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Mapping translated theatre in Spain through censorship archives Raquel Merino Álvarez¹

This chapter aims to evaluate the usefulness of the Spanish censorship archives, mainly the General Administrative Archive (AGA - Archivo General de la Administración), for research into the history of translated theatre in Spain. For those who work on translation in the history of theatre, censorship archives have been of great importance as they have allowed us to go beyond standard editions of dramatic works or the sources available in generalist libraries in order to examine carefully the relevance of translation and to identify foreign authors, works and genres which form part of Spanish theatre in the twentieth century.²

An early study (Merino 1994) looked at the issue of translated English theatre in Spain from a historical point of view by using a corpus of around 200 translations (published from the 1950s to the 1980s), of which around 100 bi-texts (original and translation) were compared and four prototypical sets of texts were analysed: A View from the Bridge by Arthur Miller, in José Luis Alonso's Spanish version for the 1982 stage production; Langston Hughes' *Mulatto*, translated by Alfonso Sastre; Edward Bond's *Passion*, by professional translator Carla Matteini; and Jack Popplewell's Busybody, a 1960s commercial hit). The process of compiling the bibliography and texts for the study was based on searches in specialised bookshops and libraries, in other words, following the trails that translated theatre had left behind in the publishing market, in generalist documentation centres and libraries, or in bibliographies. This produced an initial global perspective of the types of foreign authors and works that had appeared in Spain alongside plays by 'native' (that is, Spanish) playwrights, either in stage or reading publications. This first attempt to give visibility to that aspect of Spanish theatre which published histories normally ignore, namely the translated part³, set the ball rolling and revealed a scene which was dominated by commercial theatre and plays originally written in English, especially North American (US) works. It was clear that the box office was also fundamental for the production of foreign plays. The process of importing theatre from abroad did not just fall upon professional or specialised translators but extended to the production of versions, adaptations (and various

rewritings) by a whole range of figures, from directors to actors, as well as Spanish playwrights. International success for a play or author (in London, New York or Paris) influenced the choice of specific foreign works and authors, and theatre programming was guided by the hope of similar box office takings together with the desire to put the Spanish scene on an international level.

Research of this kind which takes a historical point of view makes it possible to offer a portrayal of theatre translated into Spanish truer to reality than could be done by looking at existing studies on specific foreign playwrights, bearing in mind that the selection of authors and works by previous researchers would have skewed the results. In other words, our aim was to study specific playwrights or plays based on how representative they were, and this was established by means of contextual research and analysis.

It is precisely in this respect that the censorship archives provide a rich source of data. We started to use them as a documentary source in the late 1990s, and until then they had not been compiled or analysed for the study of translated theatre. At most there had been research on the censorship of books focused on publishers (for example, Hurtley 1992 on José Janés) or specific foreign authors (for example, LaPrade 1991 on Hemingway), and some Hispanists such as O'Connor (1969) or Cramsie (1984) had looked into the topic in pioneering studies on theatre censorship in Spain.

The early development of the TRACE (Traducciones Censuradas – Censored Translations) project established that the Spanish censorship archives represent a privileged 'balcony' affording a panoramic view of the history of translated theatre and that, apart from occasional studies on specific foreign playwrights or individual plays (as mentioned above), scant attention had been given to the importance of translation for the history of theatre in Spain, either in the discipline of Hispanic Studies or in any of the respective foreign-language philologies. The aim of the TRACE project is:

To establish a coordinated and collaborative research effort to create an ever clearer image of the terrain (namely, translated theatre in Spain), which has already been mapped out and

analyzed, that reflects as accurately as possible translation as an integral part of Spanish theatre, an issue which has been at best sidelined and often ignored in the academic context. A related objective is to identify 'the huge empty spaces, the gaping absences which are evident when trying to characterise Spanish theatre of the last 50 years' (García Lorenzo 1999: 9). It is these spaces and absences which the project attempts to remedy – in the case of theatre translated from English – in the studies described here. (Merino 2010b: 375-76)

Consequently, when we came across the theatre-related archives in the AGA around ten years ago, it was immediately clear that, in contrast to other sources, they offered a rich terrain to explore. The first way to map this terrain was by dividing it into different time periods: from the post-Spanish Civil war period until the late 1950s, and from 1960 to 1985. For the latter period, files and boxes were consulted using a method of (random) sampling. This was done because previous research had already been carried out on this period and this was the best way to avoid results obtained from sources unrelated to censorship influencing the selection of certain authors or plays. Randomly selecting files aimed at revealing the general lay of the land of Spanish theatre (both native and translated) by unveiling sections at regular intervals so that the final map of foreign theatre was as faithful as possible to the global reality which the censorship archives reflect due to the fact that it was compulsory to apply for a licence for performance and the associated bureaucratic procedures were documented in the archives (Merino 2012).

Once the initial analyses had been carried out on the information in the TRACEti (censored translations of English theatre) 1960-1985 database (www.ehu.es/trace), we began to do studies using a mixed methodology (random searches combined with searches for a specific author). The next step was to look at other periods or sections of translated theatre, giving rise to two doctoral dissertations (Pérez 2004 and Bandín 2007), which examined the period 1939-1960, and classical English theatre in translation with special reference to Shakespeare, respectively. Each of these dissertations within the framework of the TRACE project contributed to creating a more precise vision of the history of translated theatre in Spain in the twentieth century.

Currently, the TRACE project includes several translation catalogues compiled in databases which have an entry for each file that was created by an application for a licence for performance

and associated with a text (translation) which was submitted with the application. The translation is in the format of a book or typed manuscript linked to the obligatory application for performance. These texts are the basis of the text corpora created for translated plays or authors and are organised as sets of texts (one or various translations of a single original text) for a given work, author or theme. Organising the text corpora in sets of texts and original-translation pairs (and translation-translation pairs) aids the task of analysis and comparison, which it is carried out using the ad-hoc aligning programme TRACEaligner.

Each catalogue contains basic general information (author, title, translator) but also information specific to the censorship process (AGA box, file number, submission and resolution dates) and to the processing of the text (resolution, censors, observations, proposals for cuts or review). With this information it is already possible to discover which authors and plays had a greater presence in Spain and which ones managed to make it past the censor, and also to gather information which, once processed, allows for the identification of prototypical sets of texts for further analysis and study. Between 1960 and 1978, the number of applications for authorisation associated with foreign theatre was nearly 50 percent of the total. The TRACEti project has registered around 700 files for this period.

The work published so far by the members of the TRACE project in the field of theatre has reported the results directly derived from the analysis of various translation catalogues, and in some cases of specific plays and/or authors. For the period 1960-1985, the choice of what to study was informed by an analysis of the contents of the corresponding TRACEti catalogue. Thus, research has been carried out on the introduction into Spanish theatre by means of translation of homosexuality, one of the most polemic taboo topics, or of other proscribed topics such as adultery, through the study of representative cases such as plays like *The Boys in the Band* or *The Complaisant Lover*, among others. Merino (2010a: 136-138) traces the gradual appearance of the theme of homosexuality on Spanish stages from the 1950s onwards through the work of authors like Maxwell Anderson (*Té y simpatía/Tea and Sympathy*), Tennessee Williams (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente/Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and *Un tranvía llamado deseo/A Streetcar Named Desire*), Peter Shaffer (*Ejercicio para cinco dedos/Five Finger Exercise*), Edward Albee (*Historia del zoo/The Zoo Story*), and Mart Crowley (*Los chicos de la banda/The*

Boys in the Band). Tracking this evolution was done using not only the documentation taken from the censorship archives but also external sources such as theatre reviews (Álvaro 1958-1985).

Merino (2007, 2010a) has used data from the AGA to analyse how the topic of homosexuality began to appear on Spanish stages, in large part as a result of translations. The case of *The Boys* in the Band, by the American Mart Crowley, provides a representative example. The version by Ignacio Artime and Jaime Azpilicueta was produced in 1975 in a commercial theatre and caused quite a stir in the press (Crowley, 1975). The first attempt to have this play staged in 1972, as translated by Jaime Salom, ended in a draw of votes within the theatre censorship board, and a final prohibition favoured by the more restrictive authorities in charge of censorship at the time. The very existence of the Spanish 1975 version raises questions about how it made it to the stage (with the obligatory licence for performance) and to publication (with the corresponding licence from the censor) just before the death of Franco. Álvaro (1975) reproduces the critics' response to the Spanish production, with subtle comments on how previous productions of plays by foreign writers had paved the way and made the topic 'not totally unknown' to the Spanish public. Shaffer's Five Finger Exercise is mentioned, as well as Albee's Zoo Story. Both from the perspective of the press commentaries (expressing how the actual show was in the crowds queuing to enter the theatre), and the reports of the censors (who openly discuss some changes to the text with very few favouring a ban and most justifying authorisation, it is clear that foreign drama in translation was used to spearhead so-called dangerous topics that were barred for Spanish authors, but once introduced via translation on the stage they became increasingly more familiar with the audiences and censors found them more difficult to ban. In this respect, the 1961 censorship record for the Spanish production of West's *Devil's Advocate* contains an interesting question – addressed by one of the censors to the Director General – as to whether homosexuals or 'effeminate characters' are still barred from the stage ('¿subsiste la veda contra los afeminados?'). No such questions were asked about adultery and pre-marital relations, which were still delicate topics in the more open 1960s and clearly in the period 1970-1975.

Shortly we intend to look into the history of translated theatre from the point of view of particular foreign playwrights, such as Peter Shaffer, who created controversy and thus made an important

impact on the Spanish stage, which was revitalised by the introduction of such works. From the approval in 1959 of *Ejercicio para cinco dedos* (*Five Finger Exercise*), the reviews of which made much of the presence of the theme of homosexuality (Álvaro, 1959), to the 1975 debut of *Equus* and the accompanying polemic over the male and female nudity allowed by the authorities (Álvaro, 1975), taking in the prohibition in 1969 of *La caza real del sol* (*The Royal Hunt of the Sun*), Peter Shaffer's work was introduced into the Spanish theatre scene as ground-breaking material that helped to tackle controversial issues. Shaffer himself attended the premiere of *Five Finger Exercise* in 1959, and from that point on was firmly integrated into the Spanish commercial theatre circuit. Controversy was an excellent key to box office success and Shaffer was labelled polemical from the start. Quite possibly there also was a hidden agenda among certain theatre groups to gain visibility on the stage which would explain why homosexuality was somehow favoured with more and swifter positive response from the censorship office than adultery, extra-marital relations, or specific religious or political issues. *The Royal Hunt of the Sun*, which dramatised the Spanish conquest of Peru, was seen as an inconvenient and negative portrayal of Spanish history.

Also currently under way is the study of texts associated with very commercial plays that had a substantial impact in their day but have been given little significance in histories of Spanish theatre, as they were plays or authors of short-lived success. Playwrights such as Jack Popplewell, Terence Rattigan or Laurence Roman at one point enjoyed great success in commercial theatres but their plays have not been produced in Spain for many years. The role played by translations in studio and club theatres, or in the network of university theatres⁵, is another area we plan to study.

Another line of research that is already under way is the role of Spanish playwrights and directors in the production of translations, comparing their output as translators or adaptors with the work of professional translators. Focusing on foreign theatre in the context of non-professional translators brings to centre stage all sorts of issues of the balance of power within the theatre system, notably the fact that versions of English plays were attributed to Spanish playwrights who barely knew any English. One such case is that of José María Pemán, who appears as translator of *El amante complaciente* (1969), the Spanish version of Graham Greene's *The*

Complaisant Lover. In the prologue of the Spanish edition of the play, Pemán himself mentions that when he interviewed Greene it was necessary to 'tender un puente babélico' ('build a bridge across Babel') since he knew just a few words of English and Greene did not speak Spanish.⁶

Recent work by the TRACE group (Merino 2012) has compared original plays in Spanish by Spanish writers with plays translated into Spanish, and also works translated by directors and actors with versions by professional translators (see Appendix II). With respect to the presence of Spanish authors (and directors) as translators or authors of adaptations and versions, a guided search returns numerous hits for Pemán or Sastre, the majority of which are for their original output, while for cases such as López Rubio or Escobar – playwrights well-known for their command of English – there seems to be a balance between original work and translations. At the other end of the scale we find professional translators like Matteini or Méndez Herrera along with directors like Osuna, Alonso or González Vergel, and actress Conchita Montes, whose names appear only as translators (or adaptors) in the AGA database consulted (see the appendices to this chapter).

The fact that a translation was filed under a certain name for translation or adaptation seems to reflect authorship of the version in most cases. Often the actual source of the translation may have been overlooked, depending on the degree of integration of the 'translator' into the theatrical world. For example, the Spanish translation of Lawrence Roman's *Under the Yum Yum Tree*, first filed in 1961, was attributed to translator Méndez Herrera, but in later exchanges of documents with censorship authorities it was presented as 'adapted' by actress Catalina Montes, who along with Roman's representative in Spain, Andrés Kramer, fought a long and polemical censorship case in which the name of the translator, a much less powerful figure in the theatre system, was no longer mentioned. ⁷

The list of Spanish authors (actors or directors) is based on previous research which revealed that these individuals were named in association with translations or versions of foreign theatre. Using the information in the AGA database is a way to quantify and contextualise the original and translated output of playwrights who did both. This also makes it possible to connect certain names (of actors, directors, adaptors and translators) with the main role for which they were

known.

In the context of theatre and censorship, there are more studies on playwrights who were critical of the regime (Muñoz Cáliz, 2005, 2006 & 2008; London 1997 & 2012; O'Leary, 2004 & 2005) than on those who had less trouble with the censors. We believe that the selection of authors should not be exclusive. Thus, although an analysis of the work of authors such as López Rubio or Pemán may at first glance appear to be less interesting from the point of view of censorship, in fact both their original work and their versions of work by other authors include highly revealing information which helps to reconstruct the theatre of the period (Merino 2012). Along the same lines of inclusiveness, the study of commercial foreign authors (Popplewell, Rattigan or even Agatha Christie) should not be incompatible with work on more acclaimed authors (Miller or Williams). The Spanish theatre scene was made up of all these elements and if we wish to create a faithful account of the phenomenon, we cannot afford to exclude *a priori* any genre, play or author.

This perspective makes it possible to bring an aspect of the history of Spanish theatre that has always been hidden in the wings out into full view. The reason for the invisibility is simple: any research on 'Spanish' theatre starts by looking at Spanish authors and their work by using established lists of more or less recognised writers who appear in the various published histories of Spanish theatre. And since the object of study is Spanish theatre, normally anything to do with translation is avoided and flushed out in order to define the thing being studied with the consequence of sidelining anything that is not an original (Spanish) work.

The reality of Spanish theatre is, however, much more complex: the compulsory applications for a licence for performance show that translated plays by foreign authors were submitted as often as original Spanish plays. Furthermore, the authors of the Spanish versions of foreign language plays were not only professional translators but also Spanish playwrights, actors and directors. Translated theatre shared the theatre scene with Spanish works to such an extent that the two mixed together to the point of being indistinguishable, and formed such an integral part of Spanish theatre that translations approved (and censored) by the censors in the twentieth century continue to be performed today. The theatre imported through translation was an instrument that

was consciously used to introduce subject matter which would otherwise have been rejected by the censor or would not even have been considered as viable by Spanish playwrights.

Translated theatre is part of the canon of Spanish theatre in Spanish. Once plays by foreign authors have been translated, they become part of the repertoire of all sorts of companies, and in many cases in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, they were a vehicle to innovate and introduce topics marginalised by the censors.

What held for theatre performances also held for theatre in its published form, a faithful reflection of a theatre system made up of imported foreign theatre and original Spanish works and later on (from the 1960s onwards) plays in the other languages of the Spain. The censors' registers of books published once they had received approval contain references to thousands of editions of translated plays which had already been performed in Spain or to collections of plays in reader editions. In the files of the censorship archives relating to theatre productions, the text submitted to the censor was sometimes a Spanish or Argentinian edition that had already been published, and if no such previous publication existed, the typed manuscript submitted to the censor normally ended up turning into a published edition.

The traces of translated theatre within the panorama of Spanish theatre productions (and publications) can be detected in many ways: from publications (performance and reading editions) and typed manuscripts to theatre reviews and the censors' reports. The overall view is of translated theatre which fused with and infused theatre originally written in Spanish and the other languages of Spain. The fact that the TRACE research group has studied translated (English) theatre which passed through the censorship filter is in large part due to the extensive documentation that the archives offer and to the lack of recognition given to the existence and role of translated theatre. Nevertheless, translation has been such an important part of the theatre scene in Spain that it is impossible to conceive of Spanish theatre in the twentieth century without it. In his work on the history of translation, and specifically on theatre translation, Santoyo (1995, 1997, 1999) raises questions about the specific canon for each author (namely, why translated output is not considered alongside the original output of Spanish authors), and suggests that forgotten theatre translations should be recovered as an integral part of Spanish theatre. The

TRACE research group, have set out to discover in the censorship archives the "forgotten pages", those that were never performed or published, as well as the translated pages that have never been catalogued as part of Spanish theatre and are waiting for to be included in a solidly documented history of translated theatre.

Translated theatre is Spanish theatre and it is performed and published to the same extent as theatre produced from within Spain. To ignore the fundamental role that translated theatre has played and continues to play in the Spanish theatre system can only impoverish the image we have of the history of theatre in Spain.

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APPENDIX IOverview of the most frequently translated English-language playwrights (as revealed by numbers of applications for censorship approval).

Author	No. of applications for performance	Period
Shakespeare, William	74	1940-1978
Beckett, Samuel	34	1955-1976
O'Neill, Eugene	33	1947-1974
Williams, Tennessee	26	1945-1974
Shaw, George Bernard	24	1942-1975
Pinter, Harold	21	1961-1977
Priestley, J.B.	19	1942-1978
Rattigan, Terence	14	1955-1972
Maugham, Somerset	16	1940-1966
Christie, Agatha	14	1949-1971
Albee, Edward	13	1963-1976
Miller, Arthur	12	1951-1974
Hamilton, Patrick	11 (2 plays)	1944-1982
Shaffer, Peter	11	1959-1983
Greene, Graham	9	1953-1978
Carroll, Lewis	6	1969-1978
Dickens, Charles	4	1951-1983
Shaffer, Anthony	3	1970-1983
Bolt, Robert	2 (1 play)	1962
Ayckbourn, Alan	2	1967-1971
Hughes, Langston	1	1963

APPENDIX II

Original and translated/adapted output of selected Spanish authors/directors/translators. Number of applications for performance (according to files in the AGA).

Name	Original plays	Translations/	Period
		adaptations	
Pemán, José María	64	7	1939-1976
Sastre, Alfonso	29	6	1945-1976
López Rubio, José	24	18	1949-1972
Buero Vallejo, Antonio	23	0	1949-1978
Salom, Jaime	23	3	1948-1976
Muñiz, Carlos	19	3	1957-1974
Arozamena, Jesús María	17	13	1939-1972
Marsillach, Adolfo	12	15	1955-1976
Escobar, Luis	11	18	1944-1971
Alonso, José Luis	3	42	1947-1973
Balart, Vicente	1	18 ⁸	1951-1972
Artime, Ignacio	1	8	1972-77
Méndez Herrera, José	0	18	1941-77
Arteche, Juan José	0	17	1961-1977
Montes, Conchita	0	16	1945-1978
Osuna, José	0	11	1964-73
Azpilicueta, Jaime	0	9	1970-1974
González Vergel, Alberto	0	8	1953-1975
Matteini, Carla	0	4	1963-1977
Layton, William	0	2	1963-1967

José María Pemán

Title	Author	Year(s)
Antigone (Antígona)	Sophocles	1945 (56)
Hamlet	Shakespeare, William	1949
Electra	Sófocles	1949 (54)

Dialogues des Carmélites (Diálogos	Bernanos, George	1953
Carmelitas)		
Los encantos de la culpa	Calderón de la Barca, Pedro	1958
Bonaparte quiere vivir tranquilo	Abril Romero, Francisco	1964
The Complaisant Lover (El amante	Greene, Graham	
complaciente)		
El tetrarca de Jerusalén	Calderón de la Barca, Pedro	

José López Rubio⁹

Title	Author	Year(s)
The Last of Mrs Cheyney (El pasado de	Lonsdale, Frederick	1945
la Señora Cheyney)		
Mrs Moonlight (El tiempo dormido)	Levy, Benn W.	1947
Le Bourgeois gentilhomme (El burgués	Molière	1948
gentilhombre)		
Tovaritch (Tovarich)	Deval, Jacques	1950
Johnny Belinda (Belinda)	Harris, Elmer B.	1950
Bonaventure (Sor Buenaventura)	Hastings, Charlotte	1950
The Constant Wife (La esposa constante)	Maugham, W. Somerset	1952
Death of a Salesman (La muerte de un	Miller, Arthur	1952
viajante)		
Strictly Dishonorable (Completamente	Sturges, Preston	1952
honesta)		
Berkeley Square (La plaza de Berkeley)	Balderston, John L.	1952
De las doce a las tres	Vaszary, János	1952
Ombre chère (Sombra querida)	Deval, Jacques	1952
The Importance of Being Earnest (La	Wilde, Oscar	1952
importancia de llamarse Ernesto)		
The White Sheep of the Family (La oveja	Peach, L. Du Garde & Hay,	1952
blanca (de la familia))	Ian	
Europa and the Bull (Europa y el toro)	Fodor, Ladislas	1953

Dial M for Murder (Crimen perfecto)	Knott, Frederick	1953
South Pacific (Al Sur del Pacífico)	Rodgers, Richard &	1955
	Hammerstein, Oscar	
Liliom	Molnár, Ferenc	1955
The Whole Truth (Toda la verdad)	Mackie, Philip	1956
Lezioni d'amore (Lecciones de amor)	Pitigrilli (Dino Segre)	1956
Requiem for a Nun (Requiem para una	Faulkner, William	1957
mujer)		
The Little Foxes (Como buenos	Hellman, Lillian	1957
hermanos)		
The Petrified Forest (El bosque	Sherwood, RobertE.	1957
petrificado)		
La Estrella de Sevilla	Lope de Vega	1957
View from the Bridge (Panorama desde	Miller, A.	1958
el puente)		
The Road to Rome (El camino de Roma)	Sherwood, Robert E.	1959
L'Avare (El avaro)	Molière	1960
Two for the Seesaw (Dos para un	Gibson, William	1960
balancín)		
Double Image; Gog and Magog (El uno	MacDougall, Roger & Allan,	1961
y el otro; Gog y Magog)	Ted	
The Great Sebastians (Los dos	Lindsay, Howard & Crouse,	1961
Sebastiani)	Russel	
The Miracle Worker (El milagro de Ana	Gibson, William	1961
Sullivan)		
Le Cardinal d'Espagne (El cardenal de	Montherlant, Henry de	1962
España)		
Joan of Lorraine (Juana de Lorena)	Anderson, Maxwell	1962
Gaslight (Luz de gas)	Hamilton, Patrick	1964
Sunday in New York (Un domingo en	Krasna, Norman	1964
Nueva York)		

Der Nachfolger (El sucesor)	Raffalt, Reinhard	1964
Tartuffe (Tartufo)	Molière	1965
Les oeufs de l'autruche (Los huevos del	Roussin, André	1965
avestruz)		
Cet animal étrange (Ese animal extraño)	Arout, Gabriel	1966
Man of La Mancha (El hombre de la	Wasserman, Dale	1966
Mancha)		
The Sound of Music (Sonrisas y	Lindsay, Howard & Crouse,	1968
lágrimas)	Russel	
La Baye (La Baiiia)	Adrien, Philippe	1969
Hadrian VII (Adriano VII)	Luke, Peter	1969
Harold and Maude (Harold y Maude)	Higgins, Colin	1976

José Méndez Herrera¹⁰

Title	Author	Year(s)
Una visita en la noche	Casas Bricio, Antonio	1941
El angelus	Martín Alonso, M.	1944
En la hora del diablo	Martín Alonso, M.	1947
A Streetcar Named Desire (Un tranvía	Williams, Tennessee	1951
llamado Deseo)		
The Heiress (La heredera)	Goetz, Augustus & Ruth	1952
The Cocktail Party (Cocktail Party)	Eliot, T. S.	1952
Darkness at Noon (El cero y el infinito)	Kingsley, Sidney	1952
A Winter's Tale (Cuento de invierno)	Shakespeare, William	1953
A Streetcar Named Desire (Un tranvía	Williams, Tennessee	1957
llamado Deseo)		
Under the Yum-Yum Tree (El árbol del	Roman, Lawrence	
amor)		
Dear Liar (Mi querido embustero)	Kilty, Jerome	1962
The Kreutzer Sonata (La sonata a	Watt, Hannah	1964
Kreutzer)		

Pygmalion (Pigmalión)	Shaw, George Bernard	1963
The Night of the Iguana (La noche de la	Williams, Tennessee	1965
iguana)		
Lo scoiattolo (Robo en el Vaticano)	Fabbri, Diego	1964
Il berretto a sonagli (El gorro de	Pirandello, Luigi	1964
cascabeles)		
After the Fall (Después de la caída)	Miller, Arthur	1966
Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?	Albee, Edward	1966
(¿Quién teme a Virginia Woolf?)		
Pietà di novembre (La piedad en	Brusati, Franco	1966
noviembre)		
Trōiades (Las troyanas)	Euripides	1974
The Price (El precio)	Miller, Arthur	1970
An enemy of the People (Un enemigo	Ibsen, Henrik	1971
del pueblo)		
The Changeling (Los lúnaticos)	Middleton, Thomas	1973
Hamlet	Shakespeare, William	1973
Vrijdag (Viernes día de libertad)	Claus, Hugo	1977

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² Other authors such as London (1997 & 2012), Muñoz Cáliz (2005) or O'Leary (2005) have used the AGA archive as the documentary source for detailed research into the work of Spanish playwrights to provide a thoroughly documented perspective on theatre.

³ References to translated theatre are scant in historical descriptions such as Delgado and Gies (2012), Díez Borque (1982, 1988), Huerta Calvo (2003), Oliva (2002) and Ruiz Ramón (1988).

⁴ The following plays by Shaffer are included in the AGA: *Ejercicio para cinco dedos* (*Five Finger Exercise*) (1959-72); *El oído privado y el ojo público* (*The Private Ear and the Public Eye*) (1964); *El apagón* (*Black Comedy*) (1967); *La caza real del sol* (*The Royal Hunt of the Sun*) (1969); *The Private Ear* (1970); *The Public Eye* (1970); *Equus* (1974).

⁵ Work such as Salgueiro (1999), which looks at both Spanish and foreign theatre (in this instance in the University of Santiago de Compostela), provides an extremely useful starting point.

⁶ For a detailed study explaining how Pemán came to be acknowledged as the author of the Spanish version of Greene's play, see Merino 2007.

⁷ The main issue at stake in Roman's play (record number 267-61) was pre-marital relations. The play was considered 'too strong', and after several attempts to have the script approved and endless negotiations with the censors (many a letter started 'with every wish to cooperate with the censor'), the final authorisation was granted with restrictions (audiences over 18 with cuts, 25 April 1962).

⁸ It should be pointed out that there are frequent mismatches between the AGA digital archive data and the manual archives. In the case of Balart, the mismatch is considerable since the number works listed under his name in the manual archive for authors is 53. When consulting the manual archives we also found that at least one of the plays given as Vicente Balart's in the digital database corresponds to the Belgian author Paul Vandenberghe.

⁹ In the AGA theatre database we find 18 titles for translations by José López Rubio. Further research carried out by the author of this chapter into the career as translator of López Rubio in

other sources (the Theatre Documentation Centres of Spain and Andalucía), has produced the 44-entry list included in the appendix.

¹⁰ The list of 25 titles in the appendix is the result of searches in the AGA theatre database (18), enlarged with information from external sources obtained by the author of this chapter as part of work on the censorship case of Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, of which Méndez Herrera was the translator.