latin America and these continue to be the versions published nowadays. With the exception of the re-translation of *Mildred Pierce* (due to the television miniseries filmed in 2011), the rest of Cain's bestseller novels are still being published with the changes and omissions made by the censors.

Surprisingly enough, in 1964, Edicions 62 submitted the translation into Catalan of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and the book was approved for publication and characterized by the censor as a “novela con aventuras diversas, escenas costumbristas y algunas un poco más fuertes que no llegan a tener gran gravedad. De todas maneras, nos parece que PUEDE AUTORIZARSE, pero con la supresión de lo señalado en la pg. 72” (Exp. 1576-64 AGA; emphasis in the original). Not only is this change of attitude regarding the plot and the morality of the book surprising (it even suggests that the censor did not read the book), but even more interesting is the fact that the first version allowed in Franco's Spain was the version in Catalan. The passage that was crossed out on page 72 is not even particularly

scandalous, and a similar tone may be found in other passages of the same novel:

I began slipping off her blouse. ‘Rip me, Frank. Rip me like you did that night.’ I ripped all her clothes off. She twisted and turned, slow, so they would slip out from under her. Then she closed her eyes and lay back on the pillow. Her hair was falling over her shoulders in snaky curls. Her eye was all black, and her breasts weren’t drawn up and pointing up at me, but soft, and spread out in two big pink splotches. She looked like the great grandmother of every whore in the world. The devil got his money’s worth that night. (Idem)

That same year, *Double Indemnity* was also translated into Catalan and characterized by the censor as a “novela policiaca con muchas aventuras y muchos muertos. Trata de una mujer que representa un caso patológico, en su afán de asesinar la gente (sic). Hasta el final se suicida. La obra no tiene nada de particular. PUEDE AUTORIZARSE” (Exp. 1573-64 AGA; emphasis in the original).

After studying the chronology of the permission for both the importation and translation of Cain’s novels in Spain, these two translations into Catalan are a bit surprising. As we have seen, the usage of Catalan was not favored by the Regime. On the other hand, the translation of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* was also postponed for years and years because the censorship boards did not deem it appropriate. This sudden shift and approval for publication might be related to the limited access readers had to a potential Catalan edition, together with the fact that, as has already been mentioned with Vázquez Montalbán, censors were unreliable

figures that often made random decisions.

Mignon and *The Magician's Wife* were approved in 1965 and 1966 respectively, both subject to changes and omissions. The latter underwent the scrutiny of four different censors before it could be authorized. The various censors' different opinions also show how random and disorganized Franco's censorship was in reality. The first censor claims the book is a "relato de intriga, en el que los escrúpulos morales se echan bastante en falta. De todos modos, resulta claro que los actos delictivos son reconocidos como tales. PUEDE AUTORIZARSE" (Exp. 2011-66 AGA). The second report also claims it is a detective novel in which "se mezclan adulterios, asesinatos, torpes pasiones, etc. Se desarrolla en un clima de total amoralidad. Incluso el castigo último de los culpables se produce bajo la forma de un asesinato más un suicidio. Estimo más perniciosa y peligrosa esta amoralidad que una actitud inmoral. SOLO APTO PARA PERSONAS DE RECTO CRITERIO Y DISCURSO" (idem; emphasis in the original). The third censor, however, deems the novel apt for publication. The fourth report is, without a doubt, the most detailed and specific. The *reader* first presents a summary of the plot and then proceeds to elaborate on it with the following verdict:

La novela, de un vigor dramático excepcional y no exenta de trágica grandeza en su desenlace, ignora, sin embargo, por completo la moral católica y aun cristiana. El mismo inhumano asalto sexual (acotado para supresión en la página 221) a su esposa en el momento en que le revela la culpabilidad criminal de la hija y se dispone a matarla y morir,

recuerda el estoicismo epicúreo de los paganos llamando a la esclava predilecta antes de abrirse las venas.

Teniendo en cuenta que en la narración se aprueba tácitamente el adulterio, el divorcio, el asesinato y una relación sexual en la que el matrimonio viene a consagrar una especie de incesto natural, el suscrito opina que NO PUEDE ACONSEJARSE LA AUTORIZACIÓN.

(Idem; emphasis in the original)

Despite this last report, in which it is obvious that the censor was well read and eloquent in his writing, there is a handwritten note in the report by someone named Fajardo, stating that, “vista la pág. 221 no parece procedente el suprimir ese párrafo” (idem).

Finally, in 1973 and almost 40 years after its publication in the United States, *El cartero siempre llama dos veces* was granted permission for publication in Spain. The report on *El cartero siempre llama dos veces* only shows a summary of the story, without any opinion or judgment from the censor. *The Postman* tells the story of Frank Chambers who falls in love with Cora and how the two characters plot to kill her husband. Cora, as the femme fatale, leads Frank to help her into committing this crime as they start a tortuous relationship. The local prosecutor turns the lovers against each other, making each of them believe that the other has confessed against them. However, because of different financial interests of the insurance companies, neither Frank nor Cora end up going to prison. They reunite and find out she is pregnant, right before Cora is killed in a car accident when Frank is driving. He is then charged with her murder and the book is meant to be his confession on death row, which is to be

published after his death. As we can see, the core of the story is similar to that of *Double Indemnity*, as has been mentioned before: the role of a femme fatale, two lovers committing a crime supposedly out of love, insurance companies intervening, etc. However, it is true that *The Postman* was even banned for “obscenity” in the United States, in Boston, upon its publication²⁹.

Cain’s most famous novels have continued to be in print in Spain. In September of 2013, the Spanish publishing house RBA published the Spanish translation of a posthumous novel by James M. Cain called *The Cocktail Waitress* which shows, to some extent, the sustained interest in the author.

We can state that James M. Cain had moderate success in the detective fiction read in Spain. Based on the analysis of the censorship reports, we can see that the translations of James M. Cain from Latin America shaped the Spanish literary market, since only a few translations were made in Spain for over around 50 years. In this particular situation, however, Latin American translators were not mediated by Spanish censorship when making their translation decisions.

James M. Cain’s success in our country was influenced, without a doubt, by the popularity of the detective fiction genre, which started with Conan Doyle and persists today with modern crime sagas. The author’s popularity also increased due to the cinematic adaptations of his novels, as was the case with many writers. However, movies also underwent the scrutiny of censorship during the Franco Regime as we will see in the next section of this chapter.

²⁹ <http://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/22812/the-postman-always-rings-twice-by-james-m-cain/9780679723257/>

3.3 Censorship of Movie Adaptations of James M. Cain

As we have seen, James M. Cain's novels were censored and the author's reception in Spain was postponed due to the multiple bans imposed by the censors who considered him too *immoral*, mainly in terms of tone, language and plot. In this section we will see that a similar perception existed regarding the movie adaptations of his works. It is important to analyze the impact of these movies because of the influence and expectations Hollywood created over the world at the time. Similarly, Hollywood had a significant effect on establishing Film Noir as a genre and disseminating it throughout the world. However, when these movies created in the Hollywood industries reached other parts of the world, such as in the case of Spain during the dictatorship, we can observe the divide that existed between cultural and social practices in the different countries. The censorship of movies would be even stricter than that applied to literature, due to the higher impact of the visual component, and because of its wider reach. Part of the Spanish population might not have read books (keeping in mind the high rate of illiteracy) but, on the other hand, it could go to the cinema and watch movies.

The most representative movies made from Cain's novels are the Hollywood adaptations filmed during the 40s of *Double Indemnity* (1944), *Mildred Pierce* (1945), and *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), with a later version made in 1981. There have been other adaptations of some of his minor novels, as well as more recent ones such as a miniseries of *Mildred Pierce* by the American TV channel HBO in 2011 with Kate Winslet as the main actress. There have also been other numerous cinematic versions of Cain's novels, stories and screenplays.

In Spain, there was a petition by Cepicsa –a film production company- in 1947 to import the movie *Mildred Pierce* produced by Warner Bros in the States in 1945 and directed by Michael Curtiz, who had directed *Casablanca* a few years before:

It took six screenwriters to make the Cain novel an acceptable screenplay. Though only Ranald MacDougall received screen credit, the other contributors to the script included novelist William Faulkner and veteran screen writer Catherine Turney. The cast of characters assembled for this production by Jerry Wald for Warner Brothers was impressive: Joan Crawford as Mildred, Zachary Scott as Monte Berragon, III, Jack Carson as Wally Fay, Eve Arden as Ida, Ann Blyth as Veda Pierce, Butterfly McQueen as Letty, and Bruce Bennet as Bert Pierce. *Mildred Pierce* is a rich, multi-layered movie. On one level, it is an effective murder mystery. On another, it gives us a stunning portrayal of a woman trying to live by the cultural rules under difficult circumstances. On still another, it is an indictment of the American family and its values. (Sochen 3-4)

Mildred Pierce tells the story of a middle-class woman who lives in Los Angeles during the 30s. Estranged from her husband, she has to take care of two daughters, working different jobs while maintaining the status of her social class. Mildred's younger daughter, Ray, dies of pneumonia. Mildred then gets married again and sets up her own business, flourishing economically. She pays for her older daughter, Veda, to become a soprano and to throw numerous parties and social events.

However, Mildred starts suffering from economic loss and debt. Later she discovers her daughter with her new husband, committing adultery. Veda wants the man to leave her mother and run away with her but finds out that he does not care for her and kills him. Mildred must help her daughter once again by covering for her.

We can see that the role of women in this movie and in Cain's novel is prominent:

Perhaps the greatest reason for Cain's supremacy in the classical noir period lies in the success of the James Cain women in noir cinema; for as Andrew Dickos notes, "In many ways they are the most challenging female roles of the classical period. Phyllis Dietrichson, Cora Smith, and Mildred Pierce form a trio of protagonists who breathe the mythic rages of trapped women and consequently respond in radical denial of their social destiny". (Madden 144-145)

As we can see, the story of Mildred seems to be potentially problematic for the Spanish public during Franco's Regime, given some of the challenging issues the plot poses. These difficulties start manifesting when the petition by Cepicsa is, however, banned on the 7th of October of 1947. There are up to eight reports written on the 6th of October. Six of the reports claim that the film cannot be released due to its immoral content and the pernicious example that it would set for the readers:

El ambiente de esta película particularmente las relaciones matrimoniales, fraternales y filiales de la misma son típicamente

americanos, o sea, opuestos por su despreocupación y frivolidad a nuestra tradicional y verdadera concepción del hogar y contrarios a los dictados de la moral [...] Entiendo que, por las razones que se apuntan, la película es de una ejemplaridad perniciosa. Sobre todo para un gran sector del público español, carente de formación y consistencia morales por un lado y por otro amante e imitador de lo Nuevo y de lo extraño, que en el caso se identifica con lo inmoral, con lo pernicioso y con lo antiespañol. (Exp. 7.506 36/3302 AGA)

The other two reports also note the crudeness of the material, but recommend some cuts, as well as controlling the dubbing of the movie in order to, as is implicitly understood, omit and change that which was deemed necessary. One of the censors recognizes the value of the movie and notes that the main actress received an Oscar for her leading role.

On the 19th of November of 1947, Cepicsa sent a letter addressed to the President of the Board of Cinematographic Orientation (Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica) explaining that it had received the previous notification of their movie importation being banned, without any explanation of the motives for said ban. Cepicsa claims that after receiving the notification, they studied the movie and reached the conclusion that perhaps the motives were some scenes in which there appeared adulterous moments, the potential interpretation of incest (which, according to them, was not in the original) between the stepfather and the girl, as well as violent scenes and dialogue between the mother and daughter. Cepicsa then presented the movie for consideration once again after cutting out some of the material:

A tal fin, hemos hecho tres cortes fundamentales que entendemos varían en gran parte la esencia de la película, así como modificaciones en el diálogo que conjugan aquellos. A saber: desaparece por completo el adulterio y lo que creemos esa Comisión entendió por incesto así como la bofetada de la hija a la madre. Naturalmente, ello nos obligó a modificar en gran parte los diálogos, llegando incluso a cambiar también aquellas partes que no afectaban a fin de darle una modalidad más en consonancia con nuestro carácter. (Idem)

On the 13th of December of 1947, almost a month after Cepicsa's letter, the Board prohibits the movie's release in Spain, though it allows the company to present it again for scrutiny from the Board after modifying some of its content. There are no further indications of the specificities of the modifications Cepicsa should make. On the 31st of December, Cepicsa sends another letter summarizing the back-and-forth process of the submission for *Mildred Pierce*. They thank the Board for their indications and, despite not having been notified in writing, it seems they received some sort of verbal communication from the Board directing them as to what to do so that the movie would be acceptable. One of those new changes was an explicit statement by the mother, Mildred, in which she expresses the tremendous mistake she made in the education of her daughter. After suppressing and changing most of the movie's story line, Cepicsa requested to maintain a sexual scene because "es una escena normal en películas norteamericanas, ya que no podemos olvidar que no se trata de una familia española. Es normal en América, que una mujer divorciada es

completamente libre y que además puede casarse, por lo tanto, no puede extrañar que otro hombre le haga el amor” (idem). We see here the distinction the Regime made between Spanish and American societies, the values associated to each, and the threat that American culture presented to Spain; at the same time, we see that the alleged immorality of American society is also used by the publishing houses and movie distributors to justify the portrayal of this society in our country. After this letter, there was another round of reports dated February of 1948 in which the previous censors once again review the movie with the changes made by Cepicsa. They all reiterate their opinion of the movie not being acceptable and, moreover, consider that the new changes only aggravate the previous ones, as well as the introduction of a new divorce. After that, there are two reports in which the movie was catalogued as “Authorized”: one without a date or any further comment and another one dated May of 1948, also without further information. An internet search shows that the movie was first shown in Spain in November of 1948, but there is not any other information and it is hard to know whether this was true or not. In any case, what is interesting here is the entire process that the Franco Regime generates in the censorial practice, as well as the ideology it created concerning both Spain and other “opposing” cultures.

In February of 1947, Mercurio Films S.A. requests to import and dub *Perdición (Double Indemnity)* in Spain. The reports are significantly more positive than the previous case of *Mildred Pierce*; in this instance, the censors seem to agree on the interest of the movie and its quality, without arguing any further particularities. Perhaps it differed from the previous case of *Mildred Pierce* in that “los criminales hallan en el mismo crimen su castigo” (Exp. 6.844 36/3279 AGA). In any case, the movie was granted permission to be screened in the country.

The last movie on file is *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, dated as of March 18th of 1948. The first report is extensive and quite interesting in its implications for detective fiction as a whole:

En anteriores ocasiones, el Vocal que suscribe indicó la conveniencia de limitar a un numero [sic] reducido (ya que no se prohibiesen sistemáticamente [sic]) este tipo de películas [sic] que por su brutalidad, por su reiteración en la descripción de crímenes [sic] y por su absoluta carencia de todo motivo noble, resultan si no perniciosas aisladamente, si [sic] desaconsejables para admitir la repetida exhibición de un gran numero [sic] de ellas.

Admitido este criterio y aun quizás sin admitirlo, la película sobre la cual se informa, reúne [sic] tal cantidad de motivos disolventes que resulta una verdadera escuela de criminalidad y vileza, sin que por otra parte, los protagonistas resulten repelentes, ya que por el contrario, casi tienen incluso un tinte atractivo en ella e ingenuo en el otro. En su virtud el Vocal que suscribe propone se recomiende a la casa que se abstenga de importar esta película [sic]. (Exp. 8.090 36/3323 AGA)

The rest of the reports on this record either cite back to this specific report, or claim that its importation is impossible.

The next report is dated almost ten years later, on the 22nd of November of 1954. The first note on this report classifies the movie as “Archiprohibida” (idem) and the censor describes it as “monstrous” (idem), wondering how it was even presented

for revision. The rest of the reports written on that date include similar opinions from the censors, labeling it as “repugnante” (idem) and considering the projection of this movie in Spain inexplicable. The movie was then banned “por razones obvias” (idem). I did not find further records for this movie but it seems that it was not shown in our country until the 25th of March of 1973³⁰, almost twenty years later and only two years before Franco’s death.

³⁰ I found this information after conducting an internet search which pointed to the mentioned date <http://www.dicine.org/el-cartero-siempre-llama-dos-veces-1946>; <http://emisionescinetve.blogspot.com.es/2008/01/ms-cine-por-favor.html>

3.4 The Case of Detective Fiction and Polysystem Theories: An Approximation to the Translations of James M. Cain.

The specific case of the translations of James M. Cain under censorship allows us to provide a clear example of how the decisions that translators make are political. The preliminary question posed in this dissertation regarding the translations of American authors within the context of the dictatorship in Spain is: how did translations of American detective novels shape the Spanish literary polysystem? Given that all the decisions a translator makes are political, how are these affected by external factors such as a dictatorship? My goal would be to address these issues from a translation theory perspective instead of from a corpus-based perspective (which is what most of the studies in this field have been done, such as the work developed by the TRACE group). Though I understand the importance of studying and analyzing these facts in a detailed and numerical and analytical way, I lean towards a more theoretical approach, which does not necessarily pertain to the details or specificities of individual translation decisions but that uses it to study or exemplify bigger claims. However, examples from excerpts of translations will be shown to provide some sort of assessment of the translations into Spanish as otherwise it would be impossible to offer an analysis. The reason behind providing two case studies of Cain's translations into Spanish is partly due to a need to understand how these translations were done, and to try to find out how censorship might have affected them –what was actually censored, or how translators approached their duties under such firm control-, as well as whether there was some sort of implicit, subversive intention on the part of the translators. It also will allow us to determine whether the quality of a translation might have an impact on the success of a book.

As we have seen, the translation of any foreign author during the Franco dictatorship was subject to censorship. The case of Cain serves as one example to illustrate the treatment that American detective fiction received at the time. Following the analysis of the reports previously presented in this chapter, my aim in this section is to develop an overview of the translations into Spanish of this author. For this purpose, I will select some general parameters that will provide a broad analysis of the translations of his work, as opposed to analyzing word by word or creating a corpus system based on a literal analysis of the translations.

Furthermore, Polysystem Theories in Translation Studies allow us to think about the influence that translation exerts within a literary system. Specifically, given the fact that detective fiction was a genre that was imported to Spain through translation, we can take this example as a case study that will allow us to understand in practical terms the ideas of the Polysystem Theories: how translation shaped the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain. In contrast to the previous Chapters where the work of two Spanish writers was framed within the context of the development of Spanish detective fiction, the remaining portion of this Chapter, and the next, will focus on the translations themselves of two American writers –as it has been established in this dissertation that translation was in fact the motor for innovation that served as a catalyst for detective fiction to emerge in Spain and be recreated by Spanish writers later on. Since translation was so important to and ultimately decisive in the development of the genre, we shall assess how the translations were written and have persisted until the present day.

It is important to highlight the work done by Carlos Abio Villarig in his dissertation *Políticas de traducción y censura en la novela negra norteamericana*

publicada en España durante la II República y la dictadura franquista (1931-1975), defended in 2013. In Abio's dissertation we find an exhaustive and extensive commentary on the translations that were done during the mentioned years in Spain. He presents a corpus in which he analyzes various aspects of the translations and the peculiarities of the translators at the time, as well as numerous references to the sequence of noir novel publications during those years. Abio Villarig also points out the impact of translation on the Spanish polysystem, claiming that its influence can be observed in the vast number of translations made over the years as well as the sustained interest in the genre and the development of the genre by Spanish writers. On the other hand, he does not focus on this national development, as we have done in the first two chapters of this dissertation. In Abio's corpus we also find two references to two of Cain's novels. However, we find his analysis to be inconsistent with our findings and this issue will be further developed in the two case studies of this dissertation's analysis of Cain.

3.4.1 Case Study I: Translation of James M. Cain's *Double Indemnity*

A search of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) online catalogue shows the timeline of the translations into Spanish published in our country over the past years. Searching James M. Cain in the online catalogue, it can be observed that a number of his books have been published repeatedly in our country since the sixties or seventies; this is mainly the case with *Pacto de sangre* and *El cartero siempre llamas dos veces*. On the other hand, other novels of his that had been published only one or two times in our country are not widely available nowadays. As we have seen, *Double Indemnity* was the first book by James M. Cain to be published in Spain: according to the AGA records, there was an attempt to publish the novel in 1946 but, due to censorship, it was not until 1956 that it was actually allowed to be published. According to the BNE, the first record for Cain is the publication of *Pacto de sangre* in 1956 by the publishing house Edhasa in Barcelona and translated by Manuel Barberá. This novel, *Pacto de sangre* (translation for *Double Indemnity*) is one of Cain's most important and famous novels, and has been republished at least eleven times by different publishing houses. Other publishing houses continued to use Manuel Barberá's first translation until, in 1981, Bruguera publishing house in Barcelona published a new translation by Teresa Navarro Velasco; these two translations of the novel are the two that are available in our country. We observe some style differences between the two translations: the newer translation by Teresa Navarro is more current in its register and more "fluent" in the way it is written; it domesticates the translation in order to "help" the reader and provides as few unfamiliar elements as possible. On the other hand, the version by Manuel Barberá seems to have been made in Latin America because of some of the words used, despite

the effort made to provide an international sort of Spanish. Manuel Barberá's translation somehow distracts the reader from the content: maybe because of its outdated style, or due to his translation choices, but it could be argued that his translation is not very successful in that readers of the Spanish version may feel that they cannot understand the text and may be misled by inaccurate translation choices.

A search on the Index Translationum shows that Manuel Barberá translated some other detective fiction novels from other authors (Tennessee Williams or Arthur Miller) and did translations of Cain's *Double Indemnity* and *The Embezzler*, also published in Spain by Bruguera in 1980. These books were usually also published in Buenos Aires, so it could be the case that the translations were done in Argentina and later imported to Spain and slightly adapted. Due to the similarities between the two translations of *Pacto de sangre*, and despite their differences in style, one cannot help but wonder if the later translation took Barberá's as a starting point and then changed some of the issues that were problematic. This practice used to be common when doing translations in order to cheapen costs or shorten production times and to alleviate the workload. When searching for Teresa Navarro on the Index Translationum we find only five results of her work as a translator, all of them for different editions of *Pacto de sangre*.

We provide a comparative example from the two translations of *Pacto de sangre*. Different excerpts from the novels will be provided to assess the translations and their differences, and the overall quality of the works. These are the two translations that have been available in Spain throughout recent years. As far as it is known, there are no further translations available.

The very first page of the novel already establishes the style of the two translations:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Manuel Barberá's Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Teresa Navarro's Translation
<p>I drove out to Glendale to put three new truck drivers on a brewery company bond, and then I remembered this renewal over in Hollywoodland. I decided to run over there. That was how I came to this House of Death, that you've been reading about in the papers. It didn't look like a House of Death when I saw it. It was just a Spanish house, like all the rest of them in California, with white walls, red tile roof, and a patio out to one side. It was built cock-eyed. The garage was under the house, the first floor was over that, and the rest of it was spilled up the hill any way they could get it in. (<i>Double</i> 217)</p>	<p>Había ido a Glendale para inscribir tres nuevos conductores de camión en la póliza colectiva de seguros de la cervecería, y luego me acordé de esta renovación en Hollywood. Decidí ir hasta allí. Así llegué a la «Casa de la Muerte» de la que tanto se habló en los diarios. Cuando yo la vi no tenía nada de «Casa de la Muerte». Era simplemente un chalet español, como todos los demás de California, con paredes blancas, techos de tejas rojas y un patio lateral. Estaba construido fuera de escuadra. Tenía garage [sic] al frente y piso alto; lo demás se extendía por la colina, de cualquier modo. (Barberá 7)</p>	<p>Había ido a Glendale para inscribir a tres nuevos camioneros en la póliza de seguros colectiva de una cervecería, y luego me acordé de esta renovación en Hollywood. Decidí acercarme hasta allí. Así, llegué a la «Casa de la Muerte», de la que tanto se habló en los periódicos. Cuando la vi, de «Casa de la Muerte» no tenía nada. Era una casa de estilo español, como todas las demás de California, con paredes blancas, tejados de tejas rojas y un patio lateral. Era una construcción irregular de una sola planta. Había un garaje en la parte delantera; el resto se extendía por la colina de forma desordenada. (Navarro 7)</p>

In this opening passage, we can see the aforementioned difficulty regarding reading and understanding the Spanish versions. It seems that there were certain challenges for the translators when describing scenes or concepts found in the original text that, as a result, are hard to understand in Spanish: such is the case with the

“company bond,” the term Hollywoodland which is ignored, or the Spanish house and its description. Overall, we can say that they both manage to translate the text and to convey the general sense of the passage, though when reading it in Spanish the nuances and details of the scene are convoluted and not as straight-forward as in Cain’s text.

Another passage from the beginning of the novel allows us to further explore the style of the translations and the different choices made:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Manuel Barberá’s Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Teresa Navarro’s Translation
She was maybe thirty-one or –two, with a sweet face, light blue eyes, and dusty blonde hair. She was small, and had on a suit of blue house pajamas. She had a washed-out look.	Tendría unos treinta y uno o treinta y dos años, su rostro era dulce, celestes los ojos y rubio ceniciento el cabello. Era pequeña y vestía pijama azul. Parecía cansada.	Tendría unos treinta años, y su rostro era dulce, con sus ojos azules y su pelo rubio ceniciento. Era pequeña y llevaba un pijama azul de estar por casa. Parecía cansada.
“I wanted to see Mr. Nirdlinger.”	—Deseaba ver al señor Nirdlinger.	—Quería ver al señor Nirdlinger.
“Mr. Nirdlinger isn’t in just now, but I am Mrs. Nirdlinger. Is there something I could do?”	—No está en este momento; pero yo soy su esposa. ¿Puedo serle útil?	—En este momento no está; soy su esposa. ¿Puedo ayudarle?
There was nothing to do but spill it. (<i>Double Indemnity</i> 219)	Tuve que explicar. (Barberá 9)	Tuve que explicarme. (Navarro 9)

We see here some differences in the two translations: Barberá’s translation is closer to the original which is, in part, what causes his translation to sound “unnatural” in Spanish. It could be argued that just because it does not read fluently or is not up

to date does not necessarily mean it is “bad”; however, I do not think Barberá was making a conscious effort to make a foreignizing translation. If that were the case, his decisions as a translator would be conscious and coherent throughout the translation, and so would be his final goal –his choice of a foreignizing translation would be justified to achieve a specific goal, which is not his case. We see different translation choices between the two texts: the first one remains closer to the English while Navarro’s translation is a little more flexible. When referencing Mrs. Nirdlinger’s age, Barberá’s translation keeps exactly the same structure as the English whereas Navarro simplifies it while still conveying the meaning. There are two instances in which the inadequacy of Barberá’s translation occurs: 1) When Mrs. Nirdlinger asks “¿Puedo serle útil?”; and 2) The response “tuve que explicar.” In both cases, the Spanish meaning is ambiguous and confusing, even incorrect. A person cannot be “útil” in the same way one can be “useful” in English; an object is “útil,” but the construction “puedo serle útil” sounds quite unnatural in Spanish, since it is a person who is speaking. Navarro’s translation, on the other hand, “puedo ayudarle,” does not cast any doubt in Spanish in terms of meaning or grammar, and we understand it is a person who is offering her help to another. Something similar happens with the response the speaker gives in Barberá’s translation, “tuve que explicar.” In this instance, we are lacking information and the sentence seems to be incomplete; one would usually say “tuve que explicarme,” as is the case with Navarro’s translation, or “tuve que explicar [algo]/ a [alguien].” This simple excerpt from the beginning of the novel already shows the general patterns of the translations of *Double Indemnity* into Spanish and their main differences in style.

We continue with another comparative passage:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre.</i> Manuel Barberá's Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre.</i> Teresa Navarro's Translation
<p>It was the same as it was that first afternoon I met her, that there was something else, besides what she was telling me. And I couldn't shake it off, that I had to call it on her.</p> <p>"Why 'here lately'?"</p> <p>"Oh-worry."</p> <p>"You mean that down in the oil fields, some rainy night, a crown block is going to fall on him?"</p> <p>"Please don't talk like that."</p> <p>"But that's the idea."</p> <p>"Yes."</p> <p>"I can understand that. Especially with this set-up."</p> <p>"... I don't quite know what you mean. What set-up?"</p> <p>"Why-a crown block will."</p> <p>"Will what?"</p> <p>"Fall on him."</p> <p>"Please, Mr. Huff, I asked you not to talk like that. It's not a laughing matter. It's got me worried sick... What makes you say that?"</p> <p>(<i>Double Indemnity</i> 230)</p>	<p>Como en la tarde en que le hablé por primera vez, había algo más de lo que decía. Y como no podía quitarme de encima la preocupación, tuve que hacerla hablar.</p> <p>—¿Por qué dices últimamente?</p> <p>—¡Oh! Porque me inquieto.</p> <p>—¿Quieres decir que allí, en los pozos de petróleo, cualquier noche de lluvia, puede caerle encima alguna polea de esas que usan en los pozos?</p> <p>—Por favor, no hables así.</p> <p>—Pero lo piensas.</p> <p>—Sí.</p> <p>—Lo entiendo. Especialmente, con las cosas así dispuestas.</p> <p>—No sé qué quieres decir. ¿Qué cosas están dispuestas?</p> <p>—Eso de que haya poleas que puedan caerse.</p> <p>—Por favor, Huff, te pedí que no hablaras así. No es cosa para tomarla a risa. La preocupación me enferma. ¿Por qué lo dices?</p> <p>(Barberá 20)</p>	<p>Como la tarde en que había hablado con ella por primera vez, había algo más. Y como no podía quitarme de encima la preocupación, me propuse hacerla hablar.</p> <p>—¿Por qué dices «últimamente»?</p> <p>—¡Oh! Porque me preocupo.</p> <p>—¿Quieres decir que allí, en los pozos de petróleo, cualquier noche de lluvia, puede caerle encima alguna polea?</p> <p>—Por favor, no hables así.</p> <p>—Pero lo piensas.</p> <p>—Sí.</p> <p>—Lo entiendo. Especialmente tal como están las cosas.</p> <p>—No sé qué quieres decir. ¿Cómo están las cosas?</p> <p>—Eso de que haya poleas que puedan caerse.</p> <p>—Por favor, Huff, te he pedido que no hables así. No es para tomárselo a broma. La preocupación me pone enferma. ¿Por qué lo dices?</p> <p>(Navarro 21)</p>

Once again, we can see how the two Spanish versions present passages that are not as clearly described as in the English original. At the beginning of the passage, “shake it off” does not necessarily refer to any worry, but more so to the suspicion that Mrs. Nirdlinger is hiding something, and that she wants to hire the insurance for dubious reasons. The translation of “call it on” for “hacerla hablar” is adequate since that is what he is trying to do, even though it seems such a coincidence that both translations opt for that expression instead of translating it with an expression that points out to her that she is lying. In the sentence “You mean that...” Barberá decides to add information when referring to “alguna polea de esas que se usan en los pozos,” which seems to clarify the meaning and context for the Spanish reader. Shortly after, the reference to a “set-up” is translated as “las cosas así dispuestas” and “tal y como están las cosas,” instead of as an “ardid,” “trampa,” “emboscada,” or another phrase that refers to the fact that she is planning for that to happen in advance, in order to kill the husband. There are also a couple of sentences missing that would make the Spanish versions more understandable: “will what?”/ “Fall on him.” Lastly, the sentence “It’s got me worried sick” is oddly translated in both cases as “la preocupación me (pone) enferma” is completely out of context because there is no previous mention to any worry and it is inserted between two sentences that are not related.

We can continue to affirm that, though the translations convey the overall sense of the English text, they are odd and sometimes confusing for the Spanish reader.

Some mistranslations can also be found in these texts, thus contributing to their

general confusion and lack of rigor:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Manuel Barberá's Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Teresa Navarro's Translation
<p>The perfect murder is the gangster that goes on the spot. You know what they do? First they get a finger on him. They get that girl that he lives with. Along about six o'clock they get a phone call from her. She goes out to a drugstore to buy some lipstick, and she calls. They're going to see a picture tonight, he and she, and it's at such and such a theatre. (<i>Double Indemnity</i> 235)</p>	<p>El crimen perfecto es el del gánster sentenciado por la banda. ¿Sabes cómo trabajan? Primero lo estudian. Atraen hacia sí a la muchacha que vive con él. Consiguen la complicidad de ella. A eso de las seis de la tarde ella lo llama por teléfono. Sale de compras y lo llama. Se han citado para ver una película esa noche, y el cine es tal o cual. (Barberá 26)</p>	<p>El crimen perfecto es el del gánster sentenciado por la banda. ¿Sabes cómo trabajan? Primero lo estudian. Atraen hacia sí a la muchacha que vive con él. Consiguen su complicidad. A eso de las seis de la tarde, ella le llama por teléfono. Sale de compras y le llama. Se han citado para ver una película esa noche, y el cine es X. (Navarro 27)</p>

In this part, both translations render “on the spot” as “sentenciado por la banda.” I am not sure why this is the case, and I believe they are trying to explain that it is a set-up, even though there is no explicit reference to it in the English version. It is again significant that both versions share so many similarities and same expressions, which points to the fact that there is probably some merging of the two texts. The most significant mistake is the translation by Teresa Navarro of “such and such a theatre” as “cine X.” Barberá is closer to the meaning depicted by Cain, when he refers to any given theatre.

The following is an excerpt from the middle of the novel *Pacto de sangre*:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre.</i> Manuel Barberá's Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre.</i> Teresa Navarro's Translation
<p>“Where’s the car?” “There. Couldn’t you see it?” I looked, and there it was, right where it was supposed to be, on the dirt road. “‘We’re done. Let’s go.” We ran over and climbed in and she started the motor, threw in the gear. “‘Oh my-his hat!” I took the hat and sailed it out the window, on the tracks. “It’s O.K., a hat can roll, -<i>get going!</i>” She started up. We passed the factories. We came to a street. On Sunset she went through a light. “Watch that stuff, can’t you, Phyllis? If you’re stopped now, with me in the car, we’re sunk.” “Can I drive with that thing going on?” She meant the car radio. I had it turned on. It was to be part of my alibi, for the time I was out of the house, that I knocked off work for a while and listened to the radio. I had to know what was coming in that night. I had to know more than I could find out by reading the programs in the papers. (<i>Double Indemnity</i> 265)</p>	<p>—¿Dónde está el coche? —Allí, ¿no lo ves? Miré, y allí estaba, donde debía estar, en el camino de tierra. —Hemos concluido. Vámonos. Corrimos hasta el coche, entramos en él, y ella puso el motor en marcha, accionando la palanca de velocidades. —¡Dios mío! Su sombrero. Cogí el sombrero, y lo tiré por la ventanilla, en las vías. Está bien, el sombrero puede haber volado. ¡En marcha! Arrancó. Dejamos atrás las fábricas. Llegamos a una calle. En Sunset, cruzó estando el semáforo cerrado. —¿No puedes tener más cuidado, Phyllis? Si nos detienen ahora y me encuentran en el coche, estamos perdidos. —¿Cómo voy a conducir con esta pesadilla? Se refería a la radio del coche. Necesitaba que estuviera encendida. Tal vez tuviera que decir, para explicar el tiempo que había estado fuera de casa, que me cansé de trabajar y me puse a escuchar la radio. Yo tenía que saber lo que se transmitía aquella noche. Necesitaba saber más de lo que podía averiguar leyendo los programas en los diarios. (Barberá 62)</p>	<p>—¿Dónde está el coche? —Allí, ¿no lo ves? Miré y allí estaba, donde debía estar, en el camino sin asfaltar. —Se acabó. Vámonos. Corrimos hasta el coche, subimos y ella puso el motor en marcha, accionando el cambio de marchas. —¡Dios mío! Su sombrero. Cogí el sombrero y lo tiré por la ventanilla, a las vías. —Está bien, el sombrero puede haber volado. ¡En marcha! Arrancó. Dejamos atrás las fábricas. Llegamos a una calle. En Sunset, cruzó con el semáforo en rojo. —¿No puedes tener más cuidado, Phyllis? Si nos detienen y me encuentran en el coche, estamos perdidos. —¿Cómo voy a conducir después de todo lo que ha pasado? Se refería a la radio del coche. Necesitaba que estuviera encendida. Tal vez tuviera que decir, para explicar qué había hecho mientras estaba fuera de casa, que me cansé de trabajar y me puse a escuchar la radio. Yo tenía que saber lo que se transmitía aquella noche. Necesitaba saber más de lo que podía averiguar leyendo los</p>

		programas en los periódicos. (Navarro 64)
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We can see in this excerpt many similarities between the two translations, almost to the point that it seems as if Navarro’s translation, the more recent one, took Barberá’s as a referent and only changed expressions related to cultural differences and more current uses of language. The first part of the translations shown in this excerpt is very literal and, besides the different word choices (camino de tierra/sin asfaltar, palanca de velocidades/cambio de marchas, semáforo cerrado/en rojo, etc), there are not many significant translation decisions to comment on. However, throughout the text, there are differences between the two translations that are worth commenting. The sentence “Oh my-his hat” in English is simplified in both translations. In this passage, Huff has killed Mr. Nirdlinger and is wearing his hat as a disguise, impersonating him on a train journey. That is why, when he first exclaims “my hat” he quickly corrects himself and says “my-his hat.” However, this sentence has been translated as “¡Dios mío! Su sombrero.” We see that the nuance disappears, and the translators choose to erase the slip between the pronouns in the original. A second example of a passage that is confusing and poorly translated into Spanish is when Phyllis asks in the English “Can I drive with that thing going on?”, a rhetorical question pointing to the fact that she cannot drive with the radio on, and she wished it was off. We see that only Barberá’s translation manages to render this question in a way that it refers to both the radio and the murder: “¿Cómo voy a conducir con esta pesadilla/ después de todo lo que ha pasado?” However, Navarro’s translation opts to refer to the murder (“todo lo que ha pasado”) and then offers an incongruent answer when the next sentence reads “se refería a la radio del coche.” In the sentence

following this passage, both translations fail to translate the word “alibi,” which would possibly make it clearer to the Spanish reader why the radio was so important, despite Phyllis complaining about having it on and driving at the same time.

Lastly, we analyze an excerpt from the end of the novel:

<i>Double Indemnity</i> by James M. Cain	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Manuel Barberá’s Translation	<i>Pacto de sangre</i>. Teresa Navarro’s Translation
About three o’clock the orderly came in with the afternoon papers [...] A woman feature writer had got in out there and talked with Phyllis. It was she that called it the House of Death, and put it about those blood-red drapes. Once I saw that stuff I knew it wouldn’t be long. That meant even a dumb cluck of a woman reporter could see there was something funny out there. (<i>Double Indemnity</i> 315)	A eso de las tres de la tarde vino el ordenanza con los diarios vespertinos [...] Una cronista había logrado entonces entrevistarse con Phyllis. Fue ella quien bautizó la casa con el nombre de «Casa de la Muerte», destacando el color rojo sanguíneo de las colgaduras. Cuando leí aquello comprendí que el secreto no podía permanecer oculto largo tiempo. Equivalía a decir que hasta una imbécil escritora podía advertir que había algo raro. (Barberá 123-124)	A eso de las tres de la tarde vino el bedel con los periódicos vespertinos [...] Un cronista había logrado entrevistarse con Phyllis. Fue ella quien bautizó la casa con el nombre de «Casa de la Muerte», destacando el bermellón de las cortinas. Cuando leí aquello comprendí que el secreto no podía ocultarse mucho más. Hasta un periodista imbécil se daba cuenta de que había algo raro. (Navarro 122-123)

In this last passage, we find certain normal word choice differences in the translations such as ordenanza/bedel, diarios/periódicos, bermellón/color rojo sanguíneo, colgaduras/cortinas, etc. We also see that both translations capitalize the name of the house “Casa de la Muerte,” as should be done in English, even though in Spanish titles do not follow the same rules and the “m” should not be capitalized. The most interesting issue in this passage is the gender switch from woman to man in

Navarro's translation of the newspaper reporter. The English text is very explicit about the reporter being a woman, and so is Barberá's translation; however, in Navarro's translation, the reporter is a man. This decision is quite astonishing and it is hard to come to terms with –the only reason why this could have been done would be for political correctness in referring to women in such a way; however, no further feminist agenda is found in the translation and, therefore, it cannot be assessed whether this decision was a conscious one made by the translator.

As mentioned before, Abio Villarig (2013) includes a corpus analysis of translations of noir novels in Spain. One of the corpus entries pertains to *Double Indemnity* by Cain and the translation into Spanish by Manuel Barberá. His conclusions, however, differ greatly from mine. As far as the translator's competence, he claims it is “Alta. Pocos errores de traducción: *a coat-of-arms* (8) = “una armadura” (12). Suele mantener en inglés algunos elementos culturales: *the Los Angeles representative of the Western Pipe and Supply Company* (16) = “es representante en Los Ángeles de la Western Pipe and Supply Company” (23); o traducirlos de forma literal: *the Automobile Club* (9) = “el automóvil Club” (13). Muy pocas omisiones.” (Abio Villarig 368). It is very surprising to claim that the translator had a high competence in translation –that could only be the case in terms of contrasting the English and the Spanish on a superficial level and to provide a literal translation. Abio Villarig also claims that there is almost no censorship or omitted content and that the register is standardized and adapted to Spanish (though it seems he has not checked the archived material in the AGA). He reaches this conclusion by contrasting the two texts but, through a closer analysis like the one developed here, we see that the nuances of the text and the translator's decisions cannot be assessed in an automatic

way, and the overall result carries more weight than counting the number of times a word appears in the translation.

Following the analysis of the two translations of *Pacto de sangre* into Spanish, it can be concluded that neither of the two versions is very successful at recreating the tone, register and nuances of the English version. Both translations contain omissions, unjustified changes, and translation mistakes. We get the impression that censorship did partly affect the way translations were done at the time, especially provoking omissions or choices when translators would have probably taken different approaches to their texts. However, we can also infer from this analysis that, apart from the socio-political context, translators were probably not as prepared as they are nowadays, and the quality of the outcome they achieved could be improved in comparison to the English text. At the same time, we must consider that said omissions, mistakes and changes have not made them unreadable or unsuccessful in the Spanish context, as these translations have been widely published and read. This could mean that translations are not as highly valued in Spain, and are not analyzed and compared by their readers. There is a lack of awareness of translation and, in general terms, readers do not look for quality and do not have certain translation standards that determine their literary consumption habits. It is ironic that the detective fiction genre –which developed in Spain mainly due to translations, reaching the country through this process- stands on a foundation of poorly translated works that nobody seems to question or try to rectify. As we will see in Chapter Five, when analyzing the works of hardboiled writer Jim Thompson, this continues to be the case with translations that were done during the 70s and 80s.

3.4.2 Case Study II: Translation of James M. Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*

In the case of *El cartero siempre llama dos veces*, the first translation published in Spain was into Catalan and was translated by Manuel de Pedrolo in 1964 for Edicions 62 as part of the collection “La Cua de Palla.” This translation was subsequently reedited in 1981, 1986, 1996 and 2009 according to the BNE. Manuel de Pedrolo was a prolific writer and translator into Catalan from both English and French as has been documented by Alba Pijuan i Vallverdú in the magazine *Visat* (the literary and translation digital magazine of the Catalan PEN)³¹ and in her dissertation (2016). His career as a translator took off during the period he worked for Edicions 62, as the director of the collection “Cua de Palla,” translating detective and suspense fiction. The goals of the collection were “básicamente tres: llegar a un público amplio, dignificar el género y promover la producción autóctona” (Pijuan i Vallverdú). In the words of Pedrolo, with the collection “La Cua de Palla,” there was an effort to try to reach a wide audience and dignify the genre of detective fiction: “Intentamos conseguir nuestros objetivos de diferentes maneras. Primero se escogieron cuidadosamente las obras que se incluirían: clásicos de la novela negra, autores contemporáneos y autores autóctonos en un futuro. Además se eligieron novelas con un interés literario, no obras concebidas como un mero pasatiempo” (idem). In this collection, apart from choosing great authors to be translated—such as William Faulkner, Ross Macdonald, John Dos Passos, William Golding, Henry Miller, Jack Kerouac, and J.D. Salinger, among others—, an excellent group of translators “entre

³¹ For further reference check: <http://www.visat.cat/espai-traductors/esp/traductor/192/manuel-de-pedrolo.html>

los que se encontraban Maria Aurèlia Capmany, Ramon Folch i Camarasa, Josep Vallverdú, Joaquim Carbó, Rafael Tasis, Maurici Serrahima, Joan Oliver y el mismo Pedrolo” (idem) were in charge of these projects. As Alba Pijuan explains in her article on Pedrolo, publication of this collection ended in 1970 -after 71 titles had been published- because of low sales, the difficulty to get translation rights, and the sale prices. The censorship exerted over the Catalan language also took its toll and influenced the amount of work that translators could develop under these conditions, since Franco’s goal was to eliminate or reduce to the greatest extent possible publications in this language. Translators into Catalan, then, were in a much more precarious and difficult position than those who translated into Castilian.

The translation by Pedrolo into Catalan will not be analyzed in this study for obvious reasons; it would not be fair to try to assess the translation into a language that I do not master. However, from the considerations of Alba Pijuan we can guess the strategies undertaken by Pedrolo as a translator. Pijuan states in her article that Pedrolo thought of translation as a way of living and never really theorized about it; he deemed the activity to be inferior to writing (being an author himself) and when translating he “tried not to betray the author.” However, at the same time, he was aware of the influence of the translator’s style over the work being translated. According to Pijuan, Pedrolo was self-taught in Catalan and introduced a new, colloquial way of using Catalan through dialogues. This probably went hand in hand with the dialogues in pulp fiction and the style of the genre.

The translation available in Spanish of *El cartero siempre llama dos veces* was translated by Federico López Cruz and first published in our country in 1973 by Alianza Editorial in the collection “Séptimo Círculo.” From searching Federico López

Cruz on the Index Translationum, we find he is responsible for a few other translations (John Fowles’ *The Collector*, James Albert Michener’s *Caravans* and *Hawaii*, Daphne Du Maurier’s *The flight of the Falcon*), all of which have been published in Spain.

The translation of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* into Spanish by Federico López Cruz is very literal, it domesticates a lot of foreign references, and makes explicit much of the novel’s content, simplifying the details. The translation does not recreate the diverse types of language register found in the English original, nor the different particularities of language present in the ways the characters express themselves –especially the husband Papadakis who is of Greek descent.

In this case, Abio Villarig also includes a reference to the translation by Federico López Cruz of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* from his corpus analysis. Again, we differ in our conclusions. He claims that the competence of the translator is “Media-alta. Pocos errores de traducción” (Abio Villarig 393). In his view, there are a few omissions for stylistic reasons. The point we agree on is that he also believes that the translator standardized language and register in the translation, sometimes through omissions.

We will again analyze some examples from the novel. This is the opening passage of *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, together with Federico López Cruz’s translation into Spanish:

James M. Cain. <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i>	<i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz’s Translation
They threw me off the hay truck about noon. I had swung on the night before,	Hacia el mediodía me echaron del camión de heno. Me había subido la

<p>down at the border, and as soon as I got up there under the canvas, I went to sleep. I needed plenty of that, after three weeks in Tia Juana, and I was still getting in when they pulled off to one side to let the engine cool. Then they saw a foot sticking out and threw me off. I tried some comical stuff, but all I got was a dead pan, so that gag was out. They gave me a cigarette, though, and I hiked down the road to find something to eat.</p> <p>That was when I hit this Twin Oaks Tavern. It was nothing but a roadside sandwich joint, like a million others in California. [...] I blew in there in a hurry and began looking down the road. When the Greek showed, I asked if a guy had been by in a Cadillac. He was to pick me up here, I said, and we were to have lunch. [...] He [...] asked me what I was going to have. I said orange juice, corn flakes, fried eggs and bacon, enchilada, flapjacks, and coffee. Pretty soon he came out with the orange juice and the corn flakes. (<i>The Postman</i> 1)</p>	<p>noche anterior en la frontera, y apenas me tendí bajo la lona me quedé profundamente dormido. Después de las tres semanas pasadas en Tijuana, tenía mucho sueño atrasado, y dormía aún cuando el camión se detuvo en la cuneta para que se enfriase el motor. Entonces vieron un pie que asomaba bajo la lona y me sacaron a la fuerza. Intenté gastarles una broma, pero fue en vano. Pese a todo me dieron un cigarrillo, y eché a andar en busca de algo que comer.</p> <p>Fue entonces cuando llegué a la cafetería Twin Oaks, una de tantas en California, cuya especialidad son los sándwiches. [...] Me acerqué rápidamente y me entretuve observando la carretera. Cuando salió el dueño, le pregunté si había visto a un individuo que viajaba en un Cadillac [...] Me preguntó qué quería comer. Pedí zumo de naranja, huevos fritos con jamón, torta de maíz, crepes y café. Poco después el hombre estaba de vuelta con el zumo de naranja y las tortas de maíz. (<i>El cartero</i> 7)</p>
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The main element worth mentioning in the analysis of this passage is the simplification of ideas, concepts and words, and of the style: Tia Juana is normalized as Tijuana, “but all I got was a dead pan, so that gag was out” is omitted and simplified as “pero fue en vano,” the slang tone of the sentence “I hit this Twin Oaks Tavern. It was nothing but a roadside sandwich joint” is completely ignored and the style is neutralized, “the Greek” is translated as “el dueño” and, lastly, the order he places at the bar is also simplified and some elements omitted and ignored.

This opening scene shows that the translation might not be very detailed and rigorous regarding Cain’s text, thus compromising details and the stylistic tone of the Spanish version.

We continue this analysis with another excerpt from the beginning of the novel:

James M. Cain. <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i>	<i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz's Translation
<p>“Well for heaven’s sake.” She got up to get the potatoes. Her dress fell open for a second, so I could see her leg. When she gave me the potatoes, I couldn’t eat. “Well there now. After all that, and now he doesn’t want them.” “Hokay. But he have’m, if he want’m.” “I’m not hungry. I ate a big lunch.” (<i>The Postman</i> 6)</p>	<p>-Sírvele de una vez y deja de discutir-dijo el griego. Ella se levantó a buscar las patatas. La bata se le abrió fugazmente y le dejó al descubierto una pierna. Cuando me sirvió las patatas, no pude acabármelas. -Ésta sí que es buena –exclamó el griego-. Después de tanto discutir, y ahora no las quiere. -No tengo más apetito. A mediodía he comido demasiado. (<i>El cartero</i> 12)</p>

We see that there are modifications right from the very beginning of the translation into Spanish. The first sentence is translated freely, to say the least. In the following sentences, the choice of “bata” for “dress” could be justified because of previous descriptions. However, the “I couldn’t eat” is not really that he can’t finish the potatoes but, on the contrary, that he can’t even begin to eat them. At the end of the passage, the Greek is not the first to speak, rather Cora does when she starts with “Well there now...”; however, the Spanish translation has the Greek man saying that sentence and the answer, while the sentence that is attributed to him in the original is missing in the translated text.

In this excerpt from the middle section of the novel we can observe how the language style and register are neutralized and simplified in the translation:

James M. Cain <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i>	<i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz's Translation
<p>“Frank, I tell you what. We go to Santa Barbara tomorrow, me a Cora. Hell boy, we got to step out a little, hey? We go see a fiesta there, and you come with us. You like that, Frank? You come with us, we talk about you come back a work for me. You like a fiesta a Santa Barbara?”</p> <p>“Well, I hear it’s good.”</p> <p>“Is a girls, is a music, is a dance in streets, is swell. Come on, Frank, what you say?”</p> <p>“Well, I don’t know.”</p> <p>“Cora be sore as hell at me if I see you and no bring you out. Maybe she treat you snotty, but she think you fine fellow, Frank. Come on, we all three go. We have a hell of a time.”</p> <p>“O.K. If she’s willing, it’s a go.”[...]</p> <p>“Hey. Hey Cora, look. Look who I bring.”</p> <p>“Well for heaven’s sake. Where did he come from?”</p> <p>“I see’m today a Glendale. He go to Santa Barbara with us.”</p> <p>“Hello Cora. How you been?”</p> <p>“You’re quite a stranger around here.” (<i>The Postman</i> 32)</p>	<p>-Escucha un momento, Frank. Cora y yo vamos mañana a Santa Bárbara. ¡Qué demonios! ¡Es justo que de vez en cuando salgamos un poco! Vamos a una fiesta. Vente con nosotros. ¿Qué te parece? Vienes con nosotros y hablamos sobre tu vuelta al negocio. ¿No te gustan las fiestas de Santa Bárbara?</p> <p>-He oído que valen la pena.</p> <p>-Hay chicas, música, se baila en las calles. Es precioso. Vamos, hombre.</p> <p>-No sé.</p> <p>-Estoy seguro de que Cora se pondría más furiosa que el demonio si se entera de que he estado contigo y no te he llevado a casa. Tal vez te haya tratado un poco mal, pero tiene muy buena opinión de ti, Frank. Vamos, ámate. Iremos los tres y nos lo pasaremos en grande.</p> <p>-Muy bien. Si ella no se opone, acepto. [...]</p> <p>-¡Eh, Cora, mira! Mira a quién te traigo.</p> <p>-¡Caramba! ¿De dónde ha salido éste?</p> <p>-Me lo he encontrado hoy en Glendale. Viene a Santa Bárbara con nosotros.</p> <p>-Hola, Cora. ¿Cómo está?</p> <p>-Se sentirá extraño en esta casa. (<i>El cartero</i> 38-39)</p>

We see that not only is the style always the same in Spanish, but the last sentence is translated creating a false sense, changing the meaning of the English. It is not him who “will feel strange”; instead, he is a stranger because he has not been around much so they are not used to seeing him there anymore.

There are some other omissions in the translation, apart from the one mentioned in the previous excerpt, that were not required by the censorship board. These omissions seem to be due to the translator’s simplification of the text in pursuit of fluency. These translation decisions are not unique to the Spanish case as Clem

Robyns shows in his article (1990), describing how French translators made similar translation choices and established a specific translation policy for this type of literature. Robyns analyzes these strategies that can also be applied to the Spanish case such as the “omission of more or less substantial text fragments [...] to simplify the structure, leaving out sequences that might complicate it in some way” (Robyns 28). In this case, part of the dialogue is missing on page 34:

‘You don’t act like it.’

‘Seems to me I’m acting all right.’

‘Have you got a kiss for me?’

‘We’ll be having supper pretty soon. You better get ready, if you’ve got any washing to do.’ (*The Postman* 34-35)

Further omissions can be found in the following passage:

James M. Cain <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i>	<i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz’s Translation
<p>‘Why did you have to come back?’ ‘I had to, that’s all.’ ‘No, you didn’t. I could have gone through with it. I was getting so I could forget you. And now you have to come back. God damn you, you have to come back!’ [...] ‘You’re no good. I know that. You are just no good. Then why don’t you go away and let me alone instead of coming back here again? Why don’t you leave me be?’ (<i>The Postman</i> 36)</p>	<p>—¿Por qué has vuelto? —Porque tenía que volver, eso es todo. —No es cierto. Yo habría podido soportarlo. [...] No sirves para nada— prosiguió ella. —Lo sé. —Entonces, ¿por qué no te vas para siempre y me dejas tranquila? (<i>El cartero</i> 41-42)</p>

In this case, López Cruz simplifies the scene and the length of the characters’

intervention in the dialogue without an apparent legitimate reason to do so, leaving parts out. This strategy is used occasionally throughout the book³², in addition to parts in which changes have been made – on page 17 “blueberry pie” is translated as “pastel de pasas”; “Malibu Lake Road” is changed into “camino de Santa Bárbara” on page 59; ‘razor’ becomes “maquinilla” on page 81; or “hot dogs” becomes “sándwiches” on page 102. There are also mistranslations that are impossible to understand in Spanish like “pero si desde el principio estaba comprometido, podían salir a la luz más cosas, que yo no estaría mucho peor. Cuanto peor apareciese por el hecho de estar borracho, tanto menos se podría sospechar que se trataba de un asesinato” (*El cartero* 57).

A passage towards the end of the novel shows further discrepancies between the original and the translation as well as small omissions:

James M. Cain <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i>	<i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz’s Translation
We went out of there, and got a cab, because I was so crippled up, and first we went to the bank, and put the check in, and then we went to a flower shop, and got two big bunches of flowers, and then we went to the funeral of the Greek. It seemed funny he was only dead two	Salimos a la calle y paramos un taxi porque a mí aún me dolía todo. Primeramente, paramos en una floristería y compramos dos grandes ramos de flores para asistir al sepelio del griego. Resultaba rarísimo que ya llevara dos días muerto y que ahora lo

³² To point out a few examples: on page 25 “I tried to lift him. I had a hell of a time”; on page 37 “you old son of a gun”; on page 39 “he had inked in the curlycues, and then colored it with red, white and blue”; on page 40 “he was like a wop that opens a drug store”; on page 56 of *El cartero* the sentence “and me and the Greek in by ambulance” is missing; on page 58 “we were there maybe ten minutes” and “or maybe it was on account of making the quick shift”; on page 62 “ever been in jail in Tucson?/ yes, sir, I think it was ten days I got there”; on page 69 “and so will the guy that springs the trap”; on page 73 “the cops and witnesses that had been at the inquest”; on page 79 “will you just initial these pages?”; on page 90 “What the hell [...] I don’t care about the ten grand. I’ve got ten grand”; on page 93 “I cracked up, that’s all”; on page 98 “It’s better than bottled beer”; on page 113 “Near as I could tell we got away with it”; on page 116 “She lined it with excelsior”; on page 119 “but now, after what happened with that woman, it’s not mixed up anymore”; on page 121 “most of these pools are nine feet.”

<p>days, and they were just burying him. The funeral was at a little Greek church, and a big crowd of people was there [...] The guy that did the preaching started out with some dirty cracks about how the Greek died, but a guy went up and whispered to him, and pointed at the paper that had got up near the front by that time, and he turned around and said it all over again, without any dirty cracks, and put in about the sorrowing widow and friends. (<i>The Postman</i> 82)</p>	<p>fueran a enterrar. El funeral se celebró en una pequeña iglesia atestada de gente. [...] El individuo que nos echó el sermón empezó con algunas barbaridades sobre cómo había muerto el griego, pero apenas había pronunciado unas frases, se le acercó otro hombre que le habló al oído, moviendo mucho los brazos, mientras le señalaba el diario, que para entonces había llegado ya a la primera fila. El del sermón se volvió y empezó de nuevo, sin barbaridades esta vez, refiriéndose a la desconsolada viuda y al leal amigo del extinto. (<i>El cartero</i> 91)</p>
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In this excerpt, we can find an omission at the beginning, since they first go to the bank and deposit a check but in the Spanish version they go straight to the flower shop. The Greek church is also omitted and translated only as church –maybe for reasons related to the Regime and its Catholic beliefs?

Then there are aspects that might be considered slight mistranslations: “the guy that did the preaching” is translated as “el individuo que nos echó el sermón”; however, “echar el sermón” has a negative connotation, as if someone is trying to moralize another person instead of really preaching at a funeral. Regarding the translation of “dirty cracks.” I interpret crack to be a joke, but it could be that Federico López Cruz, with the term “barbaridades,” conveys crack both as a rude joke or as a rude remark. López Cruz also adds information in this passage that is not present in the English, such as “apenas había pronunciado unas frases” and “moviendo mucho los brazos.” Lastly, “friends” is translated as “el leal amigo del extinto” without any apparent reason, since the narrator is not talking about the main character but, instead, is referring to all the friends of the deceased.

One last excerpt from the end of *The Postman* has been translated as follows:

<p>James M. Cain <i>The Postman Always Rings Twice</i></p>	<p><i>El cartero siempre llama dos veces.</i> Federico López Cruz's Translation</p>
<p>I went to my room and got the liquor. It was a quart of Bourbon, three quarters full. I went down, got some Coca Cola glasses, and ice cubes, and White Rock, and came back upstairs. She had taken her hat off and let her hair down. I fixed two drinks. They had some White Rock in them, and a couple of pieces of ice, but the rest was out of the bottle. (<i>The Postman</i> 85)</p>	<p>Fui a mi habitación a buscarla. Era una botella de whisky que todavía estaba casi llena. Bajé a la cocina y cogí dos grandes vasos de refresco, unos cuantos cubitos de hielo, soda, y volví. Llené los vasos con un poco de soda, dos cubitos de hielo y el resto de whisky. (<i>El cartero</i> 95)</p>

In this passage, we see that a few references are domesticated (“Coca Cola glasses,” “White Rock” or “a quart of Bourbon”) and assimilated in the Spanish translation. There is a sentence missing as well, that refers to Cora taking her hat off. It is hard to know why this sentence is missing, but it could be to eliminate digressions as Clem Robyns points out in his article (1990), to maintain the action and ignore other possible outcomes:

The translators [...] systematically attempt to simplify the structure, leaving out sequences that might complicate it in some way [...]. Translators discard love scenes, amorous confessions, erotic descriptions focalized on the hero, and the like [...]. Non-executed sequences [...] or non-achieved sequences [...] that [...] delay the intrigue and [...] complicate it are likewise frequently suppressed. [...]

The translators strive for a narrative structure devoid of “dead” or “wild” branches. All these tendencies (and we are talking about dozens

of omitted fragments in almost every book) clearly show how the translators of the *Série Noire* orient their structure toward a homogeneous, straightforward and transparent basic structure, which they try to reach by more or less systematically deleting textemes that could complicate the intrigue. (Robyns 29-30)

We have seen that translations were mostly imported from the existing Latin American versions. Many of the translations from that period are careless, contain multiple omissions, changes, and mistranslations. In concluding this analysis, it can be said that, besides the changes that resulted from censorship, translators and publishing houses were also responsible for the lack of high quality translations. It is surprising how many similarities can be found with the case of translations in France, as shown by Clem Robyns. The effect of censorship cannot be negated, but there are many translation issues that have also been ignored in editions that continue to be published by important publishing houses up to this day.

With this second case study, we reach the same conclusions as we did with the first one: the translation of *The Postman Always Rings Twice* was carried out under circumstances that may have affected its quality and would require a retranslation done according to today's standards. At the same time, the fact that the book is still being published as is shows that translation quality is not prioritized in publishing houses and the success of a novel might be determined by other characteristics.

We also see that translation was decisive in the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain, as we have claimed throughout this work, but only as a vehicle

for importing texts that contained different stories and diverse ways of developing the conventions of the genre –since the translations themselves seem not to have been rejected or accepted based on this process of scrutiny.

Chapter Four

Challenging Franco's Regime through Hardboiled Detective Fiction: Manuel Vázquez Montalbán - Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?

After years of being imported through translation, the genre of detective fiction began to consolidate nationally in Spain around the year 1974, when authors like Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Eduardo Mendoza, Francisco González Ledesma, or Andreu Martín published national works of hardboiled detective fiction. After this year, coinciding with the end of the Francoist dictatorship in the country, the number of works by Spanish writers, no longer disguised under a foreign pseudonym, began to multiply and become established and recognized by the readership. In terms of polysystem theory, we could argue that there was a movement from the periphery to the center of the Spanish literary system –partially motivated by the decision of Spanish writers to take up this model, as well as by publishing houses that might have forecasted the success of this genre at the time- and that the detective fiction genre began to show signs of canonization in terms of consumption, popularity and production in the country.

The hardboiled variety, imported mainly from the United States, was the form that Spanish writers mostly adopted from this period on. As we have seen in the previous chapter, hardboiled detective fiction was also used as a critical tool that allowed writers to pose certain social questions. This seems to be the reason why during the last years of the dictatorship such a genre could have become relevant for Spanish writers as a vehicle to establish some sort of analysis or criticism of Spanish society:

Desde el inicio de los años 70, pero especialmente a partir de 1974, se produce en España una inflexión importante en el relato policial que permite hablar de la existencia de una novela criminal española, concebida no como una especial modulación nacional de la escritura de relatos policiales, sino como una ampliación y arraigo del género policíaco en este país. La notable extensión de la lista de escritores y obras –fundamentalmente en español y catalán-, la localización de la trama en España y la creación de personajes españoles, la incorporación por parte de muchos autores de procedimientos que elevan la calidad de sus obras, la generalización de la firma sin seudónimo y el predominio del uso de un discurso realista y crítico del relato negro frente a la fórmula racionalista de la novela-enigma son algunos de los rasgos que caracterizan globalmente esta última etapa. (Valles Calatrava 146)

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was considered a pioneer writer in the genre following the publication of *Tatuaje* in 1974, marking the beginning of this stage in detective fiction writing. In this chapter, I will analyze the detective fiction of Spanish writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003) and the scrutiny he encountered in Spain from the Censorship Boards of the Franco Regime. Vázquez Montalbán was one of the most prominent intellectuals in Spanish history and a very prolific and versatile writer, journalist, poet, essay-writer and gastronome. As opposed to the case of Francisco García Pavón, depicted in Chapter Two, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán had a more contentious relationship with Spanish censorship. Even though only the first books in his literary trajectory were scrutinized by the censors —given that he started writing in the late sixties and Franco died in 1975—, the dictatorship made its mark on Vázquez Montalbán's existence and professional career. The writer himself talked about these years of hardship and the control imposed upon Spanish society, as well as the ridiculous limitations for writers and intellectuals. One of these examples can be found in an interview with Colmeiro:

Una dificultad fundamental [con la censura] es no poder ejercer el periodismo de una manera normal casi durante 10 años por los antecedentes penales [...] todos mis intentos de acercamiento a un periodismo normal han conducido al cierre de las publicaciones. [...] En el campo de la literatura, no haber podido publicar mi primer libro de poemas en su momento, que era el año 1963-1964. Negociaciones estúpidas sobre contenidos como el de *Yo maté a Kennedy* [...] la aprobaron, simplemente cambiando en una descripción de una señora

la palabra “carne” por “cuerpo”. En poesía la famosa historia de tener que sustituir “sobaco” por “axila” o de cambiar a la Reina Federica de Grecia por la Princesa Grace de Mónaco. Estupideces de este tipo.
(*Crónica* 281)

We see how Montalbán’s political involvement resulted in a biased perception of his work on the part of the censors and how this affected the publication of his works. At the same time, it can be observed how absurdly and randomly censorship was applied during the Franco years. Montalbán utilized the detective novel as a platform from which to practice covert social criticism and to challenge the Franco Regime. As such, the Regime considered him a communist threat for his ideas and due to the stigma of having been incarcerated³³, while the censors failed to grasp the subtle sophistication of his writing style and the ideas he presented. The Regime used popular fiction that either fit its ideology, to legitimize its position and its power over society, or that favored the mentality of escapism and lack of subversion among its readers. Therefore, authors who, to a certain extent, fit those stereotypes would be less censored than those who challenged them. Montalbán’s experience therefore appears diametrically opposed to that of García Pavón, whose work was only lightly censored and was even praised by the censors. These two writers represent a significant contrast of personalities and writing styles. However, it is for this same reason that analyzing the two is so interesting, offering two completely opposite experiences regarding censorship in Spain.

³³ In 1962, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was sentenced to three years in jail, and sent to prison for his political militancy against the Franco Regime.

Once the dictatorship ended, the country underwent several years of *transición* into democracy. However, for many intellectuals like Vázquez Montalbán, the lack of significant changes in the country and the population's generalized culture of forgetting represented a period of disenchantment and political disillusionment. Most of the works of Montalbán, and particularly those in which his detective Carvalho appears, portray these years of disenchantment of Spanish society. I believe that Montalbán's work, in a way, mirrors the questions that give title to the Gauguin painting that is one of the main themes in his novel *Tatuaje*: "Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?" These questions apply to Montalbán's work and to Spanish society. The first two questions are directly related to the experience of the Civil War and the phenomenon that took place after Franco died, the culture of forgetting, and the lack of historical memory. These issues are part of the national identity and are explored by other Spanish writers and intellectuals, like novelist Javier Marías in *Mañana en la batalla piensa en mí*:

Tantas cosas suceden sin que nadie se entere ni las recuerde. De casi nada hay registro, los pensamientos y movimientos fugaces, los planes y los deseos, la duda secreta, las ensoñaciones, la crueldad y el insulto, las palabras dichas y oídas y luego negadas o malentendidas o tergiversadas, las promesas hechas y no tenidas en cuenta, ni siquiera por aquellos a quienes se hicieron, todo se olvida o prescribe, cuanto se hace a solas y no se anota y también casi todo lo que no es solitario sino en compañía, cuán poco va quedando de cada individuo, de qué poco hay constancia y de ese poco que queda tanto se calla, y de lo que no

se calla se recuerda después tan sólo una mínima parte, y durante poco tiempo, la memoria individual no se transmite ni interesa al que la recibe, que forja y tiene la suya propia. [...]

Todo se contagia muy fácilmente, de todo podemos ser convencidos, la razón puede dársenos siempre y todo puede contarse si se ve acompañado de su exaltación o su excusa o su atenuante o su mera representación, contar es una forma de generosidad, todo puede suceder y todo puede enunciarse y ser aceptado, de todo se puede salir impune, o aún es más, indemne. Nadie hace nada convencido de su injusticia, no al menos en el momento de hacerlo, contar tampoco, qué extraña misión o tarea es esa, lo que sucede no sucede del todo hasta que no se descubre, hasta que no se dice y se sabe, y mientras tanto es posible la conversión de los hechos en mero pensamiento y en mero recuerdo, en nada. (Marías 76-77; 410)³⁴

The questions “who are we?” and “where are we going?” also represent the state of disenchantment during the late 70s and 80s that took hold of the country and that is central to Montalbán and his work. This disenchantment was followed by an exercise of historical memory by part of the population, some intellectuals and politicians whose efforts are visible today as central topics in Spanish literature and art.

³⁴ For further reference on the work of Javier Marías and its connection to memory and oblivion check: Rigoni, Laura Mirtha “La culpa y el olvido en las novelas de Javier Marías.”

4.1 Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: A Spanish Hardboiled Detective

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003) will always be remembered, among other things, for the creation of his Carvalho detective series. He was able to develop a singular approach to hardboiled detective writing in Spain at a time when the detective fiction genre was not as popular as it is nowadays. For those who consider authors like Francisco García Pavón to be a costumbrista writer, and not part of the detective fiction genre, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was the first author to really appropriate this genre and create a true Spanish detective. Up until that point, as documented by critics like Vázquez de Parga, Colmeiro or O'Donnell, only isolated cases had existed to contribute to developing the genre in the country, such as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Mario Lacruz, Joaquín Belda, or Emilia Pardo Bazán. As such, Montalbán was one of the first, if not the first, Spanish writer to introduce the hardboiled type of detective fiction in the country and develop a saga that encouraged readers and writers to appreciate this genre.

Many authors have studied the works of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and have helped me in my own analysis of the author for this dissertation. José Colmeiro has probably been the most influential, and has shaped my own understanding of Montalbán's works. Not only does he study Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's ideology and politics, as well as his commitment to memory and Spanish society, but he also focuses on the author's detective fiction and its political implications. I consider his books, therefore, to be absolutely essential to any study of Vázquez Montalbán. His book *La novela policiaca española: teoría e historia crítica* presents a great study of Spanish detective fiction, starting with a theoretical introduction and then analyzing the specific history of writers in Spain who approached this genre. There are not a lot

of studies available that analyze these two approaches to detective fiction in Spain, so his book is a valuable contribution to the study of this genre in the country. In addition, José Colmeiro has published and edited at least three volumes on Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's works³⁵, as well as numerous articles and interviews with the writer. In the prologue to *Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: el compromiso con la memoria* (1997) by Colmeiro, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán stated that Colmeiro was one of the critics who best understood and analyzed his works. I, without a doubt, agree and thank him for his work.

Kevin O'Donnell's dissertation *A Red's Harvest: Cultural Adaptation as Intervention in Manuel Vazquez Montalban's Early Carvalho Novels* presents an analysis of the hardboiled detective fiction genre and its development in Spain. O'Donnell offers a broad overview of different studies on Manuel Vazquez Montalbán, as well as on the hardboiled genre. His conclusions regarding the censorship of detective fiction in Spain are interesting, especially because he does not agree with most critics who claim that the hardboiled genre did not develop in Spain as a consequence of censorship. In his view, such a statement is unfounded, and he argues instead that the genre did not develop mainly due to cultural and historical reasons, since Spanish writers regarded genre writing with the bias that it was an "inferior" form of writing. We consider, however, that the Regime's control and repression affected writers by preventing them from writing, given that the control was executed in an ideological way that we can compare to the panopticon model described by Bentham or Foucault. On the one hand, O'Donnell rightly points to the

³⁵ *Crónica del desencanto: la narrativa de Manuel Vázquez Montalbán* (1996), *Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: el compromiso con la memoria* (1997) and *El ruido y la furia: conversaciones con Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, desde el planeta de los simios* (2013).

fact that there were no writers in Spain trying to develop a genre that was considered inferior; on the other hand, Franco's ubiquitous control might have influenced writers and their choices enough to divert them from writing a genre that had potential for critique.

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán contributed to the development of the detective fiction genre to such an extent that his books are essential to any Spanish detective fiction study, even in the present day; it is, therefore, impossible to undervalue the relevance of detective Carvalho to Spanish detective fiction:

The appearance of *Tatuaje* in 1974 inaugurates the so-called boom in Spanish detective fiction [...] Nevertheless, the boom can also be described as a commercial phenomenon. This can be seen in the trajectory of pressruns of the Carvalho series. *Tatuaje*, published by a friend of the author's, had an initial run of 2,500 copies. Five years later, the powerful Editorial Planeta published the Premio Planeta-winning third book of the series, *Los mares del Sur*, printing 300,000 copies. (Vázquez Montalbán, "No escribo" 334-35, in O'Donnell)

This first stage in Montalbán's literary career was an experimental one, stretching from the end of the sixties until the beginning of the seventies, and full of surrealist influences (or subnormal, as Vázquez Montalbán called it) while also very provocative. However, he experienced heavy censorship at this beginning stage and, as a matter of fact, most of his first books were banned and had to wait a few years

before they were allowed to be published. These experimental texts include titles such as *Recordando a Dardé* (1969), *Manifiesto subnormal* (1970), *Cuestiones marxistas* (1979), and even the first novel in which Carvalho appears, *Yo maté a Kennedy* (1972). These texts reflect a movement that was taking place in the country at the time in which intellectuals such as Martín Santos, Goytisolo, Benet, or Delibes were reacting against the Regime by writing formally, thematically and structurally complex texts. Sandra Puvogel summarizes in her dissertation about Montalbán (1987) some of the main characteristics of these Spanish writers during the 60s and the 70s:

This experimental fiction was a criticism of Spanish life under Francisco Franco as its authors sought to depict the frustration and confusion of living in a stifled and shackled Spanish society through a sometimes incomprehensible style, confusing switches of narrative voice, and stymied, ineffectual protagonists. Both thematically and structurally (with the emphasis on the structural element), Spanish literature was condemning the lack of voice and freedom experienced by Spaniards of that time period [...] a structure whose goal was to confuse and frustrate the reader. (Puvogel 71)

Montalbán's "surrealist" literature is also a reflection of that movement, and a result of the political situation of the country. He referred to it as "literatura subnormal" and identified himself and other thinkers as "intelectuales subnormales" due to their being a part of and acting within a subnormal society. This denomination

is motivated by the logic of capitalist and consumer societies, as well as by the specific situation of Spain under Franco's power, as the writer described in an interview with José Colmeiro:

La subnormalidad era un intento de explicar cuál era la situación objetiva del intelectual en una sociedad no sólo franquista, sino en una sociedad de consumo, donde evidentemente el intelectual es un personaje sub-normal o supra-normal, eso siempre se puede discutir, pero que complementa a la normalidad, está fatalmente predestinado a complementarla y avalarla. En el caso del franquismo esta misma impresión se acentuaba con una cierta carga de angustia y de política porque te encontrabas obligado a la vía indirecta del lenguaje, a escribir entre líneas, y eso pensabas que te convertía en mucho más sub-normal de cara a un lector del futuro. (*Crónica* 36)

This subnormality was also reflected in the language and the literary techniques in Montalbán's first books through the usage of irony, literary collage, illogical and absurd language, etc. All these effects provoked surprise and estrangement in his readers: "Lo que yo quería era la continua frustración del lector que cree estar leyendo un ensayo y de pronto aquello no es un ensayo; luego cree que es un poema o una novela, y aquello no es ninguna de las dos cosas. Hay una cierta agresión al lector" (Campbell 166).

At some point though, Vázquez Montalbán started writing a more formulaic type of literature in the shape of detective fiction. This shift can also be seen as a reaction to

the previous movement, as well as a need to reach the Spanish audience in a different way:

His own rather extreme switch from the experimental literature of *Cuestiones marxistas* to the formulaic art of *Tatuaje* can similarly be seen as an attempt to return to a more straightforward form of communication [...] Vázquez Montalbán talks of his increasing disenchantment with and distrust of the technical experimentation being practiced by Spanish authors including himself. (Puvogel 231)

As Puvogel explains, this switch to detective fiction is not as surprising as it might seem, since his political and intellectual commitment did not change and was still present in his own version of the genre. As a matter of fact, the Pepe Carvalho character remains as a common link between the two periods, given the fact that he first appears in one of his subnormal novels, *Yo maté a Kennedy* (1972), and two years later in the hardboiled detective fiction saga that began with *Tatuaje* (1974)³⁶. The formulaic prose of detective fiction, on the other hand, was more accessible to readers and allowed him to reach a wider audience: “Vázquez Montalbán’s decision to style his novels after the hard-boiled detective mode proves his move from high to popular literature to be a formal change but not a thematic one” (232). According to José

³⁶ The Carvalho series includes the following titles: *Yo maté a Kennedy* (1972), *Tatuaje* (1974), *La soledad del manager* (1977), *Los mares del sur* (1979), *Asesinato en el comité central* (1981), *Los pájaros de Bangkok* (1983), *La rosa de Alejandría* (1984), *El balneario* (1986), *Historias de fantasmas* (1987), *Historias de padres e hijos* (1987), *Tres historias de amor* (1987), *Historias de política ficción* (1987), *Asesinato en Prado del Rey y otras historias sórdidas* (1987), *El delantero centro fue asesinado al atardecer* (1989), *Las recetas de Carvalho* (1989), *El laberinto griego* (1991), *Sabotaje olímpico* (1993), *El hermano pequeño* (1994), *Roldán, ni vivo ni muerto* (1995), *El premio* (1996), *Quinteto en Buenos Aires* (1997), *El hombre de mi vida* (2000), *Rumbo a Kabul* (Milenio Carvalho, Vol. 1) (2004), *En las antípodas* (Milenio Carvalho, Vol. 2) (2004).

Colmeiro, and Salvador de Parga, among others, Vázquez Montalbán's detective fiction serves as an account of the social and moral transformation of Spanish society: from the great ideals of the 60s, to the disenchantment of the 80s (*Crónica*).

Overall, Vázquez Montalbán wrote almost twenty novels over three decades in which Pepe Carvalho appears as the main character. José Colmeiro even argues that the real enigma of the Carvalho series is the detective himself, his unusual personality, rather than the cases he investigates (Colmeiro 184). This fact is not so surprising, since it is also a characteristic of American hardboiled detectives, such as Marlowe or Sam Spade, who become one of the central mysteries of the novels that feature them: the reader does not have access to a full description of these characters, of their past or present relationships, their family or social standing, or their economic status. Pepe Carvalho is like that in a lot of ways. He is introduced to us as a CIA agent, but we are told that he was a communist in his youth and that he went to prison for criticizing the Franco Regime. Beginning with *Tatuaje*, and for the rest of the Carvalho saga, he works as a private investigator hired to solve various crimes. There are two main surprising characteristics of his personality: the gastronomic component, and the fact that he burns books from his personal library as a purgative process or, as Colmeiro argues, as an act of liberation from established and canonical literature, an act that “shows the negative and skeptic attitude of the main character towards literary fiction, which he blames for the poses and pretenses that distort the meaning of living” (*La narrativa policíaca* 13-14). These characteristics will be studied later in the chapter.

Vázquez Montalbán's unique political position as an intellectual is also reflected through his writing of Carvalho, who became something of an alter ego for

the author. Apart from his literary career, Vázquez Montalbán was a political figure as well, and was part of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC), just like his father. He was sent to prison in 1962 because of his political activity. There he wrote his first essay, *Informe sobre la información*, which was later used for many years in all Spanish universities as part of the curriculum for journalism, communication sciences, etc. Once released from prison, he started to collaborate with several popular magazines and newspapers (*Triunfo*, *El País*, *Interviú*) and ended up writing a vast number of pieces in a wide variety of genres.

Carvalho shares many of the writer's passions, such as his love for food and gastronomy, his political and social views, his taste in literature, his ironic and sarcastic point of view, etc. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán used detective fiction as a vehicle for social commentary that otherwise he probably would not have been able to express during the Franco Regime. As Montalbán himself explained, the detective fiction genre was, in a way, a medium that allowed him to present a chronicle of the Spanish society in an implicit way: "Yo sólo he podido afrontar una novela crónica valiéndome del referente de la novela negra, aunque practicando un desguace y seleccionando lo que de ella me servía o no. Por eso rechazo el adjetivo «policíaco» para lo que escribo con Carvalho como intermediario entre el lector y yo" ("No escribo novela negra"). The truth is that, when studying Montalbán's works (both his detective fiction and the rest of his writings), one realizes that all of them are, in fact, a chronicle of the history of Spain. In this sense, it is not surprising that he does not see himself as "merely" writing detective fiction.

It is, no doubt, because of Vázquez Montalbán's approach and the appropriation of this genre as a political and social tool, that his writing posed a threat

to the Regime, and had to be repressed. Due to its depiction of reality and the social implications of a hardboiled novel, this genre is, or has the potential to be, far more challenging to a totalitarian regime:

As Deacon indicated above, the depiction of society assumes an important role in hard-boiled fiction. The briefly-sketched rarefied settings of the classic form gave way to more three-dimensional portraits of busier, dirtier and more crime-ridden urban environments. In short, the detective novel took an important step toward realism. (O'Donnell 32)

Despite the fact that O'Donnell claims censorship was not the cause for the lack of development of the genre in the country, it is true that hardboiled detective fiction and, specifically, the writing of Vázquez Montalbán, represents a challenge due to its depiction of reality and its relationship with the society it is immersed in. This singular approach to detective fiction writing in Spain is what makes Vázquez Montalbán a unique example and a great counterpart to Francisco García Pavón. Vázquez Montalbán represents through his writing a different period in Spanish history than does García Pavón: the last years of the Franco Regime and the years subsequent to the dictator's death, or the years of the *transición*. But also, in addition to the temporal variation, the two writers' approaches to detective fiction are completely different, diverging mainly in their political and social implications.

The Carvalho series presents many of the aspects that the Regime sought to suppress, contrary to the values found in García Pavón's novels, as depicted in Chapter Two:

The regime not only sought to maintain its grip on power through violent means, but also through its cultural apparatus. In order to secure the people's consent, the Francoist state promoted "popular and mass forms of entertainment: folklore, song, sport, and cinema" (Graham and Labanyi 3).

This attempt to foist entertainment on the masses was designed to take people's minds off a harsh material reality characterized by scarcity and police repression and is often described by critics as a "culture of evasion" (Boyd 100). (O'Donnell 3)

As I have suggested, a certain type of literature was promoted, and even praised, as with Pavón, a literature that to a certain extent fit with the Regime's values and, therefore, was not dangerous or subversive, thus contributing to this *culture of evasion*. Furthermore, this literature was aligned with the backward-looking ideology of the Regime: "The general idea behind the promotion of mass culture by Francoism was to integrate the masses into a corporatist structure under a backward-looking vision of Spain" (O'Donnell 4).

Montalbán's first writings, on the other hand, were completely banned during the dictatorship. His usage of mass culture in the form of detective fiction is targeted by the Regime with a political goal in mind. His writing reflects the disenchantment

and social reality of the country at the time. Given the implications and content of his works, he was far more likely to be targeted by the censors. However, by the time he was writing the Carvalho series, most of his work had surprisingly been allowed to be published. One of the potential reasons for this could be that the censorship laws by that point were supposedly more relaxed. Though O'Donnell points to the fact that *Tatuaje* was not censored and allowed to be published, he fails to provide a conjecture for why this could have been the case. In this chapter, I will try to provide an answer to this question while analyzing the censorship reports in order to try to assess the impact censorship had on the development of detective fiction in Spain, and to better understand the development of Vázquez Montalbán's work within said genre.

4.2 Hardboiled Detective Fiction and its Political Implications.

Detective Fiction rose to popularity in Spain following the debut of canonical authors such as Edgar Allan Poe, Agatha Christie or Arthur Conan Doyle, making the genre extremely successful amongst readers. In recent times, besides its literature form, TV shows and movies about private detectives or police procedurals have become increasingly trendy. Within this context, the figures of the serial killer, the forensic, or the murder analyst have also become quite popular in modern entertainment, adding different nuances and perspectives to the genre.

Detective fiction emerged after the industrial revolution in the 19th century as a result of the social, cultural and economic changes that the world was undergoing. In both the United Kingdom and the United States, stories about detectives and crimes, heroes and adventures, or frontiersmen's quests started to appear periodically in newspapers and became quite widespread among readers, who would read them on their way to work. Due to the popularity of these pieces, publishing houses started to print "dime novels" or "pulp magazines" in the U.S. and "penny dreadfuls" or "skeletons" in the U.K. These publications were inexpensive, small novels with colorful flashy covers, usually written anonymously, that were designed and purchased purely for entertaining, and even evasive, purposes. They became an instant success among the working class due to their affordable prices, as well as among women, who represented a wide readership due to their emancipation and their increased purchasing power.

Partly because of its price and the publishing houses' distribution strategies, as well as the social class that most of its readers belonged to, from its beginnings detective fiction was considered a lower quality literature, "lowbrow," or popular

literature as opposed to a more intellectual kind of literature. This distinction was made mainly because of the themes and characteristics of detective fiction, the type of audience that it was destined for, and its editing and marketing strategies. Detective fiction, as well as other “lowbrow” types of literature like romance or adventure novels, is produced almost exclusively for its consumption, with the goal of being successful with readers. Due to this conception, throughout history writers and critics have expressed their prejudice against this genre, preventing them from writing or reading this type of literature. This perception has been changing over time, and detective fiction has now acquired a different status within the literary system, now more respected by readers, writers and critics.

Because of how this genre was created and the themes it deals with, numerous studies of detective fiction have analyzed its relation to the capitalist world. Ernst Kaemmel (1983), for example, points to the social implications of detective fiction. According to Kaemmel: “The detective novel is a child of capitalism. It arose in the most highly developed countries of premonopolistic capitalism, in England and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth” (Kaemmel, 57). In his view, murder is always based on economic motives or private property, “the basic law of capitalist society” (58). Despite this problematic claim, the truth is that, in the procedure of solving a given crime, the State, through the police force and the implementation of the Law, plays a decisive role. Furthermore, what is considered “legal” or “illegal” varies from country to country and from one era to another. As Heather Worthington describes (1999): “Crime is temporally and culturally conditional; consequently, the definition of what constitutes crime is constantly shifting” (Worthington x). In the same way, the genre’s

relationship with capitalism can be observed in the publishing houses' desire for success with the readers: "Mystery writing, like other popular genres, aside from constituting its own economic system of pleasure, also exists within the capitalist economic system. The need for formulae in popular literature is a commercial imperative. Publishing houses, generally averse to economic risk, tend to rely on tried and true formulae" (O'Donnell 53). Despite these facts, detective fiction writers can modify the genre with a specific goal in mind, using different crimes (such as rape) with political implications, portraying corruption in society and police departments, or showing class and racial issues that affect society. This is one of the key elements that hooks readers of this genre, the unique and original ways in which each writer develops the conventions within the formulaic nature of the genre.

Authors in the United States developed a unique approach to the genre, first during Prohibition (1920-1933) and then expanding into its prime era in the 30s-50s, by creating the hardboiled type in which the detective plays the role of an antihero, usually with a cynical tone and perspective of society, and depicting some form of corruption within an urban city. The detective, usually a man, is considered an outlaw, someone who plays outside the rules and whose character is tough and who has his own a moral code and a sense of justice: "The private detective came to epitomize the traditional American hero previously represented by the frontiersman/cowboy" (Worthington 122). This type of detective fiction:

Is generally considered to come into existence in America during the 1920s and 30s, initially in the pulp magazines of the period, so-called

because the cheap, rough paper on which they were printed was made from wood-pulp. These magazines [...] were aimed at a blue-collar, or working-class, male audience, and so contained material written in a discourse that represented and responded to the world in which such an audience existed. (122)

Traditionally, detective fiction presents a crime or some sort of mystery and the answers to the following questions are developed throughout the novel: Who? Where? When? Why? And, especially, How? The ingenuity of each author depends on depicting the crime in a simple and believable fashion:

There are other types of mystery writing, for the most part we are left with the legacy of two parallel traditions within mystery fiction: the classic tradition established by Poe and followed by Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie, and Rex Stout; and the “hard-boiled” tradition begun by Dashiell Hammett and followed by Raymond Chandler, James M. Cain, and Ross Macdonald. (O’Donnell 20)

However, in hard-boiled detective fiction, there is more at stake than simply solving a crime. The detective himself usually also becomes the central mystery of the novel, partly because the reader has barely any information about his past life or his social and economic status. Stories are usually told in the third person, so the reader goes along discovering information as the novels develop, without any insight

into the character's feelings or aspirations other than what can be deduced from the action and dialogue.

4.2.1 From the Periphery to the Center of the Spanish Literary Polysystem.

Before 1974 and the publication of *Tatuaje* by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, there were no Spanish examples, that we know of, of a Spanish version of a hardboiled detective. Translations of American authors were available, as well as their cinematic adaptations, but no Spanish writer had attempted to re-create the hardboiled model in a new context. In a matter of years, the detective fiction literary panorama has changed drastically from the time García Pavón was writing; this change is mainly due to the flood of translations of the genre.

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was so important to the detective fiction genre in Spain because he was a groundbreaking pioneer that not only created a saga of Spanish hardboiled detective fiction, but also used the conventions of the genre to pose a critical analysis of the Spanish reality. As José Colmeiro analyzes (1994):

Con la transición de la dictadura a la democracia, la novela policiaca en España también sufrió una profunda metamorfosis. Pasó de ser un género popular menor, aunque ocasionalmente utilizado como una forma de crítica social –pero ampliamente considerado como un producto subcultural con poca legitimación y en su mayoría menospreciado por la crítica y satanizado por los intelectuales- a una nueva forma híbrida, mezcla de thriller urbano, relato de investigación, reportaje y denuncia política, sin las limitaciones del realismo social, que ganó un amplio número de lectores y el reconocimiento de la comunidad literaria y la industria cultural. A mediados de los años

setenta, cuando el franquismo estaba empezando a derrumbarse, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán y Eduardo Mendoza fueron pioneros en el uso político de la novela policiaca para explorar, ahora ya abiertamente y sin camuflajes, asuntos sociales contemporáneos e históricos que habían estado prohibidos durante la dictadura. La novela policiaca se convirtió con ellos en un medio óptimo para llevar a cabo una crítica del legado del franquismo, exponiendo las grandes fisuras sociales de la transición política, en una sociedad en proceso de profunda transformación. De esta manera, la ruptura cultural con el franquismo, el olvido del pasado histórico, la corrupción de las élites económicas y los cuerpos policiales, y sus conexiones con la corrupción del sistema legal, serán temas recurrentes en la nueva novela negra española. (*Novela policiaca* 21-22)

The appearance of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Eduardo Mendoza and other writers of this genre in the Spanish literary system reveals something else: the beginning of the crystallization of an imported translated model that was assimilated, and the beginning of its movement from its previous peripheral status to a more central one, replacing previous canonical norms. With the end of the dictatorship, the hierarchical control exerted in previous years lost its power and the Spanish literary system was ready to change and produce new centripetal and centrifugal movements. The genre's literary success coincides with its recognition from critics, intellectuals and publishing houses as an acceptable and profitable genre, receiving necessary support and status and becoming "accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles

within a culture” (Even-Zohar 15). Furthermore, despite using a foreign model as a referent, Montalbán’s writing, together with his contemporaries’ writings in the genre, managed to create something new that did not exist up until that point, and to introduce it successfully into the existing literary polysystem. The formula they created at the time is that which national writers have been using since then, changing and innovating in terms of plot, characters, and themes, and proving its success over time and its canonization.

Vázquez Montalbán’s success was also partially due to how he adopted the foreign formula developed by writers like Chandler or Hammett with Philip Marlowe, Sam Spade or Continental Op, that Spanish readers had been acquainted with for the last forty years or so, and how he managed to characterize such a model and translate it into a language shared by most of the national readership. However, most of the formula remains the same: Carvalho is a private investigator and is himself a mystery; chaos and corruption run rampant in society, there is a generalized sense of disenchantment and alienation, order cannot be restored, and there is no reparation at the end of the stories. As O’Donnell presents (1999), detective Carvalho fits this paradigm and is also the main mystery of his series:

“—¿Qué eres tú? ¿Un poli? ¿Un marxista? ¿Un gourmet?

—Un ex poli. Un ex marxista y un gourmet. (193)”

The detective, Pepe Carvalho, answers Teresa’s query in typical hardboiled fashion. Curt almost to the point of rudeness, he offers the minimum amount of information necessary to satisfy the question. His contradictory response sets up a mystery – Who is Pepe Carvalho? The

curt answer is that he is an ex-CIA agent, an ex-member of the Spanish Communist Party and a terrific cook, but this sort of response just leads to more questions. (O'Donnell 1)

Hardboiled detectives are purely fictitious figures; in other words, these types of detectives do not exist in real life, they do not solve any murder cases or get involved in the situations depicted in hardboiled detective fiction. As O'Donnell puts it: "The hard-boiled dick differs from the classic investigator but both are equally improbable archetypes. A reader is no more likely to meet a real-life Sherlock Holmes than a real-life Philip Marlowe" (idem 36). Hardboiled detective fiction is a formula designed for mass consumption, for entertainment purposes. The genre gained popularity and was further promoted among readers because of the Hollywood adaptations of film noir that were highly popular starting from the end of the 40s until the late 50s.

Authors such as Manuel Vázquez Montalbán or Mexican writer Paco Ignacio Taibo II did appropriate the genre with a political and social goal in mind in their respective countries. Detective fiction provided them with the perfect medium for subversion, as well as the possibility of reaching a large audience who would implicitly be exposed to their ideas and which otherwise probably would not have read their work. The potential subversive component of hardboiled detective fiction is due to the fact that:

Hard-boiled writing is characterized by an initial societal disorder which is concomitant with, or indeed responsible for, the crime, which

is an integral part of reality. Rather than being a disruption of order, crime is a symptom of disorder, of the unjust and chaotic society portrayed in the story. The search for the criminal(s) and their identification only results in the continuation of a disorderly social order [...] Although a perpetrator may be identified, and sometimes even killed or arrested, very little will have changed. At the end of the story the true criminals will still be in business; the police will still be crooked and ruling elites will still be greedy and corrupt. On the ideological plane, this is what separates the hard-boiled form from the more conservative classic form. (O'Donnell 27)

The development of hardboiled fiction in Spain did not take place after Franco's death for either political or cultural and economic reasons. Vázquez Montalbán was the first author to introduce this genre into Spanish literature, and to develop a saga that would set the tone for other authors and that would persist for years, documenting Spanish society. Many authors, such as Patricia Hart (1987), have claimed that the genre failed to develop in the country due to the censorship imposed by the Franco Regime, but others, like Kevin O'Donnell (1999), have claimed that censorship had nothing to do with the development of the genre in Spain. O'Donnell argues that there is no evidence to show that censorship inhibited the genre from developing, or did not allow for certain detective fiction writers to be published: "I do not believe, however, that the type of detective novel which did in fact emerge in Spain could have emerged earlier. Its criticism of institutional corruption is far too poignant to have been permitted by the censors. What I hope to suggest here is that

had potential Spanish detective authors wanted to, they could have published detective fiction” (idem 78). In his view, the genre’s lack of development in the country was the result of the Regime’s economic and cultural policies. One of the main reasons, according to O’Donnell, was the fact that many writers were biased against genre writing, considering it inferior and not worthy of serious consideration.

Vázquez Montalbán, as has already been argued, used hardboiled detective fiction as a medium to develop a social chronicle of Spanish society during the last years of the Franco dictatorship and the years of the *transición*, as well as to promote the revisiting of the country’s historical memory which had been cast into oblivion in the years after the dictatorship.

Within the context of Spain, Vázquez Montalbán was the first writer to develop this genre and to use its potential to both create a detective fiction saga and a chronicle of Spanish society. Montalbán’s novels, contrary to Pavon’s, reflect almost the opposite values of those of the Regime. As has already been mentioned, after the Franco Regime ended, a culture of forgetting was established in the country, together with generalized disenchantment. Montalbán’s work is, in a way, an attempt to fight the country’s lack of memory:

Vázquez Montalbán utiliza las convenciones narrativas de la intriga y del personaje investigador como mecanismos de conocimiento de la realidad, de exploración crítica de los cambios de la sociedad española, entendiendo la novela como una crónica de reflexión moral que busca en el pasado las causas que han llevado al presente. De ahí la constante presencia de la memoria, enfocada a través de la conciencia de

Carvalho, como instrumento focalizador de la visión de la realidad.

(Colmeiro. *Crónica del desencanto* 163)

Montalbán's own disenchantment is shown in the transition of Carvalho from a communist to a CIA agent, shifting from the far left to the cradle of capitalism, and then into a complete lack of political interest, and total disillusionment and disbelief in intellectual or political pleasures. Carvalho ends up praising physical pleasures above any sort of intellectual realm.

4.3 Censorship of Vázquez Montalbán

As was already explained, the Franco Regime exacted complete control over publications in the country. Even though the system in place, supervised by the censors, was supposed to zealously control and monitor publications in the country, we can see that the mechanism was not as professional as one might have expected. As previously mentioned, censors were paid based on the number of books they reviewed and, according to Ruiz Bautista, this seems to have been the reason why censors overlooked the content of books under review, or why they judged a book based on its cover: “As unlikely as it seems, Spanish censors actually did judge books by their covers. A regular strategy of publishers trying to evade censorship was resubmitting the same book, with a different title or cover” (Labanyi 213, in O’Donnell 78). Their need for income, combined with their lack of interest or understanding, in some cases, favored the randomness of the censorship of certain books in the country. The censors’ decisions, in other instances, were motivated by market driven forces, and some strategies were developed accordingly, such as allowing certain controversial works to be published as highly costly editions that would hinder the acquisition of these books by “easily influenced” readers: “Labanyi’s essay describes a double standard held by Francoist censors for much of the duration of the regime: popular or mass cultural products were controlled much more strictly than products targeted to elite audiences” (O’Donnell 73). On the other hand, popular or mass cultural products were potentially more dangerous because of the type of audience they reached, the considerable number of readers that were interested in them, and the fact that they could easily spread thoughts or ideas contrary to the Regime. These implications of mass culture genre writing are what make

relevant the study of detective fiction during the Franco Regime. In addition to the study of “high literature,” it is important to focus on mass culture as well because it was perceived as dangerous, as having a powerful potential to influence society, and therefore had to be repressed more than Marx or other complex writers who, though they represented the political opposition, would only reach a very reduced number of people.

As for Vázquez Montalbán, his work was targeted from the beginning of his career, when the censorship he was subjected to was more acute than during the rest of his literary trajectory. From 1963 to 1968, the majority of his works submitted for publication were banned: out of five books submitted³⁷, all but one were banned - *Informe sobre la información* was the one allowed for publication, and *Antología de la nova cançó catalana* which was required to undergo changes and suppressions in order to be published. The report for *Informe* (1963) is extremely positive and the censor even recognizes that it would be interesting and useful for people who are unfamiliar with journalism or information studies. The censor’s analysis shows that he was able to discern the meaning and relevance of the publication:

Es un detallado y documentado estudio de las modernas técnicas sobre la información en los diversos campos publicitarios, con singular detención en los aspectos económico y político, donde se dibujan los

³⁷ *Informe sobre la información* in 1963, *Una educación sentimental* first submitted in 1965 and denied (resubmitted once again that year by José Batlló and denied again, then in 1967 by Amelía Romero twice and Librería Universal, and denied in both cases), *Recordando a Dardé* in 1967, *Drugstore y coplas a la muerte de mi tía Daniela* in 1967 denied, and *Antología de la nova cançó catalana* in 1968 admitted with changes and omissions.

dos radicales bloques, occidental y comunista, de acusado antagonismo ideológico, pero coincidentes ambos en valorizar la importancia del impacto psicológico de la información pública sobre los individuos y sobre las masas. (Exp. 21/14514 AGA)

His final verdict is “autorizable e interesante” (idem). However, together with the reports on Manuel Vázquez Montalbán’s first novels, I found a typed letter from the delegate of the Information and Tourism Ministry that is written to D. Carlos Robles Piquer, the General Director of Information, on the 25th of February, 1964. In this letter, Manuel Ortiz Sánchez writes to Robles Piquer telling him that he found in a bookstore in Lleida (Catalonia) a copy of *Informe sobre la información* and is negatively surprised to learn that the book complies with a Marxist mentality and may result in a spread of these ideals. He claims that this book is communist propaganda directed at young university students who might be malleable and easily influenced. After providing some quotes from the novel to exemplify his argument, Ortiz Sánchez states: “Creo que el libro puede ser muy peligroso y lo pongo en su conocimiento por si se creyera oportuno proceder a la revisión de su autorización” (AGA). Together with this document, we find a handwritten letter that includes the name of the author, the title of the novel and the publishing house. After that, the following information: “Es un comunista que ha estado varios años en la cárcel. El libro es de orientación claramente marxista, para influir en los jóvenes. (Muy peligroso. Antecedentes dudosos de esta editorial)” (AGA). It is unclear whether they seized publication of the book or not, but it is certain that there was a bias against and dislike for Vázquez Montalbán due to his label as a communist and his years in prison. Even though the

first censor was able to appreciate the content of *Informe sobre la información*, even deeming it interesting and useful for students of journalism or people interested in the subject, once it reached the general public, the final decision was still up to certain sections of Spanish society, mainly those that supported the Regime, to judge and inform on authors. This example shows how limited and Manichean was the cultural and literary vision of the upper class, as well as of the Regime. It also demonstrates the generalized fear and abuse of power that existed during the Civil War and the establishment of the Franco Regime, when people could denounce other people for allegedly belonging to the Republican Party or for some other sort of “crime.” In a lot of cases, such reports or information against certain parties resulted in a lot of executions and unjustified killings. The case of the letter denouncing *Informe* resembles other instances of paranoid fear and abuse of power by the dominant circles that imposed their repressive fascist ideology preventing the possibility for society to enrich itself through culture and literature.

As far as the detective novels of Vázquez Montalbán, the saga started in 1972 with the Pepe Carvalho character in *Yo maté a Kennedy*, but it was not until 1974 that the detective was fully developed as part of the Carvalho hardboiled series. Previously in this chapter it has been mentioned that Vázquez Montalbán’s first writing phase, his surrealist writing, was complex and experimental. Given the comments in the reports, we can deduce that the censors either did not understand the writings of Montalbán at that point, or thought they were dangerous and could potentially harm the Regime. *Yo maté a Kennedy* was submitted for publication in 1971 by the

publishing house Barral and was not given permission for publication. In a report from the 14th of October, 1971, we can find the following information:

Este libro es pura esquizofrenia. No hay quien lo entienda. Son las memorias de un agente de la CIA que después de convivir con los Kennedy, termina matando en Dallas al Presidente. Por lo menos esto es lo que parece deducirse del inconcebible estilo de redacción y de la mezcla confusa de frases.

Se han subrayado barbaridades políticas, pornográficas o palabrotas en las págs. 7-10-15-17-20-21-29 [...]

Por otra parte, mezcla en la acción de la novela ridiculizándolos a personas reales como los Kennedy, Jacqueline, Allan Dulles, Edgar Hoover etc. De autorizarse la publicación podría dar lugar a reclamaciones diplomáticas.

Por ello se considera NO AUTORIZABLE. (Exp. 71-9554 AGA)

Five days later a different censor was assigned the same novel wrote, on the 19th of October of 1971, a second report, in which he offered a more permissive verdict than the censor before him:

Novela del genero [sic] de politica-ficción [sic] que simulan ser las memorias de uno de los agentes secretos encargados de la custodia personal del Presidente Kennedy y autor material del asesinato de Dallas. Como el protagonista es un exiliado español alistado en la CIA

se mezclan la zarabanda, muchas veces incomprensible a causa de su lenguaje “psicodelico” [sic], del argumento [sic] personajes políticos de los Estados Unidos con detalles de la más ortodoxa pornografía [sic] y juicios sobre la Guerra Civil española y su regimen de gobierno; ello hace aconsejables las tachaduras de las paginas [sic]: 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17 [...] con las cuales se considera que su publicación puede ser AUTORIZADA. (Idem)

In this case, the second censor still perceives the book in the same light as the first censor, but accepts it for publication as long as the indicated changes and omissions are carried out. It seems that the changes were not duly made because there is another submission, this time by editorial Planeta, at the beginning of 1972. In this report, dated on the 3rd of February of 1972, it is once again deemed unfit for publication:

Absurda novela, totalmente carente de ilación [sic] narrativa, cargada de expresiones burdas y soeces y de descripciones obscenas. En multitud de pasajes ridiculiza groseramente a personajes históricos tales como los presidentes Kennedy y Johnson y sus respectivas esposas. Hace alguna referencia poco afortunada al régimen español. Se considera NO AUTORIZABLE. (Exp. 71-12544 AGA)

In this case, we can infer from the censor’s language and the expressions he uses that he is a knowledgeable and well-read person. His claims are the same as the

two previous reports, focusing on the fact that the novel ridicules American public figures, together with some questionable remarks about the Spanish regime.

On the 14th of February of that same year, we find another report that basically repeats the same judgements as those expressed by the previous censors, and which again considers the novel as not suitable for authorization. However, on the 21st of March, we find a reconsideration report, which specifies to the publishing house Planeta the suppressions that need to be made for the book to be approved for publication. On the 31st of October, there is a new, extremely detailed report, from which it can be deduced that Planeta was trying to get permission for publication by arguing that *Yo maté a Kennedy* had not previously been submitted for publication:

Se hace constar que en el escrito de presentación citado se dice que la obra NO HA SIDO PRESENTADA PREVIAMENTE A CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA. Esto no es cierto puesto que con escrito n 12544/71 se participó a dicha editorial que NO ES ACONSEJABLE su publicación [...] Así pues, contra lo que afirma, la editorial PLANETA ha presentado TRES veces esta obra a consulta voluntaria. (Exp. 71-12544 AGA)

First, let's note that after 1966 a more "flexible" Press Law was in place, which explains the "voluntary submission" that the censor refers to. However, despite this term, it seemed to be a euphemistic denomination, since authors and publishing houses still had to submit manuscripts for review and, if they failed to do so, were still subject to seizure after publication –so, in reality, it was just the same as with the

previous Press Law. However, it is true that as time passed, the Regime's control and power slowly decreased. We can see, through this example, some of the strategies that publishing houses used to try to get around or deceive the censorship (like the case of Planeta, who claimed that the book had not been previously submitted, even though it had, when it did not receive authorization). After the quoted passage, we can find a detailed summary of the changes made or not made (denominations such as "suprimido parcialmente," "dulcificado el segundo párrafo," "párrafo, no suprimido," etc.), together with the page numbers. Finally, below the enumeration of all these passages, we find a conclusion written by the censor (or "reader"):

El lector que suscribe se cree obligado a informar que, en su opinión, aunque se hubiera procedido a la supresión total de los párrafos que se le habían señalado, no hubiera mejorado el concepto que le mereció en su primera lectura de que informó en 3 de febrero de 1972, en forma negativa. (Idem)

After that, we find a document dated two days later, on the 2nd of November of 1972 stating that, though there remained inappropriate material, seizure of the publication was not recommended, but it will be sent to the Fiscal Ministry. It seems that the novel must have been published even after all the reports and numerous negative critiques from different censors who deemed it inappropriate or unintelligible.

Records from the Archive (Archivo General de la Administración) show that after the publication of *Yo maté a Kennedy*, numerous publications by Vázquez Montalbán, up to eighteen, were submitted by different publishing houses. On my first visit to the Archive, I did not check these records, as I was focusing on the author's detective fiction publications, and not on his other writing.

The next record I checked was for *Tatuaje* (1974), which is sometimes considered the first de facto novel of Montalbán's detective saga due to the development of the Carvalho character, and for how it marks the beginning of a more realistic type of literature as opposed to his surrealist period. The report for *Tatuaje*, written on the 17th of December of 1974, is surprisingly brief: "Novela policiaca en que un investigador privado de Barcelona descubre la causa de un crimen. No hay politica, religion ni casi sexo. AUTORIZABLE" (Exp. 13233-74 AGA). This report is shocking given the author's previous relationship with the censorship boards, and the content of the novel *Tatuaje*. For O'Donnell (1999), this is one of the key reasons that allow him to argue that censorship did not actually slow down or prevent the development of the genre in the country. According to him, the fact that *Tatuaje* was not censored, given the content of the book and the author's political and ideological implications, proves that censorship was not so connected to the genre's lack of development as many have been argued it was. Though it is truly surprising that *Tatuaje* was not censored and, instead, could be published without any changes, I interpret this fact in a different way than O'Donnell, and I suggest that the lack of censorship is due to different reasons. I believe that the censor did not read the book properly, or maybe did not read it at all; at any rate, he failed to properly report on Vázquez Montalbán's novel *Tatuaje*. My claim is based on the study of the remaining

reports on the author written by the censors (previous and subsequent to *Tatuaje*), and Vázquez Montalbán's trajectory within the Franco dictatorship, in combination with the, at the time, "inappropriate" content of the novel. I haven't come across other studies of Montalbán in which the censorship reports on his work have been consulted. From my study of the reports, the lack of censorship in this case does not seem coherent or consistent with the author's trajectory and the censorship exerted by the Regime. In the report on *Tatuaje*, there is no reference to the plot whatsoever, or to anything in the book that might show that the censor did, in fact, read the novel. Furthermore, after analyzing the reports for Montalbán's early novels, it seems odd that *Tatuaje* did not receive any comment at all in its report. Not only that, but the censor claimed that there was "barely any reference to politics, religion or sex." As has been stated before, censors aimed to report on as many books as they could for monetary purposes. It could have been the case that this censor neglected to properly report the novel. Since the report states that there are barely any references to politics, religion or sex, I think it is worth providing some examples from the novel in order to assess the validity of this judgment, as we will do in the next section of this chapter.

Overall, we can observe that censors regarded the work of Vázquez Montalbán as dangerous and tried to subject it to their control. Even though O'Donnell affirms that censorship was not the reason why the detective fiction genre did not develop in Spain, we can see that it definitely affected writers like Vázquez Montalbán who either had to find ways to avoid it, or had to wait patiently for certain manuscripts to finally be published. It may be the case that censorship did not affect the genre as a whole, as O'Donnell states, but after reviewing these reports, we can see that writers like Vázquez Montalbán paid too high a price that affected the natural development

of their work. Montalbán and his writings represented the sub-culture (low and popular literature) and challenged the dominating norms legitimized by the status quo. Despite the impediments and absurd impositions that lasted several decades, the canon did not survive; it gradually petrified and was displaced by other elements from the periphery that began to acquire a central position.

4.3.1 The Case of the Censorship of *Tatuaje*

In *Tatuaje* we get a picture of a chaotic Barcelona, full of prostitutes and drug problems that abound in the city. The body of a man washes up on the shore of a beach in Barcelona and his face is completely unrecognizable. The only sign of his identity is a tattoo: “He nacido para revolucionar el infierno.” Carvalho is then hired to find the identity of the dead man, and his search takes him to various places around the city, inhabited by different social classes, and to Amsterdam. I deduce, from Mari Paz Balibrea’s article (1998), that *Tatuaje* is, in a way, an allegorical search for the Spanish identity, just like the rest of the author’s work: “*Tatuaje*, publicado con Franco aún en el poder, ensaya por primera vez esta fascinación con el enigma de la identidad, en una trama que solo indirectamente puede conectar la indagación sobre la personalidad del ahogado Julio Chesma con una rebeldía marcada por su clase social” (Balibrea 567-568). This search, in itself, generates certain implications about the Franco Regime and the Spanish Civil War. It is true, however, that this allegory might have been missed or ignored by the censors, or could have been too subtle to sway the censor into deciding to not approve its publication.

At the beginning of the novel, Carvalho tries to collect information from the lower classes of society based on the tattoo clue found on the body, and because he has firsthand informers in this sector of the population. Soon after the discovery of the body, the police tries to crack down on the reigning prostitution and drug issues in the city—which suggests that they are usually corrupted to some extent and are aware of these practices without necessarily doing anything against them.

Carvalho starts his investigation among the lower social classes of the city and asks his friend Bromuro for any details on the dead body. By looking at the conversation between the two, we get a summary of the situation in the city:

—Del muerto ese no sé nada seguro. Pero se ha armado un lío de órdago. Ayer hubo una redada y se han llevado a un montón de gente. Chicas y chulos. A cientos.

—Querrán sanear las costumbres.

—Se dice que van buscando enlaces de lo de la droga.

[...]

—Yo de ti buscaría entre las chicas. Alguna tuvo que acostarse alguna vez con el tipo y un tatuaje así no se olvida.

—¿Cuántas hay en Barcelona? ¿Cinco mil? ¿Veinte mil? ¿Cien mil?

(Tatuaje 36-37)

We see that both characters are completely familiar and comfortable with prostitution and drugs as elements present in their daily lives. In the novel, as we can see, there are plenty of references to prostitution and sex outside of marriage, beginning with the fact that Charo, Carvalho's girlfriend, is a prostitute herself. In the case of Carvalho, we see a huge contrast with García Pavón's portrayal of family which was, at the time, that of the widespread and prevailing Catholic ideals of the Regime. Monogamous heterosexual relationships were the norm and the standard to which relationships between men and women were held. Women in this equation were considered inferior and their role was to be mothers and housekeepers. Carvalho, on

the other hand, is involved with Charo in a peculiar relationship. At the same time, throughout the series with he has sex other women who are either his clients or people who appear during the investigation, all without any sort of moral or religious questioning:

—Ahora ya sabes que me interesa. Mañana a la una me limpiaré los zapatos en el Versalles.

—¿Vas a ir de putas?

Carvalho le concedió una sonrisa ambigua al tiempo de ofrecerle el otro pie. (*Tatuaje* 17-18)

It is true that, for men, cheating or visiting prostitutes may not have been seen in such a negative light as it was for a woman (for which it would have been completely unthinkable and scandalous) and, in some contexts, this behavior in men might have been socially allowed by looking the other way. However, it was still problematic for Catholic beliefs and moral code, and definitely was not something to be turned into an archetypical behavior exposed in a “respectful” novel under the gaze of the Regime. This is an example of inappropriate behavior that, a priori, would be censored and targeted by the Regime but that, as shown in the report, was not.

In *Tatuaje*, Carvalho also engages in sexual activity with a woman who used to be involved with the man who Carvalho is looking for. Teresa Marsé belongs to a more privileged class, to the Catalan bourgeoisie, and enjoys a different, more liberal position than most women at the time. In the novel, she is depicted as a “liberated” woman, who is divorced, has a job outside the house, and seems to run her own

business, and who also engages in casual sexual relationships: “Las nuestras no fueron unas relaciones continuas. Yo le planteé las cosas con mucha claridad. No me he liberado del yugo matrimonial para caer en otro. Al principio, él no lo entendía. Yo creo que una de sus muchas contradicciones eran los celos [...] Los hombres. Siempre tenéis facilidades que nosotras no podemos permitirnos” (*Tatuaje* 154-155). Her behavior and attitude could be understood as dangerous if taken as a model by other women and most likely would have been condemned at the time by many other women and men in the country. However, despite Teresa’s characterization as an independent and self-sufficient woman, she is still patronized by Carvalho, which is mainly depicted through the consumption of food. She is used to “just eating anything” or barely eating; such a behavior is interpreted by Carvalho as an offense and as completely ridiculous and, by the end of the novel, the detective is somewhat successful in educating her palate. Overall, Teresa’s liberal behavior and sexuality do seem to somewhat challenge the time period and the censorship standards of the Franco Regime.

Carvalho, apart from his sexual life, indulges in other “misconducts” such as occasional drug use: “Alguien le pasó un cigarillo de hashis. Carvalho dio la chupada litúrgica y lo pasó a su vecino más próximo” (*Tatuaje* 92). It also seems doubtful that the Franco Regime would endorse this behavior.

Two further elements of the detective’s personality, as mentioned earlier, are the gastronomical component and the fact that he burns books. Both of these elements appear throughout the series and have been interpreted as decadent and obscene, as well as somehow related to his sexual activities:

Book-burning is neither a convenience nor a necessity. It is decadence—the decadence of both having a fire during the summer months and using books to start them [...] Not by coincidence do we find Carvalho’s book-burning –and other instances of literary indulgence—almost always presented in the context of the carnal pleasures of food, drink and sex. (O’Donnell 154, 157)

The gastronomic element in Carvalho serves as an impasse in the investigation and allows the detective to clear his mind. The obscenity of Carvalho’s food consumption can also be seen as a reaction to the scarcity and hunger experienced in the country during the war and the subsequent years. Carvalho eats a lot and eats well, partly as a reaction to the hunger experienced in the past. This can also be attributed to the fact that Vázquez Montalbán, was himself a gastronome. The following excerpt is only one example of the process that Carvalho performs throughout the novels, in which he buys and selects ingredients, cooks them and provides the reader with a recipe, which he finally savors:

En la nevera tenía bacalao seco, latas de guisantes, pimientos, tomate, costilla salada de cerdo. Podía hacer un espléndido arroz con bacalao, plato que le gustaba mucho a Charo. Dentro de una fiambarrera encontró sobrasada. Una rodaja de este embutido comulga bien con los restantes ingredientes del arroz. Tampoco faltaban latas de cerveza en el sótano y por si acaso Carvalho había comprado en el aeropuerto de Amsterdam cuatro latas de cerveza holandesa. También sacó del maletín un salmón ahumado comprado a la mitad de precio de lo que costaría en España.

Preparó unos canapés como entrante. Picó cebolla, pepinillo y alcaparras. Hizo una pasta con el picadillo y mantequilla y la extendió sobre rodajas de pan negro. Cortó unas lonchas de salmón y las distribuyó sobre los canapés. (*Tatuaje* 143)

His other unique quirk, book-burning, has been widely analyzed and interpreted in multiple ways. It is obviously a skeptical act that reflects some sort of rebellion against canonical literature, as well as a reaction to the essentialist “truth” traditionally attributed to literature. In *Tatuaje*, Carvalho travels to Amsterdam and buys a porn magazine that then he proceeds to smuggle into the country. Once at home, he decides to start a fire and, after considering burning the magazine, he opts for burning *Don Quixote*:

Tenía necesidad urgente de ponerse cómodo y encender la chimenea. Abrió las ventanas para que la humedad de la noche de julio compensara el calor de la leña encendida. Nuevamente el problema del papel para encender el fuego. Llevaba en el bolsillo bien doblado un ejemplar de *Suck*, pero no quería sacrificarlo tan pronto, después de haber conseguido colarlo por la aduana. Prefería quemar un libro y esta vez fue sobre seguro a por una edición de *El Quijote*, de Editorial Sopena. Era una obra a la que guardaba una vieja manía, sintiendo un deleite previo por el simple hecho de ir a sacrificarla, y el único reparo, fácilmente superable, eran las ilustraciones que acompañaban a las aventuras de aquel imbécil. (*Tatuaje* 142)

This instance, for obvious reasons, could have been considered inappropriate by the censors because of its implications in terms of Carvalho's esteem for Spanish literature and history. Keeping in mind the nationalistic pride that was so characteristic of the Regime and its public servants, and the fact that *Don Quixote* is one of the most famous canonical books ever written by a Spaniard, the censor's decision and judgment of *Tatuaje* seems even more incongruous. The mere idea of burning *Don Quixote* is offensive enough as is, but it becomes even more so when he decides to burn it over a pornographic magazine.

Later in the novel, Carvalho travels to Amsterdam as part of his search for the cadaver's identity. This change of location is not aleatory. Montalbán consciously makes Carvalho travel to Holland so he can describe the police and the detective's interactions with them, as opposed to talking about the Spanish police. The police there are depicted as cold and calculating, looking out only for their own interest. They are concerned with Carvalho's presence in the country at first, but end up offering him a job to spy on his fellow Spaniards in Amsterdam:

¿Sabe usted cuántos trabajadores españoles hay en Holanda? Más de veinte mil [...] Usted podría exigir un departamento, oficiosamente desde luego, dedicado a una serena vigilancia de sus compatriotas, una vigilancia protectora. No siempre encajan bien el salto desde un país tan proteccionista como es el de ustedes a un país permisivo. Ésta es una sociedad permisiva, señor Carvalho, como ahora la llaman los sociólogos. (*Tatuaje* 136)

This proposition is interesting for several reasons: first, it shows the number of Spaniards who had left the country and were working elsewhere. This fact might also be politically and socially significant, though the reason why they are working abroad is not openly expressed. Secondly, Spain is described by one of the policemen as a “protectionist country” as opposed to a more permissive country, such as Holland. He also says that, sometimes, Spanish people have trouble adjusting to this cultural and social difference. And finally, it also reflects censorship to some extent, as an analogy for the situation in Spain, commenting on the fact that Spaniards were controlling and monitoring fellow inhabitants and justifying this control.

As can be seen, there are enough elements in *Tatuaje* to challenge the bland and mistaken verdict of the censor who claimed that there are barely “any political, religious, or sexual” remarks (Exp. 13233-74 AGA). I believe that *Tatuaje* was not duly reviewed and that is the only reason why it was allowed for publication without any changes or comments whatsoever. This shows, once again, the randomness and the lack of systematization by the censorial committees when performing their duty – at total odds with the way one would think a dictatorial regime should work.

It is true that *Tatuaje* was not censored, despite the elements present in the novel that are problematic given the Regime’s standards. But, by providing an analysis of the rest of the trajectory of the censorship of Montalbán’s work, we conclude that *Tatuaje* is the exception given the attitude of the censors towards the rest of his works. Montalbán represented what Even-Zohar calls the sub-culture, the “non-canonized” part of literature, the “norms and texts which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate” (15). This slip by the Regime could show its imminent decay,

the fact that its rigid control was no longer possible and things were changing. The canon established by the Regime was stagnating after so many years of repression and censorship and, despite the efforts made to suppress this kind of sub-culture, it was appearing: “tales traducciones supusieron la progresiva "normalización" temática en nuestro país de temas periféricos como eran el divorcio, la homosexualidad o el aborto, temas que eran tratados en esas novelas con total naturalidad y que estaban presentes en ellas de manera cada vez más explícita” (Castro 341). The subculture, together with new forms of writing and translations, were gaining force and starting to become established as new repertoires and new canonized forms.

Tatuaje became a milestone in the national development of detective fiction, being published at a crucial time and having a revolutionary effect; its appearance in the Spanish literary system has gone down in history and has influenced generations of writers and readers who take it as an unavoidable referent. As Gallego Roca points out (1994) “el tipo de canonización que tiene mayor repercusión en la evolución del sistema no es la de un texto, que puede agotarse en sí mismo, sino la de un modelo” (Gallego Roca 153-154). The model of detective fiction, and of hardboiled detective fiction in particular, was acquired by the Spanish polysystem through translation. Since then, there has been a boom of detective fiction writing in Spain: the foreign model has now been adopted into our own repertoire.

Montalbán’s legacy is still alive in Spain. His books are to be progressively reedited by Booket in 2017 (proof that his work is still canonical and widely read in our country and abroad³⁸). Despite Montalbán’s unfortunate passing away in 2003,

³⁸ Vázquez Montalbán has been widely translated into other languages, being one of the most translated Spanish writers throughout history. See: <http://www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20170112/413284123502/vuelve-carvalho.html>

his heirs, together with the publishing house Planeta and writer Carlos Zanón (Barcelona, 1966), have signed an agreement for Zanón to continue with the Carvalho saga in the near future.

Chapter Five

Jim Thompson: Prophet in His Own Land

In this Chapter, we will continue analyzing the translations of an American hardboiled detective fiction writer within the Spanish literary polysystem. This will allow for a broader perspective on and inquiry into the subject studied in this dissertation, providing an assessment of the publications of detective fiction novels in the Spanish polysystem in recent years. In Chapter Three, writer James M. Cain is framed within American detective fiction writing: Cain is recognized as a major hardboiled detective writer, together with Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett, despite his work sometimes being considered slightly less representative. In Chapter Five, the work of Jim Thompson will likewise be explored within this context. His trajectory is significant because of the posthumous recognition of his work and the rawness of his style. Though Thompson is even more hardboiled than Chandler, Hammett, or James M. Cain, he is probably less well-known than his counterparts. Thompson could be deemed a cult author who is perhaps not as mainstream as the previously mentioned writers, though this trend may be changing. It is relevant, therefore, for this dissertation to add this perspective on the genre of detective fiction, as well as to assess its place within the Spanish literary polysystem. Given that his

work was published a few years after Cain in our country -and even though it was still subject to censorship for some years- it also allows us to further understand Polysystem Theories and to provide a practical case study in the Spanish context. Authors like Cain, Chandler, or Hammett, among others, were the first writers to reach our country as precursors of hardboiled detective fiction; we have seen they were all influential for Spanish writers and for the literary system of the country. However, Thompson's impact has been more recent, and it is interesting to see how translations of American writers are still very relevant to the literary system, that the formula has not yet stagnated and is, in fact, at the center of the polysystem. The analysis of Thompson will allow for a matter-of-fact implementation of Polysystem Theories as outlined in Chapter One, and will provide the last example in our vision of the evolution of the impact of translations in the Spanish polysystem and in the development of detective fiction in the country.

5.1 Who was Jim Thompson?

The name James Myers Thompson is probably not as widely recognized as that of other writers who became famous within the detective fiction genre. Jim Thompson (1906-1977) is yet another example of a common widespread cultural phenomenon: writers who are not successful throughout their lives, yet acquire recognition once they are long gone. Thompson wrote more than thirty novels in the late 40s and the 50s, but his work became popular posthumously in the late 80s when they were re-edited by the publishing house Black Lizard. It is significant that, by the time of his death in 1977, none of his works were in print. He was born in Oklahoma where his father became sheriff -a heroic yet questionable figure, for he was accused of embezzlement- and most of his writing was autobiographical to some extent. Jim Thompson wrote numerous short articles and press contributions starting at the young age of fourteen. However, he did not write his first detective novel until the age of 43, titled *Nothing More Than Murder*, in 1949³⁹; after that he published 12 novels in a two-year period. His career was tainted by his alcoholism, which perhaps influenced his writing of his novels in first person, from the point of view of disturbed criminals with psychopathic behavior. His personal alienation permeates his body of work as well, which is much darker and nihilist than that of other writers of the genre who provide at the end of their stories a return to order or some sort of redemption for their characters. With Jim Thompson, the reader is left with nothing, with a sense of uneasiness, and even a void. In writing, he found a way of taking revenge for the

³⁹ According to Robert Polito, Thompson wrote two novels before *Nothing More Than Murder* (1949) that did not deal with criminal or detective topics: "His first novel, *Now and on Earth* (1942), was a thinly veiled proletarian memoir in the style of the 1930s. A second novel, *Heed the Thunder* (1946), recast incidents from his Nebraska childhood along the lines of the regionalist realism of Willa Cather" (Polito 5).

things he could not control in life, with one of the recurring topics in his detective novels being acting like someone you are not, playing a role in society while being someone else deep inside –as is the case with his most famous novels *The Killer Inside Me* (1952), *A Hell of a Woman* (1954) or *Pop. 1280* (1964).

Thompson spent his childhood between Oklahoma, Nebraska and Texas; later in his life he would move to California where he died at the age of 70. Thompson's family moved often when he was a child because of his father's unsuccessful entrepreneurial spirit –his father, Big Jim, after being sheriff, went into the oil business and worked in several different jobs. Despite these nomadic years, the location and setting of his stories are usually in the South, depicting a mixture of rejection and admiration for its landscapes and its people.

Thompson, despite being well-read and intelligent, never had much academic inclination, and worked at the Hotel Texas during prohibition. He worked as a bellboy and provided all sorts of illegal entertainment for his guests –liquor, marijuana, drugs, gambling, amongst others. From this period in his life he acquired genuine experience with the types of characters who develop these dubious activities: how they talk and think, how they act and move. He was himself involved in some of these activities, which is reflected in his literary work in both his style and in some of the characters who appear in several of his novels like *Bad Boy* (1953), *Roughneck* (1954), *The Getaway* (1958) and *The Grifters* (1963). We find this excerpt from *La huida* in Polito's *Arte salvaje*:

I have been on a first-name basis with a number of criminals. Following his release from prison, I was the room-mate one summer of the

notorious bank-robber “Airplane Red” Brown, and I served as best man at his wedding. You’ll realize that I’m not bragging about this; as the son of a well-known peace officer I am no admirer of criminals. But this background does allow me to write with authority. (Polito 106)

Thompson, as Robert Polito argues (228-229), started to write detective fiction from depicting real criminal cases as opposed to learning the genre’s conventions. He would develop stories from real cases that he found in newspapers. The sordidness of his style, therefore, is also due to the plausibility of his accounts.

After two years working at the Hotel Texas he suffered a nervous breakdown caused by exhaustion and excess of alcohol and cigarettes. After recovering, he also went into the oil business, working several years in that industry. Thompson then restarted his high school studies at Burwell, even though he was older than his counterparts. He never finished high school, but pretended he had. This was discovered by a university clerk years later when he attended Nebraska University (Polito 141). He ended up moving back to Oklahoma where he initiated his career as a writer and developed his political beliefs which were closely tied to the Communist Party. In 1940, he drove to California and moved there with his family. However, he left all the people who could be of help behind and fell into a void of frustration and alienation. Thompson embraced failure, which is another of the leitmotifs of his works:

Thompson’s crime novels of the 1950s and 1960s, with their shadowy Depression settings and anachronistic antiheroes (grifters, roughnecks,

traveling salesmen), reanimate this 1930s marginal man, but without the typical 1930s suggestion that his terrible circumstances are remediable. Stripped of any mitigating social or economic context, the evils Thompson went to limn, the ooze and slime that Lou Ford calls “*the sickness*”, seems a basic to the creation of the world as hydrogen. (Idem 270)

After his time in California, Thompson moved to New York City in 1941. This led to the publication of his first novel *Now and on Earth* (1942), translated as *Aquí y ahora* in Spanish. With this novel, “Thompson’s new goal of a more personal and subversive fiction” (Idem 284) was achieved. The novel offers an implicit analysis of a somewhat autobiographical American family and, in a way, introduces the hardboiled themes and style of his posterior work. Throughout these years Thompson continued to drink and struggle, both economically and mentally. He decided to move back to San Diego, driven by the thought that his first publication would open doors for him –this back and forth between New York and San Diego would persist over the next years. Despite a few positive reviews of *Now and on Earth*, Thompson did not attain much success and had to accept another regular job to survive. He worked for various newspapers until 1949, when he was fired from the *Los Angeles Mirror* and he published his first detective fiction novel after having worked on it for seventeen years and making numerous changes and revisions including the title of the novel. *Nothing More Than Murder* (*Solo un asesinato*) bears many similarities to Cain’s works, mainly to *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Double Indemnity*:

On the surface *Nothing More Than Murder* is a classic doomed love triangle/insurance scam shocker from the tradition of James M. Cain: in the Midwestern town of Stoneville (population 7,500) a mismatched husband and wife and their hired hand play out a game of fatal attraction, the perfect murder, and a double indemnity policy. But Thompson transposed more than he borrowed from *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Double Indemnity*, turning Cain inside out with a run of dazzling sexual inversions. [...] As the insurance scam unravels, *Nothing More Than Murder* juggles a plot as intricate and suspenseful as any that might be found in an Agatha Christie mystery. But “plot” here -as for all Thompson’s subsequent first-person-narrator crime novels- remains inseparable from character and voice. The scheme is doomed from the start not because of any inherent flaw, but because of Joe’s self-fulfilling bad attitude. Unable to imagine that he might succeed, he fails. (Idem 315, 317)

Following the success of his novel, he taught creative writing at the University of Southern California substituting for another professor and finished his second crime novel, *Recoil (Libertad condicional)*. Thompson, however, did not find a publisher for this novel and had to wait until 1953 for its publication. It follows the same line of argument as *Nothing More than Murder*.

It is not until the early fifties that Jim Thompson crystalizes his legacy as a writer:

Discharging an entire misspent lifetime's industry and artistry into a decisive nineteen months, he stacked up twelve new books between September 1952 and March 1954, nearly all of them for Lion Books [...] and comprises his most ambitious and devastating work: *The Killer Inside Me*; *Savage Night*; *The Criminal*; *A Hell of a Woman*; *The Nothing Man*; *After Dark, My Sweet*; and *The Kill-Off*. His publishers would not catch up with his production until 1957. (Idem 337-338)

The Killer Inside Me (1952) is considered one of Thompson's most recognized novels. Thompson wrote four novels in the first person along the lines of *The Killer Inside Me* that depicted psychopathic criminals (*Savage Night*, *A Hell of a Woman*, *After Dark, My Sweet*, and *The Nothing Man*), granting him the reputation of a pulp and noir writer and becoming his signature as a writer. Despite Thompson's success during these years at Lion Books, the publisher of his books until then, the writer faced disaster once again when the publishing company disappeared.

In 1955 Stanley Kubrick asked Jim Thompson to adapt the novel *Clean Break* by Lionel White (translated into Spanish as *Atraco perfecto* in 1991 by Plaza y Janés) into a script (Polito 460). Kubrick had read Thompson's books and was very keen on his style and the stories he depicted. They worked together intensively and ended up with the movie *The Killing* (1956), *Atraco perfecto* in Spanish. Despite this collaboration, Thompson alleged that Kubrick did not grant him full recognition for his work on the script; this resulted in a controversy on both sides but, in the end, Thompson agreed to further collaborate with the director on other movies as long as

his work was recognized in the credits. Thompson ended up writing three scripts and a short novel for Kubrick's company.

Their next project together was the acclaimed movie *Paths of Glory* (1957), translated as *Senderos de gloria* in Spain. The screenplay for this movie was again disputed: Thompson worked on different versions with Kubrick based on a book by Humphrey Cobb, though Calder Willingham seems to have reworked Thompson's version of the script.

Over the following years, he again struggled to be published and finally was successful with *Wild Town* (1957) and *The Getaway* (1958). Around this time, Thompson's health started to cause him trouble: Thompson suffered a heart attack and had digestive problems due to his prolonged consumption of alcohol and tobacco.

In 1963, he wrote *The Grifters*, which was also adapted into a movie in the 90s by Stephen Frears, gaining him greater recognition. But it was not until 1964, with *Pop. 1280*, that Thompson managed to write a novel like the ones he had written before.

After *Pop. 1280*, Thompson kept writing novels⁴⁰ and continued to struggle to publish them or receive small writing jobs. Some of his novels were adapted into movies (*The Getaway* by Steve McQueen) and he was able to survive with the stipends from both his works and their adaptations. He died in 1977 at the age of 70, after refusing to eat and driving himself to starvation combined with his long-term abuse of alcohol.

⁴⁰ *Texas* (1965), *South of Heaven* (1967), *King Blood* (1973), and *The Rip-off* (1989) are the most significant novels from his last years.

5.2 Thompson's Reception and Censorship in Spain

It is surprising that most of Jim Thompson's books have been translated into Spanish and are available nowadays given his lack of success in his own country and the lack of popularity of his works in the first years they reached Spain. However, his work was promoted by editor Anik Lapointe when she was at RBA, who saw the potential of his stories and the quality of his writing. The popular publishing house RBA currently has edited twelve books by Thompson published under their Serie Negra collection. This fact corroborates the trend shown by Polysystem Theories of translation being at the center of a system and bringing forward innovation and change. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the detective fiction genre is now somewhere at the center of the Spanish polysystem, where it shares its position and interacts with other genres and publications. Its central position has become established in recent years and proof of this is that authors like Thompson are published and retranslated because of the high demand for this type of literature. Many publishing houses have a noir section in which authors like Thompson and Cain hold a respectable position. At RBA, for example, we see that Harlan Coben, Philip Kerr, Dennis Lehane, and Ian Rankin occupy a central position in the publishing house together with classic authors in the genre. There seems to be an effort to publish women detective fiction writers as well, such as Patricia Cornwell, Tana French, Berna González Harbour, Karin Slaughter, or Viveca Sten. In recent years, there has been a huge influx of Scandinavian or Nordic crime fiction that has materialized in a flood of translations from different authors like Henning Mankell, Kurt Wallander,

Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö, Stieg Larsson, Jo Nesbo, and Linn Ullmann, as well as in a series of movies,⁴¹ and TV serials like *The Killing*, or *The Bridge*.

Looking at the data provided by the UNESCO Index Translationum, we can also reach some conclusions about Thompson's international reception. It seems that there was a boom in the translation of this genre -and Thompson in particular- in the 80s in Spain, France and Germany. As we have seen, this period was crucial to the development of the noir genre both in France and Spain –mainly dependent on translations from the English- and it represented the beginning of a literary trend that is still current today. During the 90s, it seems that some Northern European countries such as Finland, Norway, and the Netherlands, together with Italy and Switzerland, translated novels by Jim Thompson as well.

Lastly, during the 2000s, there was a new boom that crystallized with the retranslation of some of Thompson's works (and many other authors of the genre), or their republication in countries such as Spain or France. Another interesting element that was present during this period was the translation of works from this genre in countries such as Japan, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, or Serbia and Montenegro. This shows a maintained interest in the author throughout the years and even a recent boom in countries such as Japan, all through the impact of translation.

The first novel by Jim Thompson that was published in Spain was *La huída* (*The Getaway*) in 1974 by Grijalbo publishing house. There was a submission to the

⁴¹ For more information on this topic check “El cine negro nórdico” by Miriam López Santos.

copyright board in 1973, and then another one by Círculo de Lectores in 1975. The fact that this novel was the first one to be published in Spain seems interesting since it is not one of Thompson's most famous novels and, according to the AGA records, there were no other previous submissions for publications of this author in the country. As it happened with Cain, it took almost 20 years after publication in the United States for these authors' novels to reach our country. The report from the copyright board from October 15th of 1973 for *La huida* acknowledges the violence found in this type of literature but claims that is not intolerable in this case:

La huida constante de la pareja protagonista acosada por sus crímenes, robos y asesinatos, através [sic] de los Estados Unidos, partiendo del atraco a un banco, recuerda en sus líneas argumentales a la famosa película "Bonnie and Clyde". Aquí la sanción de los protagonistas no es, al fin la muerte, sino las angustias y penalidades que sufren para escapar de las fuerzas del orden y refugiarse en el vecino Méjico. Su final argumental bastante ambiguo, pudiera interpretarse como si la pareja, que son matrimonio, se decidiese finalmente a emprender un nuevo género de vida.

En el conjunto predomina la violencia manifiesta en la cantidad de asesinatos, violencia tan frecuente hoy en día en en [sic] esta clase de relatos, en novelas o en cine, friamente [sic] despreciativos de la vida humana. En este caso apenas en algunas circunstancias, la violencia se agrava con la crueldad. En lo erótico, no hay morbosidad, ni obscenidad y solamente he señalado una frase, aunque tampoco la considero de

gravedad intolerable. Pág 21. Puede autorizarse su publicación. (Exp. 10999-73 AGA)

In the Archive a copy of the novel *La huida* was also found. In the cover of this document we can find the title *La fuga* crossed out and on top of it is written *La huida*. In this copy we also find two passages that were marked by the censors as potentially problematic but that, upon reading them, seem quite inoffensive. The passages read as following: “Doc le acarició la suave redondez de su cadera y ella le retuvo la mano durante unos segundos, agarrándola casi con fiereza” (Idem); “Su desgracia, y quizá la de la nación, era que habían nacido en una civilización que insistía en la conformidad y que no perdonaba ninguna ruptura de sus leyes, sin tener en cuenta las necesidades y motivos de cada uno” (Idem).

There is another report for the same book written a few days later, on October 23rd1973, by a different censor:

Doc Mc Coy y Carol, son un matrimonio; él un consumado ladrón y estuto [sic] criminal actúa en los Estados Unidos siendo ayudado por la eficaz colaboración de la esposa; ambos demuestran en sus actos una impresionante sangre fría que contribuye al éxito en sus acciones delictuales. Lógicamente, tratan de huir y consiguen su objetivo de escapar de la acción de la justicia a través de diversas ciudades norteamericanas. La novela, como indica el título, narra la constante huída de la pareja, sin que a través de su lectura se haya apreciado causa alguna que aconseje su acotación. Publicable. (Idem)

The reason for this choice of *La huida* as the first importation of Jim Thompson into our country seems to be due to the influence of the homonymous movie. The film adaptation of *The Getaway* was released in the US in 1972 and was also shown in our country. This choice of both the novel and the movie were also in tune with the popular taste and interests of the time, as we can also infer from the censor's comment referring to *Bonnie and Clyde*. *The Getaway* tells the story of a criminal who robs a bank after getting out of prison, together with his wife and a psychopathic character. They flee the scene and begin a treacherous escape from Texas to California, aiming to cross the border to Mexico. These themes of bank robbery and escape were common and popular at the time in Spain as an escapist form of entertainment that was reflected in popular culture (adventure and romance novels, comedies and mystery movies).

In 1975, *El asesino dentro de mí* (*The Killer Inside Me*), translated by Galvarino Plaza, was submitted for censorship by José Batlló. We find a report from the 24th of February of 1975:

Novela policiaca perteneciente a la colección Circulo [sic] negro donde su autor describe algunas escenas con demasiado realismo. Narra la vida en una localidad al Oeste de Texas con una serie de personajes que emplean una expresión a veces violenta, a veces erótica. Escrita en primera persona es una novela más de la literatura negra. Autorizable.
(Exp. 1997-75 AGA)

This novel and this same translation have subsequently been published by different houses⁴² up until today. It seems surprising that today's translation of this novel is the same one that was published in 1975 and has not been updated. We see this is also the case with James M. Cain, whose work continues to be published in Spanish as poorly translated texts –as described in the previous chapter. It seems that this is the case with most authors that were translated during Franco's dictatorship - their work has not been retranslated since then. Given that other novels by the same author and the same publishing house have been retranslated and are being published nowadays, perhaps we can hypothesize that the reason why some novels are not retranslated is due to either a legal issue that involves a rights dispute, or to the fact that the publishing house considers the translation is successful as it is. The same thing is true for Thompson's four most successful and recognized novels (*Pop. 1280*, *The Grifters*, *The Getaway* and *The Killer Inside Me*) which are published by RBA as well, but use the translation published in our country in the 70s or 80s. On the other hand, the rest of Thompson's books that are available nowadays through this publishing house have been retranslated and a few of them by the same translator, Antonio Padilla.

In 1976, publisher José Batlló submitted a request for *Ciudad violenta* (*Wild Town*) to be published. The report for this submission reads as following:

Novela policiaca, con todos los componentes tipicos [sic] de su estilo, se abusa de las situaciones violentas al tiempo que se exageran las brutalidades de unos personajes solo movidos por instintos y que a la

⁴² In 1982 and 1983 it was published by Bruguera; in 1988 by Júcar; and in 2008 and 2014 by RBA.

postre resultan ser de una bondad e inteligencia asombrosas. Para aderezar las situaciones hay abundantes escenas de matiz erótico que se queda en el limite [sic] de lo permisible sin rebasarlo. (Exp. 3627-76 AGA)

This novel was again published in 1988 by Ediciones B, but has not been republished in recent years. We observe from the reports how it seems that, at the time, censors were not as strict as they had been in the past and, despite considering Thompson's novels violent and somewhat erotic, they were approved for publication.

In 1980, Bruguera submitted *La sangre de los King (King Blood)* to the censorship board. This is one of the novels that has been recently retranslated by RBA. The 1980 translation was done by Enrique Hegewicz, but the novel was retranslated by Damià Alou in 2014.

Another of Thompson's most recognized novels, *1280 almas (Pop. 1280)*, translated by Antonio Prometeo Moya in 1981, was submitted by Bruguera to the censorial committees. This translation has been republished by different houses⁴³ up until today without any changes or modifications. This is the last of Thompson's novels registered in the AGA archive.

After 1981, we see a flurry of activity in the republication of these titles together with new ones in our country: *The Killer Inside Me* is both republished and translated into Catalan; *Pop. 1280* is republished and translated into Basque and Catalan.

⁴³ 1981 and 1984 by Bruguera, 1986 by Plaza y Janés, 1986 translated into Basque by Xavier Olarra, 1988 into Catalan by translators Carme Geronès and Carles Urritz by Edicions 62, 2003 by Diagonal, 2004 by El País, 2005 and 2007 by Punto lectura and 2010, 2014 by RBA.

In 1987, *A Hell of a Woman* is translated as *Una mujer endemoniada* by Martín Lendínez. This is one of Thompson's novels that was retranslated in 2012 by Antonio Padilla for RBA. This year and the next were very fructiferous for Thompson's translations and many of the author's novels were published by various publishing houses⁴⁴. From then on, there has been a constant reedition of Thompson's works by different publishing houses; nowadays, quite a large representation of his work is published by RBA. The publishing house announced on their Facebook page on January 3rd, 2017 that a new reedition of *1280 almas* will be published in 2017 in a new format (though it is not clear whether it is a new translation or not).

⁴⁴ A few of the novels published were: *Al sur del paraíso* (1987), *Sólo un asesinato* (1987), *Los alcohólicos* (1987), *El criminal* (1987), *Libertad condicional* (1988), *Asesino burlón* (1988), *Un cuchillo en la mirada* (1988).

5.3 Movie Adaptations of Jim Thompson's Novels

There have been a few movie adaptations of Thompson's novels. Just as his novels were appreciated in France, some of these movie adaptations were also made in this country⁴⁵.

In 1972, *The Getaway* was turned into a movie based on a script by Walter Hill and directed by Sam Peckinpah, starring Steve McQueen and Ali MacGraw as the main characters. This movie was a huge hit for Peckinpah's and McQueen's careers:

Seen now, *The Getaway* is more interesting as one of the early prototypes of the modern US action film, following from the headwaters [...] screenwriter Hill discards most of the novel's interesting but difficult aspects [...] With what remains, he fashions a concept-film script exactly as spare as that of *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) – situation: a bank job gone wrong; imperative: the central couple need to escape the pursuing assassins; complicating problem: Doc's reactions to Carol's necessary infidelity. (Rick Thompson⁴⁶)

It seems that this movie was censored when it first reached Spain, on the 26th of February of 1973 but, a few months later, on the 28th of June, an amendment document was issued rectifying the Commission's decisions and authorizing the showing of the movie with the application of the necessary changes: “autorizar su

⁴⁵ Further information on the adaptations/translations of Thompson's novels into film can be found in the following article: “Manipulación, traición e infidelidad: *Traduciendo* las novelas de Jim Thompson al cine.” (Palomo)

⁴⁶ http://sensesofcinema.com/2004/cteq/the_getaway/

doblaje, con determinadas adaptaciones en los rollos 4º, 5º, 7º, 9º, 10º, 11º y 13º.”
(Exp. 69.011 AGA).

In 1994 there was a remake of this movie with the same script by Walter Hill, directed by Roger Donaldson, and starring Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger. This movie, however, was not very successful and received bad reviews from critics.

In 1976, Burt Kennedy adapted *The Killer Inside Me* for the big screen. The setting changes in this movie from Texas to Montana. It seems that this version did not achieve much success. Since then, there have been several attempts to turn it into another movie, but those attempts have never come to fruition. Finally, in 2010, there was a remake of *The Killer Inside Me* made by Michael Winterbottom starring Casey Affleck, Jessica Alba and Kate Hudson. The film, however, was deemed too violent, particularly for portraying violence against women.

In 1979, French director Alain Corneau turned *A Hell of a Woman* into a movie and changed the name to *Série noire*. The highlight of this movie is that the script was co-written by the movie director and by French experimental writer Georges Perec. This partnership was probably too literary and in the United States was not understood within this context⁴⁷. It is surprising that a writer such as Perec took on such a project but, at the same time, Thompson's work has been praised by Kubrick, Tarantino, and Stephen King. This means there is something entertaining and something artistic in

⁴⁷ For further reference check The New York Times' review from 1982:
<http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9A06E6DA103BF936A15755C0A964948260>

Thompson's work that appeals to both readers and artists. According to Peter Stanfield (2011):

Perec and Corneau amplified Thompson's use of adage and aphorism in the dialogue they gave his characters, so as to suggest the hollowness of their lives. According to Perec's biographer, the screenwriters used a "language almost entirely constructed from clichés, quotations, and set phrases, and every phrase uttered is repeated elsewhere in the film."
(Stanfield 165)

We see that, despite adapting the Thompson novel into a movie, Perec maintained his signature of exploration through language, as if it were a game, breaking the prejudice between highbrow and lowbrow literature.

In 1981, another French adaptation, *Coup de Torchon*, was made of *Pop. 1280*, directed by Bernard Tavernier. The Criterion Collection reissued this movie in 2001:

Tavernier's *Coup de torchon* (*Clean Slate*) deftly transplants the story of an inept police chief turned heartless killer and his scrappy mistress from the American South to French West Africa. Featuring pitch-perfect performances by Philippe Noiret and Isabelle Huppert, this striking neonoir straddles the line between violence and lyricism with dark humor and visual elegance⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ <https://www.criterion.com/films/647-coup-de-torchon>

All critics agree that Tavernier made an interesting choice in changing the location and commenting on French colonialism and racism.

During the 90s, there was a revival in the United States of Thompson's work that was also reflected in the production of three movies based on his novels: *The Grifters*, *The Kill-Off* and *After Dark, My Sweet*.

In 1990, an American adaptation of *The Grifters* was directed by Stephen Frears and produced by Martin Scorsese, starring Anjelica Huston, Annette Bening and John Cusack. It tells the story of an archetypical triangle: the conman, the girl who is in love with him, and the third party trying to separate them. This movie was quite successful and was nominated for several Oscar Awards.

In that same year, a movie of *The Kill-Off* was also released, written and directed by Maggie Greenwald: "Greenwald's sense of macabre humor is even more apparent in *The Kill Off* (1989). [It] concerns a bedridden, evil gossip, played by Loretta Gross. Greenwald's stylization of an unrelentingly grim mid-American town is particularly nihilistic but somehow retains a sense of sordid humor" (Foster 157).

Lastly, *After Dark, My Sweet* (1990) was directed by James Foley and received many positive reviews from the critics. The plot centers on a boxer who, after killing his opponent in the ring, is sent to mental institutions until he escapes. The femme fatale figure then appears and manipulates the boxer into killing the son of a rich man.

Thompson's work has a lot of potential to be rendered into the screen. However, movie directors and actors have struggled to do so, despite their obvious interest in adapting his novels to the big screen. The crudeness of his style, the

violence, and his depiction of women seem the biggest challenges in this regard, as well as the fact that his characters speak in the first person and tend to be psychopathic killers who would not fit into Hollywood's ideology and their model of cinema. We encounter once again the difference between high and low literature and how this distinction might be perceived in different countries. Mr. Tavernier, one of the French directors who turned a Thompson novel into a movie, "suggested recently that one reason Europeans make better Thompson movies is that they regard him as a serious, literary author, not just a pulp writer [...] There's a metaphysical element in Thompson, and Americans always leave that out. They take out everything that makes the books great: the dialogue, the great humor. I see him more as a writer like Alfred Jarry, Henry Miller, Celine."⁴⁹ (McGrath). Jim Thompson was never really taken serious in his own country, especially when he was alive and writing; but so it happens that he was a prophet in his own land, and now his works are praised internationally.

The number of film adaptations once again shows the general interest there was in this author, mainly during the end of the 70s and the 90s, but with a new revival in 2010. It is also relevant that his work has been adapted into cinema in Europe, but not so much in the United States, showing once again the impact of translations of his work and possibly the lack of prejudices of other countries –compared to some puritan parts of the American population. Perhaps at some point other adaptations will be made in the future given the international interest in the author and the potential that can be found in his writing and his characters.

⁴⁹ <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/06/movies/06killer.html>

5.4 The Case of Detective Fiction and Polysystem Theories: An Approximation to the Translations of Jim Thompson.

5.4.1 Case Study I: Translation of Jim Thompson's *The Killer Inside Me*

This novel, published in 1952, is perhaps the most famous and representative of Jim Thompson's work. *The Killer Inside Me* is a first-person account narrated by Lou Ford, the local deputy sheriff of a small Texas town. The stylistic device of first-person narration leads us, as readers, to trust Lou Ford's perspective since there is no other possible understanding of the situation; all the information is mediated by Lou's filter. The sheriff, however, lives a double life: one of appearances, in which he does his job and maintains normality in his unremarkable life while, at the same time, he is a violent psychopath who ends up committing several murders, and tries to cover for himself:

Dad wanted me to be a doctor but he was afraid to have me go away to school so he'd done what he could for me at home. It used to irritate him, knowing what I had in my head, to hear me talking and acting like any other rube around town. But, in time, when he realized how bad I had *the sickness*, he even encouraged me to do it. That's what I was going to be; I was going to have to live and get along with rubes. I wasn't ever going to have anything but some safe, small job, and I'd

have to act accordingly. (*The Killer Inside* 27-28; emphasis in the original)

This sickness, some sort of sociopathic need, is referred to constantly in the book in italics as the cause for Lou Ford's compulsion to hurt others. In today's popular culture entertainment TV series, we could compare this with *Dexter's* "dark passenger;" except that Dexter channels this psychopathic behavior so that he only kills *bad* people. Or even to Haneke's depiction of violence in *Funny Games* or *Benny's Video* in which a teenager kills another one just to find out "what it feels like to do so." Lou Ford shares this darkness; he suffered abuse from his father's girlfriend (who was, at the same time, abused by his father). Ford subsequently recreated this aberrant behavior by abusing a little girl; but his adoptive brother takes the blame and goes to prison instead of Lou and, afterwards, ends up dying when he leaves prison and tries to be reinserted into society. Later in Lou's life violence against women is a constant: he mistreats Amy Stanton, the woman he is supposed to get married to, and beats a prostitute named Joyce Lakeland whom he has a relationship with. To get away with these murders, he blames a bum and kills another man, making it look like a fight between him and the prostitute. Despite his allegedly normal appearance, Lou Ford cannot comply with what society considers normal and he succumbs to his inner dark side. Lou Ford sublimates his desires and his anger through his verbal and physical abuse of women, culminating in murder:

I had a burden of fear and shame put on me that I could never get shed of. She was gone, and I couldn't strike back at her, yes, kill her, for

what I'd been made to feel she'd done to me. But that was all right. She was the first woman I'd ever known; she *was* woman to me; and all womankind bore her face. So I could strike back at any of them, any female, the ones it would be safest to strike at, and it would be the same as striking at her. And I did that, I started striking out... (215)

Lou Ford's sublimation consists of killing others who represent the woman who he cannot kill, being able to achieve pleasure and plenitude only through these acts. The tragic human condition, the conflict between freedom and necessity, reside in the fact that this is his destiny and he cannot escape it, he is doomed to its realization. By the end of the novel, he claims to be schizophrenic or paranoid, to have "dementia praecox," as the cause for his *sickness*. He ends up killing Amy and manages to kill Joyce as well as himself at the end of the novel.

El asesino dentro de mí (1997)

It has already been mentioned that this is probably Thompson's most well-known novel around the world. In Spain it was translated by Galvarino Plaza in 1974 and this translation is the only one available in the country. It has been republished by various publishing houses and nowadays is published by RBA. The translation by Galvarino Plaza is not remarkable, and includes issues that should be corrected; it does solve some translation issues, though without brilliant outcomes and, at times, fails to recreate the tone and nuance of Thompson's writing. Thompson's style is curt and sharp, the main character's thoughts recounted in the first person, and dialogues

show particularities of register, style and social class. We see a particularly violent excerpt from *The Killer Inside Me*:

And at last she got it.

She jumped up and I jumped with her. I whirled her around and gave her a quick one-two, and she shot backwards across the room and bounced and slumped against the wall. She staggered to her feet, weaving, mumbling, and half-fell toward me. I let her have it again.

I backed her against the wall, slugging, and it was like pounding a pumpkin. Hard, then everything giving away at once. She slumped down, her knees bent under her, her head hanging limp; and then, slowly, an inch at a time, she pushed herself up again. [...]

“Guhguh-guhby... kiss guhguh-guh-”

I brought an uppercut up from the floor. There was a sharp *cr-aack!* and her whole body shot upward, and came down in a heap. And that time it stayed down. [...]

Elmer was coming up the steps, crossing the porch. I got to the front door and opened it.

“Hiya, Lou, ol’ boy, ol’ boy, ol’ boy,” he said. “Right on time, huh? Thass Elmer Conway, always right on time.”

“Half-stiff,” I said, “that’s Elmer Conway. Have you got the money?”.

(*The Killer* 50-51)

We see that, despite Jim Thompson’s crudeness, his style is still quite literary, he uses metaphors and describes powerful images in detail, using a multiplicity of verbs and adjectives that show the nuances of the actions.

It could be argued that the novel in Spanish needs some corrections and probably a more updated version. Overall, the novel can be read and understood by the Spanish reader, though some passages include mistranslations, abridgements, lack of register differentiation, or parts that seem to have been misunderstood by the translator and are rendered inadequately. The style and register of speech are very linear throughout the novel in Spanish, as it is written in just one tone, leaving out the different nuances shown in the English version of the novel –particularly in the dialogues, where different characters show their class disparity or use vernacular language. This detail is, however, relevant, since Thompson was praised especially for his dialogues and the way he wrote.

I will include a few examples from *El asesino dentro de mí* to assess the translation and point out the instances in which some translation issues appear:

Jim Thompson. <i>The Killer Inside Me</i>	<i>El asesino dentro de mí</i>. Galvarino Plaza’s Translation
<p>I was still wearing my Stetson, shoved a little to the back of my head. I had on a kind of pinkish shirt and a black bow tie, and the pants of my blue serge suit were hitched up so as to catch on the tops of my Justin boots. Lean and wiry; a mouth that looked all set to drawl. A typical Western-country peace officer, that was me. Maybe friendlier looking than the average. Maybe a little cleaner cut. But on the whole typical. That’s what I was, and I couldn’t change. Even if it was safe, I doubted if I could change. I’d pretended so long</p>	<p>Aún llevaba el Stetson, algo echado hacia atrás. Vestía una camisa rosada, corbata de lazo y los pantalones del traje azul de sarga quedaban sujetos por la caña de las botas Jusiin. Enjuto y flexible, una boca indolente. Un vulgar guardián de la paz en un pueblo del Oeste, ése era yo. De aspecto tal vez algo más afable que el término medio. Con un poco más de personalidad, tal vez. Pero en conjunto, francamente vulgar. Era así y no podía cambiar. Y de precisar un cambio de apariencia dudo</p>

that I no longer had to. (<i>The Killer</i> 28)	que lo hubiera conseguido. Había fingido tanto tiempo que ahora era como mi segunda naturaleza. (<i>El asesino</i> 35)
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In this excerpt from the beginning of the novel, we see some issues in the translation by Galvarino Plaza. He opts for leaving Stetson (a type of hat) untranslated and unexplained. It could be a foreignizing translation but, in the rest of the text, we don't see many other instances in which he consistently maintains this decision – furthermore, we see the contrast of this decision with others such as using the word sheriff (which is widely known in Spanish) translated throughout the entire novel in italics, reinforcing its foreign origin. The next interesting decision is the word “bow tie” translated as “corbata de lazo.” This term in Spanish also means “bow tie,” but is not really used nowadays; the more widely used term would be “pajarita” in Spain. This decision ends up seeming even more odd because, after referring to “corbata de lazo” on multiple occasions, at the end of the novel (*El asesino* 222) the translator uses the word “pajarita” instead.

There is also a misspelling of the type of boots in this passage (Justin boots or cowboy boots), and in Spanish the translation fails to recreate the image of the hat and cowboy boots worn by Lou Ford. In the next sentence, when describing the sheriff's mouth, the Spanish translation claims he had “una boca indolente;” however, the English version appeals both to the character and appearance of Lou, as someone who is considered a little dumb and slow -“that looked all set to draw!”- but that hides his real personality underneath this appearance.

I also think the choice of “término medio” in Spanish is confusing, since one would not employ it within the context of said sentence but, instead, one would say

“más afable que la media” or “que el resto.” In this passage we also find the English expression “maybe a little cleaner cut,” translated in the Spanish as “con un poco más de personalidad, tal vez.” “Clean-cut,” when referred to a man, implies a meaning of neat, sharp style. I believe that to say that Lou has *more personality* is an overstatement and goes against his description portrayed by the author, given the description of this character.

Lastly, at the end of the quote, the meaning in the Spanish translation is also different when it states: “y de precisar un cambio de apariencia dudo que lo hubiera conseguido.” The English original states: “even if it was safe” to change (given the fact that the protagonist has been hiding his personality and his character since he was a child, prompted by his father); even if it was safe to change, he doubts that he could. On the contrary, the Spanish changes it to the impossibility to change if a change was needed, if he had to change his appearance (which is not the case). At the same time, Galvarino Plaza gracefully translates “I’d pretended for so long that I no longer had to” as “era como mi segunda naturaleza.”

Overall, we can see that there are issues with the translation, suggesting that a more contemporary retranslation could be needed.

The second passage I analyze is a dialogue that takes place around the middle of the novel:

Jim Thompson. <i>The Killer Inside Me</i>	<i>El asesino dentro de mí.</i> Galvarino Plaza’s Translation
“What about Conway?” “T’hell with him. He’s got some business here; stayin’ over for a few days. We’ll check our bags	-¿Y Conway? -Que se lo lleve el diablo. Tiene negocios aquí; se quedará varios días. Dejaremos las maletas en consigna,

<p>somewheres, so's we won't have to run into him again, and then we'll have a party.”</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>“I said t'hell with him. Said it, an' that's what I meant.”</p> <p>“Well, sure. But—”</p> <p>“Done enough for Conway. Done too much. Done more'n any white man should. Now, c'mon and slide into them boots an' let's go.” (<i>The Killer</i> 83-84)</p>	<p>para no tener que tropezarnos con él, y luego nos vamos de juerga.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>-Ya he dicho que se vaya al diablo. Y lo mantengo.</p> <p>-Sí, claro, pero...</p> <p>-Ya hemos hecho bastante por Conway. Demasiado. Mucho más de lo que un hombre de bien haría. Así que ahora te pones las botas y nos largamos. (<i>El asesino</i> 87)</p>
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In this case, we see an obvious difference in register between the English and the Spanish. It is even more apparent when we read the whole chapter because Bob Maples, the person Lou Ford is speaking with, is a person who speaks correctly and is courteous and respectful. However, in this selected passage we see how, after having one or two drinks, his speaking style begins to change and culminates (a couple of pages later) in a completely informal and even incorrect rant, due to his inebriation. On the other hand, in this selected passage we observe that the register in Spanish is linear, there is no notable change that allows the Spanish reader to experience this progressive change in the character's speech. The way the character speaks is the same as before and, only at the end, when he is completely drunk in the English version, are any of the words in Spanish modified to show this state (“Deja de re... de reír” (*El asesino* 88); “T-te voy a decir una cosa” (Idem 89)). This is just one example from the novel in Spanish, but all the dialogues in the translated version mirror this example, which shows how the text is stripped of its richness and nuances that could have been rendered or reproduced.

It is also worth mentioning the reference of race that comes up in the last couple of sentences. In Spanish, this racial issue was left out and was translated as

“hombre de bien.” Here, the translator might have consciously wanted to avoid this racial reference even though it reflects a historical and social reality of the time, despite how we feel about it nowadays; however, there are more references throughout the novel that were maintained in the Spanish version. Therefore, this last decision to ignore this racial reference does not maintain the coherence of the choices made throughout the Spanish text and the translation is not consistent in this sense.

Towards the end of the novel we find some mistranslations. Only a few excerpts will be provided as representative examples:

Jim Thompson. <i>The Killer Inside Me</i>	<i>El asesino dentro de mí. Galvarino Plaza's Translation</i>
“And you can't figure out whether the hero's laying his girl or a cornerstone.” (<i>The Killer</i> 180)	“Y no hay forma de enterarse si el protagonista está encima de la chica o de una piedra.” (<i>El asesino</i> 171)

Thompson uses the verb “to lay” for its double meaning, as it refers to both a sexual encounter and “to lay a cornerstone.” However cornerstone is not a stone in this context, as has been translated in the Spanish, but rather “a basic element, a foundation.”

Jim Thompson. <i>The Killer Inside Me</i>	<i>El asesino dentro de mí. Galvarino Plaza's Translation</i>
“I'll swear, Lou Ford! Sometimes I think-And you're not even ready yet! You're always talking about how slow I am...” (<i>The Killer</i> 183)	“Estoy sudando, Lou Ford. A veces pienso... ¡Y aún no estás listo! Te quejas siempre de lo lenta que soy yo...” (<i>El asesino</i> 175)

Here we see that the translation has been done carelessly and the verb “to swear” has been confused with “to sweat.”

From Chapter 18 until the end of the novel, the Spanish text is missing several parts and content that is present in the original text. The abridged content is significant and is spread irregularly throughout Chapters 18 to 26. It is hard to understand why these omissions were made and especially why the novel has been republished numerous times –until the present day- without addressing this issue. Given that the censorship reports have been consulted and there is no evidence in them that serves as an explanation, we can perhaps shed some light on this issue by taking the French case as a comparison⁵⁰. Robyns (1990) studies the translation policies of detective fiction in France from the late 50s to the early 70s and states that “the major part of the translations examined are abridged” (Robyns 27). In Robyns’ view, this decision was partly to reduce production costs, but also to suppress “textemes that don’t fit into the model” (idem). Following Robyns’ premise, it seems that in the case of *El asesino dentro de mí*, the abridged content is mainly targeted at ensuring “the disappearance of digressions that do not contribute to the development of the main intrigue [...] the translators strive for a narrative structure devoid of “dead” or “wild” branches” (idem 28-29).

By looking at the missing content from *The Killer Inside Me*, we can speculate about the reason behind deciding to leave out these passages in the Spanish version - provided there were no other unknown external factors involved. We will outline the key characteristics of the abridged content:

⁵⁰ As analyzed by Clem Robyns in the article “The Normative Model of Twentieth Century Belles Infidèles. Detective Novels in French Translation.”

- **Passages deemed as digressive or that contain redundant content:**

The first omission that occurs in Chapter 18 seems to respond to this reason, and omits seven lines of the original text: “So the two weeks passed, and the night of April fifth came; and she hustled her folks off to a show, and scampered around getting ready, and she got ready. And at eight-thirty she came over to my place and I was waiting for her. And I... But I guess I’m getting ahead of myself again. There’s some other things to tell first” (*The Killer* 173). Jim Thompson is building up the story and the reader’s expectations, but this passage is omitted in the Spanish.

In Chapter 19, some information about Lou Ford’s fiancée’s family is provided in the English version, “I guess that stuff she’d brought to me when I was sick wasn’t really crap. It was as good as she knew how to fix. I guess that dog of theirs didn’t have to chase horses unless’n he wanted the exercise. I-” (*idem* 185) which is also omitted in the Spanish (*El asesino* 177).

In that same Chapter, when describing the noise that one of the characters makes, there is a digression that compares the sound to jazz singers “Did you ever see one of these two-bit jazz singers? You know, trying to put something across with their bodies that they haven’t got the voice to do? They lean back from the waist a little with their heads hanging forward and their hands held up about even with their ribs and swinging limp [...]” (*The Killer* 187) which is omitted in the Spanish (*El asesino* 178). In this scene, there is also a missing passage in which Ford describes the character he is about to kill and his thoughts on him:

I stopped, because he hadn't done it at all. But he *could* have done it. He could've done it just as easy as not. The son-of-a-bitch could have, but he was just like everyone else. He was too nicey-nice and pretendsy to do anything really hard. But he'd stand back and crack the whip over me, keep moving around me every way I turned so that I couldn't get away no matter what I did, and it was always now-don't-you-do-nothin'-bud; but they kept cracking that old whip all the time they were sayin' it. And they- he'd done it all right; and I wasn't going to take the blame. I could be just as tricky and pretendsy as they were. (*The Killer* 187)

The beginning of Chapter 20 also contains some sentences that are missing in the Spanish version (*El asesino* 183) that describe details or add information by reflecting the character's inner thoughts:

There wasn't anyone around to comfort me, or wait on me or just sit and shake their heads and say it was God's will and she was happy, and I-a man that's been through something like that needs those things. He needs all the help and comfort he can get, and I've never held back when one of my friends was bereaved. Why, hell, I-a man isn't himself when one of these disasters strike. He might do something to himself, and the least people can do is have a nurse around. And... (*The Killer* 183)

In Chapter 22 (*The Killer* 210), there are multiple omissions as well that again are passages that digress from the main storyline by making reference to childhood memories (*El asesino* 200): “You know. Those kid games? You’ve done something pretty bad or you want something bad, and you think, well, if I can just do such and such I can fix it. If I can count down from a thousand backwards by three and a third or recite Gettysburg address in pig-latin while I’m touching my little toes with my big ones, everything will be all right. I’d play those games [...]” (*The Killer* 210). Other passages omitted in the Spanish in this scene are those that repeat information, such as: “Yes, it was Johnnie, speaking in that sharp-smart-alecky way he used a lot. I jumped up from the bunk and started turning around and looking up and down and sideways. And here his voice came again: “*Hello, you lovely people. I’m certainly having a fine time and I wish you were here. See you soon*”” (idem 211).

In Chapter 23 (*The Killer* 224), some repetitive content is left out of the Spanish text (*El asesino* 209) which describes the content and sequence of the pictures Lou Ford is shown in the mental asylum: “They... I saw her the day she graduated from high school, she was sixteen that spring, wearing one of those lacy dresses and flat-heeled slippers [...] I saw her sitting on her front steps, laughing in spite of herself [...] I saw her all dressed up, and looking kind of scared the time she started off for teacher’s college [...]” (*The Killer* 224). And then again when describing one of the pictures the protagonist is shown of his dead fiancée (idem 210): “It was a picture I’d taken less than three weeks before, and they *did* leave it on long enough –well, not long enough but they let me get a good look at it. She and I had fixed up a little lunch that evening, and eaten it over in Sam Houston Park. And I’d taken this picture just

as she was stepping back into the car. She was looking over her shoulder at me [...].”

(*The Killer* 226)

In Chapter 24 (*The Killer* 235), another digressive passage is left out of the Spanish version (*El asesino* 218). In this case, Ford’s lawyer asks him for information about his behavior so that maybe he can help other customers. Ford is reticent at the beginning and the lawyer gives him an example from earlier in his career with another client.

- **Passages omitted for unknown reasons that contain essential information and input about the plot:**

The most shocking example is the omission of almost three pages from the original that add crucial information to the intrigue and development of the novel. In this passage (pages 174-177), it is revealed that the sheriff has been spying on Ford and that he is suspected for the crimes. This information is crucial to understanding that Lou in fact has it coming, and because the sheriff who has spied on him ends up killing himself. Furthermore, the Spanish version makes no sense because this scene of Lou Ford walking in on them and listening behind a door is introduced before the omission, “El adjunto Jeff Plummer y el *sheriff* Maples estaban discutiendo y no me oyeron. Me detuve antes de llegar a la puerta y les escuché. Les escuché y les vi; les conocía tan bien que no necesitaba mirarles para ver sus caras y gestos” (*El asesino* 168). The whole scene is omitted and the next sentence in the Spanish version is “Pasaba todos los días por el restaurante del Griego” (*idem* 169). This abridgement does not make

any sense; it is detrimental to the story and causes the Spanish text to be devoid of the particularities of the English text.

A second surprising example is the abridgement of a crucial passage in which Lou Ford, after detailing the reasons for his murders and explaining to the reader the key aspects of his mental insanity, implies that he might be schizophrenic (*The Killer* 218-219) by quoting a medical definition he found in a book. This passage is tremendously interesting to the reader because it provides either a possible redemption for Lou (if he is schizophrenic, his insane acts and murders could be understood), or an excuse used to mislead or deceive the reader. In any case, it is baffling that this excerpt is left out of the Spanish text. Chapter 23 includes several more abridgements of sections that take place in the mental institution where Lou Ford is temporarily confined, and that also deal with the issue of mental illness and how Lou thinks people might be able to hide them from doctors (idem 222).

Besides the reasons provided herein to account for these omissions, one could think that, since they appear towards the end of the novel, the translator might have been in a rush and decided to begin to omit content. However, this decision would not make much sense either because the rest of the text was left untouched, and it seems to be more of a conscious effort as described above.

The publishing house RBA was contacted during the research phase of this dissertation to try to understand why this novel has not been retranslated, but no answer was provided. From conversations with the translator Antonio Padilla via email, the translator of several of Thompson's novels in Spain, we get the impression that the decision to not retranslate *The Killer Inside Me*, or other novels, was based on

the acceptability of the previous translation. However, as we have analyzed here, this decision seems quite surprising due to the issues that the translation of *El asesino dentro de mí* presents.

5.4.2 Case Study II: Translation of Jim Thompson's *Savage Night*

We can see that Thompson became quite popular in Spain because of the constant re-publication of his novels, and not only of the most widely known titles from his collection of works. It is also significant that the publishing house RBA commissioned four retranslations⁵¹ between 2012 and 2014 –three of which were translated by the same person, Antonio Padilla. Apart from these re-translations, Padilla also translated *Aquí y ahora* (2003), originally published by Diagonal, and now by RBA. Due to the relevance and the contrast between this decision and that of publishing translations from the 70s of Thompson's main works, we consider it pertinent to analyze an example of these new translations.

Savage Night (1953) is one of the novels Thompson wrote in the first-person, and is about a gangster who is sent by his boss, "The Man," to kill Jake Winroy who has been called to testify against the mob. The previous translation into Spanish, published in 1992 by Plaza y Janés, was translated by Jesús de la Torre. Despite the proximity in time of these two translations, we see that the two versions include different approaches and that the translators make different decisions that will be evaluated here.

In the analysis of Antonio Padilla's 2012 translation, we find confirmation that a retranslation of Jim Thompson's work into Spanish is needed for probably all his works. Every translation, and especially those done during the dictatorship, is conditioned by a series of constraints and particularities. As Venuti comments (1998): "language is never simply an instrument of communication [...] any language use is

⁵¹ *Noche Salvaje* (2012), *Una mujer endemoniada* (2012), and *Libertad condicional* (2013), all translated by Antonio Padilla and published by RBA; and *La sangre de los King* (2014) translated by Damià Alou.

thus a site of power relationships because a language, at any historical moment, is a specific conjuncture of a major form holding sway over minor variables” (*Scandals* 10). In other words, translation is necessarily shaped by a context; it cannot be isolated and alienated from it, as if language and meaning could be rendered aseptically. The context of the 70s and 80s in Spain was very different to the one today; and, therefore, language use and culture have evolved. We also know that –because of Western cultural and stylistic particularities in terms of literary norms- fluency in translations was (and still is) the main principle that should be followed by translators to produce *readable* texts that could be assimilated and easily understood. However, this readability can also change throughout the years and can even be challenged by translators.

We find in Padilla’s 2012 translation that there is an effort to show the nuances in register and language from the English version that, possibly, were more difficult to transmit in the past because of the constrained usage of language during the dictatorship and the following years. Now, the use of slang, vernacular, and other forms of speech has widened and these are used in a transversal way in society. Padilla’s translation is framed within today’s usage of language, and the characters use vocabulary and expressions that are currently used in Spain. Despite this laudable effort from the translator, it could be argued that, at times, the tone is a little bit artificial, as if it were trying to emulate what a hardboiled novel should read like.

We see that Padilla’s version follows a similar structure as the English text: the sentences are kept the same and very little modification is made in that sense. The text is quite readable and fluent, and despite the text’s foreign references—since the story takes place in California- it is slightly domesticated into the Spanish context:

distances are expressed in kilometers or in a way that European readers are acquainted with, popular Spanish expressions are used like “capullo de tres al cuarto” (*Noche Salvaje* Padilla 13), and references are omitted for better readability and understanding in Spanish “like maybe Dick Doordie, fighting through to fortune” (*Savage Night* 99) is turned into “como lo haría un jovenzuelo decidido a labrarse un porvenir” (*Noche Salvaje* 148).

When comparing it to the previous translation from 1992, we find that the newer translation by Padilla is probably more successful at creating a version in Spanish that is coherent and in tune with the contemporary trends of the literary polysystem. The 1992 version, translated by Carlos Sampayo, also tries to do this, but is still at times insufficient because of incorrect language usage, or sentences that do not sound correct when reading them in Spanish. The 1992 version is much more difficult to read for the Spanish public and even sounds a bit strange at times due to certain expressions and mistranslations. A few sentences here and there are missing from Sampayo’s 1992 translation, though the omissions are not as significant as in the case of the translation of *The Killer Inside Me*. The two translations differ in style, vocabulary, and specific translation decisions but, overall, their difference is not huge. These might be some of the reasons for the decision of RBA of retranslating this novel.

A few examples will be provided in order to assess the translations of *Savage Night* (1953). We will begin with the opening of the novel:

Jim Thompson. <i>Savage Night</i>	<i>Noche salvaje (1992),</i> Carlos Sampayo's Translation.	<i>Noche salvaje (2012),</i> Antonio Padilla's Translation.
<p>I'd caught a slight cold when I changed trains at Chicago; and three days in New York –three days of babes and booze while I waited to see The Man-hadn't helped it any. I felt lousy by the time I arrived in Peardale. [...]</p> <p>I walked through the little Long Island Railway station, and stood looking up the main street of Peardale. It was about four blocks long, splitting the town into two ragged halves. It ended at the teachers' college, a half-dozen red brick buildings scattered across a dozen acres or so of badly tended campuses. The tallest business building was three stories. The residences looked pretty ratty. [...]</p> <p>I'd stopped in front of a store, a shoe store, and as I straightened I caught a glimpse of myself in the window. I wasn't much to look at. You could say I'd improved a hundred per cent in the last eight or nine years, and you wouldn't be lying. But I still didn't add up to much. It wasn't that my kisser would stop clocks, understand, or anything like that. (<i>Savage</i> 3-4)</p>	<p>Al cambiar de tren en Chicago cogí un ligero catarro, y tres días en Nueva York –tres días de nenas y copas mientras esperaba ver al Jefe- no me ayudaron nada [...]</p> <p>Eché a andar por la pequeña estación ferroviaria de Long Island y me quedé contemplando la calle principal de Peardale. Tenía una longitud de unas cuatro manzanas de casas y partía la población en dos mitades desiguales. Terminaba en el colegio de profesores, con media docena de edificios de ladrillo rojo diseminados por una docena aproximada de acres, con un campus en muy mal estado de conservación. Las residencias presentaban un aspecto un tanto deslustrado. [...]</p> <p>Me detuve delante de una tienda, una zapatería, y, al incorporarme, me vi la cara en el cristal del escaparate. Tenía un aspecto deplorable. Seguramente no dirían que mi aspecto había mejorado un diez por ciento en los últimos ocho o nueve años, y ustedes no iban a mentir. Pero no quiero ahondar todavía más. No es que mi físico hiciera que los relojes se parasen, no, no era eso, ni</p>	<p>Al cambiar de trenes en Chicago cogí un leve resfriado, y los tres días que pasé en Nueva York –tres días de chavalas y de borracheras a la espera de ver al Hombre- no me ayudaron nada [...]</p> <p>Crucé andando la pequeña estación del ferrocarril de Long Island y me quedé mirando la calle principal de Peardale. Tenía unos quinientos metros de longitud y dividía el pueblo en dos mitades desiguales. Terminaba delante de la Facultad de Pedagogía, media docena de edificios de ladrillo rojizo diseminados por cuatro o cinco hectáreas de un campus universitario mal conservado. El edificio de oficinas más alto era de tres pisos. Las residencias tenían una pinta bastante destartalada. [...]</p> <p>Me detuve ante una tienda, una zapatería, y al enderezarme vi por el rabillo del ojo mi reflejo en el escaparate. Mi estampa no causaba demasiada impresión, la verdad. Podría decirse, sin mentir, que había mejorado un ciento por ciento los últimos ocho o nueve años. Pero mi aspecto seguía sin ser nada del otro jueves. No es que yo fuera más feo</p>

	nada por el estilo. (Sampayo 12-14)	que Picio, hay que dejarlo claro. (Padilla 7-8)
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We see in this excerpt the different choices made by both translators, mainly in terms of vocabulary (catarro/resfriado, nenas/chavalas, copas/borracheras, Jefe/Hombre, deslustrado/destartalada, etc.). Apart from these disparities, we see a different way of dealing with translations of measurements, distances, and sizes: “four blocks” is translated by Sampayo as “cuatro manzanas” whereas Padilla opts for “quinientos metros.” In this case, we see that perhaps “cuatro manzanas” gives the reader a better image of the distance than “quinientos metros” but, in both cases, the meaning can be understood by the Spanish reader. Next, we find “A dozen acres or so” translated as “una docena aproximada de acres” and as “cuatro o cinco hectáreas.” Sampayo leaves the word acre, an English measurement, whereas Padilla uses the word “hectárea” which fits into the Spanish system. It is also interesting to look at how “teachers’ college” was translated as “colegio de profesores” by Sampayo and as “Facultad de Pedagogía” by Padilla. The latter translation might be a bit too contemporary, but it expresses the concept better than the first translation. When Thompson uses the word “residences” to describe the area, it could refer to either the university residences or to the houses. Both translations, however, opted for the first meaning.

Looking at the structure of both translations, one can see that it remains almost the same when compared to the original. There is one sentence missing in Sampayo’s translation: “The tallest business building...”. In that same passage, the structure of Thompson’s text sounds quite normal in English –a couple of short descriptive sentences- while in Spanish one would probably describe that scene in a longer

sentence. This way it sounds a bit curt, or even unrelated: “El edificio de oficinas más alto era de tres pisos. Las residencias tenían una pinta bastante destartalada.”

In the last part of this passage, the character goes from describing the outward appearance of the city to describing himself. The character uses a popular expression when he says: “You could say I’d improved a hundred per cent in the last eight or nine years, and you wouldn’t be lying.” In the first translation, Carlos Sampayo mistranslates this part by admitting that the character has only improved a bit in the past years: “Seguramente no dirían que mi aspecto había mejorado un diez por ciento en los últimos ocho o nueve años, y ustedes no iban a mentir.” However, the text means the opposite; that the character has, in fact, improved a lot –as is expressed in Padilla’s translation, even though the form “cien por cien” would have been preferable as indicated by the Fundéu.

Lastly, Padilla uses two Spanish colloquial expressions “ser nada del otro jueves” and “ser más feo que Picio” that fit within the context of what Thompson is expressing while domesticating the translation. Sampayo mistranslates the first of these expressions by translating “But I still didn’t add up to much” as “pero no quiero ahondar todavía más;” and translates the second expression “hiciera que los relojes se parasen” literally from the English version.

Next, we will analyze another excerpt from the middle of the novel:

Jim Thompson. <i>Savage Night</i>	<i>Noche salvaje (1992), Carlos Sampayo’s Translation.</i>	<i>Noche salvaje (2012), Antonio Padilla’s Translation.</i>
The trouble with killing is that it’s so easy. You get to where you almost do it	Lo malo de matar es que resulta muy fácil. Te encuentras con que casi	Lo problemático de matar a alguien es que resulta muy fácil. Al final uno

<p>without thinking. You do it instead of thinking. ... I told Fruit Jar that I'd take the subway into town, and he drove me over near Queens Plaza. I had him pull up there in the shadows of the elevated, and I said. "I'm sorry as hell, Fruit Jar. Will you accept an apology?" And he was feeling good, so he stuck out his hand and said, "Sure, kid. Long as you put it that way, I-" (Savage 62)</p>	<p>lo has hecho y no lo has pensado. En vez de pensar, matas. ... Le dije a Fruit Jar que tomaría el Metro en la ciudad y me llevó cerca de Queens Square. Le hice detenerse bajo las sombras del elevado, y dije: -Lo siento mucho, Fruit Jar. ¿Quieres aceptar mis disculpas? Él estaba de buen humor. Alzó la mano y dijo: -Claro, muchacho. Mientras lo digas de esa forma, yo... (Sampayo 122)</p>	<p>llega a hacerlo sin pensar. Uno lo hace en lugar de pensar. ... Le dije a Kentucky que iría al centro en metro. Le indiqué que se detuviera bajo las sombras de uno de los puentes del metro. Y le dije: -Mira, Kentucky, siento muchísimo lo sucedido. ¿Puedo pedirte disculpas? Como estaba de un humor excelente, tendió la mano en mi dirección y dijo: -Pues claro, chaval. Así me gusta, que sepas reconocer cuándo... (Padilla 94)</p>
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We see that this excerpt presents some translation issues right from the beginning, such as "The trouble with killing is that it's so easy." Sampayo's translation might have oversimplified the phrase while, at the same time, it reflects the short and almost colloquial tone of the English version. On the other hand, Padilla's text results a bit more serious and redundant because of his choices of "problemático" and "matar (a alguien)." However, the next sentence is probably easier to understand in Padilla's text while in Sampayo's, the idea is missing that, after you have done it for a while, you get to a point where you don't think about it anymore.

Another interesting element is how the two translators render the names of the characters in Spanish. For some reason, which seems to be due to something external to the text, Padilla translates the name of the character "Fruit Jar" as "Kentucky." Perhaps he is trying to recreate a hardboiled tone and deems this nickname more effective. Following email correspondence with translator Antonio Padilla, he

explained that he made this conscious choice because he did not want to leave the name as it was and he didn't consider a literal translation appropriate. He found that "Fruit Jar" at some point served as a name to refer to a native of Kentucky, so he opted for the latter term. He also decides to translate the main character's name as Pequeño Bigger -when Thompson calls him Little Bigger-, and left as *Little Bigger* by Sampayo.

Sampayo, once again, leaves the name of Mrs. Winroy as it is in the original, while Padilla translates it as señora Winroy; in another instance, he renders the name of a character called Murph as Murphy instead.

We see that, when referring to the subway, Padilla opts for leaving out the information about the specific name ("Queens Plaza") found in the English text. He does this in some other instances, domesticating and facilitating the information for the Spanish reader. Sampayo changes "Plaza" for "Square," maybe opting for the opposite strategy, since "plaza" is a common word in Spanish and "square," on the other hand, sounds more foreign and more plausible as an English word.

The sentence "in the shadows of the elevated" is hard to translate because it is not immediately clear what it refers to: an elevated platform of the subway, a bridge... In this case, Sampayo translates it literally as "bajo las sombras del elevado" even though the RAE does not accept this word as a noun, only as an adjective. Padilla translates it as "bajo las sombras de uno de los puentes del metro," offering a personal interpretation and explanation for the reader.

In the short dialogue from this excerpt, we see that the expression "I'm sorry as hell" is lost in both translations and watered down as "lo siento mucho/muchísimo." In the next sentence Sampayo mistranslates "he stuck out his hand" as "alzó la mano,"

since it seems they will reconcile by shaking hands and, therefore, as Padilla translates, Fruit Jar “tendió la mano.” The last part, “Long as you put it that way, I-,” is also a bit colloquial because the first “as” is omitted in the English. However, Sampayo translates it as “mientras lo digas de esa forma,” which is close to the English version; Padilla writes “Así me gusta, que sepas reconocer cuándo...,” offering more information and adding connotations to the sentence.

Lastly, we examine an excerpt from the end of the novel:

Jim Thompson. <i>Savage Night</i>	<i>Noche salvaje</i> (1992), Carlos Sampayo’s Translation.	<i>Noche salvaje</i> (2012), Antonio Padilla’s Translation.
<p>Because what was the sense to it anyway? How in the hell could you win? You were right on the beam –playing all the angles, doing things twice as well as you thought you could and getting some breaks thrown in. Everything was swell, and you were a bright boy and a tough boy. And a punchy booze-stupe without enough guts to string a uke could come along and put the blocks to you. He could do it because he <i>didn’t</i> have anything. Nothing to lose. He didn’t need to be smart, to cover his tracks. You had to cover them for him. He could make one dopey move after another, and all you could do was duck and keep</p>	<p>De cualquier manera, ¿qué sentido tenía aquello? ¿Cómo diablos iba yo a ganar? Me encontraba en el rumbo correcto, valiéndome de todos los ángulos, haciendo las cosas el doble de bien de lo que me había creído capaz de hacer y obteniendo algunos éxitos. Todo iba bien y yo era un muchacho brillante y duro. Y un borracho estúpido, sin tripas suficientes para las cuerdas de un ukelele, podía presentarse y crearme dificultades. Él podía hacerlo porque no poseía nada. <i>Nada</i> que perder. Él no necesitaba ser inteligente, ni borrar sus huellas. Las tenía que borrar yo por él. Él podía hacer un movimiento</p>	<p>Y es que todo aquello no tenía sentido. ¿Cómo diablos podía uno escapar de semejante movida demencial? Uno lo hacía todo a la perfección: tenía en cuenta todos los factores, lo hacía todo dos veces mejor de lo acostumbrado e incluso había momentos de suerte. Todo iba sobre ruedas, y uno se decía que era muy listo y que nadie podía con él. Y un borracho medio lelo, sin redaños ni para matar una mosca, de pronto intervenía y te daba por saco a base de bien. El fulano era capaz de hacerlo porque no tenía nada en el mundo. Nada que perder. No necesitaba ir de listo ni borrar sus huellas. Uno era el que</p>

<p>your mouth shut. He didn't need guts. He could run from you, but you couldn't run from him. He could pick you off any way, any time, and if he got caught...? I had to choose between times and ways, and if I got caught...? Not responsible? Not a chance. If you beat the law there was still The Man. (<i>Savage</i> 105)</p>	<p>estúpido tras otro, y todo lo que podía hacer yo era agachar la cabeza y tener la boca cerrada. Él no necesitaba tener agallas. Podía huir de mí, pero yo no podía huir de él. Podía liquidarme de cualquier modo y en cualquier momento, y si le capturaban... Yo tenía que elegir entre modos y momentos, y si me capturaban a mí... ¿No sería responsable? No había ocasión. Si lograba burlar la ley, aún quedaba el Jefe. (Sampayo 203-204)</p>	<p>tenía que hacerle el favor de borrarlas. El fulano podía meter la pata una y otra vez, pero uno tenía que limitarse a esquivar sus golpes y a mantener el pico cerrado. No necesitaba que le dieran ánimos. Él podía salir corriendo y alejarse de uno, pero uno no podía quitárselo de encima ni a tiros. El fulano podía asestarte el golpe como mejor le conviniera, en cualquier momento, y si le pillaban... Yo me veía obligado a devanarme los sesos para dar con el método y momento adecuados, pero si me pillaban a mí... ¿Que no era responsable? Ni en broma. Y si conseguía librarme de la bofia, entonces iba a tener que vérmelas con el Hombre. (Padilla 157-158)</p>
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It is probably due to passages such as this one that RBA commissioned a new translation in 2012. Reading Sampayo's translation, we see that some sentences are confusing in Spanish and even incorrect: "valiéndome de todos los ángulos," "sin tripas suficientes para las cuerdas de un ukelele," "yo tenía que elegir entre modos y momentos." These translations are literally rendered from the English and are quite unreadable in Spanish. Padilla's translation, on the other hand, gracefully conveys the meaning and the colloquial tone of the passage: "semejante movida demencial," "y te daba por saco a base de bien," "el fulano podía meter la pata," "podía mantener el pico cerrado." We see that Padilla resolves with ingenuity the translation issue of

“without enough guts to string a uke” as “sin redaños para matar una mosca” (“redaño” might be higher in register than the rest of the tone of the novel but, in any case, it is an excellent way to solve this translation issue). The only instance where Padilla’s translation could be questioned is when he translates “he didn’t need guts” as “no necesitaba que le dieran ánimos.” Where Thompson is elaborating on the fact that this character is a coward, Padilla’s sentence, though this could be true, is a bit out of context. Despite this one example, in Padilla’s translation we see a huge effort to make the translation readable and understandable by the Spanish reader while, at the same time, keeping the tone and making it sound “natural” in Spanish.

Overall, we see a huge improvement in Padilla’s 2012 translation if we compare it to Sampayo’s 1992 one. It is commendable of RBA to commission these new retranslations of the work of Jim Thompson, and that four of them were assigned to the same translator. We see Antonio Padilla’s conscious effort to recreate the tone and context of noir and hardboiled themes in his translations of the English texts. It is still surprising that RBA did not decide to retranslate the main works of Thompson, but hopefully they will do so in the coming years.

5.5 Polysystem and Jim Thompson

By analyzing the translation trends in our country, as far as detective fiction is concerned, it seems there was a translation boom during the 60s and 70s that resulted in a new wave of republishing during the early 80s that then slowed down during the end of that period and into the 90s. We can enlighten this situation through Polysystem Theories of translation. Translation brought forth change in the Spanish polysystem; however, as time passed “the canonized repertoires of any system [do] very likely stagnate after a certain time if not for competition from non-canonized challengers, which often threaten to replace them” (Even-Zohar 16). There was a period of stagnation and saturation of the genre but, in the last years, there has been a second boom of retranslations and publishing of detective fiction that can be observed nowadays by going to any bookstore, library or digital platform, and observing the section of this genre and the amount of publications, as well as the trends of the most read popular novels.

Just as we did with James M. Cain in Chapter Three, Jim Thompson’s place within the Spanish polysystem is assessed in this Chapter, as well as the extent of the influence of his translated work. It is surprising that translation was, in a way, the vehicle that allowed Thompson’s work to become more popular abroad than in his home country. As we have seen, Thompson struggled throughout his life to become an established writer in the US. However, he only achieved success in his own country after he passed away while, in other countries such as France or Spain, his literature had been translated and read for years.

These two different scenarios –the US literary system and the French or Spanish literary system- provide a real setting for the ideas presented by Even-Zohar’s

Polysystem Theories. On the one hand, in the case of the United States, the literary system is quite homogeneous and hegemonic, and is not easily permeated by other influences: “the economic and political ascendancy of the United States has reduced foreign languages and cultures to minorities in relation to its language and culture” (*Scandals* 10); “Since World War II, English has been the most translated language worldwide, but it isn’t much translated into, given the number of English-language books published annually” (*Invisibility* 11). We see that the American polysystem is more conservative and less influenced by translation than the literary systems of other countries. Since Jim Thompson is American, his work fit into the country’s system of detective fiction genre and did not need to be translated. Thompson’s work was developed by the American publishing house Lion Books and his first titles “sprang from commissions and publisher synopses” (Polito 339). According to Polito, Lion Books was born as a subdivision of Magazine Management Company in 1949 and mainly dealt with pulp fiction, though at the end of the year: “The focus expanded from mild sexploitation to embrace a diversity of popular genres: westerns, crime, sports, and movie tie-ins” (Polito 340). Paperbacks were key to the development of pulp at the beginning of the fifties because they served as a bridge between the dime novels and the “serious” publishing houses (idem). These golden years of noir fiction, however, did not guarantee Thompson’s success and, in fact, maybe because of the crudeness of his style, or the saturation of detective fiction in the market, Thompson was not a successful author during his lifetime.

However, we see that translation brought his work to life in other countries and it was much more appreciated and valued than in his home country. As a matter of fact, change and innovation were brought to the center of other foreign literary

systems through translation (as explained by Even-Zohar) and the detective fiction genre started to become more and more popular in countries such as France or Spain. We see a real case in which the importance of translation is highlighted as a tool for discovering and praising authors or works that otherwise might have gone unnoticed. In Walter Benjamin's words, translation brings an afterlife to the original text "for a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life [...] for in its afterlife –which could not be called that if it were not a transformation and a renewal of something living- the original undergoes a change" (*The Translation Studies Reader* 76-77).

Thompson gained, through the translations of his novels into French, the salary and the recognition he was so fruitlessly seeking for in his own country.

During these lost days and weeks Thompson lived off the sale of the foreign rights to his old novels. The advances might oscillate – Gallimard in France, for instance, paid \$770, minus commissions, for *The Getaway* [...] yet he had rolled up so many books, and the allure of American hard-boiled fiction abroad flamed so intensely that Thompson was cashing monthly checks for subsidiary rights.

He entered the ragged pantheon of American artists –descending from Poe to David Goodis, Horace McCoy, Chester Himes, Sidney Bechet, Samuel Fuller, Memphis Slim, Josep Losey, and Nicholas Ray- revered as prophets in France while annexed to obscurity at home [...] Starting in 1950 with a translation of *Nothing More Than Murder*, Gallimard

released nine novels for *Série Noire* during the author's lifetime and, unlike his stateside houses, kept them in print. Gallimard honored Thompson in 1966 by selecting *Pop. 1280* as the thousandth title to carry the *Série Noire* imprint. Scarcely two years after his death the Parisian journal *Polar* would commit an entire issue to a discussion of his life and work. And, as noted earlier, a French critic proclaimed Thompson "one of the great American writers of the twentieth century" and "the greatest author of *Série Noire*." French directors have styled the most sympathetic and resonant adaptations of Thompson's novels for film –Alain Corneau in 1979 with *Série Noire* (from *A Hell of a Woman*) and Bertrand Tavernier in 1981 with *Coup de Torchon* (from *Pop. 1280*); Claude Chabrol and Jean-Luc Godard also expressed interest in shooting a Thompson film. (Polito 445)

The evolution of this process can be observed in the Spanish case as well (in a similar way to France and other European countries): there was a moment of initial successful importations through translations of the genre during Franco's dictatorship in the 60s and 70s; then, there was a maintained interest during the 80s and 90s, shown by the republishing of books and the recreation of this model by Spanish or national authors; and lastly, the genre consolidated as one of the most successful ones in the country shown in the form of retranslations and the publication of new or forgotten authors. Translation, therefore, still stands as the main source for the development of this genre in the country. The publications from RBA publishing house in recent years show this, with re-translations of Jim Thompson being commissioned and published

as an example. Furthermore, looking at the authors published by the Serie Negra by RBA, we reach the conclusion that Jim Thompson has completely overturned his status as an unknown writer and is now one of the most printed authors at this publishing house. As of today, twelve of his novels are available through RBA⁵², a surprising number if we compare it to the other authors it publishes. There are only four authors published by this house that have more than twelve titles available in print: Agatha Christie, Harlan Coben, Ian Rankin and Philip Kerr. Other hardboiled writers such as Ross Macdonald, Dashiell Hammett, James M. Cain, or Raymond Chandler have fewer works available through this publishing house.

⁵² *El asesino dentro de mí* (transl. Galvarino Plaza), *Noche salvaje* (transl. Antonio Padilla), *Una mujer endemoniada* (transl. Antonio Padilla), *Un cuchillo en la mirada* (transl. Carlos Sampayo), *La huida* (transl. María Antonia Oliver), *Los timadores* (transl. María Antonia Oliver), *1280 almas* (transl. Antonio Prometeo Moya), *Hijos de la ira* (Teresa Montaner), *Aquí y ahora* (transl. Antonio Padilla), *Libertad condicional* (transl. Antonio Padilla), *El exterminio* (transl. Antonio Padilla), *La sangre de los King* (transl. Damià Alou).

Conclusions

This dissertation has been a journey through the development of the detective fiction genre in Spain. We began in the years of the Franco Dictatorship, where censorship was enforced and works were subject to being banned and writers suffered constraints to their creativity. It was within this context that translations of foreign detective fiction started to reach the country, with pseudotranslations in this genre also becoming very popular among Spanish readers. Some of these translations were, at first, banned from publication and remained unpublished for many years until the Regime started to lose power and control. Despite the Regime's efforts to keep everything under control, the vast amount of publications that reached our country made it difficult for the Regime to be systematic and to exert total control over them. However, a lot of these translations have persisted until the present day with the same omissions that were made at that time and have not been retranslated or amended, as we have seen with the analysis of the translations of Cain and Thompson. The fact that this occurs in the Spanish literary system shows that translation is not valued by either publishing houses or by the readership –otherwise it would be impossible for these translations to have continued success- and that the popularity of a novel is not related to its literary quality, especially in terms of translation.

Translations of detective fiction started to be approved for publication and read by Spaniards who began to enjoy the genre. A sense of collective imagination in the genre was being created, influenced also by the movie adaptations that reached the country, by the numerous pseudotranslations, and by journals like *El Caso*, which focused on crime and mystery themes. At the time, due to the influence of the Regime

and the lack of a literary tradition of detective fiction in Spain, the genre remained at the periphery of our literary system.

In this dissertation we have claimed that it was the impact of these translations and the innovation they brought to the Spanish literary system that allowed for national writers such as Francisco García Pavón to begin to develop the genre within our borders. The Regime also exerted its power in terms of sponsoring certain writers, as we have claimed to be the case with García Pavón since, despite his subject matter, his ideas did not challenge the fascist ideology of Franco. As time passed, the influence of the translations began to increase in Spain and there was a progressive boom of detective fiction publications in the country.

Concurrently, Spanish authors continued to develop the national canon of detective fiction writing. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, on the other hand, was not as successful in being published as García Pavón had been. Because of his political trajectory, the Regime systematically banned the first publications that Montalbán attempted to publish. Luckily, the Regime was about to collapse and Montalbán could write freely and prolifically. This detective fiction writer who, at the time, was already familiar with the foreign detective and hardboiled traditions, represents the consolidation of the genre in Spain as a canonical repertoire at the center of the Spanish literary system. Montalbán managed to successfully import a foreign formula and reinterpret it within the Spanish context, making an innovative contribution to the Spanish literary panorama, since there were no national writers publishing hardboiled detective fiction until that point. His legacy is still influential in our country and he laid the groundwork for many Spanish writers to come and continue developing the genre. His publications went from being on the periphery to at the center, and we can

see that this is still the case with the republication of his works in 2017 by Planeta and the continuation of his character Carvalho by detective fiction writer Carlos Zanón in 2018.

In a similar fashion, we studied the supposed influence of foreign detective fiction through the work of American writers James M. Cain and Jim Thompson. These writers were not as canonical during the first years of the arrival of translated detective fiction in Spain and their work was not widely known. They both represent a second wave of detective fiction, as opposed to Chandler or Hammett, who wrote from the perspective of the detective; they wrote from the criminal's point of view, and their writing was much cruder, though it presents great literary quality. However, it was through the translations of authors such as these that the genre began to reach Spain and progressively develop.

The novels of James M. Cain, when submitted to the censorship boards, were censored and banned in our country for a few years. By the time his translated work reached Spain, the genre was still at the periphery, but people were beginning to become familiar with it, even though a firm tradition had not yet been established. His works were poorly translated and, unfortunately, he has not been retranslated over the years. Despite the poor translations, the detective fiction model was canonized and served as a reference for readers and writers alike.

Over a matter of years, we see that, by the time Jim Thompson was published, the panorama of detective fiction in Spain had changed. There is a variety of translated works available, as well as publications from Spanish writers who began to write their own national detective fiction. Thompson's work, however, remained at the periphery when it first reached our country while only recognized writers like Chandler, Agatha

Christie, and so on, were successful. However, from the 90s onwards, there has been a complete shift in the Spanish literary polysystem and in the reception of Thompson's work: translated detective fiction has acquired a central canonical position. Thompson went from being a cult author to being one of the most published authors at RBA. I believe that this can be explained in terms of Polysystem Theories as well: the most canonical writers have stagnated and both the publishing houses as well as the Spanish readership went in search of new authors to fill that void, given that the genre has remained so popular.

This journey culminates with the analysis of the panorama of detective fiction in Spain: we see its central and canonical status in the number of publishing houses that still have a section dedicated solely to detective fiction (RBA, Salamandra, Planeta, Siruela, Mondadori, Ediciones Destino, Amargord, Flamma Editorial, Alrevés, Cuadernos del Laberinto, Alba Editorial, Editorial Amarante), as well as specialized libraries in Madrid and Barcelona, prizes and competitions for crime novels organized in our country (Premio internacional de novela negra by RBA; Premio L'H Confidential organized by Ed. Roca y Biblioteca La Bòvila; Premio de novela negra in Getafe; and the specialized prizes awarded during the Semana Negra), and the festivals and thematic weeks like the Semana negra in Gijón, Getafe Negro, Valencia Negra, and BCNegra in Barcelona.

Many Spanish writers today continue to develop this genre in our country: Andreu Martín, Alicia Giménez Bartlett, Lorenzo Silva, Bruno Nieves, Cristina Fallarás, Juan Madrid, Esteban Navarro, Víctor del Árbol, Teresa Solana, Carolina Solé, Carlos Quílez, Carlos Salem, Sara Mesa, Juan Bolea, Aro Sáinz de la Maza, Dolores Redondo, and Carlos Zanón, among others.

It is evident that Spain is experiencing a boom of detective fiction and that the influence of translation has been immense. In further works, it would be interesting to focus on the most recent detective fiction produced in Spain and observe the current trends and specificities of the more contemporary Spanish writers. Just as Thompson's legacy is alive and well, we could find similar cases of writers who were not as successful upon first arriving in the country but that have now acquired a canonical status. Lastly, it would be interesting to further investigate the role of translation of detective fiction in our present day –not only taking into account the American tradition but also in relation to the Nordic or Scandinavian production- and see its evolution from the previous years.

As we have seen, the panorama of detective fiction seems quite stable in the Spanish literary polysystem, and such is the case presently in many other countries. As long as the genre's consumption is profitable for the publishing market, new authors, retranslations, and new forms of detective fiction are likely to appear in upcoming years. According to Polysystem Theories, canonized elements tend to gradually petrify, and non-canonized works that arrive at a polysystem usually challenge the center, creating different tensions between the polysystem's elements in a dynamic process. It might be the case in future years that detective fiction in Spain ceases to be a central element located in the canon, and it might lose its strength within the system, being relegated to a peripheral position. It will depend on the dominant circles –that, at this point, are editors and publishing houses- to accept the new upcoming material and to progressively grant it with power in order to change its status –from the periphery to the center. Only time will tell how the Spanish literary system evolves and how its elements interact with each other.

Traducción al español de Introducción y Conclusiones

Introducción

La novela policíaca y la novela negra se han convertido en uno de los géneros más populares en la actualidad, no solo en el panorama literario sino a través de diversos formatos y representaciones: está presente tanto en librerías, como en nuevas producciones cinematográficas, e incluso en numerosas adaptaciones televisivas. Este es tan solo uno de los síntomas que indican que se ha producido un cambio significativo en el consumo literario en un periodo de aproximadamente cuatro décadas. Aunque, ¿cómo y cuándo se ha convertido la novela policíaca en un género tan popular en España?

Esta tesis doctoral analiza el desarrollo del género de la novela policíaca y de la novela negra en España, escrito tanto por escritores nacionales como por escritores norteamericanos traducidos al español, comprendiendo el periodo que va desde el Régimen Franquista hasta nuestros días. Esta investigación se enmarca dentro de la Teoría de los Polisistemas aplicada a la traducción y es desde esta posición desde la que intentamos explicar la evolución del género en España. Dadas las particularidades históricas y políticas de nuestro país, el inicio de este análisis se sitúa en el periodo correspondiente a la dictadura franquista y, por ello, consideramos necesario analizar la censura que estaba en funcionamiento en dicho momento y que marcó el inicio del desarrollo del género, así como numerosas traducciones que siguen presentes en el mercado editorial de nuestros días. Muchos estudios han analizado previamente la censura (Ruiz Bautista), su relación con la traducción (como es el caso del proyecto TRACE, que comenzó durante la década de los noventa), la emergencia de la novela

detectivesca en España (Salvador Vázquez de Parga, José Colmeiro o Patricia Hart), así como el estudio de la Teoría de los Polisistemas en la traducción (Even-Zohar, Lefevere, Iglesias Santos). Sin embargo, el objetivo de esta tesis doctoral es analizar las interacciones de los siguientes elementos durante la dictadura franquista (1939-1975): novela de detectives, censura y traducción; y, en última instancia, proponer una aplicación de la Teoría de los Polisistemas al caso práctico de la novela policíaca en España y explicar así el desarrollo de este género en el país.

Desde esta posición argumentamos que la traducción sirve como una fuerza innovadora dentro del polisistema español: analizaremos el inicio del género en el país y cómo los escritores nacionales adoptaron un modelo foráneo y lo re-crearon en un nuevo contexto con diferentes particularidades. Asimismo, examinaremos el impacto que tuvo la censura franquista sobre la traducción de novela policíaca en España y sobre la producción nacional de novelas de este tipo. Para ello, en esta tesis se analiza la obra de dos escritores españoles (Francisco García Pavón y Manuel Vázquez Montalbán), así como la traducción al español de dos escritores estadounidenses (James M. Cain y Jim Thompson). La censura funciona así como un elemento común a todas estas obras que fueron publicadas durante la dictadura franquista:

El 15 de julio de 1942 la censura apercibe al I.N.L.E. de que es su criterio, a los efectos de aprobación de los planes editoriales, autorizar tan sólo «el mínimo de novelas de «tipo policiaco», donde abundan la degeneración, el juego, los vicios, venganzas, robos y crímenes». El ideal de la censura era llegar «a la completa suspensión de este tipo de

obras», y especialmente «las traducciones (sic) americanas». (AGA Cultura in Ruiz Bautista 70)

¿Por qué eran las novelas policíacas tan peligrosas para el Régimen Franquista? ¿Se enfrentaron todos los autores a la misma actitud censora? En caso de que no fuera así, ¿por qué no? ¿Por qué rechazaban específicamente las traducciones de novelas estadounidenses? ¿Cómo afectaron estas traducciones al desarrollo del género en España? ¿Cuál es el papel de la Teoría de los Polisistemas respecto al desarrollo del género en la literatura española? Estas son algunas de las preguntas que se tratarán en esta tesis doctoral, que se agrupan de la siguiente manera: 1) cuestiones relacionadas con la censura de novelas policíacas españolas; 2) cuestiones relacionadas con la traducción de novelas de este género procedentes de Estados Unidos –dado que esta cultura influyó enormemente al imaginario colectivo español en lo relativo a la novela negra y policíaca-; 3) aplicación práctica de la Teoría de los Polisistemas de la traducción en el desarrollo de la novela policíaca en España y su evolución hasta nuestros días.

En esta tesis se examinarán (1) los orígenes de la novela policíaca en la España de posguerra y durante la dictadura franquista; (2) el impacto de la censura en el desarrollo de este género; (3) la traducción de la novela negra estadounidense en el contexto español y su relación con este; (4) la aplicación de las Teorías de los Polisistemas de traducción en el caso del desarrollo de la novela policíaca en España. Dada la relevancia actual de la novela policíaca en el panorama literario español –así como su presencia mundial-, la motivación y relevancia de esta tesis residen en proponer un análisis del desarrollo del género y de las causas que han llevado a que

la novela policíaca actual posea una posición canónica y central en el polisistema literario español.

En el Capítulo Uno se presentará un marco introductorio que servirá para entender el contexto histórico, social y político español. Asimismo, se incluirá una breve introducción sobre el desarrollo del género policíaco como fenómeno editorial en el país. Finalmente, se presentará también un resumen de las principales teorías de traducción con especial énfasis a la Teoría de los Polisistemas. En el Capítulo Dos se argumentará que la obra de Francisco García Pavón (1919-1989), con su detective Plinio, marca el inicio de la novela policíaca en España. Dado que García Pavón es considerado un pionero en el género, se analizará el impacto de la censura en su obra y en el posterior desarrollo del género en España. El objetivo de este capítulo es analizar cómo el aparato censor usó las Leyes de Prensa como medio para fomentar un arquetipo determinado de identidad nacional durante el periodo franquista. También se examinará el impacto de la novela policíaca extranjera sobre García Pavón y su posible influencia sobre la expansión del género en el país. En el Capítulo Tres se investigará el influjo de la traducción del escritor estadounidense de novela negra James M. Cain (1892-1977) en la evolución de la novela policíaca española y los intentos del Régimen Franquista de suprimir dicha influencia. En este capítulo también se aplicará la Teoría de los Polisistemas para explicar nuestra visión acerca de cómo el género detectivesco llegó al panorama español y empezó a desarrollarse en este sistema literario. En el Capítulo Cuatro se contrastará la obra de Francisco García Pavón con la de Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003), escritor que desarrolló una postura más posmoderna en cuanto al género a través de su detective Carvalho y cuya experiencia con el aparato censor fue mucho más polémica.

Montalbán representa un estadio posterior en el desarrollo del género policíaco en España y, en particular, de la novela negra o *hardboiled*. En el Capítulo Cinco se estudiarán los últimos coletazos del franquismo y la posterior evolución del género en el país, paralelamente a las traducciones de Jim Thompson (1906-1977) finalizando con la situación actual del género en el polisistema nacional.

Como conclusión sugiero que, tal y como indica la Teoría de los Polisistemas aplicada a la traducción refiriéndose al estudio de las dinámicas de cambio en los sistemas literarios, el género policíaco llegó a España mediante la traducción y ha adquirido en la actualidad una posición canonizada en el centro del polisistema literario español. El continuo interés por el género se puede apreciar en el número de publicaciones actuales, los festivales y conferencias en torno al tema y el número de escritores españoles que han proliferado durante los últimos años.

La censura fue una de las herramientas principales del franquismo para moldear a la sociedad española durante casi 40 años (1936-1975). El aparato censor ejerció un control constante sobre escritores, traductores y editores respecto a asuntos religiosos, políticos e ideológicos, determinando qué material podía publicarse. Los comités de censura persiguieron la novela policíaca debido a su popularidad en España, autoproclamándose con la tarea de salvaguardar la integridad moral del pueblo español. Pese a que García Pavón nunca fue abiertamente político en su obra y escapó casi cualquier tipo de censura, se le ha considerado como un escritor y pensador liberal. Sin embargo, en esta tesis consideramos que la ideología del Régimen Franquista se refleja en el personaje de Plinio, que encarna los valores de aquel, y que sirve como un arquetipo inofensivo de entretenimiento que el español

medio debía interiorizar. Por el contrario, todas aquellas novelas que se alejaban del esquema franquista eran prohibidas por su peligroso e inmoral contenido, o completamente editadas antes de su publicación, como fue el caso de Montalbán y Cain. Para analizar la censura respecto a las obras en cuestión, nos referiremos en esta tesis a los expedientes de censura de estos autores, escritos por censores que escudriñaban todas las obras antes de ser publicadas. Dichos expedientes se encuentran en el Archivo General de la Administración, en Alcalá de Henares, Madrid y son aquí reproducidos con la aprobación de dicho Archivo con fines académicos. De la misma manera, en esta tesis se hará referencia a las Leyes de Prensa de 1938 y de 1966 que el Régimen Franquista promulgó como la base de su programa censor.

Conclusiones

Esta tesis doctoral ha supuesto un recorrido a lo largo del desarrollo del género policíaco en España. Comenzó durante los años de la dictadura franquista, sujeto a la censura a la que todas las obras debían someterse y bajo la cual todos los escritores vieron comprometida su creatividad. Fue precisamente en este contexto cuando las traducciones de novela policíaca extranjera comenzaron a llegar a nuestro país, y se empezaron a publicar junto con las numerosas y exitosas pseudotraducciones nacionales de esta misma temática. Algunas de estas traducciones fueron prohibidas en un primer momento y permanecieron en la sombra durante muchos años hasta que el franquismo entró en declive, perdiendo poder y control. A pesar de los intentos del Régimen de mantener todo bajo su yugo, la ingente cantidad de publicaciones que llegaban a España entorpeció la labor dictatorial de control sistematizado e inquebrantable. Aun así, muchas de estas traducciones siguen siendo publicadas hoy en día con las mismas omisiones realizadas por la censura, sin haber sido retraducidas o corregidas, como veremos en el análisis de las traducciones de Cain y Thompson. Este hecho demuestra que la traducción no es una disciplina valorada en el sistema literario español, ni por los lectores, ni por las editoriales –de lo contrario, sería imposible que estas traducciones siguieran siendo comercializadas-; incluso se demuestra que la popularidad y el éxito de una novela no depende de su calidad literaria y, mucho menos, de su calidad en términos de traducción.

Las publicaciones de algunas traducciones de novelas policíacas empezaron lentamente a ser aprobadas por la censura y comenzaron a ser leídas por la población española, entre la que se originó un cierto gusto y predilección por el género. Asimismo, empezó a surgir un imaginario colectivo común en torno al género,

influenciado también por las adaptaciones cinematográficas –en su mayoría estadounidenses- que llegaban al país, así como por el número de pseudotraducciones publicadas y periódicos como *El Caso*, que trataban crímenes truculentos y misteriosos sucesos. En aquel momento, debido al control del Régimen y a la falta de una tradición literaria del género policíaco en España, este permaneció en la periferia del sistema literario nacional.

Afirmamos en esta tesis doctoral que el género policíaco se comenzó a desarrollar en España, de la mano de escritores como Francisco García Pavón, debido a la innovación literaria causada por las traducciones que llegaban al sistema literario español. El Régimen franquista ejerció su poder facilitando la publicación de ciertos escritores, como es el caso de García Pavón, ya que, a pesar de la temática que desarrollaba, sus ideas no ponían en peligro la ideología imperante en aquel momento. Con el transcurso del tiempo la influencia de la traducción en España ha ido aumentando y se ha producido un *boom* de publicaciones de novela negra y policíaca en el país.

Al mismo tiempo, hubo escritores españoles que continuaron desarrollando el canon nacional de novela policíaca. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán no tuvo tanta suerte con sus publicaciones como García Pavón. El Régimen prohibió sistemáticamente los primeros intentos de publicación de Montalbán por su trayectoria política. Afortunadamente fueron los últimos años del franquismo y Montalbán pronto podría escribir prolíficamente y con total libertad. El escritor, que ya estaba familiarizado con la novela policíaca y la novela negra extranjeras, representa la consolidación del género en España como un repertorio cada vez más central en el canon del sistema literario español. Montalbán consiguió importar una fórmula extranjera y

reinterpretarla en otro contexto, contribuyendo de manera innovadora al panorama literario del país, dado que hasta ese momento no había apenas escritores españoles publicando novela negra. Su legado sigue siendo muy influyente después de todos estos años y ha sido la base para que muchos otros escritores hayan seguido desarrollando el género después de él. Las publicaciones de Montalbán se posicionaron inicialmente en la periferia del sistema literario y, después, adquirieron una posición central que continúa siendo el caso con la reedición de su obra en 2017 por la editorial Planeta y la futura continuación en 2018 de su personaje Carvalho a manos de escritor Carlos Zanón.

De la misma manera, se ha estudiado en esta tesis la influencia de novela policíaca y negra extranjera, a través de la obra de los escritores estadounidenses James M. Cain y Jim Thompson. Pese a que estos escritores no fueron tan canónicos durante los primeros años de recepción de traducciones de novela negra en España, representan una segunda ola de escritores frente a Chandler o Hammett. Estos escribían desde el punto de vista del detective y Cain y Thompson lo hacían desde la perspectiva del criminal, con un estilo mucho más crudo aunque preservando gran calidad literaria. El género llegó a España y se desarrolló, en gran parte, gracias a las traducciones de autores como ellos.

Las novelas de James M. Cain fueron censuradas y prohibidas en España durante varios años. Cuando finalmente las traducciones al español de su obra fueron publicadas, el género todavía se encontraba en un estado periférico a pesar de que cada vez más gente estaba familiarizada con él, aunque no contara con una tradición firme en el país. Las traducciones de su obra no fueron muy acertadas y, desafortunadamente, ninguna de estas obras ha vuelto a ser traducida. A pesar de las

cuestionables traducciones, el modelo de novela policíaca empezó a ser canonizado, sirviendo de referencia tanto para escritores como para el público lector nacional.

Pasados unos años, cuando se publica la obra de Jim Thompson, se puede observar que el panorama de la novela policíaca y novela negra ha cambiado en el país. Existen numerosas traducciones disponibles, así como publicaciones de escritores españoles que también desarrollan esta faceta. La obra de Thompson permaneció de igual manera en la periferia al llegar a España y solo eran escritores muy reconocidos –como Chandler, Agatha Christie, etc.- los que en ese momento tenían éxito en el país. Sin embargo, a partir de los años noventa en adelante, se produjo un cambio total en el polisistema literario y en la recepción de la obra de Thompson: la novela negra traducida adquiere una posición completamente central y de canon. Thompson pasó de ser un autor de culto, a ser uno de los autores con más publicaciones en la editorial RBA. Con esta tesis, explicamos este cambio en términos de la Teoría de los Polisistemas: los escritores más canónicos se estancaron y, tanto las editoriales como los lectores, buscaban nuevos autores que pudieran suplir a los anteriores, debido a la gran popularidad del género.

Este viaje por el desarrollo del género en el país termina con el análisis del panorama de la novela policíaca y negra en España: el género conserva su estatus canónico y central que se puede observar en el número de editoriales que cuentan con una línea de novela policíaca o negra (RBA, Salamandra, Planeta, Siruela, Mondadori, Ediciones Destino, Amargord, Flamma Editorial, Alrevés, Cuadernos del Laberinto, Alba Editorial, Editorial Amarante), así como librerías especializadas en Madrid y Barcelona, premios y competiciones (como el Premio internacional de novela negra by RBA; Premio L'H Confidential organized by Ed. Roca y Biblioteca La Bòvila;

Premio de novela negra in Getafe; y los premios especiales otorgados durante la Semana Negra), o festivales y semanas temáticas como la Semana Negra en Gijón, Getafe Negro, Valencia Negra y BCNegra.

Muchos escritores españoles han seguido y siguen desarrollando el género en nuestro país hoy en día, como por ejemplo: Andreu Martín, Alicia Giménez Bartlett, Lorenzo Silva, Bruno Nieves, Cristina Fallarás, Juan Madrid, Esteban Navarro, Víctor del Árbol, Teresa Solana, Carolina Solé, Carlos Quílez, Carlos Salem, Sara Mesa, Juan Bolea, Aro Sáinz de la Maza, Dolores Redondo y Carlos Zanón... entre otros.

Es evidente que se ha producido un *boom* de novela policíaca y novela negra y que la influencia de la traducción ha sido incalculable. En futuros trabajos sería interesante estudiar la ficción policíaca más reciente producida en España y analizar las modas actuales y las particularidades de una producción más contemporánea. Otra línea de investigación conllevaría encontrar casos de escritores similares al de Thompson, que no tuvo éxito en su primera recepción pero que han adquirido ahora una posición mucho más central y exitosa. Por último, sería interesante ahondar en la relación de la traducción y la novela policíaca y negra en la actualidad –no solo de novelas estadounidenses sino, por ejemplo, teniendo en cuenta la tradición nórdica o escandinava- y comparar la evolución que esta relación ha sufrido.

Como hemos visto a lo largo de esta tesis, la situación del género policíaco y negro en el panorama literario español es bastante estable, y podemos observar que esta situación se repite en otros países actualmente. Mientras que el género resulte rentable al mercado editorial es muy probable que surjan nuevos autores, retraducciones y nuevas formas y vertientes del género en los próximos años. Según las Teorías de los Polisistemas, los elementos canonizados tienden a petrificarse

gradualmente y las obras no canonizadas que llegan al polisistema suelen retar y desafiar la posición de aquellos elementos situados en el centro, creando diferentes tensiones en un proceso dinámico entre todos los elementos del polisistema. Podría darse el caso en los próximos años que el género policíaco y negro en España deje de ser un elemento central situado en el canon, y que pierda fuerza dentro del polisistema, siendo relegado a una posición periférica. Dependerá de los círculos dominantes – que, en este momento, son los editores y las editoriales- aceptar el nuevo material y dotarlo progresivamente de poder, haciendo que su estatus vaya variando dentro del polisistema –desde la periferia hasta el centro-. Solamente el tiempo revelará la evolución del sistema literario español y la interacción entre todos sus elementos.

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Appendix

Censorship Files

MINISTERIO DE CULTURA
ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA ADMINISTRACIÓN

Francisco García Pavón

1. Exp. 2060-68 Signatura 21/18813
2. Exp. 12747-78 Signatura 73/06806
3. Exp. 3254-72 Signatura 73/01742
4. Exp. 1107-65 Signatura 21/15915
5. Exp. 5272-71 Signatura 73/00894
6. Exp. 5046-72 Signatura 73/01875
7. Exp. 1241-75 Signatura 73/04625
8. Exp. 9983-67 Signatura 21/18611
9. Exp. 6825-77 Signatura 73/06148

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán

10. Signatura 21/14514 Carta y manuscrito (25/02/64)
11. Exp. 9554-71 Signatura 73/01231
12. Exp. 12544-71 Signatura 73/1441
13. Exp. 13233-74 Signatura 73/04543

James M. Cain

14. Exp. 3378-46 Signatura 21/07867
15. Exp. 3938-48 Signatura 21/08402
16. Exp. 6589-55 Signatura 21/11308
17. Exp. 1576-64 Signatura 21/15089
18. Exp. 2011-66 Signatura 21/17184
19. Exp. 7506 Signatura 36/03302
 - Exp. 7506/2 Signatura 36/00302
 - Exp. 7506/3 Signatura 36/00302
20. Exp. 6844 Signatura 36/03279
21. Exp. 8090 Signatura 36/03323

Jim Thompson

22. Exp. 10999-73 Signatura 73/03490
23. Exp. 1997-75 Signatura 73/04665
24. Exp. 3627-76 Signatura 73/05402
25. Exp. 69011 Signatura 36/04464

Appendix I

Francisco García Pavón



DEPOSITO

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

db.

EXPEDIENTE N.º 2060-68

Presentada con fecha **8 MAR. 1968**
instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial
del depósito de la obra **REINADO DE WITIZA, EL**
de la que es autor **GARCIA PAVON, Francisco**

editada por Destino
con un volumen de 259 páginas
y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de **8 MAR. 1968** de 1968

El Jefe del Registro,

Juan S. Bana

ANTECEDENTES *no*

[Signature]

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don *14*
Madrid, de de 1968

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

[Signature]

Mod. 485-2

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

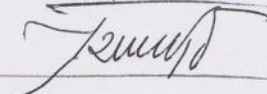
NOVELA.-C

Novela del genero llamado policiaco. La accion de desarrolla en el pueblo manchego de Tomelloso. Uno de los ricachos del pueblo, tenia comprado un nicho en el cementerio. De pronto aparece en el nicho un cajon que contiene un cadaver de una persona desconocida. Empezadas las pesquisas en averiguacion de la muerte de esta persona, desfilan por el libro una serie de personajes clasicos en los pueblos, tales como el Veterinario, Juez Municipal, Jefe de la Policia Urbana, y otros mas significados, al final de la obra se demuestra que no ha existido ningun asesinato, y que el cadáver pertenece a un ser desconocido, que fue enviado al reich del pueblo para gastarle una broma. Novela que no ofrece ninguna dificultad tecnica, ya que no roza ningun problema social ni politico.

ES ADMISIBLE EL DEPOSITO.

Madrid, 8 de marzo de 1968

El lector,





MINISTERIO DE CULTURA

DIRECCION GENERAL DEL LIBRO Y BIBLIOTECAS

Servicio de Promoción Editorial

em.

DEPOSITO



11,45 h.

EXPEDIENTE N.º 12747-78

FECHA DE PRESENTACION: 24-11-78 VENCIMIENTO LEGAL:

TITULO DE LA OBRA: OTRA VEZ DOMINGO
Col. Club del crimen

Mod. 485-4

AUTOR: GARCIA PAVON, Francisco

EDITORIAL: Sedmay

NUMERO DE PAGINAS: 192

TIRADA OFICIALMENTE DECLARADA: 5.000 (250 Pts.)

ANTECEDENTES:

EDICION:

MC
OS

IMPORTACION:

PASE AL LECTOR: 13

MADRID, 24 DE 11 DE 1978

EL JEFE

[Handwritten signature]

INFORME

También la legua castellana, y la Mancha muy en particular, tienen derecho a contar con detectives agudos y casos intrincados por resolver. Esta novela es un ejemplo. En Tomelloso pocas cosas ocurren de auténtica novedad. El cura, el veterinario, el alcalde, el médico, y los buenos vecinos, todos bien conocidos, forman el elenco de la vida diaria. Pero hay también un simpático guardia municipal que nada tiene que envidiar a los flamáticos agentes americanos: conoce y sabe de memoria los pequeños líos de cada cual y hasta los pensamientos de sus vecinos. Y cuando aquel día ocurre la desaparición del médico no tarda en encontrar pistas para seguir sus pasos. Pasos que le llevan al hallazgo del cadáver del infortunado doctor y poco más tarde al descubrimiento de su asesino.

La novela es interesante, limpia, de costumbres castizas tanto como de intriga policíaca. Todo amable, sin violencia, tranquilo como los pueblos manchegos.

NO RESPONDE.

Dis de imprenta: compl to.

MADRID, 24 DE noviembre DE 1978

Conforme:

Jefe de _____

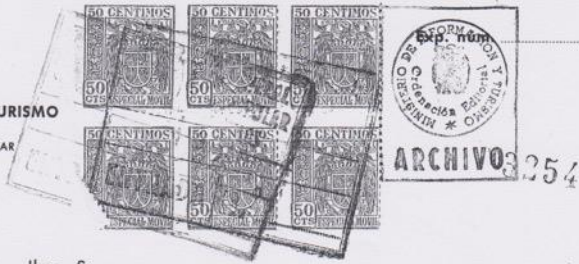
Jefe de _____



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, Tomasita Garcia de Fuentes, con domicilio en Madrid, calle Serrano, número 61, en representación de la Editorial Prensa Española, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra SI presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO: NEUVOS ARTICULOS DE COSTUMBRES

Nombre Francisco, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos García Pavón

EDITOR: Prensa Española inscrito con el número 272 en

el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 171

Formato 18 x 12,5

Tirada efectuada 2.000

Precio de venta 160,-

Colección en que se incluye

Madrid. Hora 11.50. Fecha 13 de Marzo de 1972

EL SOLICITANTE,



[Handwritten signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

Mod. 711

DEPOSITO

[Handwritten notes: Accepted 11.3.72]



DEPOSITO

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos

Sección de Organización Editorial

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previo a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

Madrid, de 15 MAR. 1972 198

PM EXPEDIENTE N.º 3254-72

Presentada con fecha 13 MAR. 1972

instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial del depósito de la obra NUEVOS ARTICULOS DE COSTUMBRES de la que es autor GARCIA PAVON, Francisco

editada por Prensa Española con un volumen de 171 páginas y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de 13 MAR. 1972 de 1972

El Jefe del Registro,

[Handwritten signature]

ANTECEDENTES: *[Handwritten notes]*

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, de 14 de 13 de 3 de 1972

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Francisco García Pavón es, en estos momentos harto conocido. Su libro "Nuevos Artículos de Costumbres" se aparta un poco del género peculiarísimo suyo, de Simenon a la española. No se trata de una novela. Sino de cortos ensayos en ~~xxxx~~ torno ala vida actual española tratados con su ironía y su objetividad de siempre, pero no carentes de gracia. Su libro se lee de un tirón, y a pesar de su sarcasmo, no tiene nada que objetar.

ACEPTADO.

Madrid, 14 de Marzo de 1972
El lector,

A. Vaizquez



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Información
 Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1107-65

Presentada con fecha 1965
 instancia en solicitud de autorización para
 imprimir la obra CARROS VACIOS, Los
 de la que es autor GARCIA PAVON, Francisco
 editada por Alfaguara
 con un volumen de 100 páginas
 y una tirada de 8.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de 13 de 1965

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

M. I.

ANTECEDENTES: *m*

[Firma manuscrita]

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
 y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don *20*

Madrid, *13* de *2* de 1965

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

[Firma manuscrita]

Mod. 465 - 5.000 - VIII-63

I N F O R M E

N.º = 20

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

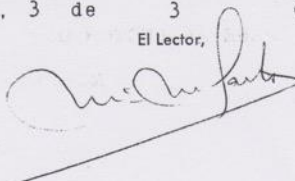
-C-

En Tomelloso se cometen varios crímenes cuyos víctimas son unos meloneros que aparecen apuñalados y tendidos en sus respectivos carros sin la correspondiente recaudación de la venta. La sagacidad de un guardia municipal descubre que los asesinos son varios individuos de distinta vida a juzgar por las características que presentan los cadáveres. Así es en efecto y los autores de los delitos pasan convictos y confesos a disposición de la justicia.

No es obra para lectores infantiles.

Madrid, 3 de 3 de 1965

El Lector,





MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
Dirección General de Información
Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1107-65

Presentada con fecha 11 febrero 1965
instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra **CARROS VACIOS**, los
de la que es autor **GARCIA PAVON**, Francisco
editada por **Alfaguara**

con un volumen de 100 páginas
y una tirada de 8.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

Mod. 485. - 5.000 - XII-64

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don 20

Madrid, 6 de marzo de 1965

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

I N F O R M E

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

En un pueblo de la Mancha, Tomelloso, (parece que voy a comenzar un nuevo Quijote) se han cometido tres asesinatos con robo de los que han sido víctimas tres meloneros. El pueblo está un poco asustado porque no se consigue encontrar a los autores. Abundan tesis para todos los gustos.

Al fin el guardia municipal ayudado del médico del pueblo, aficionado a lo detective, descubren los asesinos: un guarda agujas del tren y un vecino del pueblo.

PROCEDE SU AUTORIZACION.-

Madrid, 11 de III de 1965

El Lector,



RESULTADO

se propone la **AUTORIZACION**

Madrid, de 12 MAR. 1965 de 196
El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

RESOLUCION

VISTOS el informe de la Sección de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, este Servicio estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser **AUTORIZADA**

Madrid, de 12 MAR. 1965 de 196
El Jefe del Servicio,



CONFORME con el Servicio.

Madrid, de de 196
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación editorial



Exp. núm.



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, IBER-AMER, S.A., con domicilio en MADRID, calle Plaza de Platerias Martinez, número 409, en representación de la Editorial EDICIONES DESTINO, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado del día 19, de la obra SI presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO: UNA SEMANA DE LLUVIA

Nombre FRANCISCO seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos GARCIA PAVON

EDITOR: EDICIONES DESTINO inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 246

Formato 13 x 19 cm

Tirada efectuada 5.000 ejemplares

Precio de venta

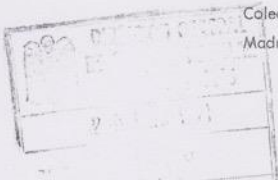
Colección en que se incluye ANCORA Y DELFIN Nº 366

Madrid. Hora 12:05 Fecha 24 de Mayo de 1966

EL SOLICITANTE,

[Handwritten signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.



Mod. 711 - 11520

DEPOSITO

[Handwritten signature]



DEPOSITO

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
Dirección General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos
Sección de Ordenación Editorial



PH **EXPEDIENTE N.º 5272-7 ARCHIVO**

Presentada con fecha **24 MAYO 1971**

instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial
del depósito de la obra **SEMANA DE LLUVIA**, Una
de la que es autor **GERCIJA PAVON**, Francisco

editada por Destino

con un volumen de 246 páginas
y una tirada de 5.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de **24 MAYO 1971** de 1971
El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: No

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, **29** de **5** de 1971
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485

I N F O R M E

Billu
CSG
17-5-71

¿Ataca al Dogma?	Páginas	
¿A la moral?	Páginas	
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?	Páginas	
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?	Páginas	
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?	Páginas	
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?		<i>a.</i>

Informe y otras observaciones:

Trama oplicada. comienza en un pueblo manchego, donde se quitan la vida dos jóvenes muchachos y el contenido con una cuchillada en la espalda un joven extranjero que ha llegado para pasar las fiestas.

Al decir del autor hay en el pueblo un hombre que se dedica a desflorar jóvenes. Los males no quisieran soltar al consuegro, pero que las autoridades locales llegan a relacionar entre una de las jóvenes desfloras y el hombre asesinado como que al final, resulta cierto.

La novela es de un vocabulario demasiado vulgar para ser leído, como ocurre en las páginas: 22-25-29-32-39-51-53-83-85-98-99-107-115-118-125-129-130-131-133-134-135-143-146-147-148-149-159-161-162-163-164-176-209 y 212. En las páginas 161 y 162 hace unas alusiones un poco desafortunadas políticamente.

Después de lo anterior no contiene nada imputable se la puede considerar.

ACEPTARLE pero en los copiosos consiguientes.

Madrid, 26 de Mayo de 1971
El Lector,

Leminghaus
Alfaro
Kille



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

PM

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5046-72

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previo a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

DEPOSITO



ARCHIVO 24 ABR. 1972

Presentada con fecha instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial del depósito de la obra **VENDIMIARIO DE PLINIO**

de la que es autor **GARCIA PAVON, Francisco**

editada por **Destino**

con un volumen de **198** páginas
y una tirada de **3.000** ejemplares

Madrid, **24 ABR. 1972** de 197

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: **NO**

ac

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don **14**
Madrid, **24** de **11** de 197

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

La muerte repentina de una suegra, que obliga a un matrimonio veraneante en Benalmádena a ocultarla en un cajón, ya cerca de Manzanares, y el robo del automóvil por una especie de banda "hippie" es la trama de esta última novela de García Pavón con su personaje Plinio, que no para hasta descubrir el hecho, con su lenguaje desenfadado y característico de siempre, el estudio de tipos, y la gracia inconfundible del escritor. Nada que objetar.

ACEPTADO

Madrid, 25 de ABRIL de 197 2

El Lector,

A. Vazquez



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial



Exp. núm.

5048

Ilmo. Sr.:

Handwritten notes:
Ampara
17.2.71
O

El que suscribe, IBER-AMER, S. A., con domicilio en MADRID, calle Plaza de Platerias Martinez, número uno, en representación de la Editorial EDICIONES DESTINO, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra SI NO presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.



TITULO: VENDINIARIO DE PLINIO

Nombre FRANCISCO, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos GARCIA PAVON

EDITOR: EDICIONES DESTINO inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 198

Formato 13 x 19 cms.

Tirada efectuada 3.000 ejemplares

Precio de venta

Colección en que se incluye ANCORA Y DELFIN Nº 398

Madrid. Hora 12 Fecha 21 de Abril de 1972

EL SOLICITANTE
Handwritten signature

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

EJEMPLAR EN BIBLIOTECA
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACIÓN Y TURISMO
DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE COLECCIÓN POPULAR
Sección de Régimen Editorial

DEPOSITO

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previsto en la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.
Madrid, de 1975

5 FEB. 1975 198

EXPEDIENTE N.º 1241-75

10,40

cr

3 FEB. 1975

Presentada con fecha instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial del depósito de la obra **ULTIMO SABADO, EI**

de la que es autor **GARCIA PAVON, Francisco**

editada por Destino
con un volumen de 211 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares.
Madrid, de 3 FEB. 1975 de 197

Mod. 485-2

El Jefe del Negociado de Tramitación,

211

ANTECEDENTES: No TP

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 20
Madrid, 3 de 2 de 1975
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?
Informe y otras observaciones:

García Pavón ha hecho célebre su personaje Plinio, vital para varias de sus novelas y relatos. En "El último sábado" a la primera narración, con dicho título dedica la mayor extensión. Julián Quiralte, tiene relaciones con Felisa, viuda de un pueblo manchego. Al morir éste en casa de la amante y aparecer su cadáver en condiciones anormales, Plinio lleva la parte activa de la investigación. En los otros relatos del libro hay unidad de personaje pero no de tema, sobre todo en "Dos historias de viudas" y en "Dos relatos sin "caso". El ambiente popular y los protagonistas reflejan la verdad de hombres reales, conocidos bien por el autor. Lo vulgar, con todo, está ausente de sus temas. No presentan los diferentes relatos ningún aspecto negativo a destacar, no presentando inconveniente su aprobación.

Autorizada

Madrid, 4 de febrero de 1975

El lector,

A. Teixidor



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL DE INFORMACION
 ORIENTACION BIBLIOGRAFICA



EXPEDIENTE N.º 9983-67

9 DIC. 1967

Presentada con fecha instancia en solicitud de ~~conservación~~ depósito 12,30 de la obra GUERRA DE LOS DOS MIL AÑOS, La

de la que es autor GARCIA PAVON, Francisco

editada por Destino

con un volumen de 212 páginas

y una tirada de 5.000 ejemplares

Madrid, de 9 DIC. 1967 de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: *no*

Liberty

[Handwritten signature]

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 36

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

[Handwritten signature]

Mod. 485 - 5542

I N F O R M E

~~SECRET~~ OS
A. C. R. G.

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
 - ¿A la moral? Páginas
 - ¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
 - ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
 - ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
- Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Narraciones encadenadas de tipo alegórico, surrealista y kafkiano con gran dosis de onirismo y sensualidad. Sin embargo, la intención principal del libro es política. El autor y una mujer extraña bella y sensual, Ella, que parece símbolo de la Verdad, hacen una serie de visitas a diversos lugares, lo que da pretexto para criticar la moral, la familia, la religión, el régimen, el pasado, la Historia de España, el inmovilismo del régimen. Hay cosas tomadas de Kafka, de Orwell y del túnel del tiempo. Como especialmente sintomáticos veasen los cuentos "El reencuentro", "El cementerio capitoné", "El rodeo", "La fiesta nacional", "El avión en paz", "Los judíos", "El mundo transparente", "Los andamios", "Coches para todo terreno", "El sueño cortado". El libro está magníficamente escrito y toda la crítica hecha con gran habilidad, amparándose en la alegoría constante. Sin embargo, la intención antirrégimen es clara. No creo, sin embargo, que el volumen sea denunciabile, pero tampoco puedo aceptar el depósito.

↓
El Sr. Director
de Vigilancia confirma la
imposibilidad de denunciar
esta obra.
Madrid, 11 de ~~noviembre~~ diciembre de 1967
El lector,
April 12



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Régimen Editorial

em.

DEPOSITO



9,30 n.

EXPEDIENTE N.º 6825-77

FECHA DE PRESENTACION: 26-5-77 VENCIMIENTO LEGAL:

TITULO DE LA OBRA: NACIONALES, Los
Col. Ancora y Delfin nº 503

AUTOR: GARCIA PAVON, Francisco

EDITORIAL: Destino

NUMERO DE PAGINAS: 175

TIRADA OFICIALMENTE DECLARADA: 3.000

Mod. 485-2

ANTECEDENTES:

EDICION: No P. 1^a

IMPORTACION:

PASE AL LECTOR: 1

MADRID, 26 DE 5 DE 1977

EL JEFE DE LECTORADO,

INFORME

PRE DE IMPRESION.- Completo

PROPUESTA.- El libro consiste en una serie de cuadros cortos sobre la ocupación de Tomelloso por los nacionales al fin de la guerra. Parece innecesario decir que el libro está destinado a atacar a la España nacional y así abusar de la represión, los encarcelados, las venganzas y en general todo lo que pueda dañar a la imagen de la ocupación por los nacionales de la zona roja.

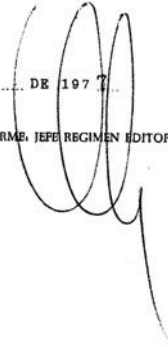
Como se refiere a una época ya vieja de cuarenta años, y a hechos locales en un pueblo, carece de amplitud para que se pueda considerar agresivo. Por otra parte no ataca ni a la Monarquía ni a la Patria ni al Ejército por lo que a pesar del tema en cuestión hay que considerarlo **NO IMPUNIBLE**.

MADRID, 26 DE Mayo DE 1971

CONFORME, JEFE DE LECTORADO,



CONFORME, JEFE REGIMEN EDITORIAL,



Appendix II
James M. Cain


VICESECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
DELEGACION NACIONAL
DE PROPAGANDA
 SECCION DE CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm. _____
 Registro núm. _____

H. M.

IMPORTACION

Ilmo. Sr.

El que suscribe DON JOAQUIN DE OTEYZA GARCIA
 con domicilio en Madrid calle Alcántara núm. 13
 solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias,
 para la ~~edición~~ ^{importación} del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.
 Autor James M^o Cain
 Título EL CARTERO LLAMO DOS VECES
 Editor EMECE Domiciliado en Buenos Aires
 Calle _____ núm. _____
 Volumen _____
 Formato _____
XXXX Ejemplares importados. - 500. - Esta entrando la re esa
 Precio de venta 8,-- ptas
 Colección en que se incluye ⁽¹⁾ _____
 Madrid, 29 de Julio de 1946.
 El solicitante,

V. E. P. Mod. 158. 3.000 ejempl. 9-3-45. Anib.

2297

3378

(1) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

ILMO. SR. DELEGADO NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA

INFORME DEL LECTOR

¿Ataca al Dogma o a la Moral? A la Moral

¿A las instituciones del Régimen? No

¿Tiene valor literario o documental? _____

Razones circunstanciales que aconsejan una u otra decisión _____

Historia de un criminal ~~m~~ y adúltero, contada por él mismo con excesiva cinismo y prolijidad.

Véanse las páginas: 19, 20, 21, 27, 38, 40, 63, 64, 120, 121, 122 y 154.

Observaciones _____

FIRMA DEL LECTOR





MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
 SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
 SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS



IMPORTACION EXPEDIENTE N.º 3938-48

Presentada con fecha 9-8-48
 Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la
 obra EL SUPPLICIO DE UNA MADRE

de la que es autor James M. Cain

editada por LMECE = EDHASA

con un volumen de 377 páginas y
 una tirada de 200 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

COMPROBACION:

Sin antecedentes

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º 16

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

S. E. P. Mod. 485-5000 ej. 20-11-47-I. G. Magerit, S. A.

INFORME

¿Ataca al Dogma?	<i>no</i>	Páginas
¿A la Iglesia?	<i>no</i>	Páginas
¿A sus Ministros?	<i>no</i>	Páginas
¿A la moral?	<i>si</i>	Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?	<i>no</i>	Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?	<i>no</i>	Páginas

RESULTANDO *

Por su fondo fuercamente in-
moral, no debe autorizarse
su publicación.

Madrid, 29 de Agosto de 1948

Lector,

M. J. A.

* El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.


SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA



Exp.-3938-48
=====

"EL SUPPLICIO DE UN
PADRE".-James M. Cain

Vista su instancia de 9 de agosto
de 1.948 solicitando la
autorización reglamentaria para la
importación

de una publicación, y el dictamen emitido al
efecto;

Vista la orden de 29 de abril de 1938
(B. O. del 30). y demás disposiciones comple-
mentarias;

Esta Dirección general, a propuesta de la
Sección correspondiente, ha resuelto:

Denegar la autorización necesaria para la
importación de la obra por
usted solicitada.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 31 de agosto de 1948

El Director general de Propaganda.

S. E. P. - Mod. 355 - 5 000 ejempl. 23 - 1 - 46



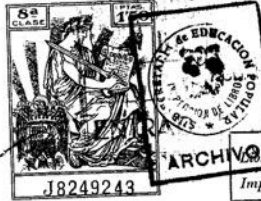
Sr. D. EDITORA Y D. H-AMERICANA.-Casanova, nº. 115.-BARCELONA



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACIÓN NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm. _____

Registro núm. _____

Libros argentinos
Importados de Argentina

Ilmo. Sr.

El que suscribe D. José M.º Llovet Arnal, Director-Gerente de "EDITORIA Y DISTRIBUIDORA HISPANO-AMERICANA, S. A." (E. D. H. A. S. A.) con domicilio en Barcelona, calle de Casanova, n.º 115, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de Abril de 1938 y disposiciones complementarias para la importación siguiente:

Autor.. . . .	James M. Cain
Título.	EL SUPPLICIO DE UNA MADRE
Editor.	Emecé Editores, S. A. San Martín, 427 - Buenos Aires
Volumen.	377 pag.
Formato	18 x 11
Ejemplares	doscientos
Precio de venta	20.- Ptas.
Colección.	La Puerta de Marfil

Madrid, 20 de Julio de 1948



E. D. H. A. S. A.
J. Llovet Arnal
DIRECTOR-GERENTE

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA. - MADRID



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS



EXPEDIENTE N.º 6589-55

Presentada con fecha 29-12-55
Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la obra
LE FACTEUR SONNE TOUJOURS DEUX FOIS
EL CARTERO LLAMA SIEMPRE DOS VECES
de la que es autor JAMES CAIN

editada por GALLIMARD-S Gral Esp de Lib.

con un volumen de 185 páginas y
una tirada de 200 ejemplares.

Madrid, 29 de Dic de 19 55

El Jefe de Lectorado,

Mod. 485

COMPROBACION:

*Exp 399-54 (inglés)
Suspendida inscripción
el 6-2-54*

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º 11

Madrid, 12 de 1 de 196

El Jefe de Lectorado,



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Sección de Inspección de Libros

EXPEDIENTE N.º 6589-55

Presentada con fecha 29-12-55
instancia en solicitud de autorización para im-
primir la obra "LE FACTEUR SONNE TOUJOURS DEUX
FOIX"
de la que es autor JAMES CAIN
editada por GALLIMARD S.G.E. de Librería, S.A
con un volumen de 185 páginas
y una tirada de 200 ejemplares.
Madrid, de de 195

El Jefe de Lectorado,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Dñ 25
Madrid, 48 de 1 de 1956

El Jefe de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-5.000-4-54

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma?	Páginas
¿A la Moral?	Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?	Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?	Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?	Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?	

Informe y otras observaciones:

En "Le facteur s'enne deux fois toujours" de Cain se narra una historieta inmeral. Una mujer casada en connivencia con un dependiente de su marido, propietario de una cantina-restaurant, perpetra un atentado contra su esposo para poder vivir su vida amorosa ilegítima. Fracasado el primer intento, acuden los dos amantes a otro recurso con éxito cumplido: la muerte del marido. No queda la cosa aquí. Desplazado el esposo ocurre luego la muerte violenta también de la esposa adúltera, a poco de casarse con su amante. La novela es bronca y de perfiles duros. En realidad opino por negar su impertinencia, pues además de ser narración francamente inmeral, para nada enriquece la literatura francesa ni el nivel de los lectores españoles.

Madrid, 28 de enero de 1956.

El Lector,

NO DEBE PUBLICARSE

Miguel de la Pinta Llerente
Miguel de la Pinta Llerente



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Información
 Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1576-64

Presentada con fecha 9 de Mayo de 1964
 instancia en solicitud de autorización para
 imprimir la obra CARTER SEMPRE TRUCA DUES VEGADES, Et
The postman always rings twice
 de la que es autor CAIN James A.
 editada por Ediciones 62

con un volumen de 96 páginas
 y una tirada de 1.500 ejemplares.

Madrid, de 11 de Mayo de 1964

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

Mod. 485 - 5.000 - VIII-63

*El postman always rings twice
 (El cartero siempre llaman dos veces)*

[Firma]

ANTECEDENTES:

*399-54 importación
 Suspensión 5-2-54*

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
 y Ficheros,

[Firma]

PASE AL LECTOR Don 31

Madrid, 11 de 3 de 1964

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

[Firma]

THE POSTMAN ALWAYS RINGS TWICE

'I began slipping off her blouse. Rip me, Frank. Rip me like you did that night.'

I ripped all her clothes off. She twisted and turned, slow, so they would slip out from under her. Then she closed her eyes and lay back on the pillow. Her hair was falling over her shoulders in snaky curls. Her eye was all black, and her breasts weren't drawn up, and pointing up at me, but soft, and spread out in two big pink splotches. She looked like the great grandmother of every whore in the world. The devil got his money's worth that night.

XIII

We kept that up for six months. We kept it up, and it was always the same way. We'd have a fight, and I'd reach for the bottle. What we had the fights about was going away. We couldn't leave the state until the suspended sentence was up, but after that I meant we should blow. I didn't tell her, but I wanted her a long way from Sackett. I was afraid if she got sore at me for something, she'd go off her nut and spill it like she had that other time, after the arraignment. I didn't trust her for a minute. At first, she was all hot for going too, specially when I got talking about Hawaii and the South Seas, but then the money began to roll in. When we opened up, about a week after the funeral, people flocked out there to see what she looked like, and then they came back because they had a good time. And she got all excited about here was our chance to make some more money.

'Frank, all these roadside joints around here are lousy. They're run by people that used to have a farm back in Kansas or somewhere, and got as much idea how to entertain people as a pig has. I believe if somebody came along that knew the business like I do, and tried to make it nice for them, they'd come and bring all their friends.'

'To hell with them. We're selling out anyhow.'

'We could sell easier if we were making money.'

'We're making money.'



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Información
 Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1573-64

Presentada con fecha 9 MAR 1964
 instancia en solicitud de autorización para
 imprimir la obra DOBLE INDEMNITZACION
 Assurance sur la mort
 de la que es autor CAIN James A.
 editada por Ediciones 62
 con un volumen de 431 páginas
 y una tirada de 1.500 ejemplares.

Madrid, de 9 MAR 1964 de 1964
 El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:
 no - P. B.

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
 y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don 29

Madrid, 11 de 3 de 1964
 El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

Mod. 485 - 5.000 - VIII-63

I N F O R M E

N. L. 7

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones: (C) Novela judicialica, con
muchas aventuras y muchos muertos. Trata de una
mujer que representa un caso patológico, en su afán
de asesinar la gente. Hasta el final se suicida.
La obra no tiene nada de peculiar.

PUEDA AUTORIZARSE -

Madrid, 14 de Mayo de 1964

El lector,
Wetor



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
Dirección General de Información
Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica



EXPEDIENTE N.º 2011-66

Presentada con fecha 7-3-66
instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra LA ESPOSA DEL ILUSIONISTA
de la que es autor James M. Cain
editada por Caralt
con un volumen de páginas
y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares
Madrid, de de 1966
El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

Mod. 485.

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR Don 21

Madrid, 12 de 4 de 1966
El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

F/

I N F O R M E

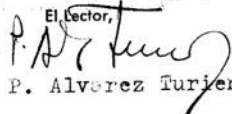
¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Novela. La esposa de un ilusionista se enamora del personaje central, un negociante. Para casarse necesita hacer desaparecer al marido. Un accidente de automóvil bien preparado y muere en efecto el marido, de cuya muerte culpan a una chica inocente que le acompañaba. El presunto nuevo esposo conoce a la madre de la presunta nueva esposa, y no sabe cómo decidirse ya que ella también le atrae. Esta última muere misteriosamente, etc. Relato de intriga, en el que los escrúpulos morales se echan bastante en falta. De todos modos, resulta claro que los actos delictivos son reconocidos como tales.

PUEDE AUTORIZARSE

Madrid, 24 de abril de 1966

El lector,

P. Alvarez Turienzo



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Información

Sección de Orientación Bibliográfica

EXPEDIENTE N.º 2011-66

7 MAR. 1966

Presentada con fecha

instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra ESPOSA DEL ILUSIONISTA, La
The magicians's wife
de la que es autor CAIN, James C.

editada por Luis de Caralt

con un volumen de 250 páginas
y una tirada de 2.000 ejemplares

Madrid, de 7 MAR de 1966

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

ANTECEDENTES: 70

PASE AL LECTOR Don 37

Madrid, 8 de III de 1966

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

Mod. 485.

I N F O R M E

N.C. 20

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? ^{no} Páginas
¿A la moral? ^{no} Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? ^{no} Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? ^{no} Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? ^{no} Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

Novela política:

En ella se describen adulterios, asesinatos, torpes profanos, etc. Se desarrolla en un clima de total amoralidad. Incluido el castigo físico de los culpables se produce bajo la forma de un asesinato más un suicidio.

Establecidos verdaderos y peligrosos esta amoralidad que una actitud inhumana.

SALUDA PARA PROGRAMAS DE BUENA LECTURA Y VISIÓN

Madrid, 11 de marzo de 1963

El Lector,

R. Muñoz Blanco

INFORME

N. L. 18

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

C. Novela.
De amor, de intriga, policíaca, de todo un poco.
El clásico triángulo. Un señor casado que se enamora de otra señora casada esposa de un mago. Estas relaciones terminan con el asesinato del mago, pero la cosa no termina bien porque la suegra, o sea la madre de la señora está también enamorada del primero que interviene en el asunto y duda porque no sabe que escoger entre salvar a su hija o ganar para ella el tal primer señor.

PROCEDE SU AUTORIZACION.-

Madrid, 28 de III de 196⁶

El Lector,

Amor Duth

INFORME

N. L. 27

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones: (1).- (Solo literariamente interesante).- LA ESPOSA DEL ILUSIONISTA es la novela del típico capitán de industria norteamericano, que se enamora de Sally, la esposa del ilusionista infiel Alexis, convive con ella sabiendo que es casada, llega a entenderse con Miss Conlon, la auxiliar y amante de Alexis, y acaba por enamorarse de Grace, la madre viuda de Sally, y por casarse con ella, después de hacerle conocer su anterior intimidad con la hija. Con esta, y para que pueda heredar a su marido, concierta a lo último el asesinato de Alexis, lo ejecuta y...al ver que resulta casual e injustamente inculpada de él y condenada por instigación de Sally la inocente Mis Conlon, no solo le paga el mejor abogado, sino que resuelve exonerarla por completo de culpa (había sido condenada a una pequeña pena) mediante el propio testimonio notarial, que expide poco antes de extran- gular por su mano a la cómplice del asesinato y esposa de la víctima y de suicidarse él para sustraerse a la silla eléctrica.

La novela, de un vigor dramático excepcional y no exenta de trágica grandeza en su desenlace, ignora, sin embargo, por completo la moral católica y aun cristiana. El mismo inhumano asalto sexual (acotado para supresión en la página 421) a su esposa en el momento en que le revela la culpabilidad criminal de la hija y se dispone a matarla y morir, recuerda el estoicismo epicúreo de los paganos llamando a la esclava predilecta antes de abrirse las venas.

Teniendo en cuenta que en la narración se aprueba tácitamente el adulterio, el divorcio, el asesinato y una relación sexual en la que el matrimonio viene a consagrar una especie de incesto natural, Madrid, 5 de abril de 1966
el suscrito opina que
NO PUEDE ACONSEJARSE
LA AUTORIZACION

El Lector,

Manuel Avel

Vista la pág. 221 no parece procedente el ~~no~~ suprimir ese párrafo
PRJAKD

SUPRESIONES DECRETADAS

=====

Lo que certifico como Secretario de la Junta, con el V.º B.º del Presidente, para los efectos que procedan.

Madrid, 6 de octubre de 1947.

V.º B.º
EL PRESIDENTE.



EL SECRETARIO.



Vista la presente acta, expídase el certificado de censura correspondiente con el acuerdo de la Junta.

Madrid, 7 de octubre de 1947.

EL DIRECTOR GENERAL.





SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de Octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *"Mildred Pierce"*
VOCAL *Gabriel García Espina*

INFORME

Del como está, imposible. Acaso tenga un difícil arreglo. Hecho la cosa importante en cuanto a los textos y a la modificación de algunas escenas. En tal caso se examina de nuevo.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida?
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día de de 194

TÍTULO DE LA PELÍCULA Mildred's Pierce

VOCAL Guillermo de Reyna

INFORME

Película en la que el cúmulo de situaciones irregulares y francamente inmorales, más que por su fondo por su ejemplaridad perniciosa y detestable ambiente hacen imposible su aprobación.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *Mildred Pierce*

VOCAL *P. Instancia de eldesece*

INFORME

El ambiente de esta película, particularmente las relaciones matrimoniales, maternales y filiales de la misma son típicamente americanos, o sea, opuestos por su despreocupación y libertad a nuestra tradicional y verdadera concepción del hogar y contrarios a los dictados de la moral, eterna e indiscutible.

Las situaciones, aptitudes y reacciones, que tipen la película: divorcio, adulterio, incesto, rebeldías de la juventud, que se elapa de casa, fuga a su madre, la quita el marido y lo asesina etc. son de todo punto inadmisibles por inmorales y además sumamente permisivos, porque todo, hasta lo horrendo, ocurre y se presenta como algo natural, inevitable, casi intranscendente. Entiendo que, por los motivos que se apuntan, la película es de una ipseparidad permisiva, no sólo para un gran sector del público español, corriente de formación, sino también para un gran sector del público extranjero, que en el caso

CLASIFICACION

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? *Prohibida*

¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? *no y en lo anti español.*

¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?

¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?

¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? *Prohibida*

Categoría a efectos económicos

Categoría artística en que se clasifica

¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de Octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Mildred Pierce

VOCAL Prof. Juan Guadalupe

INFORME

Película tremulenta, de avante y escenas in-
morales, adultenas, incesto, crimen, simonía; nada
falta para que sea película prohibida. Se
aborda las relaciones intolerales entre madre
e hijo.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de Octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *Mildred Pierce*

VOCAL *Grano*

INFORME

*Película fuerte pero que estimo
puede autorizarse si es necesario en
alguno este.*

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? *Autorizar Doblaje -*
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de Octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA "Mildred Pierce"

VOCAL gra

INFORME

Película típicamente americana con los conflictos derivados del divorcio, hijos, etc.

Bien realizada, bien interpretada (Oscar para Joan Crawford) interesante y aun que con un tema duro y desafortunado. Discutible

CLASIFICACION

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada el doblaje

¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?

¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?

¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?

¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?

Categoría a efectos económicos

Categoría artística en que se clasifica

¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?

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SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de 10 de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Mildred Pierce

VOCAL _____

INFORME

Las inducciones morales, dolosas, intrínsecas
en la vida americana no aconsejan su proyección,
a menos, de un difícil y cuidadoso doblaje, muy
distinto al presente.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? _____
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- Categoría a efectos económicos _____
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica _____
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 6 de Octubre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Mildred Pierce

VOCAL Alvar

INFORME

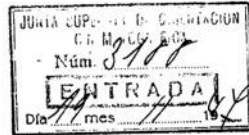
Difficil pelicula para el publico espa-
ñol. Tal y como está la pelicula
no puede autorizarse ni doblaje

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida?
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?

Alvar

Exp. núm. 1506



Ilmo. Sr.

El que suscribe D. JUAN JOSE BULL ALBUENTE en su calidad de importador de la película cuyas características se enumeran a continuación y como representante de la entidad G. E. P. I. C. S. A. con domicilio en Madrid calle de Avda. José Antonio núm. 31

S O L I C I T A

Que según Orden de 28 de junio de 1946 (B. O. núm. 200) se sirva disponer se proceda a la censura de la película importada en versión original que a continuación se cita y la que con fecha de hoy deposito en la JUNTA SUPERIOR DE ORIENTACION CINEMATOGRAFICA, rogándole caso de que proceda le sea expedida la necesaria autorización para su ~~rotulación~~^{doblaje} en idioma español.

A esta solicitud se adjuntan por duplicado los ~~diálogos~~^{diálogos} que se adaptarán a la versión española.

CARACTERISTICAS DE LA PELICULA

TITULO ORIGINAL: "MILDRED PIERCE"

TITULOS QUE SE HAN PREVISTO PARA LA VERSION ~~7333~~^{doblado}

"ALMA EN SUPLEJO"

IMPORTADORA: CEPICSA

PRODUCTORA: WARNER BROS

DISTRIBUIDORA: CEPICSA

NACIONALIDAD: NORTEAMERICANA.

FECHA DE IMPORTACION: 10-8-47.

ROLLOS DE 300 METROS: 12

ASUNTO: DRAMA.

F I C H A

ARGUMENTO <u>JAMES G. CAIN</u>	GUIÓN <u>RONALD MAC DOUGALL</u>
OPERADOR <u>ERNEST HALVER</u>	AYUDANTE DE OPERADOR _____
MONTAJE <u>GEORGE J. HOPKINS</u>	MUSICA <u>HILLO ANDERSON</u>
DECORADOS _____	VESTUARIO _____
ESTUDIOS <u>WARNER BROS</u>	LABORATORIO <u>RIERA</u>
SISTEMA SONORO <u>WESTERN ELECTRIC</u>	SECRETARIO DE ESTUDIO _____
JEFE DE PRODUCCION _____	INTERPRETES <u>JOAN CRAWFORD, JACK</u>
DIRECTOR <u>MICHAEL CURTIZ</u>	<u>CARSON, ZACHARY SCOTT</u>

Licencia de importación núm. 191.401
 Expedida el día 20 de Febrero de 1947

La Entidad solicitante declara **bajo juramento** que en la película cuya censura solicita han sido introducidas voluntariamente y con anterioridad a su presentación en este Organismo los cortes, supresiones o modificaciones que en su totalidad a continuación se detallan.

ROLLOS

1.º Se han efectuado cortes en los rollos VI, IX, y XI. Asimismo se ha modificado el diálogo en relación con los cortes efectuados en los mencionados rollos.

Dichos cortes se adjun



Toda la documentación de estas películas obra ya en poder de ese Organismo.

CEPICSA

COMPANÍA ESPAÑOLA DE PROPAGANDA, INDUSTRIA Y CINEMATOGRAFIA, S. A.

DOMICILIO SOCIAL: LA CORUÑA
SANTA CATALINA, 1

OFICINAS CENTRALES: MADRID
AVENIDA DE JOSE ANTONIO, 31
DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA: «CEPICSA»
TELEFONOS: 28321, 28322 Y 28323

SUCURSALES:

Madrid
Avenida de José Antonio, 31
Teléfonos 28321/22/23

Barcelona
Aragón, 242 - Teléfono 11888

Valencia
Avda. Marqués de Sotelo, 13
Teléfono 17290

Sevilla
Franco, 10 y 12
Teléfono 24769

Bilbao
Alameda de Recalde, 62

AGENCIAS:

La Coruña
Fontán, 3 - Teléfono 1455

Palma de Mallorca
Santo Domingo, 32 - Tel. 2484

Canarias

Madrid, 19 de novbre., 1.947

Sr. Presidente de la Junta Superior
de Orientación Cinematográfica
M A D R I D. -

Muy Sr. nuestro:

Con esta fecha presentamos de nuevo ante esa Junta Superior que V.I. tan dignamente preside, la película norteamericana titulada "MILDRED PIERCE" en su versión original. Dicha película ha sido prohibida por ese Superior Organismo Cinematográfico en fecha 7 de octubre del año en curso, según oficio que al efecto nos fué dirigido.

Aún cuando en dicha comunicación no se nos dicen las razones en que ésa Junta se ha basado para tomar tal acuerdo, limitándose a notificar la prohibición, hemos estudiado detenida y cuidadosamente la película, habiendo llegado al convencimiento que quizás hubiera influido en el ánimo de los censores, escenas de adulterio que aparecen en los primeros rollos y un posible temor de incesto, que no existía en la versión original, a nuestro juicio, ya que la escena se desarrollaba entre padrastro e hijastra. Y asimismo, escenas y diálogos violentos entre una madre y una hija.

A tal fin, hemos hecho tres cortes fundamentales que entendemos varían en gran parte la esencia de la película, así como modificaciones en el diálogo que conjugan aquellos. A saber: desaparece por completo el adulterio y lo que creemos esa Comisión entendió por incesto así como la bofetada de la hija a la madre. Naturalmente, ello nos obligó a modificar en gran parte los diálogos, llegando incluso a cambiar también aquellas partes que no afectaban a fin de darle una modalidad más en consonancia con nuestro carácter.

.../...



Hoja 2ª de la carta dirigida a Sr. Presidente de la Junta Superior el 19-11-47
de Orientación Cinematográfica

La película así reformada, la presentamos de nuevo al juicio de esa Comisión, cuyo fallo esperamos.- Como -- siempre es norma en esta Casa, no solo aceptaremos las decisiones de esa Junta, sino también todas aquellas sugerencias que puedan hacernos a fin de que "MILDRED PIERCE", pueda ser exhibida en España con la mayor garantía de que ello no pueda significar en ningún momento, ni la más mínima expresión de algo inmoral.

Al tener el honor de saludarle con todo respeto, - quedamos esperando el más recto fallo, como todos los suyos, de esa Comisión que V.I. preside.

CIPICSA
COMPAÑIA ESPAÑOLA DE PROPAGANDA
INDUSTRIA Y CINEMATOGRAFIA, S. A.
El Director.

AV/CA. -



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
Subsecretaría de Educación Popular

Junta Superior de Orientación
Cinematográfica

Expediente n.º 7.506

N.º 11068-94

La Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica en sesión celebrada en esta capital el día 12 del actual, ha censurado la película titulada "MADRID EN UN FOTO"

tomando el acuerdo de ~~prohibir su exhibición en todo territorio~~, si bien esa productora podrá, si introdujera nuevas modificaciones en la película, presentarla nuevamente ante este Organismo a su revisión.

Lo que comunico a Vd. para que en el plazo de ocho días se sirvan pasar por las oficinas de este Organismo a hacer efectivo el pago de los derechos de censura.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 13 de Diciembre de 1947.

El Secretario,

V.º B.º
El Presidente,

[Firma manuscrita]

NOTA. ESTA COMUNICACION NO ES VALIDA PARA LA EXHIBICION DE LA PELICULA

Sr. Gerente de la Casa C E P I C S A

Círc. Echalar. Mod. 5 - 2.000 ejes. - 27-9-47.



PAÑIA ESPAÑOLA DE PROPAGANDA, INDUSTRIA Y CINEMATOGRAFIA, S. A.

CILIO SOCIAL: **LA CORUÑA**
VIA CATALINA, 1

ORICINAS CENTRALES: **MADRID**
AVENIDA DE JOSE ANTONIO, 31
DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA: «CEPICSA»
TELEFONOS: 28321, 28322 Y 28323

Madrid, 31 de diciembre, 1.947.

AGENCIAS:

id
venida de José Antonio, 31
léfonos 28321/22/23

lona
ogón, 242 - Teléfono 11888
cia
da, Marqués de Sotelo, 13
léfono 17290

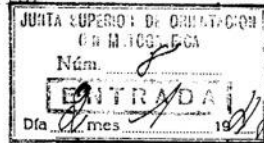
ancos, 10 y 12
léfono 24769

ameda de Recalde, 62

AGENCIAS:

ruña
ntán, 3 - Teléfono 1455
de Mallorca
mo Domingo, 32 - Tel. 2484
tas

Sr. Presidente de la Junta Superior
de Orientación Cinematográfica
M a d r i d . -



Muy Sr. nuestro;

Con esta fecha, presentamos otra vez ante esa Junta Superior que V.I. tan dignamente preside, la película norteamericana titulada "MILDRED PIERCE" en su versión original.- Dicha película ha sido prohibida por ese Superior Organismo Cinematográfico, primeramente en 7 de octubre y de nuevo en 17 del mes en curso.

A raíz de su primera prohibición, habíamos hecho algunos arreglos a base de suprimir un adulterio, y un posible temor de incesto y adelantar un divorcio, así como modificar los diálogos para darles un sabor más español, en especial, algunos violentos entre una madre y una hija.- Para lograr ello, suprimimos algunas imágenes, cuyos cortes obran en poder de ese Organismo, y también, cortamos escenas de amor ilícito, en el rollo 6º.

Todos estos arreglos los efectuamos después de un estudio detenido que hicimos de la película, ya que desconocíamos el motivo que ese Organismo había tenido para prohibirla.- En la segunda prohibición, aún cuando en el oficio comunicativo solamente nos indican que podíamos presentar la película nuevamente a Censura con algunas modificaciones, es para nosotros un deber testimoniar en la presente, nuestro profundo agradecimiento a V.I. por la gentileza en facilitarnos verbalmente algunos detalles, que llevados a la práctica pueden facilitar la aprobación de "MILDRED PIERCE".

.../...



Teniendo en cuenta los mismos, hemos hecho las siguientes modificaciones de diálogos:

En el rollo 2º pág. 6ª, y en el rollo 3º pág. 1ª, se hacen condenaciones del divorcio, permitiéndonos recordarle, que en la primera revisión habíamos incluido ya estas mismas condenaciones, en el rollo 3º pág. 9ª, que no venían en el original.

Otra indicación fundamental que se nos ha hecho, es el reconocimiento de una manera explícita por parte de la madre, del tremendo error de la educación que había dado a su hija. - Y al efecto, hemos hecho arreglos de diálogos en los rollos 3º pág. 4ª; 4º pág. 5ª; 6º pág. 1ª; 8º pág. 2ª y fundamentalmente en el rollo 11º pág. 1ª, sobre el que más adelante volveremos a hablar. - También nos permitimos recordarle, que en la primera versión se había hecho un arreglo del diálogo original, en el rollo 6º pág. 2ª.

Se ha modificado también el diálogo en el rollo 3º pag. 7ª y 8ª, en el que la madre hablaba con sus hijas de un proyecto de divorcio con mucha naturalidad.

Asimismo, se sustituye la frase del rollo 4º pag. 2ª, cuando la madre castiga a la hija. - Igualmente se varía la frase del rollo 8º pag. 7ª: "...tal vez, pero a pesar de todo..." y por último, también se suprime la alusión a los amores entre Mildred y Monty en rollo 10º pag. 8ª.

La naturalidad con que el primer marido de MILDRED PIERCE se produce en casa del segundo marido, la hemos hecho también desaparecer, aprovechando incluso esta escena para el reconocimiento más explícito y contundente de la madre por el tremendo error que había cometido al educar a su hija, que motiva (en el arreglo) que su primer marido le ofrezca como regalo de bodas, el retorno a su casa de la hija.

En la primera revisión, habíamos suprimido ya planos finales de las escenas 6ª y 7ª del rollo 6º, cuyos cortes obran en poder de ese Organismo. - No obstante, y siendo de importancia y completamente normal en el 90% de las películas norteamericanas las escenas del baño, puede cortarse la escena 7ª, desde el momento en que la protagonista termina de secarse el pelo y Monty Beragon no se ha acercado a ella todavía, para fundir con la escena en que el primer marido habla por teléfono. - Naturalmente si esto mereciera la aprobación de ese Superior Organismo, el parlamento que en ese momento dice MILDRED PIERCE, sería cambiado por el de la despedida. - Con lo cual, desaparecerá la manifestación de amor entre Mildred y Monty, que nos ha sido sugerido.

.../...



En cuanto a la supresión de la escena pasional del rollo 7^a, entendemos, salvo la alta y justa opinión de ese Organismo, que es una escena normal en películas norteamericanas, y^o que no podemos olvidar que no se trata de una familia española. Es normal en América, que una mujer divorciada es completamente libre y que además puede casarse, por lo tanto, no puede extrañar que otro hombre le haga el amor.- Pero aparte de ello, esta escena es básica, por que a lo largo la confesión de Mildred al inspector, habrán podido observar los miembros de ese Organismo juega implícitamente el policía con la acusación de que el asesino es el primer marido, a fin de obtener las declaraciones de Mildred.- Por tanto, les rogamos con el mayor interés, estudien esta escena, no con el mayor detenimiento, pero si con el mejor deseo de que es para América completamente inocuo, y para España, creemos pase sin ningún comentario.

Impuesto todo lo que antecede, no nos queda más que nuevamente someternos a la decisión de esa Junta, creyendo que con todos los arreglos efectuados, poder contar con la debida autorización para exhibir en España la película "MILDRED PIERCE".

Al tener el honor de saludarle con todo respeto, quedamos esperando su más recto fallo, como todos los suyos de esa Comisión de V.I. preside.

CERCSA
COMPANIA ESPAÑOLA DE PROPAGANDA,
INDUSTRIA Y CINEFOTOGRAFIA, S. A.
El Director,

AV/CA.-



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCION GENERAL
DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO

JUNTA SUPERIOR DE
ORIENTACION CINEMATOGRAFICA

RD

3

Exp. núm. 7.506

Reunida en el día de hoy la JUNTA SUPERIOR DE ORIENTACION CINEMATOGRAFICA en sesión ordinaria, con asistencia del Presidente D. Gabriel García Espina del Vicepresidente D. Guillermo de Regua del Vocal Eclesiástico Rvdo. Padre Fray Mauricio de Begoña y de los Vocales Señores Don Francisco Ortiz, Don Pio García Escudero, Don David Jato, Don Luis Fernando de Igoa,

en la que actúa como Secretario D. Santos Alcocer se procedió a la censura de la película titulada: "ALMA EN SUPPLICO" presentada por la Casa distribuidora C E P I C S A en su versión doblada producida por Warner Bros de nacionalidad americana compuesta de doce rollos y 3.400 metros, la que, una vez compulsados los votos de los miembros de la Junta, queda clasificada según se detalla a continuación:

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? PROHIBIDA
- ¿Se considera de interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en locales de 1.ª y 2.ª categoría? _____
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o solo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- ¿Qué valor se le reconoce a efectos económicos? _____
- ¿Categoría en que se clasifica? _____
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 12 de Febrero de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA "Alma en Suplicio"

VOCAL Casimira Espina

INFORME

Vista la temeraria eficacia del doblaje y a pesar de todos los buenos deseos considero practicamente imposible su autorización

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día de de 194.....

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Mildred's Pierce (Alma en suplicio)

VOCAL Guillermo de Reyna

INFORME

El Vocal que suscribe no encuentra en la versión doblada ningún motivo que le aconseje modificar los dos dictámenes prohibitivos anteriormente expuestos, ya que el pernicioso efecto social, que ha de causar la película, no ha podido ser atermado, como ya se había hecho constar por el que suscribe, en los dos informes citados. A este inconveniente se unen además, en virtud de los arreglos efectuados, otros dos nuevos defectos: Se acrecienta lo confuso de la película y además se advierte grotescamente en algunas ocasiones, el bruido "bigote para dos" realizado en la cinta y que resulta tan gracioso

CLASIFICACION como aquel de "Mayerling" que llegó a hacerse famoso.

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida?

¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?

¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?

¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? Prohibida

¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?

Categoría a efectos económicos

Categoría artística en que se clasifica

¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 12 de febrero de 1948

TÍTULO DE LA PELÍCULA Alma en suplicio

VOCAL F. M. de Begona

INFORME

Confirmando mi dictamen anterior
considerando la prohibida, con el agrava-
rante - bien intencionado, pero desafortuna-
do - de haber intentado arreglar el asunto
de Vera con un mero divorcio.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 12 de febrero de 1941

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *Olivera en suplicio*

VOCAL

INFORME

*Reafirmo mi informe anterior. Recuerdo que los
arreglos que se han efectuado se basaron en parte determi-
nados reparos. Pero en su conjunto y sobre todo en su
desempeño la considero aceptable.*

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? *Prohibida*
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 12 de Diciembre de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *Alma en duplicado*

VOCAL *Don Juan Escudé*

INFORME

Las modificaciones, por ser espontáneas, que se han introducido, no rectifican las razones que motivaron mi informe de 12 de Diciembre de 1947, por lo que de nuevo súplico que la película debe prohibirse.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? *Prohibida*
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? _____
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- Categoría a efectos económicos _____
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica _____
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día de de 194.....

TÍTULO DE LA PELÍCULA Alma en apuro

VOCAL

INFORME

El punto final de la película, problema no resuelto por la casa, no aconseja autorizarla. Sería enérgica la censura iniciada contra la censura

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 12 de febrero de 1948

TITULO DE LA PELICULA 'Alma en suspiros'

VOCAL Jm

INFORME

Buena película, muy bien realizada técnicamente, con una gran interpretación de Jan Crawford y todos los demás, muy bien de luz y de fotografía, pero muy peligrosa en su argumento.

La copia doblada que hemos visto no podía ninguno de sus peligros

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Prohibida
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional?
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero?
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría?
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano?
- Categoría a efectos económicos
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria?

Jm



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

PELICULAS ESPAÑOLAS

Sesión día de de 194.....

TITULO DE LA PELICULA *Alma en Súplico*

VOCAL *- revisión -*

INFORME

De acuerdo con el Padre

PUNTUACION PARA LA CLASIFICACION. (De 0 a 5 puntos)

Argumento..... puntos	
Dirección..... id.	
Interpretación..... id.	
Fotografía.... id.	<i>MEDIA</i>
Presentación.. id.	(..... permisos de doblaje)
TOTAL..... id.	



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL
DE CINEMATOGRAFÍA Y TEATRO

JUNTA SUPERIOR DE ORIENTACION
CINEMATOGRAFICA

K.LD

Reunida en el día de hoy la JUNTA SUPERIOR DE ORIENTACION
CINEMATOGRAFICA en sesión ordinaria, con asistencia del Presi-
dente don Gauriel García Espina del Vicepresidente
don Guillermo de Reyna del Vocal Eclesiástico
Rvdo. Padre Fray Constancio de Aldeaseca y de los Vocales
Señores Don Joaquín Soriano, Don David Jato, Don Luis Fernando
de Igoa, Don P.º García Escudero,

en la que actúa como Secretario don Santos Alcocer
se procedió a la censura de la película
titulada: "P E R D I C I O N "
presentada por la Casa distribuidora MERCURIO FILMS S/A
en su versión doblada producida por Paramount Pictures
de nacionalidad americana compuesta de once rollos y
3.300 metros, la que, una vez compulsados los votos de
los miembros de la Junta, queda clasificada según se detalla
a continuación:

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? AUTORIZADA MAYORES
- ¿Se considera de interés Nacional? no
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en locales de 1.ª y 2.ª categoría? SI
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o solo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- ¿Qué valor se le reconoce a efectos económicos? 1ª
- ¿Categoría en que se clasifica? 1ª
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? no



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 14 de febrero de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Medición

VOCAL J. Institución de Alcajese

INFORME

Película policíaca, fuertemente
dramática y esticpundamente realista.
Los criminales actúan en el
mismo crimen en castigo.

CLASIFICACION

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada
¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? No
¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? Si
¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
Categoría a efectos económicos 1ª
Categoría artística en que se clasifica 1ª
¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 11 de febrero de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Perdición
VOCAL F. Oñe

INFORME

Película policíaca respicientemente realizada
y de extraordinario interés dentro de su género.
Como en otras películas de esta clase no está
exenta de cierta morbosidad y de algunas escenas crudas.

CLASIFICACION

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada p. mayores
¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? no
¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? si
¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
Categoría a efectos económicos 1.ª
Categoría artística en que se clasifica 1.ª
¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 11 de Febrero de 1947

TÍTULO DE LA PELÍCULA Perdición

VOCAL Sonamo

INFORME

*Muy buena cinematografía
y de gran interés*

CLASIFICACION

¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada

¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? No

¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? No

¿Se autoriza su exhibición en locales de 1.ª y 2.ª categoría? Si

¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? ya doblada

¿Qué valor se le reconoce a efectos económicos? 2.ª

¿Categoría en que se clasifica? 1.ª

¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? No



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 11 de 2 de 1947

TÍTULO DE LA PELÍCULA Perdición

VOCAL _____

INFORME

Una trama política apta para grandes públicos. Limitado rendimiento en núcleos urbanos reducidos.

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? _____
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- Categoría a efectos económicos 1ª
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica 1ª
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

Sesión día 11 de Febrero de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA 'Pérdición'

VOCAL Jca

INFORME

Se crucea. Muy buena y bien hecha.

'Double indemnity'

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? Autorizada
- ¿Se considera de Interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en los locales de 1.ª categoría? Si
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o sólo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- Categoría a efectos económicos 1.ª
- Categoría artística en que se clasifica 1.ª
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? Jca



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
DIRECCION GENERAL
DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO
JUNTA SUPERIOR DE
ORIENTACION CINEMATOGRAFICA

RE

Reunida en el día de hoy la JUNTA SUPERIOR DE ORIENTACION CINEMATOGRAFICA en sesión ordinaria, con asistencia del Presidente D. _____ del Vicepresidente D. Guillermo de Reyna del Vocal Eclesiástico Rvdo. Padre Antonio Garau Plana y de los Vocales Señores Don David Jato, Don Pio García Escudero, Don Luis Fernando de Igoa,

en la que actúa como Secretario D. Santos Alcocer se procedió a la censura de la película titulada: "THE POSTMONA ALWAYS RINGS TWICE" presentada por la Casa distribuidora METRO GOLDWYN MAYER en su versión directa producida por Metro Goldwyn Mayer de nacionalidad americana compuesta de once rollos y 3.300 metros, la que, una vez compulsados los votos de los miembros de la Junta, queda clasificada según se detalla a continuación:

CLASIFICACION

- ¿Autorizada, tolerada, recomendable, prohibida? PROHIBIDA
- ¿Se considera de interés Nacional? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exportación al extranjero? _____
- ¿Se autoriza su exhibición en locales de 1.ª y 2.ª categoría? _____
- ¿Se autoriza el doblaje o solo su rotulación en castellano? _____
- ¿Qué valor se le reconoce a efectos económicos? _____
- ¿Categoría en que se clasifica? _____
- ¿Procede declarar su exhibición gratuita obligatoria? _____



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

PELICULAS EXTRANJERAS

Sesión día de de 194.....

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Postman always Rings Twice

VOCAL Fernando de Reyna

INFORME

En anteriores ocasiones, el Vocal que suscribe indicó la conveniencia de limitar a un número reducido (ya ^{se prohibiesen} que no ~~prohibiesen~~ sistemáticamente) este tipo de películas que por su brutalidad, por su reiteración ^{o su descripción de crímenes} y por ^{su} absoluta carencia de ~~todo~~ ^{todo} motivo noble, resultan si no perniciosas aisladamente, si desaconsejables para ^{admitir la} una repetida exhibición de un gran número de ellas.

Admitido este criterio y aun quizás sin admitirlo, la película sobre la cual se informa, reúne tal cantidad de motivos disolventes que resulta una verdadera escuela de criminalidad y vileza, sin que por otra parte, los protagonistas resulten repelentes, ya que por el contrario, casi tienen incluso un tinte atractivo ^o bella e ingenio en el otro. En su virtud el Vocal que suscribe propone se recomiende a la casa que se abstenga de importar esta película.



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

PELICULAS EXTRANJERAS

Sesión día 18 de Marzo de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA El cartón siempre llama dos veces
VOCAL Antonio Larau

INFORME

Película bien realizada pero repleta de
episodios curiosos, efectuados hasta con
leite simpático que no neutraliza el
fiscal en su, gracias a un accidente fortuito,
ella muere y él cae en la red de la pobreza.
Inmuytable.



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

PELICULAS EXTRANJERAS

Sesión día 13 de Marzo de 1947

TITULO DE LA PELICULA El castor blanco siempre
dos veces
VOCAL Dr. José Andrés

INFORME

Recibido el informe del Sr. Regna



SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro
Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica

PELICULAS EXTRANJERAS

Sesión día 18 de Noviembre de 1948

TITULO DE LA PELICULA Postman always rings twice

VOCAL Spore

INFORME

*Creemos que no podría pasar
en Argentina*



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL
DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO

COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA

Expediente n.º 8.090

Reunida en el día de hoy la COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA,
con asistencia del Presidente D. Joaquin Argamasilla
del Vicepresidente D. _____
y de los vocales D. Rvdo. Padre Antonio Garau, Don Manuel Torres
López, Don José María Sanchez Silva, Don Vicente Llorente, Don -
Antonio Fraguas.-

en la que actúa como Secretario D. Francisco Fernández y Gonzalez
se procedió a la censura de la película titu-
lada: "THE POSTMAN ALWAYS RINGS TWICE"
presentada por la Casa distribuidora Metro Goldwyn Mayer
en su versión directa producida por Metro Goldwyn Mayer
de nacionalidad americana compuesta de 11 rollos y
3.300 metros, que había sido visionada por la Junta
de Clasificación y Censura en fecha _____
tomando este organismo el acuerdo de _____

La Comisión Superior, examinada nuevamente la película,
acuerda: _____

según se expresa en la siguiente

CALIFICACION

DOBLAJE _____
Autorizada para todos los públicos } NO PROCEDE SU IMPORTACION
Autorizada únicamente para mayores de 16 años }



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL
 DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO
 COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA

Sesión del día 22 de noviembre de 1954
 Título de la película *The postman always rings twice*
 Nacionalidad *inglesa* Versión *original* N.º de Rollos *11*

Autorizada para todos los públicos	} <i>Archi-prohibida.</i>
Autorizada únicamente para mayores de 16 años	
Prohibida	

ADAPTACIONES

[Empty lined area for adaptations]

INFORME

*Mostramos película cuya presunción a su
 visión no acierte a comprender? ¿Cambi hemos tratado
 antes la consideración prohibida?*

[Empty lined area for report]

Vocal: *[Signature]*
 (Firma)



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL
DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO

COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA

Sesión del día _____ de _____ de 195____
Título de la película The Postman Always Rings Twice.
Nacionalidad Americana Versión Directa (Advan.) N.º de Rollos 11

Autorizada para todos los públicos	} <u>Prohibida</u>
Autorizada únicamente para mayores de 16 años	
Prohibida	

ADAPTACIONES

INFORME

El siguiente desarrollo del asunto hace inexplicable el interés de que se proyecte esta película en España.

Vocal:

[Handwritten Signature]

(Firma)



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL
 DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO
 COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA

Sesión del día 22 de Noche de 1954
 Título de la película EL CARTEIRO LLAMA DOS VECES
 Nacionalidad Americana Versión Directa N.º de Rollos 12

Autorizada para todos los públicos	} <u>PROHIBIDA</u>
Autorizada únicamente para mayores de 16 años	
Prohibida	

ADAPTACIONES

INFORME

Por razones obvias

Vocal:
M. Sánchez-Ilva
 (Firma)



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 DIRECCION GENERAL
 DE CINEMATOGRAFIA Y TEATRO
 COMISION SUPERIOR DE CENSURA

Sesión del día 22 de Noviembre de 1954

Título de la película El castro lloró los reyes
 Nacionalidad uruguayana Versión original N.º de Rollos 11

Autorizada para todos los públicos	} <u>Prohibida</u>
Autorizada únicamente para mayores de 16 años	
Prohibida	

ADAPTACIONES

INFORME

*No puede autorizarse desde ningún punto de vista. Es una
 obra de disparates con marcada enseñanza de los métodos de
 cometer paros con posibilidades de éxito.*

[Handwritten signature]

Vocal
[Handwritten signature]

(Firma)

Appendix III
Manuel Vázquez Montalbán

ce 2

Die Jaime Delgado
se ha publicado un libro de
Manuel

Vaquez Montalban
Informe sobre la
información

Editorial Fontanella

Es un comunista que ha
estado varios años en
la cárcel. El libro es
de orientación claramente
maxista, para

influir en los jóvenes.
muy peligroso.

(Antecedentes dados de esta
editorial.)



*El Delegado Adjunto
del
Ministerio de Información y Turismo*

Barcelona, 25 de febrero de 1964

Ilmo. Sr. D. Carlos Robles Piquer
Director General de Información
M A D R I D

Querido D. Carlos:

Hace unos días adquirí en una librería de Lérida una obra titulada "Informe sobre la Información". Su autor se llama Manuel Vazquez Montalbán, e imprime Editorial Fontanella.

Con la natural sorpresa encuentro que todas las tesis de esta obra responden a una mentalidad de intelectual marxista dedicado al proselitismo. Del examen fundamentalmente de los capítulos 1º y 2º de la tercera parte ("El imperialismo y sus espejos" y "El comunismo y sus espejos") se deduce que se trata de una obra de propaganda comunista destinada a universitarios o jóvenes intelectuales no demasiado formados. En mi opinión la obra cumple eficazmente este cometido. Le cito por su brevedad un párrafo de cuatro renglones que corresponde al último capítulo del libro, página 163: "Cada día caben menos matices. No se puede ser tradicionalista, o liberal o fascista o demócrata, o católico, sin ser capitalista. De la tienda de enfrente sólo importa que el comunismo es soviético, es competitivo en el mercado, es un enemigo del negocio".

Creo que el libro puede ser muy peligroso y lo pongo en su conocimiento por si se creyera oportuno proceder a la revisión de su autorización.

Ya se que Jaime Delgado le informó de nuestra conversación con José Pardo; por ello no le he escrito antes sobre este asunto.

Le saluda cordialmente,

Manuel Ortiz

Fdo.: Manuel Ortiz Sanchez.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 9554-71

Presentada con fecha 8 OCT 1971
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **YO MATE A KENNEDY**

de la que es autor **VAZQUEZ MONTALBAN, Manuel**

editada por **Barral Editores**

con un volumen de 250 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid, 9 de OCT 1971 de 1971

El Jefe del Registro

ANTECEDENTES: N.º

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, 9 de OCT 1971 de 1971

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-1

INFORME

N.L. 57

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

D
CSB
10-10-71

Informe y otras observaciones:

Este libro es pura esquizofrenia. No hay quien lo entienda. Son las memorias de un agente de la CIA que después de convivir con los Kennedy, termina matando en Dallas al Presidente. Por lo menos esto es lo que parece deducirse del inconcebible estilo de redacción y de la mezcla confusa de frases.

Se han subrayado barbaridades políticas, pornográficas o palabrotas en las pags 7-10-15-17-20-21-29-31-32-38-39-40-43-45-51-58-61-73- y 75.

Por otra parte, mezcla en la acción de la novela ridiculizando a personas reales como los Kennedy, Jacqueline, Allan Dulles, Edgar Hoover etc. De autorizarse la publicación podría dar lugar a reclamaciones diplomáticas.

Por ello se considera NO AUTORIZABLE.

Madrid, 14 de Octubre de 1971
El lector,



Martos nº 6



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 9554-71

Presentada con fecha 8-10-1971
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra YO VOTÉ A KENNEDY

de la que es autor VÁZQUEZ ROJAS, Manuel

editada por Barral Editores

con un volumen de 250 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares

Madrid, 3 de octubre de 1971
El Jefe del Registro,

Mod. 485-1

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 57

Madrid, 14 de octubre de 1971
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

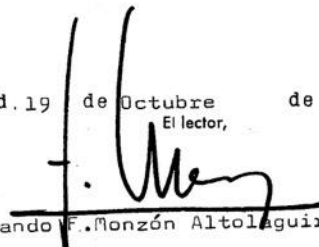
Informe y otras observaciones:

(8)

- Novela del genero de politica-ficción que simulan ser las memorias de uno de los agentes secretos encargados de la custodia personal del Presidente Kennedy y autor material del asesinato de Dallas. Como el protagonista es un exiliado español alistado en la CIA se mezclan en la zarabanda, muchas veces incomprensible a causa de su lenguaje "psicodelico", del argumento personajes politicos de los Estados Unidos con detalles de la mas ortodoxa pornografía y juicios sobre la Guerra Civil española y su regimen de gobierno; ello hace aconsejables las tachaduras de las paginas: 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 51, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 78, 79, 80, y 2, con las cuales se considera que su publicación puede ser AUTORIZADA.

Madrid. 19 de Octubre de 1971

El lector,


Fernando F. Monzón Altola.

EXPEDIENTE N° 12544/71

Título: YO MATE A KENNEDY

Autor: VAZQUEZ MONTALBAN, Manuel

Editorial: PLANETA

Lector n° 7

INFORME: Absurda novela, totalmente carente de ilación narrativa, cargada de expresiones burdas y soeces y de descripciones obscenas. En myltitud de pa ajes ridiculiza groseramente a personajes históricos tales como los presidentes Kennedy y Johnson y sus respectivas esposaa. Hace alguna referencia poco afortunada al régimen español.

Se considera NO AUTORIZABLE

Madrid 3 de febrero de 1.972

El lector

A handwritten signature in dark ink, written over three horizontal lines. The signature is cursive and appears to be 'Manuel Vazquez Montalban'.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm. 12544-71

RECONSIDERACION

En contestación a su consulta de fecha
28 de enero de 1972. relativa a la obra
"YO MATE A KENNEDY" de Manuel Vázquez
Montalbán.

se aconseja la supresión de los pasajes señalados en las
páginas 7-9-10+15-16-17-18-20-21-26-
29-31-32-34-38-40-42-43-56-58-59-63.
67-72-73-75-77-78-79 y 80.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 21 de marzo de 1972.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

Sr. D. PLANETA.- Barcelona

Mod. 749

LXI. num. 12544-71

El lector que suscribe ha revisado detalladamente el libro titulado YO MATE A KENNEDY, del que es autor MANUEL VAZQUEZ MONTALBAN, presentado a depósitor D. EUGENIO SANTIAGO GALAN CONDE como representante de la editorial PLANETA de Barcelona, a las 10,30 horas del día 27 de octubre de 1.972.

Se hace constar que en el escrito de presentación citado se dice ~~con-~~ ~~ter~~ que la obra NO HA SIDO PRESENTADA PREVIAMENTE A CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA. Esto no es cierto puesto que con escrito nº 12544/71 se participó a dicha editorial que NO ES ACONSEJABLE su publicación, recomendación que se participó nuevamente a la misma editorial, previa reconsideración, con escrito del mismo número que el anterior. Estos escritos tienen fechas respectivas de 23 de diciembre de 1.971 y 5 de febrero de 1.972.

Tras una nueva reconsideración, con fecha 21 de marzo de 1.972, se participa a la editorial PLANETA que se aconseja la supresión de determinados párrafos señalados en las páginas que se citan.

Así pues, contra lo que afirma, la editorial PLANETA ha presentado TRES veces esta obra a consulta voluntaria.

Por lo que se refiere a la comprobación de la supresión o no de los párrafos que se le habían señalado, el resultado es el siguiente:

Pág. galerada	Pág. libro	
7	23	Suprimido
9	28	Suprimido parcialmente
10	29	Suprimidas unicamente tres frases que hacen referencia a España
15	39	1er. párrafo, suprimido
	40	2º párrafo, suprimido, parcialmente
16	41	1ª frase, no suprimida
	41	<u>párrafo, no suprimido</u>
17-18	43, 44, 45	Suprimido parcialmente y dulcificado
18	45	suprimido
20	50	parcialmente suprimido el primer párrafo
20		dulcificado el segundo párrafo
		" " tercer "
		suprimido el cuarto párrafo
21	50	suprimido=parcialmente no suprimido primer parr.
	51	suprimido el segundo párrafo
	51	" " "

26	61	modificado sin variar el sentido, por el que probablemente se señaló
	62	Idem el segundo párrafo suprimido el tercer párrafo
29	68	suprimido
31	73	suprimido
32	74	<u>no suprimido</u>
34	79	suprimido
38	87	suprimido
	88	"
40	92	suprimidas unicamente las palabras más burdas y groseras de una serie de ellas
42	96	modificada la redacción
43	97	Unicamente ha suprimido dos frases de un largo párrafo Un segundo párrafo ha sido suprimido
56	125	Primer párrafo suprimido " " "
58	129-130	Modificado
59	133	Suprimido
63	141	"
67	149	Suprimidos ambos párrafos
72	160	Suprimido
	161	suprimido el primero y no suprimido el segundo de los párrafos
73	161-162	Suprimidas las frases más obscenas
75	165	suprimido
77	170-171	"
78	172	suprimidos ambos párrafos
79	173-174	suprimidos los dos primeros párrafos y no suprimido el tercero
80	175	suprimido

El lector que suscribe se cree obligado a informar que, en su opinión, aunque se hubiera procedido a la supresión total de los párrafos que se le habían señalado, no hubiera mejorado el concepto que le mereció en su primera lectura de que informó en 3 de febrero de 1.972, en forma negativa
Madrid 31 de octubre de 1972 (vuelta)

El lator número 7

~~Supersano~~

Aunque en los papeles
4, 45, 50, 61, 74, 92, 98 y 161
que mencionando frase, frase
sofoco, que induce a pensar
con al deseo del lector de
fe. por lo que el libro puede
incorrer en la falta prevista
en el n.º 5º del art. 566 del
Código Penal, no por ello la pu-
blicación, atenta contra el 165-
b) ^{del art. 165 del C. P.} ~~del art. 165 del C. P.~~ ^{del art. 165 del C. P.} ~~del art. 165 del C. P.~~
del art. 165 del C. P. de forma e impen-
por lo que no es susceptible de
castigo, si bien consideramos
la obra debe ser remitida al
Ministerio Fiscal a los efectos
de su competencia.

Madrid a 2 de Noviembre de 1947

El letrado

D. Jacinto

EJEMPLAR EN BIBLIOTECA
GENERAL



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Sección de Régimen Editorial

EXPEDIENTE N.º 13233-74

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito Breve
a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de
la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

Madrid, 18 DIC. 1974



11

Presentada con fecha 17 DIC. 74
instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial
del depósito de la obra TATUAJE

de la que es autor VAZQUEZ MONTALBAN, Manuel

editada por Jose Battlo

con un volumen de 176 páginas
y una tirada de 5.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 197

El Jefe del Negociado de Tramitación,

ANTECEDENTES: No

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, 17 de 12 de 1974

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod. 485-2

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas -
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

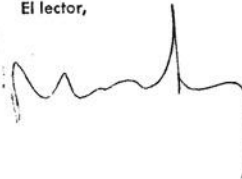
Informe y otras observaciones:

Novela policiaca en que un investigador privado de Barcelona descubre la causa de un crimen.
No hay politica, religion ni casi sexo. AUTORIZABLE.

Madrid, 17 de Diciembre de 1974

El lector,

Martos nº 6



INFORME

¿Ataca al Dogma? NO Páginas
¿A la Iglesia? NO Páginas
¿A sus Ministros? NO Páginas
¿A la moral? NO, SI. Páginas ver informe
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?
NO Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?
NO Páginas

RESULTANDO

N. h. d. 25 ¹⁹⁻¹⁻⁷⁶ Páginas
Se trata, evidentemente, de una novela no apta para menores, pero posee valores literarios fuertes, concisos; la expresión es directa a veces desearnada y brutal (p. 139). Todo acción, apasionamiento

Frank Chambers se coloca en un puesto de pasadina, seduce a la mujer del dueño y entre los dos malán al dueño. Salen libres del proceso se casan y pasan una etapa en los que ambos desconfían mutuamente. Sufrun un accidente y ella muere. El acusado de ese crimen es condenado a la silla eléctrica. Se sugiere autorizar la importación, pero denegar la traducción

Madrid, 15 de L de 1976

El Lector,

Parsons

El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.

Appendix IV
Jim Thompson



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación Editorial

Exp. núm. 10999-73



Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, José Ma. Vives Farrés
menciona en Barcelona, calle Aragón
número 386, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A.
deponer los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra ^{SI} presentada
previamente a consulta voluntaria. _{NO}

*Aplicado
18.2.74*

Mod. 711

DEPOSITO

TITULO: LA HUIDA

Nombre Jim, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos Thompson

EDITOR: Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. Manuscrito con el número 700 en
el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 208

Formato 12 x 20 cm.

Tirada efectuada 10.000

Precio de venta 175 ptas.

Colección en que se incluye Best Sellers

Madrid Hora 9w Fecha 18 de 2 de 1974



EL SOLICITANTE,

[Signature]
José Ma. Vives Farrés

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.

MINISTERIO DE INFO

DIRECCION GENERAL D

Ordenación



Exp. núm.

10999



Ilmo. Sr.:

*Antonio
Zola*

Q

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Mod. 712

El que suscribe, Francisco Alsinet, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Aragón, número 386, en representación de la Editorial Ediciones Grijalbo S.A., solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:

TITULO: LA HUIDA

Nombre Jim, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos Thompson

EDITOR: Ediciones Grijalbo S.A. inscrito con el número 700 en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 200 aprox.

Formato 20 x 12 cm. aprox.

Tirada proyectada 7.000 ej. aprox.

Precio de venta 250 ptas. aprox.

Colección en que se incluye Best Sellers

Madrid. Hora 1 Fecha 6 de 10 de 1979

EL SOLICITANTE,

Francisco Alsinet
EDICIONES GRIJALBO, S. A.
For Poder
Francisco Alsinet

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
 Dirección General de Cultura Popular
 SECCION DE ORDENACION EDITORIAL

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previsto a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de Madrid, de



PM **EXPEDIENTE N.º 10999-73**

Presentada con fecha **5 OCT. 1973**
 instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
 acerca de la obra

de la que es autor **HUIDA, L^a**
THOMPSON, Jim

editada por **Grijalbo**

con un volumen de **200** páginas
 y una tirada de **7.000** ejemplares.
 Madrid, **6 OCT. 1973** de 197

El Jefe del Registro,

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

ANTECEDENTES: **no**

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, **8 OCT. 1973** de 197
 El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod 485-1

I N F O R M E

N.L. 38
✓

- ¿Ataca al Dogma? NO páginas _____
- ¿A la moral? NO páginas _____
- ¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? NO páginas _____
- ¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? NO páginas _____
- ¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? NO páginas _____
- Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra? NO

Informe y otras observaciones:

- La huida constante de la pareja protagonista acosada por sus crímenes, robos y asesinatos, a través de los Estados Unidos, partiendo del atraco a un banco, recuerda en sus líneas argumentales a la famosa película "Bonnie and Clyde". Aquí la sanción de los protagonistas no es, al fin la muerte, sino las angustias y penurias que sufren para escapar de las fuerzas del orden y refugiarse en el vecino Méjico. Su final argumental bastante ambiguo, pudiera interpretarse como si la pareja, que son matrimonio, se decidiese finalmente a emprender un nuevo género de vida.

- En el conjunto predomina la violencia manifiesta en la cantidad de asesinatos, violencia tan frecuente hoy día en en esta clase de relatos, en novelas o en cine, friamente desprecia-tivos de la vida humana. En este caso apenas en algunas cir-cunstancias, la violencia se agrava con la crueldad. En lo eróti-co, no hay morbosidad, ni obscenidad y solamente he señalado una frase, aunque tampoco la considero de gravedad intolerable. Pág. 21. ✓

Puede autorizarse su publicación.

Autógrafa
(Q)

Madrid, 15 de Octubre de 1973

El Lector,

José María Canq

RESULTADO

Se propone la **AUTORIZACION**

31 OCT. 1973

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

R E S O L U C I O N

VISTOS el informe del Negociado de Lectorado, las disposiciones vigentes y las normas comunicadas por la Superioridad, esta Sección estima que la obra a que se refiere este expediente puede ser

Madrid, de de 197
El Jefe de la Sección,

CONFORME con la Sección

Madrid, de de 197
EL DIRECTOR GENERAL,



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Cultura Popular

SECCION DE ORDENACION EDITORIAL

tp

EXPEDIENTE N.º 10999-73

Presentada con fecha 6-10-73
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra "HUIDA", La
de la que es autor THOMPSON, Jim

editada por Grijalbo

con un volumen de 200 páginas
y una tirada de 7.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, 16 de octubre de 1973

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 38

Madrid, 17 de octubre de 1973

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Mod 485-1

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? páginas
¿A la moral? páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

C

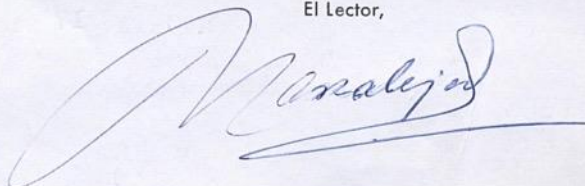
Doc Mc Coy y Carol, son un matrimonio; él un consumado ladrón y estulto criminal actúa en los Estados Unidos siendo ayudado por la eficaz colaboración de la esposa; ambos demuestran en sus actos una impresionante sangre fría que contribuye al éxito en sus acciones delictuales. Lógicamente, tratan de huir y consiguen su objetivo de escapar de la acción de la justicia a través de diversas ciudades norteamericanas.

La novela, como indica su título, narra la constante huida de la pareja, sin que a través de su lectura se haya apreciado causa alguna que aconseje su acotación.

PUBLICABLE.

Madrid, 29 de Octubre de 1973.

El Lector,



"LA HUIDA"
~~LA HUIDA~~



por
Jim Thompson

10999

EDICIONES GRIJALBO * BARCELONA

dad, me sorprendes algunas veces. Yo...

—¿Qué hay de extraño en ello? —preguntó Doc.

Y mientras Rudy estallaba de nuevo en carcajadas, Doc sacó un revólver del sombrero y disparó.

—Le he dado directamente en el corazón —explicó Doc a Carol—. Ha sido una de esas raras veces en que un hombre muere riendo.

—Y así ha muerto él —dijo Carol guiñando un ojo—. Era una persona con quien nunca me sentí bien. Siempre tenía la sensación de que estaba a punto de saltar sobre mí de improviso, desde el lado en que yo no miraba.

—¡Lástima! Pobre Rudy —murmuró Doc—. Pero, ¿cómo te sientes, querida...? Tanto ir de una parte para otra, de lo ridículo a lo sublime...

—Bien... —Carol le lanzó una sofocante mirada—. Creo que estaré mucho mejor mañana, después de una buena noche de sueño...

—Turutut... —sonrió Doc—. Ya veo que sigues siendo una mujercita traviesa.

Habían atravesado Beacon City, charlando de naderías, mirando con curiosidad a la gente; ahora se hallaban lejos de la carretera principal, al otro extremo de la ciudad. Doc conducía, puesto que Carol lo había hecho durante toda la noche. Estaba sentada de lado, mirándole, con las piernas recogidas sobre el asiento.

Sus ojos se encontraron. Se sonrieron. Doc le acarició la suave redondez de su cadera y ella le retuvo la mano durante unos segundos, agarrándola casi con fiereza.

—¿Por qué estás preocupado, Doc?

—¿Preocupado?

—Lo adivino siempre. ¿Se trata de Golie? Piensas que si Rudy no viene con nosotros...

Doc sacudió la cabeza.

—No habrá ninguna dificultad allí... quiero decir que no estoy preocupado por nada. Solamente estoy... en cierta manera desconcertado acerca de nuestro amigo Beynon.

—¡Oh! —dijo Carol—. Oh, sí...

Beynon era un juez. Era presidente de la junta del perdón y del Tribunal de Apelación. A él se le había comprado el perdón de Doc y todavía se le debían quince mil dólares del precio total de la compra. Poseía un pequeño rancho situado en un extremo del estado. Era soltero y vivía allí cuando no estaba ocupado en algún caso legal o cumpliendo sus deberes oficiales. Se dirigían hacia allí.

—Doc —dijo Carol mirando a través del parabrisas. Desviémonos. Vayamos directamente a Méjico desde aquí.

—No podemos, nena. Sería demasiado evidente. Estamos demasiado cerca.

—Pero tú no estabas conectado con el asunto. Ocurra lo que ocurra, pasarán días antes de que te relacionen con el atraco.

—Esto no significa nada. No cuando el asunto es de tanta importancia y ha tenido lugar tan cerca de la frontera. Habrán bloqueado todas las carreteras al menos a cincuenta millas a la redonda de El Paso. Todo el mundo es sospechoso ahora y cualquiera que intente pasar tiene que estar estrictamente limpio y ser capaz

ojos. No podía creerlo cuando oí tu nombre por la radio esta noche.

—Y tú, no es necesario decirlo, también eres una visión para estos doloridos oídos —Doc—. ¿Nos estabas esperando en la carretera?

—Sí. Sabía que te dirigías hacia aquí y me he jugado la posibilidad de que me vieras. Por cierto —su voz se alteró ligeramente—, no es que me importe demasiado, pero, ¿qué ha ocurrido entre tú y Rudy?

—Bueno... —Doc vaciló—. Ya conoces a Rudy. Nunca estuvo bien de la cabeza y últimamente había empeorado. Por muy razonable que intentaras ser con él, pues...

—Sí, claro. Finalmente le has volado la cabeza, ¿eh? Bueno, lo he estado esperando durante mucho tiempo —la mujer sacudió la cabeza sabiamente—. ¡Al diablo con el pobre diablo! Ahora tenemos que pensar en esconderte... a ti y a...

Se calló con ruda delicadeza y miró a Carol.

Doc se disculpó rápidamente.

—Perdona, ma. Mamá Santis... tengo el gusto de presentarte a mi esposa, Carol.

Huelga preguntarse si el apretón de manos de Carol fue un tanto floúo. Había oído hablar tanto de aquella mujer delgada, de rostro duro, que casi la había convertido en un mito.

Mamá Santis. Hija de un criminal, esposa de un criminal y madre de seis hijos criminales. Dos de los muchachos de Ma habían muerto en tiroteos con la policía; otros dos —como su padre— habían muerto en la silla eléctrica. De los dos restantes, uno estaba en la prisión y el otro, Earl, en libertad. Los Santis eran tenaces, rebeldes y marginados más que criminales en el sentido vulgar de la palabra. Nunca olvidaban un favor, al igual que nunca olvidaban una injuria. Algo extraño en el mundo del crimen, gente con un verdadero sentido del honor. En otra época habrían sido piratas, corsarios o soldados mercenarios. Su desgracia, y quizá la de la nación, era que habían nacido en una civilización que insistía en la conformidad y que no perdonaba ninguna ruptura de sus leyes, sin tener en cuenta las necesidades y motivos de cada uno.

Los Santis eran incapaces de conformarse. Habrían muerto —y habían muerto— antes que aceptar la conformidad. Y ahora, con más de sesenta y cuatro años, después de más de veinte en prisión, Ma seguía siendo tan rebelde como a los cuarenta.

Su hijo Earl vivía en el interior del país, explicó. Hacía de granjero para parecer respetable y vivía de lo que había saqueado y tenía guardado.

—Hace tanto tiempo que no damos un golpe, que la gente nos ha olvidado —cloqueó Ma—. Por lo tanto, me figuro que tendremos un buen viaje desde aquí a mi casa, pero no por eso nos hemos de confiar. Te quedarás donde yo te diga hasta que Earl se deje ver y... por cierto, ¿te dirigías a ver a El Req, Doc?

—Eso es.

—Bien, pues no dudes ni un momento de que lo harás —dijo Ma con firmeza—. Yo y Earl hemos ayudado a muchos amigos a llegar hasta él: a Pag Gagnoni, a Red Reading, a Ike Moss y su mujer. Naturalmente, vosotros sois, quizá, un poco más peligrosos que

EJEMPLAR EN BIBLIOTECA
GENERAL

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

REGIMEN EDITORIAL



Exp. núm. 1997

1986

1997

1986 con do-

Acceptada
24-2-75
M. L. G.

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, José Batlló Samón,
micilio en Barcelona, calle Valencia,
número 29, en representación de la Editorial el mismo,
deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra SI presentada pre-
viamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO: "El asesino dentro de mi"

Nombre Jim, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos: Thompson

EDITOR: José Batlló, editor inscrito con el número 1.166 en
el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 193

Formato 13x20

Tirada efectuada 3.000 ejemplares

Precio de venta 200,- p.v.p.

Colección en que se incluye Círculo negro

Madrid. Hora 10.45 Fecha 19 de Feb de 1975

EL SOLICITANTE,
José Batlló

DEPOSITO

Mod. 711



Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular.

EJEMPLAR EN BIBLIOTECA
GENERAL



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Régimen Editorial

db

EXPEDIENTE N.º 1997-75

Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previsto
a la difusión, exigido por el artículo 12 de
la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.

DEPOSITO

Madrid, de 25 FEB. 1975 10,45



ARCHIVO
20 FEB. 1975

Presentada con fecha instancia en solicitud de constitución oficial
del depósito de la obra **ASESINO DENTRO DE MI, EL**

de la que es autor **THOMPSON, Jim**

editada por **José Batllo**

con un volumen de 193 páginas
y una tirada de 3.000 ejemplares.

Madrid, de 20 FEB. 1975 de 197
El Jefe del Negociado de Tramitación,

ANTECEDENTES:

[Firma]
El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, de 20 de 197
El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

Med. 485-2

¿Ataca al Dogma?	Páginas
¿A la moral?	Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros?	Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?	Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?	Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?	

Informe y otras observaciones:

I

Novela policiaca perteneciente a la colección "Circulo negro" donde su autor describe algunas escenas con demasiado realismo. Narra la vida en una localidad al Oeste de Texas con una serie de personajes que emplean una expresión a veces violenta, a veces erótica. Escrita en primera persona es una novela más de la literatura negra.

AUTORIZABLE

Madrid, 24 de Febrero de 1975

El lector, *D. Casanova*
DOMINGO CASANOVA T



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Régimen Editorial



Exp. núm. _____

03627

29 MAR. 1976



29-3-76
116p

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, José Batlló Samón, con domicilio en Barcelona, calle Valencia, núm. 72, en representación de la Editorial el mismo, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del día 19) de la obra NO presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

DEPOSITO

TITULO: CIUDAD VIOLENTA

Nombre Jin, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos: THOMPSON

EDITORIAL: José Batlló, editor inscrita con el número 1.160

en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) doscientas veinte

Formato 19'5 x 12'5

Tirada efectuada dos mil ejemplares

Precio de venta doscientas veinte pesetas

Colección en que se incluye Los libros de la frontera

Madrid. Hora 11'4 Fecha _____ de _____ de 197____

Mod. 711

29 MAR. 1976

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular.

EL SOLICITANTE



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO
DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR

Régimen Editorial

m3

11,45

EXPEDIENTE N.º 3627-76

FECHA DE PRESENTACION: 29.3.76 VENCIMIENTO LEGAL:

TITULO DE LA OBRA: CIUDAD VIOLENTA

AUTOR: THOMPSON, Jim

EDITORIAL: Jose Batlló,

NUMERO DE PAGINAS: 320

TIRADA OFICIALMENTE DECLARADA: 2.000

Mod. 485-2

ANTECEDENTES:

EDICION: No / S. A.

IMPORTACION:

Aut. Imp. Francis Expte 1239/65

PASE AL LECTOR: 6

MADRID, 29 DE mayo DE 1976

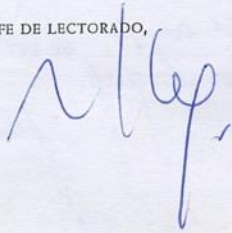
EL JEFE DE LECTORADO,

I N F O R M E

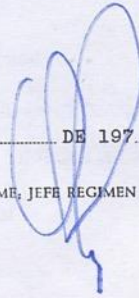
- Novela policiaca, con todos los componentes tipicos de su estilo, se abusa de las situaciones violentas al tiempo que se exageran las brutalidades de unos personajes solo movidos por instintos y que a la postre resultan ser de una bondad e inteligencia asombrosas. Para aderezar las situaciones hay abundantes escenas de matiz erotico que se quedan en el limite de lo permisible sin rebasarlo.

MADRID, 29 DE marzo DE 1976

CONFORME: JEFE DE LECTORADO,



CONFORME: JEFE REGIMEN EDITORIAL,



mta.-

Expediente n.º 69.011



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE ESPECTACULOS

JUNTA DE ORDENACION Y APRECIACION DE PELICULAS

N.º 5207

*Removido
ya cobrado*

Mod. 161

a fichas

La Comisión de Ordenación en Pleno
 de la Junta de Ordenación y Apreciación de Películas, en su reunión del día 27 del actual
 ha procedido a revisar la versión original
 de la película de nacionalidad norteamericana
 titulada: "LA HUIDA"
 (THE GETAWAY)
 distribuida por Mundial Films S.A.
 tomando el siguiente acuerdo:

Rectificar el dictamen emitido por la Comisión el día 26 de Febrero del año en curso, en el sentido de autorizar su doblaje, con determinadas adaptaciones en los rollos 4º, 5º, 7º, 9º, 10º, 11º y 13º.-

Lo que comunico a V. S. para su conocimiento y efectos oportunos.

Dios guarde a V. S. muchos años.

Madrid, 28 de Julio de 1973.-

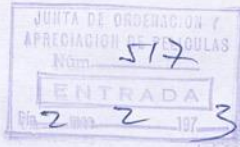
EL SECRETARIO DE LA JUNTA DE ORDENACION Y APRECIACION DE PELICULAS,

huntas



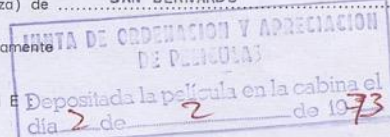
SR. JEFE DEL NEGOCIADO DE DISTRIBUCION

Exp 69.011



ILMO. SR.:

Don HERMINIO GARCIA CALVO
en calidad de CONSEJERO DELEGADO de la entidad MUNDIAL FILM, S.A.
con domicilio en MADRID (calle o plaza) de SAN BERNARDO
núm. 17 teléfono 2-41-18-04, a V. I. respetuosamente



EXPONE

1.º Que tiene el propósito de que se exhiba en España y en versión (1) Doblada al español la película cuyas características se indican a continuación.

Mod. 333 - 10.304

2.º Que dicha película se encuentra importada en España al amparo de la licencia de importación número 7.231.563 cuyo original presenta y retira parasu cotejo la fotocopia de la misma que acompaña.

3.º Que las características y ficha de la citada película son las siguientes:

Nacionalidad Norteamericana
Título original "THE GETAWAY"
Entidad productora NATIONAL GENERAL PICTURES CORP.
Número de rollos 14 de 300 metros aproximadamente.
Metros 3.358
Género Comedia dramática
Color Color
Sistemas de rodaje y proyección 35m/m.
Director SAM PECKINPAH
Intérpretes principales STEVE McQUEEN - ALI MacGRAW

4.º Que se prevé para su exhibición en España el título de "LA HUIDA"

(1) Versión original, versión original con subtítulos en español, o versión doblada al español.

5.º Que a los efectos de tramitación de este expediente adjunta:

- a) Una copia de la pleícula de referencia que coincide íntegramente con la versión de la misma que se proyecta en el país de origen.
- b) Sinopsis del argumento por duplicado.
- c) Declaración manifestando la calificación que, a su juicio, corresponde a la película (2).
- d) Traducción fiel de los diálogos originales, en correcto castellano y por duplicado, con indicación clara de rollos, escenas o secuencias a que corresponden.
- e) Texto por duplicado de los subtítulos en castellano con los que ha de ser proyectada la película en España.
- f) Fotocopia del certificado oficial de origen, en el que se acredita, además, el título original y metraje.
- g) Certificado de la Aduana de, acreditativo de haber efectuado el pago de los derechos arancelarios.
- h) Documento que determina el cupo o convenio cinematográfico en virtud del cual se ha importado la película, y que acredita el pago de los derechos de importación y
- i) Fotocopia de la licencia de importación.

Por todo lo cual,

SUPLICA a V. I.: Que, previa la tramitación pertinente, se sirva comunicar al solicitante si se autorizará la exhibición de la referida película en la versión solicitada.

Es gracia que espera alcanzar de V. I., cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.

Madrid, a 19 de Enero de 1973



Deposito 1.972
Pagos 200.000 (R. Mon)
9-8-72
12-12-72
25-1-73
30-11-73
50.000

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS.

(2) Y, en su caso, manifestación de las supresiones o modificaciones accidentales que proponga, exponiendo, asimismo, su conformidad expresa con las mismas o, si lo considera oportuno, con cualquier otra que pueda decretar el Organismo censor, y declarando si el solicitante está jurídicamente facultado para admitir las supresiones o modificaciones accidentales que se hagan.



mundial film, s. a.

Is.-

DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA "FILMUN"

CASA CENTRAL: San Bernardo, 17 - Teléfono 241 18 04
MADRID-8

12 de Diciembre de 1.972

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Buenos Aires, 27
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

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BALEARES
Cofradía, 20
Palma de Mallorca

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de
CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS
Ministerio de Información y Turismo
M A D R I D . -
=====

Ilmo. Señor:

Con relación a nuestra película de nacionalidad norteamericana, titulada "THE GETAWAY", cuya censura previa solicitamos, significamos que pretendemos importarla con -- cargo al cupe 1.972 que nos ha sido concedido.

Sin otro particular, aprovechamos gustosos la - ocasión para reiterarnos de V.I. attas. y ss. ss.,

MUNDIAL FILM, S. A.

MADRID



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DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA "FILMUN"

1s.-

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12 de Diciembre de 1.972

SUCURSALES EN:

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Enrique Granados, 44
Tel. 254 00 07

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Tel. 22 87 88

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CANARIAS
Buenos Aires, 27
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

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BALEARÉS
Cofradía, 20
Palma de Mallorca

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de
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Ministerio de Información y Turismo
M A D R I D . -
=====

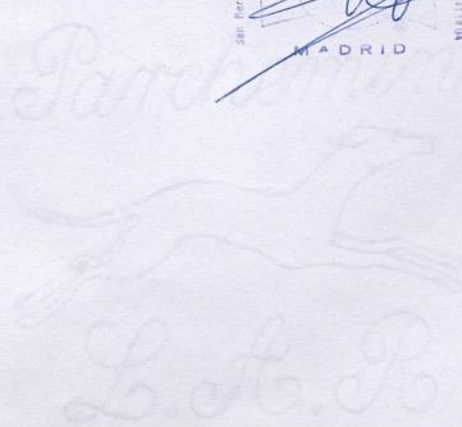
Ilmo. Señor:

Refiriéndonos a nuestra película de nacionalidad norteamericana titulada "THE GETAWAY", significamos que no pretendemos efectuar cortes ó adaptaciones algunas, salve los que nos puedan ser sugeridos por la Junta de Censura de su digna presidencia.

Sin otro particular, quedamos de V.I. attes. y
ss. ss.,

MUNDIAL FILM, S. A.

San Bernardo, 17
MADRID
Tel. 241 18 04



D. Herminio Garcia Calvo, como Consejero Delegado de la casa MUNDIAL FILM, S.A. y en representación de la misma, declara bajo juramento que la copia de la película - - - - - "THE GETAWAY", depositada en la cabina de proyección de la Subdirección General de Cinematografía, a efectos de censura y en solicitud de licencia de exhibición, es versión íntegra y que responde exactamente a la exhibida en el país de origen, extrámes que, asimismo, se acreditan en el adjunto certificado del laboratorio de dicho país de origen, en el que, además, se hace constar que el metraje útil de dicha película, es decir de principio a final de proyección es de 3.358 metros.

Lo que, a los efectos de cumplimiento de los Arts. 27, 29 y 37, de la O.M. de 10 de Febrero de 1.966, se hace constar en Madrid a doce de Diciembre de 1.972

MUNDIAL FILM, S. A.
MADRID
Sede: Madrid, 17
Teléfono: 411304

ILMO. SR. SUBDIRECTOR GENERAL DE CINEMATOGRAFIA
=====



Technicolor
MOTION PICTURE DIVISION

January 17, 1973

Mr. Herminio Garcia
% Mوندال Films
San Bernardo 17
Madrid 3, Spain

Dear Mr. Garcia:

This letter will confirm that the total footage for
the feature GETAWAY is 11,289'.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Havens

KH/bc

SERVICE

PICTURE INDUSTRY

TELEPHONE 462-6111

