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Censorship, translation and integration in the theatre of the Franco era: José López Rubio, theatrical figure and translator

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1. Foreign theatre in translation and Franco's censors: beyond a theatre in original version

The history of Spanish theatre in the twentieth century, from the end of the Civil War (1939) until at least the late seventies, was marked by the existence of an authoritarian regime that established and maintained a system of control over all types of cultural activity. For all forms of the dramatic arts, including theatre, Franco's censorship constituted a bureaucratic structure that forced works aimed at all types of audiences to be filtered and purified. This filter, prior to authorisation, was applied in a methodical way, thus leaving abundant evidence of the cultural evolution of much of the last century.

For scholars of Spanish theatre, the censorship archives kept at the General Administration Archive (Archivo General de la Administración, AGA) are an inexhaustible source of documentation and information of many different kinds, and for those of us addressing the contribution of translation to the history of Spanish theatre, the archive is also a unique documentary source. In it we can trace the theatrical events of our country, regardless of the language or country of origin of the authors whose works were performed and published, or at least were selected for performance or publication. The mandatory request for authorization to stage a public theatrical event opened up a whole bureaucratic-censorial process, one which was meticulously recorded and reflected in hundreds of documents. Those records are, in many cases, the only reliable source for gaining a clear understanding of the vicissitudes of translated dramatic work in our theatrical history.

Although it might seem superfluous, it is worth noting that the different histories of Spanish theatre, both those published during the 20th century (García Lorenzo, 1981; Díez Borque, 1982 and 1988; Ferreras, 1988; Ruiz Ramón, 1989; Berenguer & Pérez, 1998; Bonnín, 1998), and more recent ones (Miguel Martínez, 2000; Oliva, 2002; Huerta Calvo, 2003), do not usually reflect the existence of translations in the theatre performed and published in Spain. The reason for this is as simple as it is

obvious: the approach traditionally adopted consists of gathering information about Spanish playwrights, works in Spanish (and Catalan, Galician or Basque), and Spanish theatres and companies, understood as those originating geographically or linguistically in the Spanish territory. Everything related to foreign authors is typically excluded, and even those translations made by Spanish playwrights are usually ignored or considered external, or indeed of a lesser category (Merino, 2010: 374).

We believe it is appropriate to argue that translated theatre should be regarded as Spanish theatre, not least because it is in Spanish (or Catalan, Galician or Basque). Once translated, the works of foreign playwrights became, in the period under consideration, part of the repertoire of a wide variety of companies, leading to innovation and the introduction of themes specifically controlled by the apparatus of the censors.

Thus, from the perspective of translatology, our object of study here is translation and translations as facts of the culture which gives rise to them, produces them, and hosts them; in our case, Spanish theatre culture, in which both original and translated versions are found. The fact is that "we live immersed, whether we like it or not, in a culture whose most characteristic, its most marked and decisive feature, is that of being a translated culture" (Santoyo Mediavilla, 1983: 41). Despite this reality, theatre in translation has, until now, been reduced to the documentation preserved in the pages of the censorship archives, some of which are already known, studied and disseminated, but most have been forgotten and excluded from foundational studies towards the reconstruction of an integral history of Spanish theatre.

Our purpose in resorting to the censorship archives as a means of collecting data on foreign authors and plays that will help us to reconstruct a part of Spanish theatre history whose scope, as we have noted, has been marginalized. The mark that foreign theatre left on Spanish culture is usually traced either from published works, both in reading and in stage editions (Merino, 1994; Pérez López de Heredia, 2005; Puebla, 2012), or by turning to reviews in the daily and specialized press (Pérez, 1998; Muñoz Cáliz, 2012). Even collections of theatre reviews, such as those published by Francisco Álvaro between 1958 and 1985, have traditionally served as sources of data regarding foreign drama performed in Spain.

The censorship archives clearly offer a new dimension, a different point of view, since they allow us to observe the theatre and theatrical works, translated in our case, even prior to production and diffusion. Texts are presented to us in their initial context of reception: that is, the reading and evaluation of the manuscripts by those censors charged with reporting on the request to perform or publish a work. Thus, all the pages remained in this preliminary state, necessarily so; the same pages which, once modified, would be staged theatrically, or in some cases, would simply remain there, forgotten. The accumulation of quantitative and qualitative data from these collections allows us to reconstruct the history of the foreign theatre that the Spanish public was able to see. But not only this; we also have access to the history of those translated texts that were not performed or published, but for which authorization was

requested and, therefore, were registered in this indispensable documentary site, the AGA (Merino, 2010: 363).

These first versions, mostly typewritten manuscripts, together with the documentation generated in relation to them and kept in the archive, serve to reconstruct the process of integration of foreign theatre in our culture. Whereas in most other contexts it is very difficult to access the intermediate texts of a work, in the case of censorship archives this is precisely the nature of what is kept. The documents that were generated from each request for performance or publication, archived under a file number, are almost graphic in nature, offering us a kind of "snapshot" or "still frame" that, when arranged in sequence, allow us to reproduce a rudimentary kind of documentary footage, one that helps in understanding which foreign plays came to be performed, in what way their authorization came about, and who took part in this process. From such evidence we can also reconstruct the history of the theatre that never came to exist on a public stage, and we can even deduce the reasons that prevented certain of these works from being performed.

The methodology we have used to reconstruct the history of translated theatre is based on collecting translations, a procedure that begins with random consultations of the censorship archives, and the cataloguing of each translation that is identified as we open AGA boxes. Quantification of the material found, and the analysis of the records, which contain data such as title, author, nationality and translator, allows us to identify representative cases, based on the recurrence of such data. The qualitative analysis of these data leads us to carry out guided searches (onomastic or by title) that allow us to arrive at prototypical case studies (Merino Álvarez, 2010: 365). It is difficult to establish where the quantitative and qualitative components in our work method begin and end; it is, rather, a procedure which takes the form of a spiral (Toury, 2004: 79): the discovery of a phenomenon or a specific case leads us to deepen our search for data on it; but at the same time it usually generates new searches that allow us to extend the quantification of translations by expanding the existing catalogues.

A list of the most frequently registered foreign authors, particularly Anglo-American ones, begins with classics such as Shakespeare, continues with playwrights such as Beckett, O'Neill, Shaw, Williams, Greene, Shaffer and Rattigan, and is completed with a series of commercial authors of largely ephemeral fame (Merino Álvarez, 2012: 129). Also, the list of Spanish names, whose works appear under labels such as 'translation' or 'version', extends from one extreme occupied by playwrights who sporadically signed versions of a work (Pemán, Salom and Sastre), and continues with writers who, like José López Rubio, contributed to Spanish theatre both with their own works and with abundant translations. This range is broadened further with the names of actors and directors who were also authors of original and translated works (José Luis Alonso and Adolfo Marsillach), and to this onomastic spectrum can be added a group of men and women linked to the theatre who only signed versions of other works (González Vergel), acting not so much as 'translators' but as vehicles for the transmission of foreign theatre. Finally, we identified a small number of professional translators

(Carla Matteini and José Méndez Herrera), this the least visible of the groups involved in the “re-production” of foreign plays (Merino Álvarez, 2012:136).

Data such as the above, which we use here and have dealt with in previous studies, arise from non-predetermined and therefore non-exclusive searches. The documentation obtained from the censorship archives has led us to carry out case studies on the names of playwrights and titles of foreign works that, a priori, would not have been considered representative: Peter Shaffer's *Five Finger Exercise* (1958) Graham Greene's *The Compliant Lover* (1967) and Mart Crowley's *The Boys in the Band* (1975) are works that, in translation, managed to overcome the censors' veto, were publicly performed, and helped to introduce delicate themes into our culture, those related to sexual morality, particularly adultery (Merino Álvarez, 2012: 134) and homosexuality (Merino Álvarez, 2008).

2. José López Rubio: stage production in original and translated version

From the perspective of the history of Spanish theatre, López Rubio is a unique figure whose dramatic production, although marked by very significant milestones, has been the object of few studies (Holt, 1964 and 1980; Rogers, 1980; García Ruiz, 2007a and 2007b; Rodríguez Fischer, 2008), centred in general on his original works. Among the list of awards and other forms of recognition bestowed on him, we might note in particular his appointment as a member of the Spanish Royal Academy (1983). In his speech on assuming his position in the Academy ('La otra generación del 27') one can find the key to the limited recognition that his work and that of many fellow members of the generation have suffered (Romera Castillo, 2003; Torrijos, 2003).

Taking into account his continuous and diverse presence in the dramatic media for more than half a century (Retratos, 2006), it is striking that López Rubio's work has not aroused more interest among Spanish researchers or among foreign Hispanists. Monographic studies such as Holt (1980), or smaller contributions such as those of García Ruiz (2008): 264-69), only highlight this absence of interest.

This “true mediator in the Spanish reception of English and American theatre” (García Ruiz, 2007b: 89), “man of the theatre” (Holt 1980: 15), halfway between his own work and translated ones, stands as the most important playwright-translator of his generation (Holt, 1975: 29). The study of his extensive dramatic production, which began in the 1920s, allows us to trace the history of the Spanish stage in the period from the end of the Civil War (1939) to the approval of the Constitution (1978). The influence of his work on Spanish theatre can be reconstructed and projected, like documentary footage, putting in sequence the snapshots and clippings of those theatrical events in which he actively participated and which are reflected in archived, published and recorded documents.

Although in the present contribution we initially sought to focus on translated theatrical culture, and therefore on López Rubio's work as a

translator, when we proceeded to catalogue his work in detail we chose to include both his original writing and the versions he made of foreign authors' works (see Appendix I). In this way, we can assess the translator's production without leaving aside the playwright's legacy. To this end, we have centred our search on the source that offers us the greatest documentary wealth, referring to the 20th century, in terms of both number of entries and variety: the censorship archives.

Beginning with the initial results of our search—24 original titles and 18 translations bearing the name López Rubio collected in the AGA theatre censorship database (046 Culture Section)—we have compared and completed these results with information from direct searches in the archive boxes, as well as in the manual files of authors of drama corresponding to these censorship archives (Merino, 2011).

Once an initial catalogue of stage texts had been established, whose requests for representation had been submitted to the censorship authorities in the name of José López Rubio, as author or translator, this catalogue was checked and completed with information from other documentary sources. Thus, data from the Centre for Documentation of the Performing Arts of Andalusia (Centro de Documentación de las Artes Escénicas de Andalucía) (CDAEA), guardian of the documentary legacy of the author himself, and the Centre for Theatrical Documentation (CDT), have been incorporated. In the same way, information provided by scholars such as Holt (1980), Isabel Estrada (2001): 216-217) Torrijos (2003) and García Ruiz (2008: 264-69) has been integrated into the final account of works.

Once all the data on theatrical texts signed by José López Rubio for stage production have been consolidated, we can see that our final compilation includes some 69 titles: 44 are translations, one is an adaptation, and 24 are plays originally written in Spanish (Annex I). This is an exhaustive cataloguing which, compared to those already in existence, brings together, recasts and expands all currently available data.

López Rubio's production, thus catalogued, spans more than forty years and can usefully be distributed into four periods: from the first of these, theatrical premieres up until the end of the Civil War (1929-1939); his return to the Spanish stage in the forties (1944-1954), a period in which we already find a greater number of translations than original works; his consolidation as a playwright and translator of foreign drama (1955-1965), with more than double the number of translations as original works; and a fourth period that extends from the period of the political and cultural opening-up in Spain to the demise of the Franco regime (1966-1976), and which is also distinguished by a greater presence of translated theatre.

3.1 First theatrical premieres and years in Hollywood:1929-1939

López Rubio made his appearance on the Spanish theatre scene with two plays written in collaboration with Eduardo Ugarte, Arniches' son-in-law and co-founder of La Barraca: in 1929, *De la noche a la mañana* was premiered, and received the ABC award, and a year later *La*

casa de naipes. Also in 1929 he was hired, along with a large group of theatre professionals, including Ugarte, to work in Hollywood, first at Metro Studios and later at Fox. His new role as a member of that "peculiar diaspora" (Romera Castillo, 1997: 8) of Spanish playwrights involved writing scripts for the so-called double versions (Armero 1995; Utrera Macías, 1987). In 1936, having returned to Spain, he took part in the film adaptation of *La Malquerida de Benavente*, but filming was stopped by the July uprising and would not finally take place until after the Civil War. José López Rubio continued to work as a screenwriter and adapter in the film industry, both in Hollywood and Mexico, until his return to Spain at the end of the war (Holt 1980: 19-21).

3.2 Return to the Spanish stage as a playwright and translator: 1944-1954

In the 1940s López Rubio returned to the Spanish stage as a "semi-novel" playwright (García Ruiz 2007a: 85) and became a leading translator of American and European authors (Holt 1975: 29). Of the 69 titles included in the catalogue of stage texts signed by López Rubio, 28 entries correspond to this decade: 16 translations and 12 original works.

Everything seems to indicate that the first work signed by José López Rubio that gained permission to be performed during the Franco era was *El pasado de la Sra. Cheyney*, by the American Frederick Lonsdale (1945). This was followed by the release, in 1947, of *El tiempo dormido*, a translation of the play by British writer Ben W. Levy (García Ruiz 2007b: 89). During this period, versions of works followed, including *Belinda* (1950). The arrival of such works in Spain was preceded by various degrees of theatrical and cinematographic success and controversy in the United States, and set the tone for the type of theatre that José López Rubio would translate in the following decades. *Alberto*, released in 1949, represents his "re-entry into the world of theatre" (García Ruiz, 2007b: 89) and the first original work authorized in this period. Two years later it would be *Celos del aire*, which won the Fastenrath Prize in 1951.

In 1952 emblematic titles such as *La muerte de un viajante (Death of a Salesman)* by Arthur Miller and *La importancia de llamarse Ernesto (The importance of being Earnest)* by Oscar Wilde stand out. The play *La esposa constante (The constant wife)* by the British writer Somerset Maugham was premiered in Spain after the overwhelming success of the American production on Broadway. Seven years prior to this, the first application for the performance of this play had been registered (1944); however, it is not recorded in the AGA archives that the performance was authorized, so we suppose it was banned and archived for openly presenting the subject of adultery.

3.3 Consolidation as a playwright-translator 1955-1965

In this period, José López Rubio's translated production is double that of his original works: 21 translations, plus an adaptation of a drama by Lope, as opposed to 9 titles of his own. This is a particularly productive period in which there are successive premieres of titles, such as the musicals *El caballero de Barajas*, an original work by López Rubio, *Al sur*

del Pacífico (South Pacific), imported from Broadway (1955), and the theatre and film adaptation of Faulkner's novel *Requiem para una mujer* (*Requiem for a nun*) (1957), all of these box office hits. Works by American authors predominate, but López Rubio is also associated with a significant number of titles by British and French authorsⁱⁱ.

Thanks to the work of this translator-mediator, a variety of subjects and authors appeared on the Spanish stage, and consultation of the files shows that in all cases official censorship, or prior self-censorship, influenced the final text performed, if not the performances themselves. On some occasions, as already noted, the translated text submitted to the censors was never performed, remaining forgotten to this day; such is the case with *Panorama desde el puente (A View from the Bridge)* by Arthur Miller (Merino Álvarez 1994: 172).

3.4 International exposure: 1966-1976

In the second half of the 1960s, López Rubio travelled around the U.S. giving lectures at university institutions (Holt, 1980: 11-13). The first English translations of his work were published and performed there. This foreign activity did not prevent him from enjoying a continued presence on the Spanish stage. Between 1966 and 1976, we find six titles in the catalogue corresponding to translations and four to his own works. Of particular note are the musicals, *El hombre de la Mancha (Man of La Mancha)* and *Sonrisas y lágrimas (The Sound of Music)*, and the plays *Adriano VII* and *Harold y Maude*, all box office successes, which had already been adapted for the big screen in the U.S. Among the original productions staged during this period, three plays stand out, *La puerta del ángel*, *El corazón en la mano* (National Theatre Prize in 1972) and *El último hilo* (1974).

From 1976 onwards, the entries we find correspond to files of revivals or requests for "qualification" after the passing of legislation on freedom of theatrical performance and the Constitution (1978), when bureaucratic control and the work of the offices previously responsible for 'censorship' had been re-defined as "ordenación" and "calificación". *Las manos son inocentes* (1980), *Crimen Perfecto* and *La otra orilla* (1981), and *La muerte de un Viajante* (1984) are classified for those over 14 years old, generating case files in the archives kept in the AGA, in the Culture sectionⁱⁱⁱ.

3.5 José López Rubio in the field of publishing

If we evaluate the data collected in the catalogue, comparing translated pieces with the author's own production, we see that the works of foreign authors translated by López Rubio constitute 64%, and his original work 36%. This image of theatrical activity does not correspond with the presence that the dramatist's name had in the publishing world. In the fifth column of Annex I, we register the existence of publications of performed theatrical texts, identified mostly in the censorship archives. This information has been collated and completed with data from the Spanish state public library network (BPE) and university libraries (REBIUN), as well as from the Spanish ISBN agency; 49

publications have been identified in the name of López Rubio, of which only seven refer to translations.

If we take as references the anthologies of contemporary Spanish theatre (López Rubio, 1969) or the emblematic Colección Teatro, "one of the most prolific theatre collections" of the last century (Puebla 2012: 16), in which 922 texts were published, corresponding to stage versions of the period 1951-1976 (Puebla 2012: 16), we find that the number of publications by Lopez Rubio equals that of Buero Vallejo. Of the total of 27 entries registered under his name, 16 are original works and 11 are translations (Puebla 2012: 35).

The unequal presence of López Rubio as a playwright-translator on stage and in the purely editorial sphere leads us to believe that, although his translated work was seen on stage constantly and in considerable quantity, nevertheless many of his texts remained archived and therefore unpublished and inaccessible, except in the censorship archives or in the private documentary collection itself (CDAEA).

It could be said that José López Rubio's career as an author and as a translator quite closely reflects events in Spanish theatre. The bulk of drama in Spain at the time was programmed following international trends, in an attempt to import works, authors and themes that had already been successful in other countries. The influence of Broadway, London and Paris is clear; so too is the influence of cinema, to which theatrical texts were adapted, and from which the conclusion was undoubtedly drawn that foreign products of proven success offered the possibility of economic profitability in the Spanish sphere. And López Rubio was the ideal mediator: an expert in handling theatrical texts and film scripts, with a proven command of languages and a direct knowledge of the theatrical and cinematographic environment (García Ruiz, 2007a: 83-89).

It is not surprising, then, that complex projects such as the translation of musicals (*South Pacific* and *Man of La Mancha*) were entrusted to him, or that his name appears on versions of works such as *Death of a Salesman* (Espejo, 2002). His own original work was seen regularly on the Spanish stage, and his most successful pieces were seen on the small screen or even adapted for the cinema.

López Rubio, besides being a man of the theatre, known above all for his comedies, was a cinema and television professional. An attempt to compile his work in the audiovisual media inevitably leads us to his production prior to the Civil War, in the studios of Metro and Fox (Armero 1995, Torrijos 1999). Moreover, his activity as a scriptwriter in Spain after 1939 has also been noted^{iv4}. In the recent history of audiovisual media such as television, López Rubio has left a significant legacy with series such as *Al Filo de lo imposible* (Rodríguez Fischer, 2008) and *Mujeres en la historia* (Holt 1980: 119-128). A handful of his theatrical texts, both original and translated, were produced and broadcast by RTVE-Radio Televisión Española, on slots such as Estudio 1, and are catalogued in sources such as the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) and the Ministry of Culture's (MCU) film database, which provide up to date information on his work as an adapter, scriptwriter, director

and even actor.

In this state of affairs, it is perhaps advantageous to add one more sequence to the documentary footage mentioned above, and which we have tried to reconstruct based on clips and snapshots. Of all the censorship files that have been used to reconstruct the catalogue of works signed by López Rubio, we will discuss in detail the one corresponding to the musical production *Man of La Mancha / El hombre de La Mancha*. This production was used by the Franco regime itself, in the midst of the political 'opening-up' in the 1960s (Muñoz Cáliz 2005: 133-149) to promote a positive image of Spain in Western society.

3. *El hombre de La Mancha*: a theatrical production for a period of openness

File 231/66, corresponding to the processing of a permit to perform the musical *El hombre de la Mancha* (Wasserman, 1999), in a translation by José López Rubio, can be considered a prototypical case of a permit supported by the authorities in charge of managing the sphere of the dramatic arts during a period of opening-up. An analysis of the documentation contained in the file illustrates how the producer (Justo Alonso) and the director (José Osuna) of the show, together with the General Director of Cinematography and Theatre (José María García Escudero) and the Minister of Information and Tourism (Manuel Fraga), worked together to promote the image of Spanish theatre through the premiere of this musical. This attitude is in line with what was called 'facade liberalization' in the 1960s, which made possible the presence of foreign playwrights (Brecht, Sartre or Weiss) to the detriment—according to Alfonso Sastre—of national playwrights (Muñoz Cáliz, 2005: 143).

If we consult the documentation in the AGA for file 231/66, corresponding to *El Hombre de la Mancha* (see Annex 2), the first thing to draw our attention is the existence of contacts prior to the formal application for a performance permit (18/08/1966). It seems that the purpose of such contacts, as stated in the letter addressed to the General Director, José María García Escudero, signed by José Osuna, in which "our last meeting" is mentioned, was twofold: On the one hand, the aim was to obtain a kind of prior authorization, so that the commercial risk involved in staging a major musical show would be minimal; and on the other hand, to ensure that the authorities were favourable to the granting of a subsidy ("application for financial aid"), which would guarantee the viability and success of the project on the grounds of "the almost moral obligation we have in Spain to perform this work".

In the documentation in the file, we find the aforementioned letter and, carrying the same date (21/5/1966), a request signed by José Osuna and Justo Alonso, on behalf of the theatrical production, addressed to the minister, insisting that they believe it is appropriate to import this great New York success, whose protagonist is Cervantes, in almost "a mission of Hispanic culture". Consequently, they request that they be provided with the "necessary economic means".

Two months later (23/7/1966) the general director addressed the minister regarding the "premiere of this work in Madrid, the first city in the world where it is offered following its success in New York". He informs him that he has had access, prior to the formal presentation to the censors, to "a very literal version"; he considers that this does not provide any grounds for objection, except with regard to some scenes in which Cervantes appears imprisoned by the Inquisition; adding that the director of the show, José Osuna, has assured him that these scenes "will be totally and absolutely eliminated".

On August 18, the mandatory application is presented and is processed without difficulties, and with the recommendation by one of the censors that "Aldonza's effusions with the servants" be monitored during the official oversight of the general rehearsal. The authorization for those over 18, without cuts, is issued on August 24th, with the unusual classification as 'suitable for radio' (*radiable*)^v.

Three typed texts in Spanish are included in the file: the first "very literal version" by López Rubio, the adapted text, which includes deletions and modifications, and the songs ("cantables"), which are processed last. The comparison of these texts with the original seems to indicate that the first version follows the English original, without deletions or additions. In the second text, "adapted" following the indications by the authorities, references to the Inquisition are suppressed, and additions and modifications can be seen that seem to have been proposed by agents external to the censoring apparatus.

The author of the libretto, Dale Wasserman, when he attended the premiere on September 30th, 1966, in the Teatro de la Zarzuela in Madrid, noticed that the first lines of Cervantes' novel had been integrated into the opening of the musical, and that the main musical theme, "El Sueño Imposible", was performed by Aldonza (Nati Mistral) instead of Don Quixote-Cervantes (Luis Sagi-Vela). In his conversation with López Rubio, after the premiere, he asked him about these changes (Wasserman, 2003, 152-54), and the translator apparently answered that the title of the musical itself had led him to anticipate the expectations of the Spanish audience, evoking the first lines of the famous novel; and that Nati Mistral was "a star"^{vi}.

If we were to place this case on a scale from forbidden to permitted theatre, and taking this same period, we would see that the production of *El hombre de la Mancha* was not only authorized without problems, but that it was authorized before the formal application was made, and indeed before receiving financial support. At the opposite extreme, that of initial or definitive prohibition that prevented the performance of a work, we might mention Peter Shaffer's *La caza real del sol* (3/69); *La esposa constante* (189/44) by Somerset Maugham, and *Panorama desde el Puente* by Arthur Miller (195/58). Cases of total prohibition and of unambiguous authorization were both rare in the period. Most of the censorship files consulted and studied thus far refer to productions that had to overcome objections, to a greater or lesser degree significant ones, before being staged. Thus, the controversial case of *¿Quién teme a Virginia Woolf?* (215/65), by Edward Albee, directed by Osuna; and *La Baye* (387/67) by Philippe Adrien, translated by López Rubio, both of which, in the opinion of the censors, presented difficulties related to bad language and manifest immorality, stumbling blocks that were nonetheless negotiable.

In the 1960s, the environment of theatrical culture favoured the confrontation of innovative forces with those that resisted change, both within and outside the structure of the state. This struggle occurred not only between what was considered to be the theatre of the right and the left (Monleón, 1971), but also between theatre written by Spanish

authors and that which was imported^{vii}. The importation of taboo subjects through translation appears to have been the norm in a period when national authors were measured with a different yardstick and whose content was controlled more scrupulously by censors than those of foreign origins.

There was in the Francoist era a theatre "beyond Lorca" (Halsey & Zatlín, 2011) and beyond Buero and Sastre (O'Connor, 1969; Cramsie, 1984; García Obregón, 2006), which has received very limited attention, perhaps because it was produced without apparent difficulty or confrontation. Like the translated component in Spanish theatrical history, which has not been addressed widely in the literature, there are figures like López Rubio who deserve greater attention in the academic arena.

From the perspective of the history of theatre translation in Spain, the figure of playwright José López Rubio as a mediator is no less indispensable. His modesty and discretion fit perfectly with the role that playwrights were assigned: always in the background, they intervened in the text by commission, following instructions from businessmen, directors, censors and publishers. They rewrote plays without enjoying a position of power, to the point that other, more powerful agents in the theatrical world, from directors to actors, came to appropriate their texts, even to use them in printed performance programs, editions and television adaptations.

Although it is true that "there has been a tendency in the academic world to treat Spain's modern theatre as a phenomenon occurring in extreme isolation and as an aspect of artistic creativity almost totally neutralized by censorship" (Holt, 1975: 9), and although it is beyond doubt that censorship has left its mark on all types of cultural manifestations, it is no less true that Spanish theatre, both that which was originally written in Spanish and that which was translated, despite censorship restriction, and sometimes precisely because of it, was rich, varied and diverse.

This study has sought to show the importance that translated theatre had in the evolution of the Spanish stage as well as its impact on our cultural evolution. The need arises, then, for an in-depth study of authors such as the one discussed here, whose roles will help to nuance our vision of Spanish theatre during the Francoist period and bring to life fixed images which, seen as a moving narrative, will offer a perspective more in line with the reality of everyday theatrical events themselves.

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ANNEX 1. Catalogue of drama texts signed by José López Rubio

[See pdf "LopezRubio_CATALOGUE" in <<http://hdl.handle.net/10810/41843>>]

ANNEX 2. File AGA, 231/66. El hombre de la Mancha:

[See pdf "Man La Mancha_CENSORSHIP" in <<http://hdl.handle.net/10810/41843>>]

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ⁱ University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU. Consolidated Research Group GIC12/197, Basque Government IT728/13. Project FFI2012-39012-C04-01T, Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

ⁱⁱ The English theatre already had a tradition rooted in Spanish theatre. The director of the María Guerrero Theatre, Luis Escobar, facilitated the importation of the theatrical repertoire from London's West End between 1946 and 1950 (García Ruiz, 2007b: 96-100), encouraging the presence of works by British authors on the Spanish stage.

ⁱⁱⁱ The entry corresponding to the Basque translation of *La otra orilla* (*Beste ertza*), as it was a production presented to the censors in 1970.

^{iv} The database of certified films of the Ministry of Culture includes 24 entries under the name of José López Rubio, screenwriter.

^v The fact that a play was authorized for radio broadcasting was exceptional, since by default theatre works were classified as 'non-suitable for radio'. In isolated cases, the classification 'suitable for radio' indicates that the text is considered to be totally innocuous and could clearly be authorized.

^{vi} In the version premiered in Madrid on October 19th, 1997, at the Teatro Lope de Vega, with an adaptation by Nacho Artime and performances by Paloma San Basilio and José Sacristán, these changes are maintained (Díaz Sande, 1998: 18). Wasserman also reports on other controversial adaptations of the text for performances in Prague (2003: 155-56) and in Paris, in Jacques Brel's version (2003: 163-64), in the late 1960s.

^{vii} López Rubio was a member of the Editorial Committee of *Primer Acto*, a magazine directed by José Ángel Ezcurra and José Monleón, with whom he shared a discussion group at the headquarters of the magazine *Triunfo*: <<http://primeracto.com/jose-angel-ezcurra>>.