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### Translation and Censorship Under Franco and Salazar

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## 34

# TRANSLATION AND CENSORSHIP UNDER FRANCO AND SALAZAR

## Irish theatre on Iberian stages<sup>1</sup>

*Raquel Merino-Álvarez*

For most of the twentieth century the totalitarian regimes of Franco in Spain (1939–1975) and Salazar in Portugal (1933–1974) influenced Spanish and Portuguese cultural production, and theatre life in particular. Both dictatorships are the backdrop against which the study of theatrical culture on Iberian stages are tackled in this contribution by gauging the role of censorship in favouring or opposing the importation of foreign (Irish) drama.

Apart from the obvious chronological parallelism – Salazar’s Estado Novo was founded three years before the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and came to an end barely a year before the demise of Francoism – the two Iberian dictatorships share obvious traits, but at the same time differ visibly when subjected to scrutiny. The foremost difference can be found in the way both regimes were born: the Portuguese out of a referendum and a “political” Constitution (Pena 2013), the Spanish counterpart as a result of a cruel civil war in which foreign forces took active part.

When comparing “two mutually inimical authoritarian regimes,” the Portuguese and the Czechoslovak, Spirk affirms that they “actually had more in common than meets the eye” (2014, 23). The reverse may be said of the two seemingly friendly Iberian regimes. From the outset the political and economic circumstances in both countries were radically different. Spain, devastated after the Civil War, was perceived as a crucial front and a silent battleground where Axis forces fought to gain influence and challenge the position of the Allies, whereas neutral Portugal profited from trade with both Germany and Britain, and its territory was not considered crucial for the unfolding of WWII.

The effects of censorship under Salazar in relation to translation have been at the centre of recent research projects (Seruya 2009) focused mainly on printed literature. In Spain, under the auspices of the TRACE project, the history of translated literature, theatre and cinema in the Franco era has been mapped out. However, very little comparative research of the two Iberian contexts has been published to date: Fiuza’s (2009) study of censored popular music being an exception.

### **Foreign (“English”) theatre on Iberian stages**

Published histories of (Spanish) theatre have traditionally overlooked the role played by translations, placing their focus on the “national” rather than the “foreign.” The sporadic references found in such histories do not usually serve as a starting point to reconstruct the history

of theatre in (Spanish) translation (Delgado and Gies 2012; Huerta 2003).<sup>2</sup> Research based on references in the daily press (Mahanta 1994) or compilations of publications linked to stage productions (Puebla 2012) usually adopt a more inclusive view, not excluding translated drama. In this respect, the Spanish censorship archives (AGA) have been paramount in attempting to reconstruct the history of translated theatre on Spanish stages. Translations of foreign theatre played a central role in the very existence of Spanish theatrical life; they helped renew topics and contributed both quantitatively and qualitatively to the development of stage productions; hence the need for an account of the plays, authors and topics that found their way onto Spanish stages via translation. The compilation of catalogues of translations and the study of textual corpora has been at the centre of TRACE (Spanish censorship) studies (Merino 2009, 2012). Since all productions had to seek official permission from the Francoist bureaucratic censorship offices, the traces left in the form of millions of documents are an exceptional documentary resource to mine. The Portuguese archives at the *Torre do Tombo* have also been instrumental in compiling databases of theatre translations (TETRA) or bibliographies of printed translations (Seruya 2009).

We have consulted TETRA and CETbase for information on theatre productions in Portugal, and the AGA (Spanish censorship archives, theatre section) and TRACE-theatre databases for the Spanish situation. A comparative overview of these sources shows that Anglophone cultures (British and US) seem to have prevailed in both Iberian contexts. In Portugal, plays originally written in English were often imported through the more influential French language and culture (Seruya 2009, 82). The events leading up to WWII made the leanings of Portugal and Spain gravitate from pro-German to Anglophile positions, with the pro-English stance remaining established from the mid 1940s onwards.

So far the TRACE (Translation and Censorship) project has identified a substantial corpus of translated drama texts and provided a comprehensive catalogue of productions of foreign theatre in Spain. These catalogues show the pre-eminence of Anglophone (British) drama since the 1940s and the quantitative and qualitative presence of plays by US authors since the 1950s, with plays by Irish authors to be found across the twentieth century in Spanish productions. In terms of numbers, the situation of Anglophone Irish theatre may be compared with that found in Portugal (Carvalho 2009a) or even in a non-totalitarian European country such as Finland (Aaltonen 1996).

The CETbase, established in 1992 by the *Centro do Estudos de Teatro*, is a general database of stage productions in Portugal, whereas the TETRA (Theatre Translation) project database has specifically addressed the issue of censorship. Carvalho has dealt with translations of Irish theatre in Portugal, drawing data from CETbase (2009a, 599). The data available for Portugal has been contrasted with the information compiled for a specific catalogue of translations (productions) of plays by Irish authors and drawn from AGA-censorship archives (TRACETirl, [www.ehu.es/trace](http://www.ehu.es/trace)). These sources, when compared, allow us to establish similarities and differences between the Portuguese and Spanish theatrical systems, in relation to the importation of plays originally written in English by Irish authors, under similar censorship restrictions (see Appendix).

Carvalho (2009a, 85) cites a compilation by theatre historian Jose Luiz Rebello of foreign theatre plays staged in Portugal between January 1940 and December 1949 which shows that Spain and France (48 and 46 entries, respectively) were the main sources of foreign imports, followed by Britain (17), Hungary (11) and the US (8). Carvalho's corpus, for the period 1956–2005, includes a total of 40 productions of Irish playtexts (2009a, 22).

In the case of Spain, (British and Irish) English playtexts were imported via translation right after the Civil War, with American melodrama of the pre-war period still present on

Spanish stages (Pérez 2005). In 1942, a pioneering production of Priestley's *Time and the Conways*, in the María Guerrero Theatre, directed by Luis Escobar-Kirpatrick, and possibly instigated by the director and founder of the British Institute in Madrid, the Irishman Walter Starkie (London 1997, 64), is reviewed and praised in the press alongside a film directed by Kimmich (Goebbels's brother-in-law) and the military fund-raising show of the Italian *Fascio* (*ABC*, November 18, 1942, 12).

Although Escobar sided ideologically with the Franco government after the war, and was even deemed pro-German (Quirós 2010), as head of the María Guerrero Theatre he tried to continue the theatrical tradition first established by *La Barraca* group with whom he had cooperated, albeit without the group's ideological agenda. Escobar's Anglo-Spanish origin favoured his role as influential mediator and successful translator. As director of one of the national theatres, he was persuaded to import most British plays from London's West End, as a means to counteract German influence on Madrid's stages at critical moments for the allies in WWII (García 2007, 96; London 1997, 41), and he also spent some time in London with funding from the British Council in the mid 1940s.

### Irish theatre on Iberian stages: Shaw, Wilde, Beckett

The Spanish AGA censorship archives database for theatre performances record slightly more than 100 entries of plays by Irish authors. A direct search in the AGA files has led to a compilation of a larger catalogue of 200 translations of plays by Irish authors. From a quantitative point of view, entries for productions of Beckett's plays, along with those by Wilde and Shaw, make up two thirds of the total, while translations of plays by O'Casey and Synge represent barely 15% of the catalogue. Lastly, entries for Behan, Joyce or Yeats are restricted to sporadic productions.

In Portugal Irish authors were staged from the mid 1950s onwards (Carvalho 2009a, 599–607), starting with the 1956 premiere of Synge's *Riders to the Sea* or the 1959 production of Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, establishing a trend in favour of Irish theatre as vehicle for the renovation of Portuguese theatrical repertoires (Carvalho 2005).

Among the first theatre productions to be staged after the Spanish Civil War are Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1940), *A Woman of no Importance* and *Salomé* (1941). Wilde's plays were staged at a rate of about one per year in the 1940s, a tendency that slowed down in the 1950s and 1960s, only to return in the 1970s (Constán 2009) and continue well into the twenty-first century (Mateo 2010).

Spanish productions of Shaw's plays began with *Candida* (1941) and *Pygmalion* (1942) and continued at a steady pace through to the end of the 1970s (Isabel-Estrada 2001). Most of the translations of Wilde and Shaw produced in the period had been published before the Civil War, and new productions as well as translations of the more popular plays were put on stage. Both authors were considered (and labelled) "English" rather than "Irish," and given their well-established status in Europe, they were not deemed dangerous by censors on the whole. Wilde's *Salomé* was staged eight times during the Franco years, but was also the most polemical and so was occasionally banned or given the same restrictive classifications applied in the US (Sova 2004, 238). Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* was staged six times, as was Shaw's *Pygmalion*, without much resistance from the censorship offices. *Major Barbara* and *Mrs. Warren's Profession* found more opposition and were banned in the first instance (Isabel-Estrada 2001).

In Portugal, Wilde and Shaw seem to have been perceived as established "English" classics (Marques dos Santos 2012; Ramos 2010, 2012), and are thus not included in studies on

the reception of Irish theatre in Portugal, their plays not dealing with themes “specifically Irish or representing Ireland” (Carvalho 2009a, 16).<sup>3</sup> An exception is made for Beckett in Carvalho’s study in considering him an extra-territorial author (Carvalho 2009a, 263–310). Beckett’s plays were frequently staged in Portugal from 1959 onwards: all of his plays have been translated into Portuguese (Fernández 2009), and most have been produced by experimental groups.

Samuel Beckett is not specifically identified as Irish in Spain either. The premiere of *Waiting for Godot* in 1955 marked the beginning of a constant presence of his plays in productions for club sessions by independent groups. Beckett is labelled “English,” “French” or “Irish” in the censorship records consulted, and it is not unusual to find references to the Paris or London productions of his plays in the reports by censors or in documentation submitted by the theatre groups. Martínez-Trives, translator and champion of Beckett’s plays in Spain, impressed by the 1953 production of *Waiting for Godot* in Paris, decided to have it staged in Spanish (Fernández 2009). In the AGA censorship records consulted, Beckett seems to be perceived as an experimental playwright, whose plays are quite incomprehensible for the common censor, and therefore not considered especially dangerous.

### Irish theatre on Iberian stages: O’Casey, Synge, Yeats

If some authors such as Shaw and Wilde are not specifically perceived as “Irish,” but rather as “English” classics, or culturally hybrid (Beckett), then John Millington Synge and Sean O’Casey, along with W. B. Yeats, are playwrights committed to an Irish identity that has been highlighted in both Iberian contexts.

Reconstructing the introduction and development of Spanish productions of O’Casey’s plays is an interesting exercise that provides an overview of the evolution of Spanish theatre under Franco’s dictatorship. The first play to be granted permission for the stage is *Juno and the Paycock* in 1955, first staged in Finnish in 1952 (Aaltonen 1996, 221) and in French in 1953. The application was submitted to the censor by Enrique Llovet, at the time Spanish consul in Paris, and filed under Llovet’s name as translator and Walter Starkie’s as O’Casey’s *representante* in Spain (AGA record no. 109/55). Starkie had been director of the British Institute in Madrid (1940–1954) but before that he occupied the chair of Spanish at Trinity College Dublin, where Llovet had been a student. Starkie favoured the presence of authors from the British Isles on Spanish stages, and his influence in theatre circles is made clear by this early successful introduction of O’Casey to Spanish audiences.

In 1955, the official register for *Teatros de Cámara* (experimental studio, theatres) was established, which allowed small theatre groups to present avant-garde productions imported from Paris, London or New York, while permitting Spanish authorities to demonstrate abroad that Spain was already in tune with Europe and willing to be included in international affairs.

The 1964 approval for a production of *End of the beginning / Pin y pon hacen sus labores* (AGA record no. 217/64), followed by *Bedtime Story / Cuento para la hora de acostarse* in 1966 (AGA record no. 274/66) directed by Enzo Casali, and *Red Roses for Me / Rosas rojas para mí* directed by José María Morera in 1967 (AGA record no. 226/67) consolidated O’Casey in Spain, coinciding with the short period of “apertura,” or opening up, from within the Ministry for Information and Tourism (Theatre and Cinema Division) under Manuel Fraga (Muñoz-Cáliz 2006). The 1969 translation by Spanish playwright Alfonso Sastre of *Red Roses for Me* (AGA record no. 258/69) proved more polemical, as did *Cock-a-Doodle Dandy / Canta gallo perseguido* (AGA record no. 446/73) in 1973. With a change of ministerial team in 1969, a harsher censorship policy was applied: many applications were delayed or rejected. The

clash between a modern progressive society and a regressive government resulted in a theatrical upheaval by 1975. Just before the death of Franco (1975), productions of controversial plays were not only granted permission for commercial productions but also became hugely successful: Peter Shaffer's *Equus* (with male and female nudity on stage), the musical *Jesus Christ Superstar* (with its irreverent perspective of the Christian religion) or Crowley's depiction of a party of homosexuals in *The Boys in the Band* (Merino 2007, 243–286).

Opposition and resistance from within the censorship offices were counteracted by applications for plays by foreign authors, usually manipulated to fit specific political agendas. In this context, the socialist O'Casey, whose plays circulated in East Germany and the Soviet Union, but also in the network of French state-subsidized theatres (Moran 2013, 157), was chosen by playwright Alfonso Sastre, a member of the Communist Party, to help boost the presence of socialist ideas on Spanish stages.

The censorship process leading up to the 1973 production of *Cock-a-Doodle-Andy* was fraught with interventions from all possible fronts. The first application, submitted by director Adolfo Marsillach, was presented with the translation by Ana Antón Pacheco, published (along with *Oak Leaves and Lavender*) by Cuadernos para el Diálogo in 1972. The text, a copy of the published book, was accompanied by a note from the director stating that the “harsh” language of the Spanish translation “needs to be softened,” and one of the censors (Zubiarrre) affirmed in his report that the play “has been feebly translated.” Problematical sections were discussed by censors and negotiated with the director, specifically those felt to be attacks on Catholics and Catholicism. The successive versions of the Spanish text submitted to the censor are signed by the Spanish playwright Antonio Gala. Additional documentation in the record shows that the original translator (Ana Antón-Pacheco) filed a complaint and a request to have the censorship office check whether the so-called version by Gala was in fact her own translation slightly modified. Upon consultation with the legal department, a letter is sent to the translator stating that the censorship offices were not in charge of copyright matters. In a newspaper interview on the occasion of the premiere, Gala explains how he had been asked to write a version of *Cock-a-Doodle-Andy* and explains that, as author of the version, he had “re-created” O'Casey's text, that “the essence” of the original text had not been modified but made more “perceptible” and “acceptable” to Spanish ears by making lines “lighter and faster.” Gala remarks that by being “unfaithful” to O'Casey, by modifying and substituting the author's expressions, he managed to better serve O'Casey (*ABC*, November 30, 1973, 89).

O'Casey was often staged in Spain in the 1960s, a time of *apertura* from within the regime, and his plays seemed to be well-established in Spanish theatre, but in the troubled early 1970s the *Esperpento* theatre group's production of *A Bedtime Story*, after a successful tour in Europe and around Spain (*ABC*, May 10, 1973, 46), ended with an abrupt cancellation by the military authorities for alleged insults against the army, and the five members of *Esperpento* were nearly taken before a military tribunal (AGA record no. 274/66; *El Faro de Vigo*, June 1, 1973). The same year, 1973, Alfonso Sastre published his Spanish version of *Shadow of a Gunman / Irlanda, Irlanda* with an introduction on the struggle of the Irish to gain independence. In an interview (<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/01/02/102e1cul.php>) he confirmed that he wanted to prompt the setting up of a Basque independent theatre following the Irish example.

Sean O'Casey's works were translated and published in Portugal from the 1960s (Carvalho 2009b), but while Portuguese editions were readily available, productions of his plays were performed only after Salazar's regime was over. The premiere of *Hall of Healing* by a professional group took place in 1976. But the first application to stage the play, filed in the early 1960s, resulted in a ban and the ensuing “non-production.” Follow-up of the Portuguese

ensorship records for O'Casey's *Hall of Healing* (Fundo de Teatro, 11A-7763 6395 and 7763) (Carvalho 2009a, 233) could be an excellent starting point for further research, very much in line with the study of non-translation of Czech literature under Salazar (Spirk 2014).

A global appraisal of the position of O'Casey's plays on Portuguese stages may be that of a vacuum but the simple statement that O'Casey was not staged in Portugal until the advent of democracy begs for further research: How many times were his plays submitted to the censor in the 1960s, what reasons were adduced for banning them and who were the various agents involved in the process that resulted in the lack of productions? It is telling that the translation of *Hall of Healing*, which marks the debut of O'Casey among Portuguese readers back in 1957 and of his belated stage debut (in 1971 by an amateur group and in 1982 by a professional company), corresponds to a play widely popular in Eastern Germany and the Soviet Union (Moran 2013, 157).

While O'Casey's presence in Iberian theatre after 1955 (the year Portugal and Spain became members of the United Nations) is fairly clear, the reception of Synge and Yeats is to be traced in two distinct periods: a few translations of both playwrights appeared before the Civil War, but it was not until the late 1950s onwards that they started to form part of the Spanish and Portuguese repertoires. In Spain there are references to a translation of Synge's *Riders to the Sea* / *Jinetes hacia el mar* by Spanish writer Juan Ramón Jiménez and his wife, Zenobia Camprubí, published in 1920 and staged at Madrid's Ateneo in 1921 in a production attended by Spanish dramatist Lorca (Alonso 2009; Andrews 1991, 70; de Toro 2007; London 1997, 233, 127). Also in the 1920s, a Portuguese literary figure, Fernando Pessoa, had plans for a translation of *Riders to the Sea* (Carvalho 2009a, 167). The Spanish production of *Riders to the Sea* supposedly influenced the writing of Lorca's *Blood Wedding* and even inspired him to put on a Spanish production of *Playboy of the Western World* with the La Barraca theatre group (de Toro 2007, 10).

There were translations of Yeats' works published from 1918 in Spanish, Catalan, Galician and Basque until just before the Spanish Civil War (Hurtley 2006). A symbol of the Irish Literary Revival, Yeats was an inspiration for the Galician *Rexurdimento* (1920–1936) and was often quoted along with Synge as a successful example of the “Celtic race” (de Toro 2007).

None of the Celtic nationalist connotations found in relation to Yeats and Synge in Galicia seem to have a parallel in Portugal. As Carvalho (2009a, 232) aptly points out, it is the writings of actor-critic Mário Vilaça in the journal *Vértice* and Luiz Francisco Rebello's 1957/1965 volume *Teatro Moderno: Caminhos e Figuras* that effectively introduced Irish plays through translation to readers and theatre-goers.

Synge arrived on Portuguese stages with a half-century delay (Carvalho 2009a, 159–231). In 1956 the TUP (Porto University Theatre) presented *Riders to the Sea*, and a year later RTP (Portuguese public television) broadcast the play and *Playboy of the Western World* was first produced by the TEP (Teatro Estudio Porto). In 1959 Yeat's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was staged and Synge's *The Tinker's Wedding* was refused permission for performance on account of its “bad quality” and “ill-treatment” of the characters of the priest and the father (censorship record 5812 [Carvalho 2009a, 164]).

In the case of Spain, six plays by Synge were staged between 1956, when the National Chamber Theatre (*Teatro Nacional de Cámara y Ensayo*), under the direction of Modesto Higuera, presented *Playboy of the Western World*; and 1978, when two so-called *ordenación* (regulatory) records authorised productions of *Playboy of the Western World* in Catalan and *Well of the Saints* in Galician. This was, of course, the year that new freedoms were granted to theatres and the Spanish Constitution was passed in Spain.

Two distinct productions of *Playboy of the Western World* were authorised in 1961 (*El farsante más grande del mundo*, AGA record no. 147–61) and 1971 (*El botarate del mundo*

*occidental*, AGA record no. 345–71), respectively. The play was also broadcast by TVE (Spanish public television) in 1969.<sup>4</sup> *Deirdre of the Sorrows*, translated into Spanish by theatre critic Alfredo Marquerie for the Malaga-based group ARA, was granted an extremely lenient approval in 1964 that included a rare permission for radio broadcast (AGA record no. 125–64). Spanish versions of *The Tinker's Wedding* and *Shadow of the Glen* were approved in 1969 (AGA records no. 363–69 and 463–69). In 1972, permission was granted for the Galician stage version of *Riders to the Sea/Cabalgada cara ó mar* by DITEA. DITEA theatre group, under Agustín Magán's direction, staged plays by Osborne, O'Neill and Albee in the 1960s, and produced Synge, O'Casey and Yeats in the 1970s (Rodríguez-Villar 2005). This is the first and only production of the play recorded in the AGA censorship database; the last record for Synge was in 1975 for *Well of the Saints* (AGA records no. 161–72 and 184–75). One year after the death of Franco, in 1976, DITEA was given permission to stage O'Casey's *Red Roses for Me* in Galician, coinciding with the Catalan production of the play.<sup>5</sup>

### Translation as transculturation and resistance

In attempting to give an account of Irish theatre productions in Spain and Portugal under totalitarian regimes, we have tried to find similarities and establish parallelisms. It seems apt to affirm that both Iberian regimes share a historical period and a geographical space in the (southern) periphery of Europe. Although Salazar made use of Portuguese propaganda in favour of Franco, he did so more to reaffirm his own position than that of his neighbour. There is little doubt that the Portuguese press controlled by Salazar made sure that Franco was portrayed as a victorious hero in the battle against communism in the Iberian Peninsula, while presenting the Estado Novo as a model to follow in post-war Spain (Pena 2013, 2014). Luso-Spanish relations were not as close as might be expected; in fact, there was a much closer affinity between Portugal and Ireland, at least in the 1940s in relation to the defence of Catholicism and the need to maintain order and traditional values (Szmigiero 2006). Even the form and structure adopted by the censorship apparatus in both Iberian countries was, at best, dissimilar (Merino 2007; Seruya 2009).

The influence of foreign theatre on both theatrical cultures shows a pre-eminence of English as a source language, and Britain (and, with the victory of the Allies in WWII, the US) as source countries. In the case of Spain, the deliberate introduction of British plays served, through the intervention of the British Council, to counteract the influence of German trends (Corse 2013). However, it remains to be established whether a parallel situation occurred in Portugal.

The 1920 translation into Spanish of Synge's *Riders to the Sea* remains a rare reference, ingrained in a pre-Civil War literary tradition, related to the generations of writers of the period. So are the translations into Spanish, Galician and Catalan of Yeats' works (Hurtley 2006), texts anchored in the pre-war period, often used as examples of the influence of the Irish literary revival authors on their Spanish counterparts. The 1933 translation into Galician of Yeats' *Land of Heart's Desire*, by the Villar Ponte brothers, first published in the Galician Literary Revival Journal *Nos*, was used to mark the Day of Galician Literature in 1977. Yeats' text was thus implanted on a Spanish (Galician) stage in an attempt to make Galician nationalism rise from the ashes of the *Rexurdimento*.

Although Anglophone-Irish theatre was imported into both Spain and Portugal from the 1950s, the process in each setting was slightly different. In Spain, Irish authors were chosen for reasons of both ideology (O'Casey) and identity (Synge, Yeats), and were instrumental in establishing a struggle in favour of nationalism (and political change) in Galicia, Catalonia and



the Basque Country. Ireland's political independence from Britain and Irish linguistic identity were taken as models from the periphery of Europe in the periphery of Spain, so that translation was a fundamental part of a transculturation process (de Toro 2007, 54) that led to the assimilation of Irish drama in Spain. In Portugal the wish to accommodate to European stage trends seems to have formed part of a process of renewal of Portuguese repertoires that was intended to counteract the official ideology, but it had no connotations of nationalist identity. In this case, the use of translation to introduce new "foreign" ideas and aesthetics was a form of resistance against the status quo.

Unlike "English" Shaw and Wilde (Coletes 1985; Constán 2009), whose plays had been translated and staged before Franco and Salazar's times, and continued to be staged and published throughout the twentieth century, other "Irish" playwrights, such as O'Casey or Synge, were introduced as belated novelties in both Iberian contexts. In the late 1960s and 1970s, productions in Galician and Catalan were staged because of their inherent "Irishness" or the accompanying political connotations. Productions of plays by Behan in the 1960s, or by Joyce (Uribe-Echevarría and Merino 1994; Merino and Uribe-Echevarría 1996) and Yeats in the 1970s (Alonso 2009; Andrews 1991; de Toro 2007), complete a global perception of Irish theatre produced in Spain. In Portugal, Synge's position on the stage was reinforced with O'Casey's influence in published form.

Beckett was staged in Spain and Portugal without much delay in relation to the Paris-London premieres, and was soon integrated into the repertoire of experimental companies following European avant-garde trends. Audience protests at the Paris premiere of *Waiting for Godot* "turned an exclusively Parisian phenomenon into an event reported worldwide" and Beckett "had acquired one of the ingredients of commercial success: the patina of fame" (Morash 2004, 200), making him one of the most popular playwrights to date (Rodríguez Gago 2006).

The study of Irish theatre on Iberian stages has naturally led us to European and international links both for the 1940s and the second half of the twentieth century. The fact that Irish authors were imported for a non-totalitarian context in the (northern) periphery of Europe (Aaltonen 1996), staged in the British Isles and the cultural centres of the European continent (both east and west), confirms Morash's claim that "as much as Irish theatre imagined itself as national, it has always been at its most vibrant when it has been most international" (2004, 275).

## Notes

- 1 University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU. Consolidated Research Group GIC12/197, Basque Government IT728/13. Project FFI2012-39012-C04-01T and G15/75, MINECO, Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness.
- 2 In the volume edited by Huerta (2003) a short section is devoted to "Foreign Theatre in Spain" between 1900 and 1939 (2575-2600), with just three pages on "English" theatre (2595-2597). The chapter on German theatre does mention the reception and influence of Brecht in Spanish dramatists Buero and Sastre (Huerta 2003, 2997-3019), but there is no mention of the influence of North American drama. The chronological tables (3012-3051) list titles for "Spanish" and "International" theatre without any reference to translations of foreign theatre in Spain. In Delgado and Gies (2012) a few references to translations are found in Chapter 17 ("Theatre under Franco," 341-370).
- 3 Aaltonen (1996, 221-223) includes both authors in her study of Irish drama in Finland.
- 4 Along with Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*, O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* (1964), Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (1978) and Joyce's *Exiles* (1979), various pieces by Shaw and Wilde were broadcast on Spanish television in the 1960s and 1970s (<http://www.imdb.com>).
- 5 The AGA database records 428 entries for theatre manuscripts submitted in Catalan, 48 in Galician and 35 in Basque.

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## APPENDIX

*Table 34.1* Number of entries for plays by Irish authors.

	<i>CETbase</i>	<i>TETRAbase</i>	<i>AGA teat</i>	<i>TRACeti</i>
Behan	0	0	4	1
Beckett	112 [1959 <sup>1</sup> ]	47	33	22
Joyce	5 [1982 <sup>1</sup> ]	2	2	3
O'Casey	10 [1976 <sup>1</sup> ]	2	12	4
Shaw	7 [1945 <sup>1</sup> ]	25	24	14
Synge	11 [1956 <sup>1</sup> ]	7	8	1
Wilde	44 [1909 <sup>1</sup> ]	41	28	18
Yeats	3 [1964 <sup>1</sup> ]	2	1	1