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**Performing Irishness:
Translations of Irish Drama for the Galician Stage (1921-2011)**

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**Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
National University of Ireland,
University College Cork**

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Abstract

This PhD thesis provides a detailed analysis of the role and significance of Irish drama in the Galician cultural context, from the early twentieth century onwards, through scrutiny of key works translated, adapted and mediated for the Galician stage.

Drawing primarily on the theoretical framework of Descriptive Translation Studies, informed by Polysystems theory (Toury), Post-colonial Translation, research on processes of cultural translation (Bassnett, Lefevere, Venuti, Aaltonen), as well as careful comparative attention to the specificities of literary, theatrical and cultural context, I examine the factors governing the incorporation, reshaping and reception of twentieth century Irish plays in Galicia in order to produce a cultural history of the representation of Ireland on the Galician stage. Focusing on the five key periods I have identified in the translation/reception of Irish drama in Galicia, as represented in specific versions of plays by Yeats, Synge, O'Casey and McDonagh, my thesis examines in detail the particular linguistic, sociopolitical, theatrical and cultural dimensions of each rewriting and/or restaging in order to uncover the ways in which Irish identity is perceived, constructed and performed in a Galician context. Moving beyond the literary, historical and philological focus of existing studies of the reception of Irish literature and foreign dramatic texts in the Galician system, my own approach draws on Theatre and Performance Studies to attend also to the performative dimension of these processes of cultural adaptation and reception, giving full account of the different agents involved in theatre translation as a rich and complex process of multivalent cultural mediation.

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Declaration

I, Elisa Serra Porteiro, hereby declare that this thesis is the record of my research, that it has been written by me, that all sources are acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Signed_____

Date_____

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I would like to thank my family and friends, for both their moral and – crucially! – practical support: Kathryn, for her invaluable daily help; my Irish family, the Harringtons; my husband, Ger; and my mother, María Jesús Porteiro. A special thought goes to my mother-in-law, Martina Harrington, whose life was a true inspiration, and to the other ‘product’ of the PhD years, my son Nicolás. I would like to dedicate my work to the memory of my grandparents, Antonio Sierra and Elisa Porteiro. Sempre queridos e admirados, e sempre no recordo.

Introduction

This PhD thesis presents a detailed cultural history of the translation, adaptation and reception of Irish theatre in Galicia that focuses on the specificity of the performance of Irishness on the Galician stage. My study draws on and enters into dialogue with a range of different fields: Galician translation history; the translation and reception of Irish culture; theatre and performance history; the translation of literature in minority contexts and approaches to translation for the stage. What it adds to existing work, as well as the recovery of a number of texts from the archive, is an interdisciplinary attention to the range of factors that influence the construction and incorporation of Irish texts, and the light this sheds on the constructedness of Irishness in Galicia.

My research has focused on dramatic works, either Irish or explicitly Irish-themed, translated into Galician language for onstage performances. The performance motivation of the translations was an essential aspect in the delimitation of the corpus. Theatrical activity and onstage representations are the main concern of this study and my inclusion of one text that has not been performed, Antón Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (1921) is based on this translation's inaugural value as well as on the translator's clear intent to transform theatre practice in Galicia. Therefore, the main criterion for inclusion is always that of performance intentionality, rather than the translation of dramatic texts for publication, which is not here given a central position.¹ Evidently, paratextual materials included in the published versions of the plays have provided invaluable information on aspects such as production choices, interpretation of the texts and their authors' position in the Galician theatre system. Concepts such as 'Galician theatre' and 'Irish theatre'

¹ The number of published Irish dramatic works in translation that meet the 'Irish theme' criterion is reduced, namely W.B. Yeats, *A ola de caldo. O gato e a lúa*, trans. by Manuel F. Vieites (Oleiros, A Coruña: Elsinor Teatro, 1996) and a translation of Synge's *The Tinker's Wedding* by Celestino Ledo, 'A boda do latoneiro', *Don Saturio. Boletín Informativo do Teatro Galego* 5 (1982), 6-16.

require nuanced explanation, given the history of colonisation in both the source and target contexts, and the resulting sociolinguistic situations. Even though any attempt to delimit these fields resorts inevitably to complex culture and time-bound considerations, it is nevertheless necessary to establish a borderline from a pragmatic point of view. A priori, the decision to limit the study to translations into the Galician language can be justified by the prevalent application of the philological criterion in Galician literary and cultural studies: ‘The “criterio filolóxico” (linguistic criterion) refers to the practice in Galician literary historiography of defining Galician national literature as written exclusively in Galician’.² Furthermore, there are no documented productions of Irish drama in the Spanish language in the Galician cultural context, which is illustrative of the role attributed to Ireland in Galicia, as I will argue throughout this thesis.³

Since this is a target-culture oriented scrutiny of representations of ‘Irishness’ on the Galician stage, it is the perception and framing of a text as ‘Irish’ that determined its inclusion and, in turn, the exclusion of dramatists such as Oscar Wilde or Samuel Beckett. Conversely, there is the borderline case of British-born Martin McDonagh, who has been included because even though his adscription to Irish drama is subject to academic and popular debate,⁴ his plays have been approached and presented in Galicia as unmistakably Irish.⁵

² According to Helena Miguélez Carballeira, ‘Carvalho Calero influentially theorised and gave scientific credence to this practice in the prologue to his *Historia da literatura galega contemporánea*’. *Galicia, A Sentimental Nation: Gender, Culture and Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), p. 225.

³ I have found only one exception to this: a Spanish-language version of Synge’s *The Shadow of the Glen* by the Escola de Teatro Lucense in Buenos Aires in 1960, which must be considered in a liminal context of exile, where the dominant language was Spanish. The application of the philological criterion in the Argentinean diaspora is given consideration in Chapter Two.

⁴ Examples of the problematic reception of McDonagh are Adrian McKinty, ‘Is Martin McDonagh Irish Enough?’, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life. Adrian McKinty’s Blog*. 10 February 2009; Elizabeth O’Neill, ‘Theatre Review. The Lieutenant of Inishmore’, *RTE*. 1 October 2003. For other examples and commentary on this topic, see Patrick Lonergan, *Theatre and Globalisation: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

⁵ A mere glimpse of the promotional materials of those productions, which are reproduced in Chapter Five and in the Appendices, leaves little doubt about the ‘Irishness’ attributed to the plays in the Galician context, especially in the case of *Un cranio furado* and *Oeste solitario*. Regardless of the

In accordance with these criteria, a corpus of fifteen relevant works was identified, which is listed over the following two pages. Since the main objectives of this project were to map incorporations of Irish drama in relation to other theatrical activity and the evolution of the approaches and the resulting stagings, it was deemed necessary to structure the project diachronically; not least, because of the lack of previous research examining these works. Since the majority of these translations have not been published,⁶ it is also the first time that this corpus has been brought together. Although it was clear from early stages of the project that an in-depth translational analysis of such a large number of plays would be beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis, I have combined contextual, macrotextual and microtextual analysis in every case, and provided evidence derived from the scrutiny of translation choices in selected texts for each of the periods. Examples of key features are, as far as possible, presented in the development of my argument. However, I have also endeavoured to include more extensive samples in appendices at the end of the thesis.

Translations of Irish Drama for the Galician stage (1921-2011)

Year	Title (Translator)	Original title, Author	Company
1921	<i>Cathleen Ni Houlihan</i> (Antón Villar Ponte)	<i>Cathleen Ni Houlihan</i> , W.B. Yeats	
1935 ⁷	<i>Catuxa de Houlihan</i> , (Plácido R. Castro, Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte)		

dramatist's birthplace, McDonagh's plays were first staged by Druid Theatre, an Irish-based company.

⁶ Where there exists a publication version, the date for this is given in brackets and a full reference provided in the corresponding footnote.

⁷ 'Cathleen Ni Houlihan'. Trans. Antón Villar Ponte, *Nós* 8 (5 December 1921); 'Catuxa de Houlihan', in W.B. Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas* (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935). Despite the fact that no performance of this text has been documented, it has been included in this study on the basis of its inaugural value and its lasting influence on later translations, which I will demonstrate in the following chapters.

1936 (1935) ⁸	<i>O país da saudade</i> (Plácido R. Castro, Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte)	<i>The Land of Heart's Desire</i> , W.B. Yeats	Keltya
1960	<i>O casamento do latoneiro</i> (Ramón de Valenzuela)	<i>The Tinker's Wedding</i> , J.M. Synge	Escola de Teatro Lucense
1972	<i>Cabalgada cara o mar</i> (Agustín Magán)	<i>Riders to the Sea</i> , J.M. Synge	Ditea
1976	<i>Rosas vermellas para min</i> (Agustín Magán)	<i>Red Roses for Me</i> , Sean O'Casey	Ditea
1977	<i>O país da saudade</i> (Plácido Castro; Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte)	<i>The Land of Heart's Desire</i> , W.B. Yeats	Ditea
1979	<i>A fontenla dos milagres</i> (Agustín Magán)	<i>The Well of the Saints</i> , J.M. Synge	Ditea
1988 (1990) ⁹	<i>O mozo que chegou de lonxe</i> (Alberto Avendaño)	<i>The Playboy of the Western World</i> , J.M. Synge	CDG
1996 (1996) ¹⁰	<i>Xinetes para o mar</i> (Xepe Casanova)	<i>Riders to the Sea</i> , J.M. Synge	CDG
1996	<i>A voda dos moinantes</i> (Xepe Casanova)	<i>The Tinker's Wedding</i> , J.M. Synge	Compañía de Marías
1996	<i>Bailando en verán</i> (Miguel Pérez Romero)	<i>Dancing at Lughnasa</i> , Brian Friel	Espello Cóncavo
1996	<i>Deire [sic] a Coitada</i> (Manuel Bermúdez Blanco)	<i>Deirdre of the Sorrows</i> , J.M. Synge	Aula de Teatro da USC
2004	<i>O encoro</i> (Beatriz Iglesias)	<i>The Weir</i> , Conor McPherson	Teatro do Atlántico
2006	<i>A raíña da beleza de Leenane</i> (Olga F. Nogueira and Avelino González)	<i>The Beauty Queen of Leenane</i> , Martin McDonagh	Teatro do Atlántico
2010	<i>Un cranio furado/A Skull in Connemara</i> , (Avelino González)	<i>A Skull in Connemara</i> , Martin McDonagh	Producións Excéntricas
2011	<i>Oeste solitario</i> (Avelino González)	<i>The Lonesome West</i> , Martin McDonagh	Producións Excéntricas

⁸ The first date refers to the rehearsal of the play by the theatre group Keltya, a process that was halted by the outbreak of the Civil War. The second corresponds to the publication of the Nós volume *Dous folk-dramas*.

⁹ J.M. Synge, *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*. Trans. by Alberto Avendaño (Vigo: Xerais, 1990).

¹⁰ J.M. Synge, 'Xinetes para o mar' in *Como en Irlanda* (Santiago de Compostela: IGAEM, 1996).

The incorporations are analysed from the perspective of cultural approaches that describe translation as a phenomenon of the target context, influenced by Lefevere and Bassnett,¹¹ with special attention to translation for the stage, and drawing on the theoretical framework of Descriptive Translation Studies.¹² Fundamentally, I have considered three main areas that look at the specificity of translating dramatic texts, and especially the recent functional approaches of Ezpeleta;¹³ approaches that consider the reception and stage conditions in target context, such as Anderman,¹⁴ and above all, Aaltonen and Espasa for their attention to the processual, performative character of theatre translation.¹⁵ The focus of the latter authors on contexts of current minorisation and/or of a history as stateless cultures (Catalonia in the case of Espasa, Finland in Aaltonen), as well as their consideration of on-stage activity has provided an invaluable framework to my own work on theatre translation in the minorised Galician context.

Explorations of translation phenomena in Ireland (Cronin, Tymoczko)¹⁶ and in Galicia (Cruces, Fernández Rodríguez, González-Millán, Pazó)¹⁷ have also been a guide when examining the way in which the Ireland-Galician connection is

¹¹ Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*. 3rd Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (New York/London: Routledge, 1992); Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998).

¹² Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995).

¹³ Pilar Ezpeleta Piorno, *Teatro y Traducción. Aproximación interdisciplinaria desde la obra de Shakespeare* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

¹⁴ Gunilla Anderman, *Europe on Stage: Translation and Theatre* (London: Oberon, 2006).

¹⁵ Sirkku Aaltonen, *Time-Sharing On Stage: Drama Translation in Theatre and Society* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2000); Eva Espasa Borrás, *La traducció dalt de l'escenari* (Barcelona: Eumo, 2001).

¹⁶ Michael Cronin, *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages and Cultures* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996); Maria Tymoczko, 'Language interface in early Irish culture', in Michael Cronin and Cormac Ó Cuilleaináin (eds.), *The Languages of Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), pp.25-43.

¹⁷ Noemí Pazó, *A función da traducción no desenvolvemento do mapa teatral galego: unha achega, 1960-1978* (Madrid: UNED, 2002); Áurea Fernández Rodríguez, 'O papel da traducción no sistema lingüístico e literario nacional: o ámbito galego', *Grial* 128 (1995), 541-554; Susana Cruces, 'A posición da literatura traducida no sistema literario galego'. *Boletín Galego de Literatura* 10 (1993), 59-65; Xoán González Millán, 'Cara a unha teoría da traducción para sistemas literarios "marxinais". A situación galega', *Viceversa* 1 (1995), 63-72.

constructed and negotiated in translation. Previous diachronic studies on the translation of dramatic texts into the Galician language are limited to the work of Noemí Pazó (2002, 2007), who provided an invaluable map of the position of translation in the Galician theatre context, albeit without considering textual and performance aspects. In a recent PhD thesis, Vázquez Fernández analysed the specific political functions associated with translations of Yeats in early twentieth century Galicia, including close scrutiny of those dramatic texts from a literary perspective.¹⁸

Studies on the position of translation in the target context and Post-colonial translation studies have also been relevant to this project.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic map of the Galician target context has been found to require nuanced application of these perspectives. Concepts such as ‘domestication’ and ‘foreignization’, as described by Venuti, must be reconsidered in light of the dynamics of translation of Irish drama in Galicia, where the historical perception of Ireland and its political role has influenced the divide between the other and the self ‘because Ireland was not thought of as ‘foreign’ but as part of the self’,²⁰ as I will argue in the course of this thesis. With regards to Post-colonial approaches to the translation phenomenon, limitations in their applicability to the Galician situation derive from the ‘internal’ character of the Galician ‘colony’, the continuing existence of a situation of minorisation and, with regards to the language, the fact that, in contrast with most post-colonial studies, what concerns us here is cultural production that does not adopt – on the contrary, it rejects – the coloniser's language.

Determining the factors governing the incorporation, reshaping and reception of twentieth century Irish plays in Galicia requires careful comparative attention to

¹⁸ Silvia Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority and Nation. The Translation/Appropriation of W.B. Yeats in Galicia (1920-1935)* (Doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2013).

¹⁹ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995); Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (New York: Longman, 1990).

²⁰ Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p. 253.

the specificities of the literary, theatrical and cultural source and target context. This facet of the study was informed in every case by a review of scholarly publications on the plays and dramatists, both biographical and interpretative, and more fundamentally, by Galician cultural and theatre historiography. Existing studies on theatre activity in the Galician language are primarily concerned with historical aspects whether in relation to key periods and/or practitioners, such as theatre during the dictatorship period,²¹ and activity in the diaspora.²² Monographic studies about specific companies or agents have been found especially enlightening for the historical positioning of their activity. Examples of these include Mejía's study on the activities of Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde²³ and Rodríguez Villar's history of Ditea.²⁴ These insights were underpinned by the wider historical scope of the works of Vieites and Tato Fontaíña, amongst others.²⁵

To date, with the exception of the translations of Yeats examined by Vázquez Fernández, the corpus of Irish drama in the Galician language had not been closely analysed from translational or dramaturgical perspectives.²⁶ Moving beyond the literary historical or philological focus of existing studies of the reception of Irish literature and foreign dramatic texts in the Galician system, my own approach attends also to the performative dimension of these processes of cultural adaptation and reception, giving full account of the different agents involved in theatre

²¹ Alfonso Becerra de Becerreá, 'A dramaturxia nos tempos da Ditadura' and Roberto Pascual, 'O teatro nos tempos da ditadura', both in Manuel Vieites (ed.), *Cento vinte e cinco anos de teatro en galego. No aniversario da estrea de A fonte do xuramento. 1882-2007* (Vigo: Galaxia, 2007), pp.111-130 and 131-146, respectively.

²² Luis Pérez Rodríguez, 'Breve historia do teatro galego na Arxentina.' *Cadernos da escola dramática galega* 89 (1991).

²³ Carmen Mejía Ruiz (ed.), *Dos vidas y un exilio. Ramón de Valenzuela y María Victoria Villaverde. Estudio y antología* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2011).

²⁴ Alejandra Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral en Galicia: el caso de Ditea (1960-1986)*. (Doctoral thesis, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2005).

²⁵ Manuel Lourenzo and Francisco Pillado, *O teatro galego* (Sada, A Coruña: Ed. do Castro, 1979); Manuel F. Vieites, *Historia do Teatro Galego. Unha lectura escénica* (Santiago de Compostela: Anel/Xunta de Galicia, 2005); Laura Tato Fontaíña, *Historia do teatro galego (das orixes a 1936)* (Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 1999).

²⁶ The dramatic texts addressed by Vázquez Fernández are incidentally those not staged at the time of their translation.

translation as a rich and complex process of multivalent cultural mediation. Therefore, it was a priority to capture – insofar as was possible – the creative pathways that led to the performances, and to give a voice to the practitioners involved in the productions. Very significant information was obtained through interviews and personal communication with directors, translators and other stakeholders.²⁷ Establishing contact with companies and individuals played a key role in the process of gathering the necessary documentation, such as unpublished scripts, which were neither available to the general public nor, in most cases, systematically archived as documents of theatre practice.²⁸

The periodisation followed in this thesis is based on historical and theatrical factors, and informed by previous delimitations with regards to the development of Galician stage activity during the twentieth century.²⁹ Hence, five periods were established and the plays analysed in each chapter have been contextualised in accordance with this division, since it was found that they fell into clearly differentiated moments, both historically and theatrically, for the Galician stage.

Chapter One considers the two inaugural translations of Irish dramatic texts in the pre-Civil War period, published in 1921 and 1935, in relation to the construction of national identity in Galicia. Chapter Two examines the first actual staging of an Irish play in the Galician language, in the context of the Galician diaspora in Buenos Aires and discusses the role of exiles in this incorporation. Chapter Three considers the 1970s, as both the period of gestation for Galician professional theatre and of political transition. Between 1972 and 1979, one amateur company, Teatro de

²⁷ Quico Cadaval and Avelino González. Personal interview, 3 September 2011; María Barcala and Xúlio Lago. Personal interview, 13 April 2014.

²⁸ Most scripts were sourced via personal contact with translators and practitioners. An exception to the prevalent lack of systematised documentation of theatre practice is the archive of the Santiago-based company Ditea, an invaluable resource during this research.

²⁹ Manuel F. Vieites, ‘Creación dramática e realización teatral. Algunhas consideracións arredor da xénese do Novo Teatro Galego (NTG) e da Nova Dramaturxia Galega (NDG)’; and Candido Pazó, ‘O oficio de actor’; both in Vieites (ed.), *Do Novo Teatro á Nova Dramaturxia (1965-1995)* (Vigo: Xerais, 2005), pp. 33-84 and 145-158, respectively.

Cámara Ditea (Difusión de Teatro Aficionado), incorporated four different translated Irish texts to their body of work. Chapter Four analyses two productions from 1984 and 1996 in the frame of the establishment of the Centro Dramático Galego (CDG) and its consolidation, and the changes experienced in Galician theatre practice during these two decades. Chapter Five considers twenty-first century practice through the work of two companies, Teatro do Atlántico and Producións Excéntricas, between 2005 and 2012 at a moment of established professional activity, yet still presenting challenges associated with minorisation and the economic downturn.

However, because of the sociocultural particularities of theatre in Galicia, it is both unhelpful and unrepresentative to approach specific periods or phenomena as sealed compartments. This became particularly obvious when discussing theatre in the diaspora, as it could not be appropriately contextualised without providing information on activity in Galician territory in Spain.

Chapter One analyses the two translations that inaugurate the corpus of Irish drama in Galician language in the early decades of the twentieth century, a time when efforts towards the (re)construction of Galician national identity were gaining momentum. In this process, the rehabilitation of the language and the formulation of a national theatre system were key items on a cultural agenda where Ireland played a prominent role. *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, a version of Yeats's play by Antón Villar Ponte, appeared in the *Revista Nós* in 1921. Little over a decade later, in 1935, the Editorial Nós published *Dous folc-dramas de W.B. Yeats*, which included *Catuxa de Houlihan* and *O país da saudade*, a translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire*. On this occasion, Antón Villar Ponte, his brother Ramón and Plácido Castro were identified as joint translators of the two plays. In Galicia, the incorporation of cultural products from the Irish context has been marked, on the one hand, by the perception of Ireland as a sister nation and, on the other, by the historically minorised status of Galician culture, two interconnected elements that can be linked to these two plays. Villar Ponte's use of Marià Manent's Catalan translation as a

source text, for a long time occluded by the references to directness in the paratexts, demands consideration of the exchange networks between the different national identities in Iberia at the time and how Irish culture was mediated in these cases.

Chapter Two examines the first staging of an Irish play in the Galician language: John Millington Synge's *O casamento do latoneiro* (*A Tinker's Wedding*) by the Escola de Teatro Lucense in Buenos Aires in 1960. The fact that this first performance – one of the first translated plays to be staged in Galician – occurs in Argentina illustrates the displacement of cultural activism to the Americas brought about by the Spanish Civil War and the establishment of Franco's regime. *O casamento do latoneiro* is the result of the overlap between the cultural and political commitment of the exiles and a pre-existing Galician emigrant *asociacionismo* in the Argentine capital. Indeed, the choice of play and the approach to performance can be seen as a dialogue between these two sectors of the Galician diaspora, and interpreted also in terms of a continuum between the two 'Galician stages', in the homeland and overseas. In turn, my constation of the mediated character of the translation, which used a Spanish-language version of the play published in Buenos Aires in 1959, prompts reflection of the positioning of cultural activity through the medium of Galician in yet another context where Spanish was the dominant language.

Chapter Three is framed by the political transition to democracy in Spain, and the dawn of professionalisation in Galician-language theatre. It focuses on an amateur company that epitomises the transitional character of the period, Ditea, and the four Irish plays in their repertoire. Staged between 1972 and 1979, these include texts by three universal Irish dramatists: J.M. Synge, W.B. Yeats and Sean O'Casey. These productions can be linked not only to milestones in the internal history of the company but also to the evolution of the theatrical map in Galicia, and, as I will show, need also to be set within the broader Iberian context at the time, where there were significant moves towards an embracement of political theatre. The changing

attitude of Ditea with regards to the use of Galician language coincides with their decision to perform Irish plays and, therefore, needs to be discussed as a prolongation of the political significance placed on Ireland by the early twentieth century nationalist movement,³⁰ particularly relevant if we also take into account the company's remarkably good relations with the local Francoist administration during its first period.

Chapter Four will discuss the role of the Centro Dramático Galego (CDG) in the incorporation of Irish works into the Galician language repertoire, in particular *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (1988), an adaptation of *The Playboy of the Western World*, and *Xinetes para o mar*, a staging of *Riders to the Sea* included in *Como en Irlanda* (1996). Based on plays by the same author, J.M. Synge, these productions reflect the evolving agenda of this public institution and the consolidation of professional theatre practice in Galicia. The readings of Synge's work found here respond to target culture expectations and, even though different strategies are in evidence in terms of their respective translation, production and framing, both show a naturalising tendency. Whereas in *O mozo...* the action is transposed to Galicia, *Como en Irlanda* appropriates Irish drama through a sense of kinship not only reminiscent of early twentieth century ideas but explicitly linked to that seminal period in the construction of Galician national identity. The canonising function of the CDG and its responsibility towards the normalisation of Galician language will be identified as two significant elements at play in the adaptations, which can be traced in the paratextual materials that accompany the published texts. In this period, we encounter quasi simultaneous performance and publication processes, a significant event that must be itself considered in relation to the minorised status of Galician culture.

³⁰ I will employ the term 'nationalist' to refer to peripheric nationalist movements in the Spanish State and never to in relation to the insurgent, fascist 'bando nacional' in the Civil War, for which I will use 'National'.

Finally, Chapter Five illustrates how recent adaptations of contemporary playwrights Martin McDonagh and Conor McPherson are marked by the continuing influence of earlier constructions of Irishness on the contemporary Galician stage. Avelino González, the main instigator of these incorporations in his role as translator, collaborated with two professional companies to bring the three plays that constitute McDonagh's *Leenane Trilogy* to the Galician stage: *A raíña da beleza de Leenane* (Teatro do Atlántico, 2006), *Un cranio furado* and *Oeste solitario* (Producións Excéntricas, 2010 and 2011). González also influenced the choice of *O encoro* (*The Weir*), by McPherson, for the 2004 season of Teatro do Atlántico. These productions showed a degree of synchrony with repertoire tendencies in the source system that was not present in previous periods, as the texts were drawn from the contemporary 'theatre catalogue' and not from the canon of dramatic literature. While the plays are framed as unequivocally Irish and certain onstage signs highlight the Irish setting, Galician audiences were presented with a West of Ireland that complied with target system expectations: kinship, identification and clichéd imagery all contribute to boost familiarity with the onstage universe. Drawing primarily on examples from McDonagh's plays, I will reveal how the acceptability of these texts is enhanced in the Galician versions through certain translation choices and performance approaches, a process aided also by the de-problematisation of their author. I will conclude by showing how these versions of plays by McPherson and McDonagh opened the way to a new approach, signalling a move beyond the associations that have traditionally accompanied Irish drama on the Galician stage and concurrent with changes in the conditions of theatre practice.

Irish Drama and Galician National Identity, 1921-1936

In Galicia, the incorporation of cultural products from the Irish context has been historically marked, on the one hand, by the perception of Ireland as a sister nation and, on the other, by the minorised status of Galician culture. These two interconnected elements can be linked to the two translations that inaugurated the corpus of Irish drama in Galician in the early decades of the twentieth century. In this chapter, I will focus on these two earliest translations of Irish drama into Galician in order to show how they are defined both by the context in which they are translated, and how they set the frame for later translations and performances of Irishness on the Galician stage. Because the dates of their publication coincide with the intensification of debate over the desired shape of Galician theatre and in particular the role of the Galician language in dramatic writing, it is necessary to situate the plays and the agents of their mediation in relation to these debates. This will help to reveal why they continue to be influential in much later manifestations of Galician theatre practice, despite their scant performance history.¹ As far as analysis of the translations themselves is concerned, I am drawing mainly on insights and approaches related to Descriptive Translation Studies, in order to identify the norms and functions of translation in the target context.

The first dramatic text to be translated was W.B. Yeats' *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*, of which a version signed by Antón Villar Ponte appeared in the *Revista Nós* in 1921. Fourteen years later, in 1935, the Editorial Nós published *Dous folc-dramas de W.B.Yeats*, which included both the earlier play, under the localised title *Catuxa*

¹ In 1936, a few months after Antón Villar Ponte's death, *O país da saudade* was being rehearsed by the A Coruña-based group Keltia, under the direction of Serafín Ferro. The outbreak of the Civil War truncated the project and the first documented staging of the play would not take place until 1977, a production examined in Chapter Three. No performances of the Galician-language *Cathleen Ní Houlihan* have been documented. In 1996, the CDG came close to producing the Yeats text but the final choice was *Riders to the Sea*, as exposed in Chapter Four.

de Houlihan, and *O país da saudade*, a translation of *The Land of Heart's Desire*. On this occasion, Antón Villar Ponte, his brother Ramón, and Plácido Castro feature as joint translators of the two plays.

The agents, the choices, the translation strategy and the framing of the texts must all be considered in relation to the specific historical moment in which they took place, a time when efforts towards the (re)construction of Galician national identity were gaining momentum. In this process, the rehabilitation of the language and the formulation of a national theatre system were key items on a cultural agenda where Ireland and Irish drama played a prominent role.

1. Identification with Ireland and its political utilisation

The translation and appropriation of Yeats' works in connection with Galician nationalist ideology between 1920 and 1935 has been described as 'manipulative and subversive' by Silvia Vázquez Fernández, who has linked both the choice of texts and the approach to translation adopted to the *Celticism* and *Atlanticism* used by the *Galeguistas* to justify claims for national and cultural recognition, in their aim to revert the effects of the long-lasting subordination of the region by centralist Spanish governments.² Indeed, there is no doubt that the publication of Yeats' dramas in the Galician language during this period can be tied to Galician cultural and political nationalist ambitions in the first third of the twentieth century, as illustrated by Vázquez Fernández.³ However, as dramatic works, it is also important to examine

² Resorting back to the alleged Galician ancestors, the Celts, the *Galeguistas* strove to establish affinities with the other so-called Celtic nations of Northern Europe, particularly Ireland, in order to include Galicia within the Celtic mythological tradition and, by extension, within a new Atlantic civilisation opposed to the Mediterranean one which they associated with Spain. Silvia Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p. 3.

³ Vázquez Fernández concludes that the translations were part of 'a meticulously planned strategy'. *Translation, Minority...*, p. 252. However, the existence of different active groups and multiple stakeholders who moved between different ideological positions, as well as the marked cross-collaboration, make it unlikely that translation activity was subjected to thorough planning above and beyond circumstantial factors, such as the availability of texts, or specific functions such as the commemorative aim that we will see in relation to the publication of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in the *Revista Nós*.

these early translations of Irish plays more closely in terms of the place of drama in the burgeoning Galician nationalist agenda of cultural legitimisation. The translation strategies and framing of the texts must also be considered with regards to their onstage potential and their impact on the process of mediation of Irish drama not only between those dates but, by virtue of the landmark character of the period, far beyond 1935.

In order to understand the extent to which Galician nationalist ideology frames the translation of the Yeats plays to be analysed in this chapter, it is important to outline the sociocultural context in which the movement arose, in particular its response to the perceived marginalisation of the Galician language and culture. In the fifteenth century, as a consequence of an increasingly hostile colonisation strategy on the part of the Castillian-Leonese crown, Galician was replaced by Castillian as the language of prestige. During the following five centuries we find scant written cultural manifestations through the medium of Galician language beyond the oral and popular tradition. This period of Galician literary history has been dubbed the ‘Séculos Escuros’, the ‘Dark Centuries’, a term that emphasises the contrast with the cultural buoyancy of medieval times.⁴ Galician continued to be spoken by the majority of the population, a situation that prevailed, aided by the predominantly rural organisational structure of the region, but the replacement of the Galician nobility with representatives of the Castillian-Leonese crown and the exclusion of the language from formal and written contexts led to an acute diglossic situation.⁵ This linguistic divide was a contributing factor in the emphasis on the

⁴ The use of imagery of darkness recurs in Galician literary historiography. The dictatorship period that brought on the repression of Galician culture, is often termed ‘Longa noite de pedra’, an image borrowed from a poem by Celso Emilio Ferreiro, also referred to in Chapter Two.

⁵ From 1480 onwards, Galician public notaries had to be examined by the ‘Real Consejo’ in Toledo, with the subsequent abandonment of Galician language in official documents. For a history of Galician language with a focus on the contact with Castillian Spanish, see Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato, *Lingua galega: normalidade e conflito* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 1997). The idiosyncrasies of the Galician diglossic situation were a contributing factor in the emphasis on the language in political and cultural claims for recognition of a differential Galician identity.

language in political and cultural claims for recognition of a differential Galician identity.

In the eighteenth century, concerns began to be expressed regarding the lack of economic development in the region and the need for defence of the local language, influenced by the ideals of the Enlightenment.⁶ However, a more structured defence of the interests of Galicia did not take shape until the mid-nineteenth century. 'Galeguismo' is commonly accepted as the umbrella term for the different streams of political and cultural activism on behalf of increased autonomy and recognition for the region.⁷ Initially, the regionalist political movements were concerned mainly with issues relating to land ownership and the exploitation of resources. These political efforts, centred on the re-appropriation of the land, had a literary counterpart in the work of the poets of the *Rexurdimento*, the movement of cultural revival that endeavoured to restore the Galician language as a vehicle for literary expression. In their poetic manifestations, the land was a prevalent theme (if not 'the' prevalent theme), sometimes referred to in an epic tone as the land the heroic ancestors 'roamed', others in connection to the effects of migration and hardship of living conditions.

It was during the *Rexurdimento*, which bore many similarities with other movements rooted in the Romantic reconsideration of national identities, that the belief in a mythical connection between Ireland and Galicia was forged. José Verea y Aguiar published in 1838 a *Historia de Galicia* in which he attributed the greatness of the nation to its Celtic ancestry.⁸ In years to come, other historians, such as Manuel Murguía and Benito Vicetto 'under the spell of Romanticism'⁹ continued to

⁶ One of the most prominent figures of the period is Frei Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772), who was particularly interested in etymology and addressed the language divide in Galicia in several of his works.

⁷ Francisco Calo Lourido et al., *Historia Xeral de Galicia* (Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 2005), p. 326.

⁸ José Verea y Aguiar, *Historia de Galicia primera parte, que comprende los orígenes y estado de los pueblos septentrionales y occidentales de la España antes de su conquista por los romanos*. Facsimile edition (Valladolid: Maxtor, 2001).

⁹ Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p. 36.

follow this line.¹⁰ Celticism seduced poets such as Eduardo Pondal,¹¹ and permeated all socio-cultural strata, becoming a deeply-rooted foundational narrative, in spite of its lack of scientific basis. Although current historians and archaeologists are more reluctant to talk about ‘Celtic civilisation’ in pre-Roman Galicia,¹² the myth of Celtic origins continues to be present as a social narrative and, in many ways, to determine the position occupied by Galicia within the pan-European cultural network.¹³

Amongst the Celtic nations, the incipient Galician nationalist movement set its sights in particular on Ireland. Literary sources provided a basis for ethnic identification: according to the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the Irish *Book of Invasions*, Ith, son of Breoghán, saw a land across the sea from his father’s tower and decided to set sail towards that place, which turned out to be Ireland.¹⁴ For the poets of the Rexurdimento and Galician ideologues in their quest for linguistic and cultural

¹⁰¹⁰ Manuel Murguía (1833-1923) was a key contributor to the consolidation of the Celtic myth of origin in Galician historiography, one of the ideological pillars of Galician nationalism. He co-authored a *Historia de Galicia* with Vicetto (1824-1878). For more on the place of Celticism in their work and its influence on Galician nationalist ideology, see Ramón Máiz, ‘Raza y mito céltico en los orígenes del nacionalismo gallego: Manuel M. Murguía’, *REIS* 25, 137-180; and Juan Renales, ‘El celtismo de Benito Vicetto’, *Revista de Filología Románica* 6 (1989), 325-343.

¹¹ Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) was one of the most influential poets of the Rexurdimento, often referred to with the appellation ‘o Bardo’, which links in with the Celtic mythological character of his production. The lyrics of the Galician anthem are taken from his poem ‘Os pinos’.

¹² One of the contradictions inherent in the concept of ‘Celtic nation’ or ‘Celtic civilisation’ is that the term Celt refers to a linguistic family and not to a specific people or ethnic group and, therefore, it is dissociated from elements of material culture, such as artefacts and architectural structures upon which the argument for Galicia’s Celtic past was based. Moreover, the Galician language was a fundamental pillar of national identity and it most certainly is not a language from the Celtic family. Francisco Calo Lourido et al, *Historia xeral...*, pp. 33-34.

¹³ Núñez Seixas, Xosé M., ‘De Breogán a Pardo de Cela, pasando por América: Notas sobre la imaginación del nacionalismo gallego’, *La construcción imaginaria de las comunidades nacionales. Historia Social* 40 (2001), 53-78.

¹⁴ Breoghan, son of Brath and descendant of Noah, was a powerful chief and founder of the city of Brigantia. After Ith was killed by the Tuaha de Danann in Ireland, his son Milidh decided to conquer the island to avenge him. For more on the position of the *Leabhar Gabhala* in Galician cultural production, with a special focus on the *Xeración Nós* period, see Alberto Álvarez Lugo and Eduardo Moscoso Mato, ‘Galicia, Irlanda e o *Leabhar Gabhala*: O mito celta no proceso de construción da identidade galega’, M^a Dolores Gómez, ed, *A identidade galega e irlandesa a través dos textos/Galician and Irish Identity through texts* (Santiago de Compostela: USC, 2005), pp. 55-112; Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, *La literatura irlandesa en España*, (Oleiros-A Coruña: Netbiblo, 2007), pp. 43-44; and Kerry Ann McKevitt, ‘A tradución dos galegos á historia celta. A presenza de *Leabhar Gabhala* en Nós’, *Anuario de Estudios Literarios Galegos* (2001), 153-167.

legitimation, it was easy to identify Breoghan's tower with the Torre de Hércules in A Coruña and make Galician natives the founders of Ireland, the admired nation.¹⁵ The ethnic linkage to Ireland was also used to mark the distance between Galicia (an Atlantic nation) and the Mediterranean hub, linked to Iberian and Graeco-Roman heritage. While this use of pseudo-historical sources contributed to the validation of the common origin hypothesis, political identification was the critical issue. We must bear in mind that the development of these views ran parallel to the build up towards Irish independence. So, on the basis of ethnic affinity and historical trajectory, Galicia's pursuit of increased autonomy was justified. Through later propagation of the idea that the establishment of the Irish Free State was a matter of historical justice, the ideologues of Galician nationalism were in turn legitimizing their own political claims for increased autonomy.¹⁶

Whether there is a historical basis to the connection between Galicia and Ireland or not, the existence of this kinship in the popular imaginary is what grants it a determinant function in the mediation of Irish cultural products in the Galician context. It is also evident that the first incorporations of Irish drama into the Galician system were closely linked to key aims in the cultural and political agenda of *Galeguismo*.

2. Galician nationalism and the agents of incorporation

The clearest evidence of the paradigmatic status of these early translations into Galician is the identity of the agents involved in the mediation process, Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro, who played a central role in the drive towards Galician cultural regeneration. Setting them within the context of cultural and political activism of the period, I will provide details of their trajectories and

¹⁵ The Torre de Hércules is a lighthouse on the site of the original Roman building (1st-2nd century, A.D.), still operative and symbol of the city of A Coruña.

¹⁶ For a detailed historiographical account of the evolution of nationalist ideas in Galicia, see Justo G. Beramendi and Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *O nacionalismo galego* (Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 1996).

their positioning in relation to key questions in the mediation process, such as their attitude to the Galician language, the role of theatre and, of course, their vision of Ireland.

In 1916, Antón Villar Ponte led a campaign that culminated with the establishment of the first organs of Galician nationalism: the *Irmandades da Fala*.¹⁷ The *Irmandade Amigos da Fala da Coruña* was followed by groups in other Galician cities, all of them with a cultural and political focus on the interests of the region and, as their name suggests, with the rehabilitation of Galician language at the core of their programme. It is significant that the name chosen echoes the ideals of ‘brotherhood’, contrasting their horizontal structure with the centripetal political organisation of the Spanish state they contested, and of the spoken language (or ‘fala’), in which the essence of the nation was supposedly contained, under the custody of its people, held together by family kinship. These assemblies attracted those who shared a preoccupation with the affirmation of Galician culture, often expressed as a ‘differential fact’, and even though ideological divergences within the *Irmandades* were obvious, the common goal of national identity acted as a strong cohesive element. In the agenda of national (re)construction of the *Irmandades*, theatre had a role to play and, in 1919, the Conservatorio Nacional de Arte Galega was established in A Coruña. Its ‘cuadro de declamación’, under the direction of professional actor Fernando Osorio, led an attempt to provide training and opportunities for theatre practice in Galician.¹⁸

With regards to the ideological strands of Galician nationalism in that period, two tendencies became especially visible: one which was broadly federalist and had

¹⁷ Although the campaign for the creation of the *Irmandades* had been under way for some time, the organisation was formally established on May 18th, 1916. For the historical evolution of nationalist ideas, see Ramón Villares, *Historia de Galicia*, 2nd edition (Vigo: Galaxia, 2004), pp. 364-397. Note that the foundation year of the *Irmandades* coincides with the Easter Rising in Dublin. I am indebted to Manuel F. Vieites for drawing attention to a possible link between these two dates.

¹⁸ The Conservatorio changed its name to Escola Dramática Galega in 1922 with Leandro Carré as director. Carré was one of the dramatists linked to the short-lived Escola Rexional de Declamación (1902-1905), the first organisation explicitly devoted to theatre practice in the Galician language.

its focus on the political actions necessary to achieve the regeneration of Galicia (supported by the *Irmandade* in A Coruña, to which the Villar Ponte brothers were affiliated); the other which was more conservative, with a marked Catholic component, which prioritised cultural reconstruction,¹⁹ given that their politically utopian views were impracticable in the existing system.²⁰ This latter view was led by Vicente Risco and the ‘Grupo Nós’,²¹ which agglutinated around the *Revista Nós*. This publication and *A Nosa Terra*, published by the *Irmandades*, were fundamental in the dissemination of political and cultural ideology in early twentieth-century Galicia and indeed decisive in the consolidation of the Galician language as a medium for ‘cultivated’ expression.

The publication of the translation of a work by W. B. Yeats, *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*, inaugurates the canon of Irish drama translated into Galician. With the addition of another play by the same author, *The Land of Heart’s Desire*, fourteen years later, these two plays constitute the totality of the corpus of translated Irish drama until 1960.²² Both incorporations took place under the auspices of *Galeguismo*, at the hand of Antón Villar Ponte, Ramón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro.

As a founding member of the *Irmandades da Fala*, Antón Villar Ponte (1881-

¹⁹ Villares, *Historia de Galicia*, pp. 385-386.

²⁰ Beramendi explored the complex dynamics of ‘escisión’ and unity between these two tendencies, showing that they were not rigid groups. For instance, Ramón Villar Ponte, ‘católico afervoadado’, was ideologically much closer to Risco than to his brother’s federalist convictions. Justo Beramendi, *Vicente Risco no Nacionalismo Galego. Tomo 2. Escisión-Unidade-Escisión* (Santiago de Compostela: Cerne, 1981), p. 7-8.

²¹ ‘Grupo Nós’ or ‘Xeración Nós’ is the denomination applied in Galician cultural historiography to a group of intellectuals who, in the early twentieth century, embarked on the renewal of cultural production in Galician language, dominated by ideals of cosmopolitanism. Vicente Risco, Ramón Otero Pedrayo, Florentino López Cuevillas and Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao are included in this group. Their evolution towards nationalism and the long-term impact of their work has been studied in detail by Craig Patterson, *Galician cultural identity in the works of Ramón Otero Pedrayo* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006). For more on their contribution to theatre activity, see Manuel F. Vieites, ‘A creación dramática en Nós. Entre a renovación estética e a educación popular’, *Grial* 199, 124-135.

²² That year, the Escola do Teatro Lucense performed in Buenos Aires *O casamento do latoneiro*, a version of Synge’s *The Tinker’s Wedding*, analysed in Chapter Two.

1936) was publicly committed to the defence of the Galician language and active in political circles, as was his brother Ramón (1880-1953). Born in Viveiro (Lugo), their paths evolved very closely, in terms of their political and cultural interests. After studying Humanities in Santiago and Madrid, Ramón Villar Ponte became a professional tutor and journalist, collaborating from 1921 with a number of daily newspapers (*El Correo Gallego*, *La Voz de Galicia*, *El Sol*, *El Pueblo Gallego*). In 1931, during the Second Republic, Ramón became mayor of his hometown. He was a member of the Seminario de Estudos Galegos and joined the Real Academia Galega in 1951.²³

Antón Villar Ponte studied Pharmacy in Santiago, although he soon abandoned this profession in favour of journalistic and political activities. Much like his brother, he was a militant republican and devoted himself to campaigning against *caciquismo*. In 1906, he worked for *El País* in Madrid but before long he had to emigrate to Havana, where he continued to write for a number of Galician-linked newspapers. Back in Galicia, he came into contact with Manuel Murguía, bringing his republican, federalist ideology under the influence of *Galeguismo*. In 1916, he founded together with his brother in A Coruña the *Liga de Amigos del Idioma Gallego* (later the first of the *Irmandades da Fala*). Antón advocated a left-wing political nationalism and was elected representative for the *Cortes* with the Federación Republicana Gallega in 1931. He joined the Real Academia Galega in 1934 and also presented his candidature in the 1936 elections, with the Partido Galeguista.

An interest in the social role of theatre stands out in Antón Villar Ponte's

²³ The Seminario de Estudos Galegos was established by a group of students and professors from the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela in 1923. Their aim was the dissemination of Galician cultural and linguistic content, following the interdisciplinary model of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. The Seminario was co-financed by the provincial administration, donations from individuals and the Buenos Aires Galician diaspora. The 1936 coup abruptly ended the institution. The Real Academia Galega was founded in 1905, under the auspices of the Cuban 'Asociación Iniciadora e Protectora da Academia Galega', with the aim to study, promote and fix the norm for Galician language. In the decades following the Civil War, it survived in a semi-clandestine situation.

numerous contributions to newspapers over the years.²⁴ He displayed an awareness of theatre beyond the Galician context, with abundant references to Spanish, Catalan and European drama. Villar Ponte saw the need for a Galician theatre that was a suitable form of expression for the nation and believed this could be achieved by learning from international models.²⁵ This interest in theatre materialised in several incursions into the dramatic genre, which are perhaps too abruptly dismissed by Carvalho Calero for their lack of quality, despite the author's 'stubborn' attachment to the genre: 'aínda que cultivóu teimosamente a literatura teatral, non tiña visión dramática'.²⁶ According to the literary scholar, both Villar Ponte's journalistic and dramatic works were oriented towards social efficiency rather than aesthetic achievement. His early plays *O peso dunha lei* and *A patria do labrego* had an evident social aim, and he often referred to theatre as an invaluable vehicle for the dissemination of nationalist ideas.²⁷ However, his work does reveal a desire to achieve dramaturgical and aesthetic viability beyond the utilitarian approach described by Carvalho Calero. Even though his plays may not be pinnacles of dramaturgical achievement, the same could be said if we applied present day parameters to most of the dramatic works of the period. Furthermore, his observations on dramatic forms and his insistence on the need to encourage performance activity show that he perceived theatre not only as a literary or propagandistic exercise but as a live, dynamic practice that required audience

²⁴ Laura Tato Fontañá, *Relación de noticias sobre teatro nos fondos da Biblioteca-Arquivo Teatral 'Francisco Pillado Mayor' (1882-1975)* (A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2009).

²⁵ Something Villar Ponte explicitly addressed in his articles 'El teatro de Lenormand', *El Pueblo Gallego*, 3 May 1928, p. 1; and 'Ibsen en Galicia', *El Pueblo Gallego*, 29 March 1928, pp. 1-2.

²⁶ Of Villar Ponte's *Os evanxeos da risa absoluta*, Carballo said: 'O "folk-drama" divídese en tres "tempos". Canto á acción, no primeiro "tempo" non pasa nada. No Segundo tampouco pasa nada. E no terceiro, tampouco pasa nada ate o final, o mesmo final, en que afinal pasa algo. É moito agardar por unha soa escena activa'. Carballo Calero, *Historia da literatura galega* (1984), pp. 610-11.

²⁷ Premiered in 1919, *A patria do labrego* was dedicated to the Catalan Santiago Rusiñol, a gesture that corroborates Villar Ponte's awareness and admiration for Catalonia.

engagement.²⁸ His awareness of literary and theatrical models beyond the Galician context demonstrates a wish to take Galician theatre forward and away from the constraints of *costumismo* and nineteenth-century *folclorismo*. This took shape in plays such as *Almas mortas*,²⁹ a version of Nikolai Gogol's novel, and in his interest in folk-drama, first through translations, then with his own original works *Os evanxeos da risa absoluta* (1934) and *Nouturnio de medo e morte* (1935).³⁰

Although notably younger than the Villar Ponte brothers, Plácido Ramón Castro del Río (1902-1967) belonged to the same ideological orbit. Originally from Corcubión, a very small coastal town in A Coruña, Castro came from a family with sufficient financial resources to send him to a Scottish boarding school at the age of six. He completed his education in Glasgow and then, from London, started collaborating with several Galician newspapers in 1927. A founding member of the Partido Galeguista in 1931, he was later to become their secretary for international relations and participated in the Galeuska assemblies.³¹ Castro's approach to nationalism was marked by his internationalism and pacifism,³² and his interest in international politics transpires in numerous articles that show an analytical and critical perspective, beyond the postulates of other fellow nationalists.³³ Having spent much of his life in English-speaking countries, he was better equipped than most of his contemporaries to embody the ideal of internationalism and *Atlanticism*

²⁸ Villar Ponte's preoccupation with the different stakeholders is evidenced in 'Un estímulo necesario para escritores y músicos gallegos', *Labor Galega. Xornal Extraordinario do Coro Toxos e Froles* (29 May 1936), p.2.

²⁹ The Santiago-based company Ditea took to the stage *Almas mortas* and *O país da saudade* in 1977, the year the Día das Letras Galegas was dedicated to Antón Villar Ponte. This and other works by the same company are analysed in Chapter Three.

³⁰ The latter play was one of the two texts on which the Centro Dramático Galego based its 1996 production *Como en Irlanda*), discussed in Chapter Four.

³¹ The first Galeuska pact was signed by nationalist representatives from Galicia, Euskadi and Catalonia in 1923 to confer on collaborative political action.

³² Xulio Ríos, 'O ideario político de Plácido Castro', *Grial* 153 (2002), 107-116.

³³ This is particularly evident in his articles on the Irish political situation, where he eschews the mystification of the Irish struggle for independence, introducing a British perspective on the conflict: '[...] tampoco convence a los que saben la inmensa satisfacción que sienten hoy los ingleses al verse libres de los conflictos provocados por un pueblo que nunca llegaron a comprender'. Plácido Castro, 'A realidade da independencia irlandesa', *El Pueblo Gallego* (17 June 1928), pp.1-2 (p.2).

pursued by the *Grupo Nós*, not least thanks to his command of the English language. Ireland was a crucial referent for the early twentieth century nationalist movement but, as Xulio Ríos indicates, this was rarely based on firsthand knowledge:

A xeración galeguista do tempo de Plácido Castro sentía unha fonda admiración por Irlanda, país que seguían con esperanza, **irmá celta asoballada e logo emancipada**. Pero dubido que algún chegara a pisala naqueles anos.³⁴

Plácido Castro documented his travels through Ireland in 1928 in a series of contributions to the Vigo-based newspaper *El Pueblo Gallego*; amongst them are three articles on his visit to the Blasket Islands, published under the epigraph ‘Un gallego en Irlanda’.³⁵ The collaboration with Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte was one of his first published translations of English-language works into Galician.³⁶ Both his facet as a translator and his journalistic contributions are marked in a special way by his first-hand experience of the British and Irish cultural contexts. After his arrest, forced exile and exclusion from professional activity at the end of the Spanish Civil War, Plácido Castro ceased his party involvement during Franco’s dictatorship but never gave up on his commitment to cultural production in Galician language.

There is no doubt, as indicated also by Vázquez Fernández, that both the choice of Yeats’s plays and the Irish author’s visibility as a key foreign value for translation into Galician must be roundly linked to the translators’ political involvement in the nationalist movement and their efforts towards the rehabilitation

³⁴ The language chosen by Ríos highlights the transition from oppression to liberation, which dovetails entirely with early-twentieth-century nationalist perspectives. My emphasis. Xulio Ríos (ed.), *Irlanda en Plácido Castro* (Redondela, Pontevedra: IGADI/Fundación Plácido Castro, 2011), p.7.

³⁵ Plácido Castro accompanied Dr Robin Flower, of the British Museum, to the Blaskets in 1928. The articles appeared on the cover of the newspaper in September 1928 flanked by contributions from other *Galeguistas*: ‘Xudaísmo idiomático’ (signed ‘ANVIPO’, in all likelihood an acronym of Antón Villar Ponte), ‘Os ‘huérfanos’ de aldea’ (Otero Pedrayo), ‘Los trabajos y los días...’ (Correa Calderón).

³⁶ One of his most accomplished translations is a Galician version of Fitzgerald’s English rendition of the *Rubayyat* by Omar Khayyam, a project that he returned to throughout his life. Castro’s translation appeared in *Grial*, as did his ‘Laios gaélicos’, translations of English versions of three Irish poems by Seamus Cartan, Douglas Hyde and Egan O’Rahilly. Plácido Castro, ‘Laios Gaélicos’, *Grial* 43 (1974), 104-105.

of the Galician language.³⁷ However, the translated texts and their publication were not a mere propagandistic exercise carried out by political strategists. The degree of attention paid to theatre by Antón Villar Ponte, not only as a tool but as an artistic manifestation, his dedication to cultural pursuits, his literary vocation, and the first hand cultural knowledge of Castro were all factors in the incorporation process, from the selection of texts to the final lexical choices. Before moving on to provide examples at micro- and macro-textual level, it is important to consider debates on theatre at the time, in order to understand how the translations of Yeats signed by the Villar Ponte brothers and Castro responded to perceived theatrical needs.

3. The debate around theatre practice

In early twentieth century Galicia, the nationalist movement was quick to identify theatre as a tool for the dissemination of their ideas. Not only were the propagandistic possibilities of the dramatic genre considered important, but also its usefulness in terms of the recovery of the language. Even a degree of social responsibility was attributed to performers, directors and dramatists. In the abundant references to theatre as propaganda, of which examples will be provided in the course of this section, rather than questioning the appropriateness of giving drama an ideological or educational purpose, discussions revolve around content or form. This indicates an aim to construct an operative theatre system which offered not just political effectiveness but also entailed aesthetic accomplishments, as expressed by Federico Zamora: ‘Era necesario recadar un medio de propaganda que ademais de ser froitífera [...] entrase nos sentimentos do pobo sin verbas estridentes e sobor todo sin loita alguna [...] para esto non tiñamos a mau medio máis rápido nin máis seguro que o Teatro’.³⁸

³⁷ As we will see in Chapters Three and Four, Yeats and his contemporary Synge are to remain associated with Antón Villar Ponte and early twentieth century activism in later production history.

³⁸ Federico Zamora, ‘As Conferencias da Irmandade: Conferencia de Federico Zamora’, *A Nosa Terra* 127 (1 February 1924). Federico Zamora was a member of the *Irmandades* and, in 1923, one of the signatories of the first Galeusca pact.

In the years prior to the 1935 publication of *Dous folc-dramas de W.B. Yeats*, debates around the future evolution of Galician theatre developed in the press, as there were considered to be many key questions and obstacles to be resolved, such as whether it was more important to dedicate activity to translation of foreign drama or to the creation of original works, whether theatre should primarily be used for ideological dissemination or for entertainment.³⁹

To understand and defend the contribution to these debates signalled by the Yeats' translations, it is necessary to briefly recount developments in Galician theatre up to 1935. Despite the difficulties of documenting theatrical activity in the context of the continuous marginalisation experienced by Galician culture, several historiographical initiatives have contributed decisively to shedding light on the recovery of Galician language for drama and performance since the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ For instance, even though the *Rexurdimento* has for a long time predominantly been identified with poetry, it has been recognised more recently that theatre also received significant attention in this critical period. The performance of *A fonte do xuramento* in 1882, by Francisco María de la Iglesia, is regarded as the birth of contemporary Galician theatre activity.⁴¹

From 1915 onwards, theatrical activity in Galician expanded considerably thanks to the consolidation of musical and folkloric groups, the *Coros*, which began to diversify their offering with dramatic productions. Manuel F. Vieites refers to the role of the *coros* in broadening the context of use of the Galician language, providing an alternative to productions in Spanish and contributing decisively to the

³⁹ The Pillado Mayor archive in A Coruña houses a collection of articles that illustrate the main lines of the theatrical debate at the time.

⁴⁰ Amongst those, the seminal historiographical works by Laura Tato Fontañña and, from a more practice-oriented perspective, by Manuel F. Vieites.

⁴¹ 'Com a estreia o 13 de Agosto de 1882 de *A fonte d'o xuramento* inaugura-se com propriedade o teatro galego na dimensom que lhe é inerente: a da sua representaçom', Henrique Rabunhal, *Textos e contextos do teatro galego, 1671-1936* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 1994), p. 38.

establishment of an audience for a regional theatre.⁴² However, he also points out their limitations, namely the lack of potential for evolution in quality and excessive reliance on *ruralist* themes. While some of the shortfalls pointed out by Vieites had already been discussed by contemporaries of the *coros*, the ruralist thematic line they cultivated was not consistently regarded in a negative light. However, Laura Tato's critique of the social role of ruralist plays reminds us in more ways than one of the condemnation of [the] Stage Irish: '[...] o teatro galego se utiliza para perpetuar a colonización cultural e lingüística debido a que os dramaturgos explotan os tópicos sobre nós, ou a vulgaridade e a brutalidade, para provocaren o riso'.⁴³ The comedic use of elements of ethnicity was listed by Vicente Risco as one of the similarities between the Galician and the Irish people: 'ós irlandeses com'a nós, sácanos nas comedias pra faguer rir á xente, e vense coma nós aldraxados e tidos por xente inferior'.⁴⁴

Criticism of the *coros*' repertoire choices was just one aspect of the debate around the evolution of Galician theatre in the press, and, indeed, the discussion seemed to intensify throughout the 1920s, parallel to the consolidation of these societies. Villar Ponte, who we could call a 'critical admirer' of the *coros*, refers explicitly to the issue of their choices. On the one hand, he was aware of the significance of their work and the potential role they could play in the establishment of a Galician national theatre with a corpus constituted both by original pieces and by translated works, two areas of activity he was cultivating himself.⁴⁵ On the other hand, he disapproves of certain aspects of the *coros*' approach and even goes so far

⁴² Manuel F. Vieites, *Historia do teatro galego: unha lectura escénica* (Santiago de Compostela: Anel, 2005), pp. 63-64.

⁴³ Laura Tato Fontañá, *Historia do teatro galego (das orixes a 1936)* (Santiago de Compostela: A Nosa Terra, 1999), p. 136.

⁴⁴ This is the only explicit reference to theatre works that appeared alongside Villar Ponte's translation of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in an issue that omits any mention of Terence MacSwiney's dramatic activity. Vicente Risco, 'Irlanda e Galicia', *Nós* 8, 5 December 1921, 18-20 (p. 20).

⁴⁵ See Rabunhal, *Textos e contextos...* for a summary of Villar Ponte's trajectory as a dramatist (pp.137-142) and other details on theatrical activity in the period (pp. 91-129).

as to find some of their activities unsuitable. In ‘Caravel andaluz e chourima galega’ – one of the few of his articles on this subject published originally in Galician – Antón Villar Ponte praises the fruitful efforts of the *coros*: ‘Teño fonda estimanza para tódo-os *coros* galegos. Coido que estes *coros* fixeron moito por espertaren o sentimento enxebre dos homes das nosas cibdades’.⁴⁶ But in the same article he disapproves of the participation of the *coro* ‘Toxos e Frores’ at a bullfighting festival and :

[...] querendo como quero ó *coro* do Ferrol ‘Toxos e frores’ dóime na i-alma que se emprestase a server de comparsa nunha festa taurina.[...] O vermello caravel andaluz e a marela chourima das montanas da nosa terra non casan ben, abofé. [...] Por estes camiños ven o ridículo para Galicia e para os *coros* galegos, entr’os que hai algún que xa se teñen sinificado abondo como adoradores de todol-os Segismundos.⁴⁷

In another article, Villar Ponte urges the *coros* to place more emphasis on theatrical activities as opposed to using them as fillers. The 1935 edition of Yeats’ plays includes a dedication signed by ‘Os Tradutores’ that explicitly states that the translations were aimed at the *coros* and that, in the translators’ minds, they were suitable materials for their repertoire. The attention that Villar Ponte pays to the *coros*’ activities suggests that, despite his critical perspective, he regards them as an essential ingredient in the future development of Galician theatre. In the above-mentioned article, he explains his views on the future orientation of theatre practice in Galicia:

[...] ese teatro, que podríamos llamar ‘folk-lórico’ y que es el teatro con que iniciaron el resurgir de su personalidad todos los pueblos célticos todavía para nuestra desgracia está casi inédito en Galicia, pero más que por falta de cultivadores por carencia de estímulo en los que cabría fuesen sus cultivadores.⁴⁸

This is not the only occasion in which Villar Ponte touches upon the issue of

⁴⁶ Antón Villar Ponte, ‘Caravel andaluz e chourima galega’, *El Pueblo Gallego* (17 July 1929), p.1.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Antón Villar Ponte, ‘El teatro que necesitamos’, *Galicia. Diario de Vigo* (18 December 1923), p.1.

the lack of originals, although he identifies the absence of a solid group of performers as being at the root of the problem, therefore paving the way for the creation of a national theatre ensemble:

Para saber, por lo tanto, si en Galicia existe o no capacidad suficiente para alumbrar un teatro propio, original y fuerte, precisaríase la existencia de una compañía de comediantes con actuación periódica. Mientras no contemos con esto, hablar de aptitud positiva o negativa de los escritores de nuestra raza para la literatura escénica resultará algo aventurado. Máximo cuando vemos que hay literatos Gallegos – unos modelo de habilidad, como Linares Rivas y otros geniales, como el gran Don Ramón del Valle Inclán – que en los escenarios donde se hace teatro castellano logran imponerse.⁴⁹

Villar Ponte's awareness of the ongoing debate about the desired shape of Galician theatre is expressed in his recognition that it is 'un tema viejo y siempre nuevo'.⁵⁰ In his view, the diglossic sociolinguistic situation may be ultimately at the root of the problem: '¿Es que las inteligencias exquisitas capaces de crearlo y encaminarlo prefirieron el castellano para hacer obra teatral más duradera de la que podía resultar del empleo del gallego?'⁵¹ Playwrights seeking prestige favour the language of prestige in their creative efforts. Antón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro themselves, like many of their contemporaries, publish most of their press contributions through the medium of Spanish, even those containing the most urgent statements in defence of the Galician language. They are themselves a reflection of the diglossic situation. In this context, theatre would have a dual function in raising the prestige of the Galician language and the consolidation of national identity: it had the potential to reach the majority of the population in their own language and also to contribute to the acceptance of Galician amongst middle class audiences.

In two of his short articles, entitled 'El teatro gallego, como propaganda',

⁴⁹ Antón Villar Ponte, 'Por qué el teatro gallego no prospera', *El Pueblo Gallego* (16 February 1926), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Antón Villar Ponte, 'El teatro gallego', *La Voz de Galicia* (11 November 1924).

another key player in the debate, Evaristo Correa Calderón⁵² discusses the necessity of replacing the scarce and inadequate repertoire with translations of quality dramatic works. He insists on the value of theatre as a means of promoting popular culture and to encourage a positive attitude towards the language: ‘Para los fines de formar una patria, de crear una viva simpatía hacia el idioma nativo, pocos medios tan convenientes como el llevar a escena costumbres e ideas raciales’.⁵³ However, in his opinion, Galician theatre neglected the need to be entertaining, too readily adopting a dogmatic approach:

Pero en Galicia, hemos querido caminar un poco de prisa, siguiendo, desde un comienzo, el camino dogmático. [...] Hubiéramos logrado, quizá, un mayor contingente de simpatías para nuestra habla, si en lugar de enfocar el problema de un modo inmediato hacia las ideas, lo hubiésemos insinuado en el goce pasajero del teatro ...⁵⁴

In the second of these articles, Correa Calderón advocates the translation of foreign works to supplement the corpus and argues that, contrary to potential opposition, it was not a paradoxical move: ‘[...] sabíamos que laborábamos más hondamente poniendo en lengua gallega una obra extranjera, ya que el idioma por sí solo motivaba una expansión patriótica, que escribiendo expresamente una comedia mala’.⁵⁵ Correa mentions Antón Villar Ponte’s sympathy towards this project, also shared by Rafael Dieste:

Sentímonos d’acordo con Correa Calderón. Antrementres non haxa un teatro galego que pol-o menos non nos desprestixie, é mellor, moito mellor, que se traduzan ó galego **e se poñan en escea** as obras estranxeiras que o merezan e mellor interpreten **o noso espírito**. [...] Xa sabemos que nos han de chamar ‘desleigados i-alleepiros’ todol-os que remexendo no espírito popular non souberon lurpar mais que **o prebeyo**. Por iso **o pobo** non remata de lle eisaltar

⁵² Correa Calderón (1899-1986) was one of the founders of the *Irmandade da Fala* de Lugo (1918). After the outbreak of the Civil War, he distanced himself definitely from *galeguista* activity.

⁵³ There is a marked proselytising tone in both articles, particularly in the first, which discusses theatre as propaganda in more general terms: ‘Es el teatro, el medio más simple y más eficiente de ir familiarizando a la masa con una tendencia ideológica’. Evaristo Correa-Calderón, ‘El teatro como propaganda I’, *El Pueblo Gallego* (14 January 1926), Archivo Pillado (A Coruña).

⁵⁴ Correa Calderón, ‘El teatro como propaganda I’, *El Pueblo Gallego* (14 January 1926).

⁵⁵ Evaristo Correa Calderón, ‘El teatro como propaganda II’, *El Pueblo Gallego* (15 January 1926).

ise arte que non-o dinifica.⁵⁶

The fragment highlights Dieste's preoccupation with stage activity as a path to cultural regeneration and the expression of Galician national identity, a sentiment shared by Villar Ponte. To achieve this goal, representations that prolong prejudices against popular culture must be avoided and replaced with a theatre that dignifies popular culture in order to appeal to a broader public.

4. Antón Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*

Having explored the broader sociocultural context in which the two Yeats' plays were translated, it is important to look at each moment more closely in order to identify the main discourses imbricated in the translation process. The first translation from Irish drama into the Galician language saw the light in the frame of events which intensified political and cultural activism. *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, a version of W.B. Yeats' play signed by Antón Villar Ponte, founder of the Irmandades, appeared in the *Revista Nós* on the 5th December 1921.⁵⁷ In the very same journal, the editors chose to pay special tribute to Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, who had died on hunger strike the previous year. MacSwiney was a central figure in the Irish independence process, whose passive resistance had given him and the Irish struggle international visibility, earning widespread criticism for the British authorities' stance.⁵⁸ The political import of this commemoration of MacSwiney in the pages of *Nós* becomes apparent if we consider that its release corresponds almost to the day with the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty that put an end to the Irish War of Independence on 6th December 1921.

⁵⁶ Rafael Dieste, 'O Teatro galego i-o portugués', *El Pueblo Gallego* (16 January 1926). My emphasis.

⁵⁷ Yeats, W.B. *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, trans. Antón Villar Ponte, *Nós* 8 (5 December 1921), pp. 8-13.

⁵⁸ In her foreword to a 2005 edition of MacSwiney's *Principles of Freedom*, Máirín Quill writes: 'Many respected editorials condemned the actions of the British Government and some began to question the conduct of the war in Ireland', Terence MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom* (Cork: Cork City Libraries, 2005), p. vii.

4.1. The *Revista Nós*, frame of the translation

Cathleen Ni Houlihan appeared accompanied by a photograph of MacSwiney and other related content, such as a letter attributed to his sister Anne MacSwiney, an article on the political role of Ireland and a poem dedicated to the Irish nation.⁵⁹ In contrast with the 1935 edition of the play, there are no references here to its potential for performance, neither to the necessity of cultivating the dramatic genre in Galician language nor to Irish drama. This is despite the fact that, as noted earlier, Terence MacSwiney himself had been involved in theatre, so it would not have been out of place in a commemoration issued about him. This indicates that the Yeats piece was chosen primarily at this moment in 1921 for its allegorical value, to provide artistic and literary reinforcement to the political content of the issue.⁶⁰ The literary pieces in this eighth issue of *Nós* contribute to a lyrical exaltation of MacSwiney's death and of the Irish cause, accompanied by reminders of the Irish-Galician parallel: 'O sacrificio do alcalde de Cork probou ó mundo asombrado quen son os celtas'.⁶¹ As evidenced in this literary treatment of political events, the appeal of Irish cultural products in the Galician target system is linked to interest in developments on the path towards Irish independence. However, the absence of any reference to Terence MacSwiney's anti-Treaty stance suggests a deproblematisation of the Irish political landscape; any reference to the conflict between the two factions in Irish politics is

⁵⁹ W.B. Yeats, 'Cathleen Ni Houlihan'. Trans. Antón Villar Ponte, *Nós* 8 (5 December 1921), pp.8-13. That same issue includes a reflection on MacSwiney's patriotic death by Antón Losada e Diégues ('Terencio Mac Swiney', pp. 2-3), Anne MacSwiney's contribution, comprising a biographical note focusing on the Mayor's early years ('Notas da vida de Terencio Mac Swiney', pp. 3-7). There are also pieces on political and historical aspects, such as an overview of pro-independence political organisations by Ramón Otero Pedrayo ('Irlanda Politéca no século XIX', pp.13-17) and Vicente Risco's piece emphasising the historical and geographical parallels between the two nations ('Irlanda e Galiza', pp. 18-20). In addition to Yeats' play, literary content was represented by two poems: one by Ramón Cabanillas ('Irlanda!', p. 7); and one by the lesser known Victoriano Taibo ('Ao Bon Irlandés', p. 17). Finally, *Nós* contains two photographic images: 'Mr. de Valera' (p. 15) and 'Terencio MacSwiney' (accompanied by a quote from his *A Múseca da Liberdade*, p.16).

⁶⁰ In *Translation, Minority...*, Vázquez refers to other content as an 'introduction' to the play (p. 51). However, issue number eight of *Nós* is dominated by political content and nothing points to the theatrical value of the text as being a feature that was given special importance.

⁶¹ Ramón Otero Pedrayo, 'Irlanda Politéca no século XIX', *Nós* 8, 13-17 (17).

omitted, so as not to weaken the legitimacy of the cause.

Set within the context of the broader philosophy of the *Revista Nós*, identified clearly at the time with nationalist ideological positions, the topics touched on in that eighth issue must be considered themselves as a political statement, as a closer look at the full-page opening dedication corroborates:

En lembranza de Terencio Mac Swiney
o héroe-mártir que pasmou ó mundo
e de todol-os outros irmaus nosos de raza
que deron a vida pol-a sagrada causa d'Ir-
landa [...]
Porque d'iles e da sua Pátreia dixo o noso poeta:
'Tén una nova estrela o noso céu
E téñ uns novos santos noso altar'.⁶²

This passage draws attention to several aspects that were susceptible to being utilised in the legitimisation of the Galician cause. Firstly, by referring to the Irish as 'our brothers in race' ('irmaus nosos de raza'), the link between Galicia and Ireland is established beyond any circumstantial similarities and, therefore, based on a kinship which is independent of political views or historical parallels. Secondly, MacSwiney is presented as a 'hero-martyr' for the 'sacred cause of Ireland' and, quoting Ramón Cabanillas' verses, those fallen in the fight for independence are the 'new saints', placing their actions under the auspices of a supreme, spiritual power. The use of religious language and imagery is a constant feature in references to Ireland. In the particular case of MacSwiney and the Irish cause, it contributes to the idealisation of Ireland and of political developments, and reflects the underlying Catholic ethos shared by a large sector of Galician nationalism. Lastly, the emphasis is unmistakably on the historical past and on Terence MacSwiney, without much additional focus on contemporary Irish politics. In a sense, this provides further legitimisation to the Irish cause,

⁶² *Nós* 8, 1. MacSwiney is referred to throughout as 'Terencio'. Translation of first names was a commonplace strategy at the time and here it reinforces the identification with his cause and his representation as 'one of our own'.

which appears not only as a current international political issue but as redemption from historical injustice. Together, these choices validate a pro-Republican political stance in the eyes of a Galician readership, therefore buttressing Galician nationalist claims.

The introductory lines to Anne MacSwiney's account of her brother Terence's early years specify that it was provided directly by the Lord Mayor's sister: 'Mandadas espresamente pra 'Nós', por Miss Annie MacSwiney, irmá do grrorioso irlandés'.⁶³ The contact with Anne MacSwiney is not substantiated in any other way and the translation of her words is not attributed by name, a strategy in line with the emphasis placed on the absence of intermediaries and the direct connection with Ireland. It is important to turn to this issue of directness, both in order to show how it reflects the ideological positioning of the *Nós* generation and also to explore how it frames choices made in the translation of Yeats' play at this moment.

The impact of the *Revista Nós* and its inaugural statement in the incorporation of the play into the Galician system should not be underestimated. The *Revista Nós* was openly committed to cultural production in Galician and to the legitimisation of Galician culture. The emphasis on directness partakes of the foundational statement that opens the first issue in the Autumn of 1920:

Querendo suprimir entremediario antr'o pensamento galego e o pensamento dos pobos cultos, Nós abre as suas páxinas a prestixosas persoalidades estranxeiras que contan de nos honrar co'a sua colaboración e tamén ha informar ó público galego do movemento das ideas no mundo civilizado.⁶⁴

The explicit declaration of a commitment to international contact and to the suppression of intermediaries can be traced in practice in the treatment given to translated material and, more specifically here, to Antón Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. When it first appeared in a Galician version in the *Revista Nós* in 1921, the play was interesting to the editors and readership precisely because it

⁶³ *Nós* 8 (5 December 1921), p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Nós* 1 (30 October 1920), p. 2

was a translation, an approximation to Irish culture and, even more specifically, because of its treatment of certain historical and political aspects involving conflict around land and national freedom from an allegorical perspective. The fact that it was a translation from the Irish context added to its value. At a time of political change both in the source and target systems, it is the ideological charge of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* that makes it relevant in the Galician context, because it enabled key elements of the nationalist agenda to be materialised.

One of the key elements of this legitimizing strategy, as outlined in the inaugural number of *Revista Nós* above, is the establishment of links between Galicia and other cultural contexts or ‘prestigious foreign personalities’, by ‘suppressing the intermediary’. From such a perspective, mediation would equate to cultural dependence, symptomatic of political dependence. The importance placed on directness becomes manifest in the way the contributions to issue 8 are framed. In the case of Anne MacSwiney’s letter, there is no mention of the path it followed until it reached the *Revista Nós* or of the translation process which, undoubtedly, must have taken place. In contrast, W.B. Yeats’ play is clearly framed as a translation, with the author’s name (‘W.B.YEATS’) printed above the bracketed and notably smaller ‘Tradución galega de A. VILLAR PONTE’. What the editors fail to acknowledge is that a young Marià Manent had previously published his Catalan version of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* under the title *La Mendicant* in *La Revista* in February 1921, and that this version is undoubtedly a mediating version for the Galician text.⁶⁵

4.2. Indebted to Manent: the Catalan mediation of Yeats

While there is no reason to doubt that Villar Ponte was the author of the

⁶⁵ Manent (1898-1988) was a Catalan author, literary critic and translator of poetry into both Catalan and Spanish. His version of Yeats’ play, under the title ‘La Mendicant’, appeared in *La Revista* 128 (January 1921), 39-43. Like in *Nós*, the text was surrounded by Irish-related content, indicative of an interest in political developments in Ireland.

Galician language version, it was clearly not translated directly from Yeats' original text but extensively using Marià Manent's Catalan version of the play, as numerous instances of intertextuality and shifts corroborate.⁶⁶ Both from the cultural and political point of view, many a parallel could be drawn (and could indeed have been drawn then) between the Catalonian and the Galician situations. However, the two nations followed different paths in the pursuit of the consolidation of their respective differential identities. Whereas in Catalonia the interest in Ireland was also at its height, the racial and historical argument used by the Galician nationalists was not applicable. Under the influence of Noucentisme, and in particular the ideal vision developed by Eugeni d'Ors before his defection to Madrid, Catalonia was regarded as a Mediterranean nation, far removed from the ideal of *Atlanticism* the Grupo Nós had in mind for Galicia. The *Galeguistas* knew and benefited from Catalan-language sources, as proven by the derivative relationship between Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houliha* and Manent's *La Mendicant*. Thus, the total exclusion of the Catalan translator's name has to be seen as a response to the strategic muting of mediation processes in the incorporation of cultural products into the Galician system. This disregard is more poignant since connections to Catalonia and Catalan theatre abound in the works of Villar Ponte.⁶⁷

In the case of Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, the silencing of the Catalan mediation does not, then, derive from a prejudice against the Catalan system. Instead, it stems from translation being seen as a means to legitimise the Galician language as a vehicle for cultural production, and the internationalist vocation of the

⁶⁶ I presented extensive evidence of this mediation in my paper 'Ten ar de forasteira': Villar Ponte's Galician translation of W.B. Yeats', at the symposium *The Speckled Ground: Hybridity in Irish and Galician Cultural Production*, NUI Galway, 30 March 2012. Furthermore, in her 2013 thesis, Vázquez Fernández corroborates these findings in her textual analysis of the Villar Ponte translation. Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, pp. 146-197.

⁶⁷ Not only did Villar Ponte dedicate one of his early plays, *A patria do galego*, to Santiago Rusinyol but he also presented Catalonia and Valencia as an inspiration, in particular for future theatre practice in Galicia in a number of articles for *El Pueblo Gallego*, such as 'O espiritoalismo catalán' (26 October 1928), p. 1; 'Lembranza de Ignacio Iglesias' (14 October 1928), p. 1; and 'Vendo como progresa o teatro valenciano' (23 November 1928), p. 1.

Revista Nós stated clearly the need to eliminate intermediaries in this process. Moreover, the idea of Ireland as a sister nation utilised by the Galician nationalist movement was incompatible with the admission of a mediator between the two. The perception and reception of Irish culture had to adhere to this target culture-generated agenda and its strong political ethos. Nevertheless, reading Villar Ponte's version through the prism of the Catalan intermediary version brings to light further aspects central to the appropriation of Irish cultural values for the Galician contexts, as well as alerting us to norms and functions governing translation activity at that time. It also helps us to identify the provenance and significance of the particular translation strategies followed by Villar Ponte, which can be interpreted in line with cultural and political positioning as outlined earlier. Here, it will also be clear how far his translation negotiates perceived linguistic, cultural and theatrical needs.

In *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, Yeats presents allegorically the theme of the fight against the British power. It is thus in many ways an obvious choice for translation in the context of revival and defence of a minorised culture. In the original, the action is set in Killala, coinciding in time and place with a key episode of the Irish Rebellion of 1798: the arrival of French ships in support of the Irish rebels. Yet in both the Catalan and Galician translations, focus on this historical episode is blurred. It is instead the allegorical nature of the play that allows for an easy transposition of the situation from Ireland in the dawn of independence to early-twentieth-century Iberia. The Old Woman who seeks refuge in the Gillane's cottage on the night before their eldest son's wedding speaks of 'Too many strangers in the house' (l.140, p.88),⁶⁸ her 'four beautiful green fields' (l.146, p.88) stolen from her and of those who died for her sake ('He died for love of me: many a man has died for love of me', l.171-2, p.89). She identifies herself as Cathleen, daughter of Houlihan, a name taken

⁶⁸ David R. Clark and Rosalind E. Clark (eds.), *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats. Volume II: The Plays* (New York: Scribner, 2001), p. 834. All text quotes of English-language versions of Yeats' plays given throughout this thesis correspond to this edition, unless otherwise specified.

from a William Heffernan poem.⁶⁹ To an Irish audience, she is identifiable as a personification of Ireland, rejuvenated in the end by virtue of Michael Gillane's decision to follow her and join the fight. The play fits in with the dramatic models supported by Antón Villar Ponte, who favoured historical theatre as a means to spark a revalorisation of national spirit ('llegar al fin de despertar en el alma de las gentes la emoción de nuestro pasado').⁷⁰ However, his suggestions that historical theatre should become a fundamental part of the Galician repertoire were met with pragmatic concerns by representatives of the *coros*, called by Villar Ponte to embrace a change in repertoire and to contribute to the renovation of Galician theatre activity:

¿Con qué apoyo oficial o particular contamos, para vestir y decorar, lo que tan maravillosamente han forjado ustedes en su obra? [...] También sentimos el dolor agudo de la indiferencia de los organismos oficiales que tienen el deber – al igual que las diputaciones Vasca y Catalana – de proteger cuando fuere necesario, estas manifestaciones de cultura regional.⁷¹

Cathleen Ni Houlihan offered political weight as well as production viability, requiring of no grandiose means or a large cast. The historical frame of the original is blurred in favour of more straightforward identification and the rural setting facilitated the incursion into 'folkloric' theatre, according to Antón Villar Ponte, an area worthy of exploration:

ese teatro que podríamos llamar 'folk-lórico' i que es el teatro con que iniciaron el resurgir de su personalidad todos los pueblos célticos todavía, para nuestra desgracia, está casi inédito en Galicia, pero más que por falta de cultivadores por carencia de estímulo en los que cabría fuesen sus cultivadores.⁷²

Though hidden at the time of publication, an analysis of the Galician language

⁶⁹ David R. Clark and Rosalind E. Clark (eds.), *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats. Volume II: The Plays* (New York: Scribner, 2001), p. 834.

⁷⁰ Villar Ponte co-wrote with Ramón Cabanillas *O Mariscal*, based on the mystified figure of Pedro Pardo de Cela (1425-1483), Galician nobleman executed by order of the Catholic King and Queen.

⁷¹ Agrupación Gallega Emilio Nogueira, 'Sobre el teatro gallego. Una carta abierta', addressed to 'Antonio Villar Ponte', *El Pueblo Gallego* (10 January 1928), p. 2.

⁷² Antón Villar Ponte, 'El teatro que necesitamos', *Galicia. Diario de Vigo* (18 December 1923), p. 1.

text produced by Antón Villar Ponte will lead us inevitably to Marià Manent's *La Mendicant*. That is not to say that the norms governing the translation into Galician are the same as those affecting the Catalan text but, since the former served as bridge between Yeats and the Galician target system, the treatment of cultural references, the lexical choices, and the rhythm are inexorably marked by the mediation process.

The Galician version reflects and often augments the inflationist trend and the shifts present in Manent's version, resulting in a considerably longer end product than Yeats' original. However, Villar Ponte preserves the original title, *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*, which foregrounds the Irish origin of the play and suggests some direct knowledge of Yeats' works. When published in Catalan, the title of W.B. Yeats is just a subtitle to Manent's *La Mendicant* (meaning 'beggar'), whereas in Antón Villar Ponte's version it is the only title present, converted into *Catuxa de Houlihan* in the 1935 volume, introducing a degree of localisation. In the latter, the name appears in the body of the text as follows: '[...] e outros chámame Cathleen (Catuxa), a filla de Houlihan'.⁷³ This explanatory strategy would present some difficulties in performance, affecting the flow of the text and confusing the identity of the character, and indicates the tensions between the ideological and the aesthetic traversing the translation process. It also places the emphasis on the symbolic, allegorical persona of Cathleen Ní Houlihan.

The relationship of the text with Manent's Catalan translation uncovers a political reading of the play in the Iberian context, as illustrated on a micro-textual level by the translation into Catalan of the terms 'strange' and 'stranger' as 'foraster' ('forasters', 'forastera'), which appear throughout the play. Both in their functions as noun and adjective, they are used to refer first to the 'Poor Old Woman', then to the invaders and, finally, to Delia, abandoned by Michael when he leaves to fulfil his patriotic duty. In terms of meaning, 'the strange woman' differs from 'la forastera':

⁷³ 'Catuxa de Houlihan', *Dous folc-dramas de W.B. Yeats*, p. 17.

the former can denote mystery, weirdness, unusual behaviour or simply lack of familiarity, while the latter is restricted to geographical origin, indicating alterity. Manent introduces a network of signification absent in Yeats, which then materialises in the relationship between land and belonging, motherland and otherness in Villar Ponte's version. This shift contributes to a more markedly political reading of the play. 'Stranger' is consistently translated in the Catalan version as 'foraster/a', and as 'forasteiro/a' in Villar Ponte, whose choices show a concern with lexical variation and enrichment, and a tendency towards explication through the text. The influence of 'outsiders' is intensified in the Galician version through the use of further synonyms indicating foreignness and the addition of explanatory phrases, translating Manent's 'forasters' as 'xentes alleas' (p. 10) or 'aos forasteiros, aos alleos' (p. 11).⁷⁴

Cultural references

Villar Ponte also clearly follows Manent's lead in the interpretation of culturally coded terms that are not familiar in the target system. This can work in favour of the underlying agenda of identification and racial affinity with Ireland and the Irish, such as the explanatory footnote included in the Catalan text: 'Els O'Donnell i els O'Sullivan són antiquíssimes famílies irlandeses de raça cèltica' / 'Os O'Donnell e os Sullivan son antigas familias de raza céltiga'.⁷⁵

However, there are also occasions where Manent's choices erase cultural elements that denote traditional Irish mores and, therefore, contribute to the Irish character of the setting, with the subsequent loss of references to tradition. Such is the case with his translation of 'oat cake' as 'galeta', which Villar Ponte renders as

⁷⁴ For additional examples, see Appendix C. Examples from the texts hereon are followed by the page numbers in brackets corresponding to the previously referred editions 'Cathleen Ni Houlihan', in Yeats, *The Collected Works*...; 'La Mendicant', in *La Revista*; and 'Cathleen Ni Houlihan' in *Nós*.

⁷⁵ Manent p. 42; Villar Ponte, p. 11. It is worth noting here that Villar Ponte calques 'cèltica' instead of using 'celta', introducing associations with referents in all likelihood familiar to the *Revista Nós* readership, such as the journal *Céltiga* and the collection of books of the same name, and the nineteenth century *tertulia* 'A Cova Céltiga' that gathered many key figures of the Rexurdimento.

‘galletas’. A more radical semantic shift occurs in the translation of ‘hurling’ in the following exchange, which also illustrates the extent to which Villar Ponte relied on Manent’s translation:

PETER: It might be a hurling. PATRICK: There’s no hurling to-day. It must be down in the town the cheering is. (p. 83)	PERE: Hum! Hi deu haver agun avalot... PATRICI: No, avui no n’és día d’avalots . Deu ser allà baix, a ciutat, que fan aquesta cridòria. (pp. 39-40)	PEDRO: ¡Hui! Débeche sere algunha gresca. PATRICIO: Non, hoxe non é día de rifar ninguén. Cecais d’aló embaixo, da cidade, veñen esos berros. (p. 8)
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Here, Yeats features the Irish traditional sport in order to reinforce the characters’ national identity. The game becomes a riot in the Catalan translation and then a street fight in the Galician version with a consequent loss of a significant reference to the source cultural context.⁷⁶ Villar Ponte’s use of Manent’s Catalan version as his source text led to a number of mistranslations that prove beyond doubt the derivative relationship between the two texts. An example of these is the translation of the Catalan ‘Heu fet un camí llarg, avui?’ (p. 41), from ‘Have you travelled far to-day’ (p. 87) as ‘Traguedes un camiño longo, aboa?’ (p. 10), with the remarkable transformation of an adverb of time into an appellative denoting the old age of the listener and adding a colloquial quality to the text.

In the Galician translation, the term ‘cottage’ of the opening lines is explained in brackets as ‘casiña aldeán’, that is ‘small country house’, providing a rural setting for the action from the very first moment. This contradicts the later translation choice

⁷⁶ The reference to the sport would evoke the Bloody Sunday events in Dublin on 21 November the previous year, when the Royal Irish constabulary opened fire against the crowd at a Gaelic football game in Croke Park, causing the death of fourteen Irish civilians and injuring dozens more. The mediation of the Catalan version results also in other misinterpretations of the text. For instance, Manent converts ‘There are ships in the Bay’ into ‘Són gent de les naus a la Baja’, which Villar Ponte preserves (‘Son Mariñeiros da Baja’) in line with his strategy of adhering to the toponym found in the Catalan, even though the grapheme ‘j’ was rarely used at the time and has been eliminated in contemporary standard Galician.

of ‘town’ as ‘ciutat’ and ‘cidade’ respectively, which suggests an urban setting. Whereas for Manent the shift may not be very relevant, any transposition from a rural to an urban milieu would carry greater implications in the Galician context. The use of Galician language was generalised in the rural areas, while Spanish was favored by city dwellers and therefore, the rural setting was a key component in the characters’ verisimilitude.⁷⁷

The language of Villar Ponte’s *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*

The language of Villar Ponte’s text cannot be ascribed to a specific dialectal block, although it exhibits many features of Occidental Galician consistent with oral production of the A Coruña and Pontevedra regions. Some of the dialectal forms used in the translation correspond to very restricted diatopic variants, but Villar Ponte’s choices are not consistent and markers from different dialectal areas alternate through the text, in all likelihood to display a wider range of possibilities and highlight the literary potential of the Galician language.

Despite the oral character of the text, Villar Ponte does not reproduce one of the distinctive traits of spoken Galician that is the *gheada*, a phonetic modification of the soundless occlusive velar consonant /g/ onto a fricative /X/. Since the nineteenth century, the phenomenon had been associated with a lack of culture or sophistication and, until very recently, considered to be the result of contagion from Spanish. Precisely this common assumption is likely to have caused Villar Ponte to reject the representation of *gheada* in his work. His aim was to emphasise the unique qualities of Galician that would place the language on a par with any other mode of expression, specifically distancing it from Spanish; to include *gheada* would have

⁷⁷ The use of language as a characterisation element in texts and performances was a feature of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Galician drama, where onstage reflections of the diglossic situation were commonplace: the middle-class characters used Spanish, the peasants used Galician. For a cultural historical perspective on this, see Iolanda Ogando and Laura Tato, *Textos recuperados. De Galo Salinas a Castelao* (A Coruña: Biblioteca-Arquivo Teatral Francisco Pillado Mayor, 2012). Whereas this convention was challenged, and progressively overcome, we can find certain traces up to recent times, specifically in relation to Irish drama, as I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters.

achieved just the opposite.⁷⁸

Carvalho Calero described the language of Ramón Villar Ponte's work as 'nacionalista' and 'diferencialista' and plagued with 'hiperenxebrismos'.⁷⁹ Although these descriptors could be equally applied to Antón Villar Ponte's language, his 'differentialist' strategy is predominantly based on the incorporation of a range of synonyms throughout the text. The emphatic lexical diversification is evident from the offset: in fifty lines of his *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* translation, we can identify two different verbs for 'to look', 'ollar' and 'alucar', instead of the more obvious and neutral choice, 'mirar', which of course would coincide with the Spanish word.⁸⁰ Similarly, the translator uses 'rubir' instead of 'subir', the latter meaning simply 'to go up' and the former having connotations closer to 'to climb'. This shift ultimately results in a narrower range of signifiers as it restricts the interpretation of the sentence. It is evident that accurate meaning is a secondary matter for Villar Ponte, whose priority is to demonstrate the expressive possibilities of the Galician language and to contribute to the creation of a literary standard. These examples corroborate the derivative relationship between Villar Ponte's and Manent's versions, since some of the verbs used were not present in Yeats' original but had been introduced into the Catalan version. The inserts were subsequently translated into Galician by Villar Ponte, with the addition of lexical variation, in response to the previously discussed agenda of norm creation.

Another example, where lexical diversification is given priority over form, is

⁷⁸ The use of gheada in performance and character construction is also discussed in Chapter Four.

⁷⁹ Carballo Calero, *Historia da literatura...*, p. 613. 'Hiperexebrismos', words that differ from their Spanish counterpart, are favoured in much of the written production of the period. These over-galicianised versions of many terms are used to avoid coincidence with the Spanish and are often generated by arbitrarily applying etymological changes idiosyncratic to Galician. For instance, the Latin 'duplare' gives 'doblar' (Spanish) and 'dobrar' (Galician and Portuguese), so 'public' is galicianised as 'público'.

⁸⁰ In his quest for variants, Villar Ponte uses the verb 'alucar' ('Xa vai para tempo que **alucabamos** pol-a fenestra para te ver chegare'), which incidentally reflects the sounds of the English 'to look out' but introduces the idea of surreptitiousness. 'To see' is on one occasion 'ver' but on another 'fitar', a verb which corresponds with 'to stare', indicating intentionality, and therefore, an intensification of the source text choice.

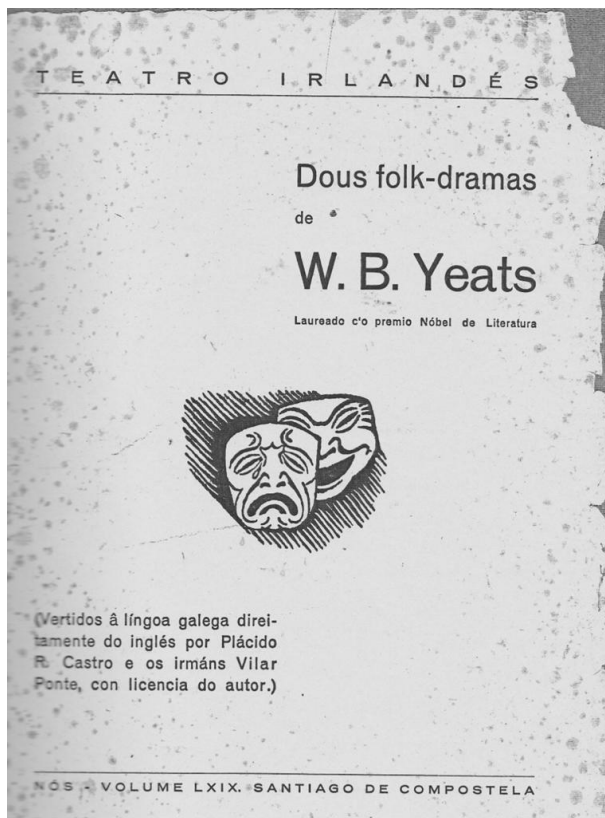
Villar Ponte's rendition of the Old Woman's song. The four verses end with the words 'for ever' in the English language original, which Manent translates as 'sempre' ('always'), creating a rhythm by means of the anaphorical structure. In the Galician version, we find the introduction of other partial synonyms, as well as the word 'sempre': 'decote' ('often'), 'de continuo' ('continuously') and 'cada día' ('everyday'), resulting in a lessening of the lyrical effectiveness in the pursuit of lexical enrichment. In line with his aim to distance the language of the translation from Spanish, Villar Ponte follows on the choices found in the Catalan version, using 'táboa', which replicates 'taula'; 'vestidos' ('vestits' in Catalan), instead of a more common 'roupa'; and favoring 'fenestra' to translate 'window', a dialectal variety of 'fiestra' that calques the Catalan 'finestra', over alternatives such as 'xanela' and 'ventá'.

Villar Ponte also follows Manent's lead with regards to the treatment of character names – while the surnames of the main characters are maintained; first names are converted into their target culture equivalent. The 'Old Woman' character becomes in Catalan 'La mendicant' ('the beggar') of the title, whereas in the Galician version she is '(A) Pobriña' ('the poor woman or girl'), a diminutive not only referring to economic necessity but loaded with affective connotations suggesting vulnerability and at a distance from the concept of old-age present in the original.

Antón Villar Ponte also uses abundant markers of oral register, which provide the characters with popular credibility. These include phonetic and syntactic features that are exclusively found in the Galician language, in line with his differentialist strategy: the 'e epentético', contractions and conjugated infinitive:⁸¹ 'Moitos teñen

⁸¹ 'E epentético' is a phonetic modification (epenthesis) whereby the sound [e] is added at the end of a word, mainly after a consonant [r] in implosive position. This feature is characteristic of popular language, and frequently present in popular lyrics. The addition of personal endings to the infinitive ('infinitivo conxugado'), an otherwise non-personal verb form, is a morphological device characteristic of the Galician language e.g. Rematamos o traballo ao chegaren [eles].

morto polo meu amore’ (p. 11); ‘agora s’alcontra eiquí o mesmo que un rei sentado’ (p.9); ‘Cecais seña os rapaces a **xogaren**’ (p.8). Whilst such markers indicate preoccupation with the performative aspect of the text, its speakability in the Galician context, Villar Ponte’s translation of this Yeats play is not accompanied by references to performance or onstage viability, which we find the later collaborative translation with Castro, published in 1935.



F. 1 - Cover page of *Dous folk-dramas* (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935)

5. Setting sights on the stage: *O País da saudade*

O país da saudade, the title Yeats’s *The Land of Heart’s Desire* was given in Galicia, appeared in 1935, fourteen years after the first translation of an Irish dramatic work into Galician, *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*. The fact that it was published together with Villar Ponte’s 1921 translation, now under the more localised title *Catuxa de Houlihan*, indicates the aim to build on prior steps and achievements but also an evolving agenda, as does the framing of both works by a preface and

foreword that contain explicit references to the inspirational value of Ireland and, specifically, of the Abbey Theatre. The potential function of these texts in the target system was envisaged by the translators and their views reflected in the paratexts, where we find a focus on theatre that identifies the plays as foundational steps towards a national theatre. This specification contrasts with the political framing of the 1921 *Revista Nós* edition and represents a significant shift, as the translation itself does not indicate a primarily political reading.

5.1.Paratextual Framing in *Dous folk-dramas*

As we have seen, the content that framed the 1921 *Revista Nós* version of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* revolves around a political figure, Terence Mac Swiney, and encouraged the readership to see a parallel between the Irish cause and the Galician nationalists' claims by highlighting similarities between the two nations based not only on their political circumstances but also on ethnic, historical and even spiritual affinities.⁸² In the 1935 edition, the paratexts indicate a different intent. There is again a utilisation of a prestigious figure, but on this occasion not a political activist. On the cover page, the reference to the Nobel Prize that Yeats received in 1923 captures the extent of the shift to cultural concerns: 'Laureado c'o premio Nóbél de Literatura'.⁸³

The translations of the plays are preceded by three short texts: an opening statement in the form of a dedication, and forewords by Antón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro. The ample references to theatre and performance indicate that this publication was not only part of a political strategy but a step towards the development of dramaturgical activity in Galician language via the exploration of a new genre: the folk-drama. The *coros*, the folkloric groups that were so often

⁸² As previously discussed, the content adjacent to *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in *Nós* shows recurring references to 'racial brotherhood' and religious imagery, seeking a mystical/mythical identification with Ireland.

⁸³ Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas de W.B.Yeats* (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935).

mentioned in Villar Ponte's journalistic contributions, are the explicit addressees of these plays in a dedication with the revealing title 'Agasallo' ('gift'), signed by the three translators:

C'o pensamento posto nos coros enxebres – colmeas de mocidade a traballaren o recendente mel lírico zogado pol-o genius da terra nas marelas chourimas da montana e na herba de namorar da mariña – pillamos dun horto da Illa Verde co'a fouce druida do luar estas flores [...].⁸⁴

This statement draws on the same images that appeared in an earlier article, 'Caravel andaluz e chourima galega'⁸⁵ hence, the dedication is likely to have been penned by Antón Villar Ponte himself. In the first of the prefaces, he continues to resort to the floral metaphor and to the religious imagery discussed in relation to the language in the *Revista Nós*: 'Todal-as xestas da verde Eirin en prol da sua liberdade, doas sanguíñentas d'un Rosario de sacrificios heroicos unidos pol-o fio da perenidade do común esforzo vencellado ô longo da historia'.⁸⁶ The dedication then moves on to the problems facing Galician theatre, such as the excessive dependence on 'Castillian' models, which he considers an unsuitable vehicle of expression for the Galician self. The solution to this can be found by following in the footsteps of Irish dramatists: 'Este é o problema que Yeats, Synge e outros poetas irlandeses resolveron mergullándose na lagoa da saudade, común ôs pobos celtas'.⁸⁷ However, there is no reference to the fact that the dramatists linked to the Abbey Theatre opted for the medium of English in their work.⁸⁸

In his section, Plácido Castro acknowledges the obstacles for a staging of the chosen plays in the Galician context: 'Podíanse ter escollido para iniciar unha serie de traducións ao galego das mellores obras do teatro irlandés, pezas cecais máis teatraes e máis inmediatamente adaptadas â nosa escea que istes dous folk-dramas de

⁸⁴ *Dous folk-dramas...*, p. ii.

⁸⁵ Antón Villar Ponte, 'Caravel andaluz e chourima galega', *El Pueblo Gallego* (17 July 1929).

⁸⁶ Antón Villar Ponte, 'Liñas d'abrente', in *Dous folk-dramas...*, pp. 3-6 (p. 4)

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸⁸ This issue will be insistently raised by Manuel F. Vieites in future, in an application of the philological criterion to Irish drama that I will discuss in Chapter Four.

William Butler Yeats'.⁸⁹ Reference here to 'a series of translations' points in the direction of the projected Galician version of *Riders to the Sea* that Villar Ponte is believed to have produced but which is yet to be located.⁹⁰ According to Castro, the selection was based on the artistic value of the plays, their inaugural character in the source context but, above all, their ability to express the 'celtic spirit': '[...] obras súas como 'Cathleen ni [sic] Houlihan' e 'The Land of Hearts Desire' abriron os ollos, primeiro de Irlanda, e logo do mundo enteiro, â inmensa fonte de riqueza artística que podía xurdir do 'folk-lore', cando era o seu intérprete un gran poeta'.⁹¹ In Castro's view, Yeats' dramatic works were crucial for the evolution of Irish drama and his example is one to follow in Galicia:

As obras dramáticas de Yeats [...] mataron para sempre ao tradicional 'irlandés de escenario', cuyo humorismo e simpatía servían de capa para perpetuar, da maneira máis insidiosa, unha falsa interpretación do pobo irlandés. [...] o sucedido en Irlanda fai máis de trinta anos, encerra hoxe para nós leccións de extraordinario valor.⁹²

The Irish Dramatic Movement and the Abbey Theatre are presented as 'unha das mais outas manifestacions do arte teatral do noso tempo'.⁹³ The paratexts position the translations not only as a political value but also as a crucial element in the development of Galician national theatre, for which the Abbey was deemed an appropriate mode.

As far as the translation process is concerned, Antón Villar Ponte, Ramón Villar Ponte and Plácido R. Castro are presented as joint translators, together with claims of directness and permission of the author: 'Vertidos â língoa galega directamente do inglés por Plácido R. Castro e os irmáns Vilar Ponte, con licencia do

⁸⁹ *Dous folc-dramas de W.B. Yeats* (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935), p. 7.

⁹⁰ Manuel F. Vieites, 'O folc drama en Galicia (I). A propósito do Movemento Dramático Angloirlandés e do Movemento Dramático Nacional: traducións e proxectos literarios na formulación dun teatro nacional', *Anuario de estudos literarios galegos* (2002), 167-197 (175).

⁹¹ Plácido R. Castro, 'Liñas d'abrente', in *Dous folk-dramas...*, pp. 7-9 (p. 7)

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

autor'.⁹⁴ However, we have established that the source text for *Catuxa de Houlihan* was Marià Manent's 1921 Catalan version and, therefore, that it is not a direct translation from the English original. Although the 1935 edition reflects some changes, there is no revision of shifts or mistranslations and no evidence of an English source text in this case either.⁹⁵ There are evident parallels between both incorporations; for instance, a Catalan version of *The Land of Heart's Desire*, *La terra del Desig*,⁹⁶ also signed by Marià Manent and published in *La Revista*, precedes the Editorial Nós book. The Catalan text was likely to be known to the translators and it is possible that it played some role in the selection of the play, but on this occasion, there is no sustained evidence of mediation.⁹⁷

Certain choices support from the outset the use of an English-language source text for *O país da saudade*. Firstly, amongst the characters listed, we find a 'Faery Child', a qualifier maintained in Galician ('Unha Fada Meniña', 'a little fairy girl'), while the Catalan is 'Unha Noia' ('a girl'). The reference to a world of magic is preserved in the Galician version and the young age of the character also emphasised by the use of 'meniña', whereas the Catalan 'noia' means also 'young woman'. Secondly, there is the participation of Plácido Castro in the project, whose knowledge of English and trajectory as a translator makes him the most likely agent for this translation. Castro identified himself as the translator of the play, in collaboration with Antón Villar Ponte, in a letter he sent to the *Estafeta Literaria* in 1965: 'He leído con gran interés el número extraordinario de la revista de su digna dirección dedicado al "Mapa Literario de Galicia", especialmente el artículo de su colaborador Juan Miguel Moreiras acerca de los "Escritores traducidos al gallego",

⁹⁴ Yeats, *Dous folc-dramas...*, cover page. See Fig. 1 on p. 42.

⁹⁵ Although Vázquez Fernández describes traits that further 'galicianise' the 1935 text, these changes are minimal in terms of their impact on performance aspects of the text and overall, a prolongation of the localising tendency of the first translation. Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, pp. 185-197.

⁹⁶ Yeats, W.B. 'La Terra del Desig', trans. by Marià Manent, *La Revista* (16 July 1927), 122-132.

⁹⁷ A hypothesis backed by Vázquez Fernández, who carried out a micro-analysis of the translation choices. *Translation, Minority...*, pp. 207-208.

por haber hecho yo unas cuantas modestas aportaciones a este aspecto de las letras gallegas, entre ellas, en colaboración con Antón Villar Ponte, la obra de Yeats *O País da Saudade*, aparte de los poemas célticos que se citan, y algunos ingleses publicados en revistas y periódicos'.⁹⁸

Whereas we do not have documentary evidence of direct contact between the translators and W.B. Yeats, who allegedly agreed to the publication, we know of Plácido R. Castro's high regard for the Irish poet. In 1967, the journal *Grial* published posthumously his article 'Vida e poesía de Yeats', whom he described as 'the great Irish poet'.⁹⁹ In the same text, Plácido Castro considers one aspect of Yeats' poetry as particularly worthy of the attention of Galician readers: 'Quizabes [...] seña a saudosa beleza do seu periodo céltigo o que posea maior calidá de supervivencia. En todo caso ten que ser o que pra nós, galegos, posee unha meirande atracción'. He finds in those poems 'o anxeio que semella non ter nin percurar un ouxeto'.¹⁰⁰ This same feeling of longing, identifiable with 'saudade', signals the affinity between Galicia and Ireland. Castro viewed 'saudade' as a defining trait of the Celtic nations that must find expression in their art and literature and, indeed, is a recurring theme in his articles, although he admittedly fails to define the concept: 'sería yo el primero en lamentar que se lograra definir la saudade'.¹⁰¹ The association between Celticism and 'saudade' is a significant characteristic of Plácido Castro's understanding of Galician nationalism.¹⁰² Vázquez Fernández describes this as 'problematic' and interprets it as a strategic merger on the part of the 'Galician intelligentsia', seeking 'to establish a strong link between their two main referents

⁹⁸ Plácido R. Castro del Río, 'Más traductores gallegos', *Estafeta Literaria* 320-321 (1965), 238. Laura Linares has documented the correspondence between Castro and the *Estafeta* in 'The thoughtful soul to solitude retires: Style and Ideology in Plácido Castro's translation of the Rubáiyát'. Unpublished conference paper. *Text and Identities: A Symposium on Contemporary Galician Studies*. University College Cork. 28 April 2015.

⁹⁹ Plácido R. Castro, 'Vida e poesía de Yeats', *Grial* 18 (1967), reproduced in facsimile edition (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1988), pp. 460-62 (p. 460).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ 'Saudade y arte I', *El Pueblo Gallego*, 5 October 1927, p. 1.

¹⁰² Xulio Ríos, 'O ideario político de Plácido Castro', *Grial* 153 (2002), 107-116,

(Portugal and Ireland) in the construction of a national identity. It is all part of the manipulative process of inventing the nation'.¹⁰³ But rather than explicitly applying the term in political arguments, Castro generally refers to the presence of this longing for an unattainable ideal in Irish literary production and, specifically, in dramatic production, which is in his opinion 'dominada [...] por el ansia de magia'.¹⁰⁴

The rendering of the title *The Land of Heart's Desire* – in addition to the very choice of play – as *O país da saudade* reflects this same focus on the idea of 'saudade': 'Y aún en las ocasiones en que la acción se desarrolla en el mundo real es el tema más frecuente el anhelo de ese inalcanzable mundo ideal'.¹⁰⁵ This is precisely the case in the play, where Mary Bruin surrenders to her impulse to enter the world of the fairies, ignoring the warnings of her family and the priest. The action is set against the backdrop of traditional rural life 'at a remote time',¹⁰⁶ a realistic frame that brings to the fore the quotidian presence of the supernatural in both the Irish and Galician cultural contexts while avoiding any tie to historical accuracy.

5.2. Approach to translation and language

As in *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, we are given a Galician version of the characters' names and the family names are preserved, a choice that favours identification. Notably, Mary is not simply 'María' but 'Maruxa', a familiar form not existing in Spanish that would generate an instant association with a popular context, just as 'Cathleen' became 'Catuxa' in the title of the other folk-drama. These choices contribute to the creation of what Vázquez Fernández describes as a 'symbolic space that could be identified with either Galicia or Ireland'.¹⁰⁷ In the following section, I

¹⁰³ Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁴ 'Saudade y arte III', *El Pueblo Gallego* (15 November 1927), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Yeats, *The Collected Works...*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p. 236.

will provide examples from the text that illustrate the ways in which the translation strategies contribute to the construction of a viable onstage universe that corresponds to a Galician-Irish symbolic space.

O País da saudade shares many of the features found in the language of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* and similarly displays an inflationist trend, intertwined with other frequent traits of translated texts, such as explicitation or compensation. Nevertheless, the plays are accompanied by a declaration of the performance aim of the translations, which suggests that the translators believed in their potential as performance texts, and I will show here that many of the additions in the translated version appear to respond to this performance intent. These choices relate to the genre adscription of the play, the theme and also the form. Such is the case with the insertion of orality markers and additional stage directions and the incorporation of characterisation elements that contribute to verisimilitude and identification on the part of the audience. However, some of the translator's decisions make the text considerably longer and potentially hinder its effectiveness in performance. The degree of augmentation that we can observe in *O país da saudade* demands a closer look at the motivation behind the decision making process.

As in the case of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, one of the functions of this later translation was to showcase the expressive possibilities of the Galician language, which results in great emphasis on lexical variation. The superabundance of instances where one single adjective is translated as an adjectival synonymic pair or even as a descriptive passage responds to this norm-creating value of translation at the time of the *Irmandades*. In *O país da saudade*, we find numerous examples of such pairs, one being a frequently used term, easily recognisable or often similar to the Spanish-language equivalent, and the other a 'differentialist', exclusively Galician or markedly popular choice. As a strategy, this might have been considered easier to understand for middle class audiences and readerships whose first language was not Galician, while introducing them to a wider lexical range. Examples of the

use of synonyms in the translation are very numerous and not exclusive to adjectival structures but also applied to the translation of verbs, time expressions and noun phrases:

new-married bride (p. 68)	casada de pouco tempo (p.21)
newly-married bride (p. 78)	esposa nova, esposa recién casada (p. 28)
After the fall of twilight (p. 68)	despois d'anoitecido, entre fusco e lusco (p. 21)
the evil spirits (p. 68)	Espíritos ruíños e cativos (p. 21)
Thinking that all the things trouble your bright head' (p. 72)	a matinar que tódalas cousas torvan ou acoran a túa testa escintilante (p. 23)
a puff of wind (p. 69)	un folgo do ar ou unha racha de vento (p. 21)

In the third example, the absolute negativity of 'evil' is diluted into something closer to 'twisted' and 'small'. The word 'ribbons' shifts to 'galanos adovíos' ('e gostabas de te por **galanos adovíos** nos cabelos', p. 23), relying on the sense captured from the context ('And went about with **ribbons** on your head', p. 71). Sometimes, adjectives are inserted where there were none in the original, providing additional information for characterisation purposes: 'An arm came round the door-post' (p. 69), 'Un brazo **vello, achacio**, córvase arredor do marco da porta' (p. 22). Lexical variation is also the main procedure used to translate complex verbal structures that do not have an equivalent in Galician. Such is the case of 'Hide it away, hide it away!' (p. 75) which becomes 'Levaino, levaino, escondédeo' (literally, 'Take it away, take it away, hide it!', p. 26), where the first verb acts as a replacement of the 'away' in the original and the sema 'to hide' is contained in 'escondédeo'.

Gideon Toury has described the use of conjoint phrases of synonyms and

near-synonyms in translations into Hebrew and, although these structures are characteristic of both originals and translations, Toury notes that their density in translated texts is remarkably high, which he interprets as an use of familiar structures in the target language in order to increase the acceptability of the translation.¹⁰⁸ In the case of Galician, it is not so much an issue of acceptability of the overall text but indeed of the acceptability of certain terms. Being a minorised language in the process of reclaiming its sociolinguistic territory, the linguistic norm for literary and official uses is in the process of being established. The translation of a text from a more prestigious cultural context was an integral part of the early stages of that process, since it presented an opportunity to tacitly justify lexical choices through the legitimacy lent by the status of the original. In other words, the reader/spectator would not be aware of where the author's work ended and where the translator's began.

Such additions counteract other strategies adopted to boost its oral character and performativity. The text, which is already considerably longer than the version for performance conceived by Yeats, is laden with redundant information. In *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), Yeats provides certain indications regarding the performance of the play: 'Amateurs perform this more often than any other play of mine, and I urge them to omit all lines that I have enclosed in heavy round brackets ()- W.B.Y'.¹⁰⁹ These passages are not marked in the Galician version. Whether the translators overlooked the author's instructions or these were simply not present in the source text at their disposal, may never be determined.¹¹⁰ They certainly show no

¹⁰⁸ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), pp.103-105 (p.104). One of Toury's observations regarding the use of such pairs in translation is that 'the share of ad hoc, free combinations among those phrases is also considerably higher in translations. By contrast, the semantic difference between their constitutive elements is often much smaller, sometimes virtually nil' (p.105).

¹⁰⁹ Yeats, *The Collected Works...*, p. 66.

¹¹⁰ We do know that the play was first published in 1894 and that Yeats made the following note in 1923: 'When revived last spring the passages between brackets were left out'. Yeats, *The Collected Works...*, p.682.

concern with brevity, since both in the case of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (later, *Catuxa de Houlihan*) and *The Land of Heart's Desire*, the resulting Galician target text is considerably longer than the English original.

Curiously, a considerable number of the insertions that we find in the target text correspond to religious references. Many of them are simply exclamations of the kind that is common in oral exchanges but sometimes they accompany an intensification of the physical action:

MAURTEEN. It's precious wine, so take your time about it. (p.66)	MARTIÑO. É viño do bo que dá El Señor ; conque sen presa terma do mandado (p.20)
MAURTEEN. <u>Persuade</u> the colleen to put down the book (p.67)	MARTIÑO. <i>Ao P. Hart. ¡Deus que me deu. <u>Terme</u> da rapaza para que deixe o libro.</i> (p.20)
FATHER HART. My colleen , I have seen some other girls Restless and ill at ease (p.67)	P. HART. ¡Ña filla en El Señor! Eu xa vin outras rapazas intranquilas e sen acougo, com'a ti (p.21)
FATHER HART. She's lost, alas! (p. 79)	P. HART. Ela está perdida, santo Deus! (p.29)

The use of the Spanish 'El Señor' as opposed to 'o Señor' reflects the diglossic dissociation of Galician language from power strata and institutions, such as the Catholic Church. Their density is high enough as to instil in the text and the characters a new aspect that was not present in the English-language original. For instance, when Martiño Bruin calls for Maruxa, the replacement of 'My colleen' with '¡Ña filla en El Señor!' causes not only the loss of a vernacular trait but also diminishes the endearing value of the vocative and adds a reproachful attitude to the utterance. The decision to insert these references can be seen as a character-building strategy, since they contribute to the recreation of orality and attribute religiosity to the types portrayed. Most of the insertions occur in Martiño Bruin's dialogue, the head of the household, who together with Bríxida Bruin, his wife, embodies family

and marriage. He is therefore presented as being in accordance with organised religion, represented by P. Hart, the old priest and representative of organised religion in the play. When it comes to Maruxa Bruin, the young bride, religious lexicon is replaced: 'The **unholy powers** are dancing in the house' (p. 76) becomes a much more benign 'Os **espíritos cativos** andan a beilaren na casa' (p. 27). This peculiar treatment of religious references accentuates the contrast between the magical, spiritual world longed for by Maruxa Bruin, and the world of institutions such as the family and organised religion, placing it in line with the overall strategy followed by Castro and Villar Ponte in the translation of this play.

5.3. Translation strategy versus dramaturgical viability

The translation of a dramatic text does not only generate a new dramatic text in another language but will often engender a performance text in the target context. Therefore, the interpretations made by the translator will have a continuation in the work of theatre practitioners and affect the reception of a play beyond the printed word. Those approaching *O país da saudade* to convert it into a performance text would find material that has shifted from Yeats' original in more ways than its vehicular language.

Many of the translation choices present in the Galician text bear implications with regards to the characters' behaviour and attitudes and, therefore, would affect the (re)creation of the *dramatis personae*. Of particular note is the translators' treatment of verbs, specifically of modal verbs, since these provide attitudinal information. The auxiliary 'would', usually employed in the formation of the conditional tense, is interpreted as a verb of desire and its modal quality accentuated: 'pois quero que ti alumees os derradeiros anos do meu vivere' (p. 22; 'For I would have you light up my last days', p. 70). Similarly, the future tense meaning of 'will' is diluted in the following sentence: '¡quero falar crariño!' (p. 23; 'I will speak my mind', p. 71). This strategy draws attention to the characters' wishes as the force behind their words and actions.

The approach to stage directions in *O país da saudade* corroborates the performance focus of the translators, but their insertions together with other specifications limit possible interpretations on the part of future readers or directors: deictic components are replaced with specific instructions regarding interactions and gestures, or movements through the space.¹¹¹

BRIDGET. And now – no, Father, I will speak my mind – she is not a fitting wife for any man (p. 71).	BRÍXIDA.- E agora...(Respondendo a un aceno do P. Hart) agora - ¡non, Padre, quero falar crariño! – non serve pra sere muller de ninguén (p. 23)
<i>Puts the crucifix in the inner room. (p.76)</i>	<i>Descolga o Crucifixo da parede, levándoo ô ban interior and'o deixa. (p.27)</i>

The abundant explications and disambiguations found in the translation reflect a concern with clarity, which Berman considers inherent to the translation process.¹¹² Paradoxically, these excessive clarifications not only result in a longer text, slowing down the pace of the action, but they also deprive the performance text of much of its potential meaning, in so far as by replacing the ‘empty signs’, the translator is eliminating the need for gestuality and the self-referential essence of the performance text and, in one word, its theatricality.

6. Conclusion

The *Rexurdimento* recovered the Galician language as a vehicle to portray the essence of Galician culture, preserved by speakers in rural areas, a move that echoes J.M. Synge’s travels to the Aran Islands in search of a unique repository of Irishness.

¹¹¹ For a discussion of the treatment of deixis and the effects of filling ‘empty signs’ (‘signos vacíos’) in theatre translation, see Pilar Ezpeleta Piorno, *Teatro y Traducción. Aproximación interdisciplinaria desde la obra de Shakespeare* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2007).

¹¹² Antoine Berman, ‘Translation and the Trials of the Foreign’, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 284-297 (p. 289).

However, J.M. Synge's and Villar Ponte's work takes place under completely different circumstances. The aim behind the early twentieth century recovery of the language is not the preservation of a traditional form of expression because of its uniqueness; their goal is the legitimisation of Galician, its dissemination and its enrichment. The language is not a museum piece, a glimpse of rural authenticity presented to outside viewers. For the circles around the *Irmandades da Fala*, the use of Galician was indispensable to implicate the majority of the population in their political and cultural campaign for national recognition, for which a shift in attitude towards the language was essential.¹¹³ In order to broaden the contexts of use for the language, they embarked on cultural production.

For the Galician nationalist movement in the early twentieth century, Ireland fulfilled a legitimising role; as a 'sister nation', it provided historical justification to the pursuit of political autonomy and it offered prestigious literary and indeed dramaturgical models for cultural manifestations in Galician language. This emphatic utilisation of the Irish-Galician parallel inherited from the nineteenth-century *Rexurdimento* in the construction of national identity has continued to affect the perception of Irish cultural products in the Galician context. Specifically, in the incorporations of Irish dramatic works, we can find persistent signs that those first two translations established the parameters for future theatre productions: the almost inescapable rurality of the plays; the emphasis on identification, both in extratextual materials and in micro-textual choices in the translations; the attitude towards mediation, all these aspects show the impact of these foundational 'folc-dramas'.

This influence can be seen not only in the treatment of imported texts from Irish culture but also the consideration towards an indigenous author: the way in

¹¹³ In many ways, this strategy recalls the aims behind the Irish Republican Government language promotion policies. Over the decades, Galician became further established as the language of political activism, contributing to the contrasting sociolinguistic situation perceived by later authors which I will discuss in Chapter Four.

which the afterlives of the pieces are later linked to commemorations of Antón Villar Ponte himself. In 1977, the year he was honoured on the 'Día das Letras Galegas', Castrelos published the translations under the title *Dous dramas populares*. Also that year, *O país da saudade* was staged for the first time by Ditea, together with another of his plays, *Almas mortas*.¹¹⁴ Almost twenty years later, the Centro Dramático Galego would produce *Como en Irlanda*.¹¹⁵ Under that significant title were brought together Villar Ponte's *Nouturnio de medo e morte* and J.M.Synge's *Riders to the Sea*, a double-bill that Ponte himself would have no doubt approved of.

¹¹⁴ The Ditea staging is examined in Chapter Three.

¹¹⁵ Chapter Four presents an analysis of this CDG production.

Chapter Two

Escenas transterradas:

The Translocation of the Galician Stage

The importance placed on theatre in the process of Galician national construction during the initial decades of the twentieth century produced a glimpse of what might have been the normalisation of dramaturgical activity through the medium of Galician language. However, the fascist uprising in 1936 brought to an abrupt halt the work towards political and cultural recognition of organisations such as the *Irmandades da Fala* and the Partido Galeguista. The three-year Civil War that followed was the beginning of a period of difficulties where any insinuation of differential national identity was a threat to the idea of a unitary state imposed by Franco's dictatorial regime. For decades, cultural production in the Galician language was mutilated by state repression, censorship and the loss of human capital to exile or political reprisals. These circumstances meant the dismantlement of the fledgling cultural structures in Galicia and, as the most prominent figures of the *galeguista* movement were forced into exile and those who remained at home were coerced into silence, much cultural and political activity was displaced to the diasporic communities.¹

This dislocation resulted in the existence of two distinct, yet connected, geographical settings for Galician culture. In the case of theatre practice, initiatives in the diaspora can be viewed, in many ways, as linking the pre-war and post-war periods. However, the Argentinean stage cannot be conceived simply as a baton bearer, relieved only when adversity subsided in the Spanish State; in fact, much work was carried out in parallel in the two contexts, not to mention the constant intersections between overseas and homeland *galeguismo*. For this reason, theatrical

¹ Claudio Rodríguez Fer, *A literatura galega durante a Guerra Civil (1936-1939)* (Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia, 1994), p. 13.

recovery in Galicia during the dictatorship is considered this chapter, in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the Galician stage – or stages – at the time, and of the future impact of developments during that period.

The corpus of Irish drama in Galician language mirrors the historical and political developments in the Galician context. If the first translations occur in the early twentieth century, at a moment of incipient national consolidation, Irish drama returns in the post-war period in the Argentinean incarnation of the Galician stage, where it can also be linked to the reaffirmation of national identity. In 1960, the Escola de Teatro do Centro Lucense² staged in Buenos Aires *O casamento do latoneiro*, a Galician-language version of J.M. Synge's *The Tinker's Wedding* translated by Ramón de Valenzuela (1914-1980). Both Valenzuela and his wife, María Victoria Villaverde (b.1922), who also participated in the performance, exemplify a paradigmatic trajectory of Galician exile.³ Significantly, the first production of an Irish play in Galician took place under the auspices of an association in the Argentinean diaspora. Over the following sections, I will illustrate how the choice of text and the translation strategies employed reflect the particularities of the Galician community in the *Porteño* context. The inaugural significance of this production demands examination of its place in the evolution of Galician theatre, insofar as *O casamento do latoneiro* can be seen as the 'missing link' between the pre-war period and the recovery in the latter years of dictatorship. An analysis of these aspects will reveal the particularities of the representation of Ireland and, indeed, the representative nature of Irish drama at the time.

1. The configuration of the extraterritorial context

The Galician space has been historically marked by emigration, with

² Also referred to as Escola do Teatro Lucense and Escola de Teatro Lucense.

³ The translated text has been traditionally attributed to Valenzuela. However, given the level of collaboration between the couple in all of their cultural endeavours, not least in their work with the Escola de Teatro Lucense, it is reasonable to presume Villaverde's input. In this work, I will respect the attribution of the translation to Valenzuela but refer to the production as a joint project.

population transferring to other Peninsular regions, to the Americas (predominantly to Spanish-speaking countries) and in more recent times, to other European states. As is the case with other communities with a record of displacement, this diasporic tendency is key in any understanding of Galician national identity and cultural production, not only as a defining characteristic of the social tissue in the home context, but also in the alternative sites that resulted from this migratory phenomenon. These expatriate communities in turn influenced socioeconomic, cultural and political events in the homeland. Amongst the Galician settlements overseas, we must turn our attention to Argentina and specifically the Buenos Aires metropolitan area. For reasons that will be presented below, this South American capital became a dynamic centre for Galician cultural and political activity during the first half of the twentieth century, especially in the years following the outbreak of the Civil War.

1.1. The Galician diaspora in Argentina

The presence of a substantial Galician community in Argentina and other countries in Central and South America dates back to the nineteenth century, when migrants began to set off in large numbers, mainly in pursuit of socioeconomic advancement. Between 1857 and 1960, it is estimated that 600,000 Galicians settled in Argentina, which is – understandably – often referred to as the fifth Galician province (‘a quinta provincia’).⁴ They established associations to assist with the integration of newly arrived immigrants and the preservation of their ethnic identity. Even though their impact was significant at various levels, it must be noted that only a small percentage of Galicians based in Argentina joined these associations.⁵

The reasons behind migration were varied but the pursuit of socioeconomic

⁴ According to Ruy Farías, ‘Más del 17% de todos los inmigrantes europeos arribados al país entre 1857 y 1930 pertenecían al colectivo gallego’. Also, the number of Galicians who arrived in Argentina between 1946 and 1960 would surpass 100,000. Ruy Farías, ‘Aspectos de la identidad gallega en Buenos Aires (1900-1960)’, *Madrygal* 14 (2011), 59-69 (60).

⁵ It is estimated that only around 25% of immigrants became members. Farías, ‘Aspectos...’, 63.

improvement is generally held as the main motivation. However, from 1936 onwards, the economic migrants were joined by political refugees, whose displacement was prompted by the Civil War and its socio-political aftermath. It is difficult, however, to draw a clear line between the two groups, particularly in the Argentine case. The pre-existence of migrant communities, the policies implemented by the host nation and the circumstances surrounding the exit from the homeland contributed to the relative invisibility of the Galician exile, in comparison to its Catalan or Basque counterparts.

Despite the restrictions put in place by the Argentinean government and its swift recognition of Franco's regime, Buenos Aires was one of the preferred destinations for Galician exiles. Argentina had already tightened its immigration policies back in 1930, as a consequence of the world economic crisis. Since 1936, an additional concern for ideological and ethnic integrity appears in government documents, which outline the danger of becoming 'el receptáculo de lo peor que expelle Europa' and present refugees as 'extranjeros indeseables'.⁶ The hostility of the administration towards those who crossed the Atlantic for political reasons forced many to hide their refugee status.⁷ The Galician contingent retraced the steps of the existing migratory chain to Argentina and utilised the existing microsocial networks.⁸ Relatives, acquaintances and the Galician associations themselves actively assisted the crossover in many cases, providing financial support for the trip, fake work contracts and, in one word, a cover that allowed the new political refugees

⁶ Dora Schwarzstein, *Entre Franco y Perón. Memoria e identidad del exilio republicano español en Argentina*, (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), pp. 46-47.

⁷ Argentina did not legally recognise the status of political refugees until 1948. Dora Schwarzstein, 'Migración, refugio y exilio: categorías, prácticas y representaciones', *O exilio galego. Actas do congreso Internacional* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2001), pp. 70-92 (p.82).

⁸ Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 'Itinerarios exiliados: sobre a especificidade do exilio galego de 1936'. *O exilio galego. Actas do congreso internacional* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura, 2001), pp. 17-69 (pp.46-49).

to pose as economic migrants.⁹ These circumstances favoured the apparent assimilation of the post-1936 influx, much to the Regime's convenience: 'la maquinaria de propaganda franquista intentó instrumentalizar una determinada concepción de la emigración con el objetivo de diluir la experiencia del exilio gallego al presentar ambos fenómenos como un proceso unitario'.¹⁰

Presenting political refugees as economic emigrants diluted the significance of the political exile and, indeed, of Galician opposition to the regime. The tiered nature of the Galician exile facilitated this strategic depoliticisation. While the numbers of political refugees were more perceptible in the early days and months of the conflict, there were not visible masses of population moving by land, such as those making their escape from the northern regions of Spain into France. Galicia had been under the control of the national army since the early days of the war and any escape had to be forcibly clandestine or disguised as migration.¹¹ Departures continued well into the 1940s, with ideological and economic motivations overlapping in many cases, as those who had displayed Republican sympathies were ostracised and their livelihoods compromised. The exile trajectory followed by Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde, the main agents of the translation and performance at the centre of this chapter, is illustrative of such specificities, as will be discussed in the following section.

Another particularity of the Galician diaspora in Argentina responds to the lesser divide between exiles and migrants in terms of their average socioeconomic profile, given the higher percentage of working-class political refugees, in

⁹ Recent research has shown the opposite to be happening in the period in Mexico, with many economic migrants presenting as political refugees or exiles. Clara E. Lida, *Caleidoscopio del exilio. Actores, memoria, identidades* (México: El Colegio de México, 2009).

¹⁰ Xoán González Millán, 'El exilio gallego y el discurso de la restauración nacional. *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 6 (2002), 7-23 (14).

¹¹ This also contributed to a prejudiced perception of Galician ex-combatants amongst other republicans: '...aquele prexuízo estendido no seu día entre os medios republicanos e nos exiliados, polo cal o xentilicio 'gallego' se identificaba con franquista, e máis concretamente cos combatentes franquistas mobilizados á forza no exército insurxente'. Núñez Seixas, 'Itinerarios exiliados...', p.40. For an overview of the 1936 uprising in Galicia, see Villares, *Historia...*, pp. 417-420.

comparison with other destinations.¹² Despite the absence of a pronounced divide, the political agenda of the exiles set them apart from the migrant community. As Ortuño describes it, the organised republican exile in Argentina was characterised by a significant presence of ‘peripheric nationalists’, whose arrival reshaped the existing organisational tissue.¹³

While New York was the port where the Galician community fronted the support for the Republican cause,¹⁴ Buenos Aires became the main centre of cultural activity for *Galeguismo* in the diaspora thanks to the presence of numerous Galician literati and artists: Luis Seoane, Rafael Dieste, Eduardo Blanco Amor, Ramón Suárez Picallo, Isaac Díaz Pardo and the emblematic Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao. González Millán identifies three prototypical trajectories of the *galeguistas* in Buenos Aires. His inclusion of the group of those who continued their activity in Galicia highlights the need for joint consideration of both shores, particularly during the post-1936 period:

[...] en primer lugar, **las personalidades que llegan al exilio dotadas ya de un significativo capital** (fuese éste político, cultural, social, etc.); este grupo estaba liderado por la personalidad mítica del polifacético Castelao. En segundo lugar, **los que adquieren ese mismo capital durante el exilio**, cuya figura más destacada será sin duda la de Seoane. Un tercer grupo estaba constituido por **los representantes de la cultura de la emigración prebélica**, con un cierto grado de incidencia en los proyectos del exilio, como fue el caso del mencionado Blanco Amor o Emilio Pita. Finalmente, habrá que incorporar a este repertorio un destacado grupo de **galleguistas que desde la ‘Galicia-del-interior’ contribuyen a articular la cultura del exilio**, sobre todo en su fase final: Ramón Otero Pedrayo, Francisco Fernández del Riego, entre los más sobresalientes.¹⁵

Their work provided continuity to the political and cultural normalisation effort of the previous decades, especially important given the achievements of the

¹² Núñez Seixas, ‘Itinerarios...’, p.52.

¹³ ‘El Casal de Catalunya, el Laurak Bat, la Federación de Sociedades Gallegas y los centros Gallegos nacidos debido al impulso del nacionalismo fueron los mejores ejemplos de las repercusiones de la inserción del exilio republicano en el tejido asociativo anterior’. Bárbara Ortuño Martínex, ‘Del casino al centro: el exilio republicano y el asociacionismo español en América’, in special issue *Patrias lejos de casa; el asociacionismo emigrante español, siglos XIX-XX*, *Historia Social* 70 (2011), 155-173 (166).

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁵ González Millán, ‘El exilio gallego...’, p.17. My emphasis.

nationalist movement in the days before the war. The Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia was approved by referendum on June 28th 1936 and submitted to the president of the Congreso de los Diputados on July 15th 1936, just three days before the uprising. If passed, the declaration would have granted official recognition to the nationalist claims of differential status for Galicia. Therefore, maintaining its validity until the return of the democratic order was considered of paramount importance. For this reason, the *galeuistas* resisted political association with the main body of Spanish Republican exiles. Such a line was advocated by leading figures such as Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, who feared the divisions within the republicans and the prevailing ‘españolismo’ could detract from specific Galician interests and lead to a loss of the momentum reached just before the war.¹⁶

1.2. Cultural activity in the Buenos Aires diaspora

The preservation of Galician identity had been central to organised immigrant associations since their inception, as part of a dynamic intended to support social and labour integration, create a sense of community and maintain emotional links with the motherland. After 1936, many initiatives were spurred by the ideological impetus of *galeuistas*, who imbricated their political agenda into the existing associative tissue. The themes and genres explored in dramatic activities evidence awareness of the diasporic public and its demands, as will be illustrated in the following sections.

The recognition of Galician cultural uniqueness was not a difficulty, given the extent to which the community had asserted itself in Buenos Aires. The main hindrance to a cultural agenda was the stigma that the Galician immigrants themselves placed on their own language. The majority arrived in Argentina as monolingual speakers of Galician, which was associated with a lack of education and economic difficulties in the home context. The diglossic situation continued in Argentina, where Spanish was also the dominant language and where negative

¹⁶ González Millán, ‘El exilio gallego...’.

prejudices against Galicians endured, dating from colonial times.¹⁷ Galicia and the Galician language were linked in the cultural imaginary of Argentina to notions of low cultural and socioeconomic status, and multiple negative connotations. The word ‘gallego’ was used to refer to all immigrants of Spanish origin, sometimes as a synonym of a person of low intellect.¹⁸ For the *galeguistas*, the reaffirmation of Galician national identity depended upon challenging those derogatory preconceptions: ‘Todos eles tiñan como obxectivo demostrar as excelencias do ‘espíritu’ dunha cultura que no país de orixe estaba silenciada e no de acollida sufría as consecuencias do descoñecemento cando non do desprestixio por parte da clase letrada’.¹⁹ As González Millán explains, this provoked a reconsideration of the exclusive use of Galician language for cultural production, which had been central to the nationalist movement before the Civil War. In order to reach the Argentinean intelligentsia, editorial activity in both Spanish and Galician language was the strategy adopted by Luis Seoane when he founded the publishing house Citania in 1957. The aim was to disseminate knowledge of Galician culture outside the community, as Seoane himself explained in a letter to Fernández del Riego, where he asked him to change the title of his work *Galicia y nuestro tiempo* from the original ‘Nuestra tierra y nuestro tiempo’:

Es necesario, primero, cambiar el título por el tipo de público al que va dirigido que no es concretamente gallego: Nuestra tierra y nuestro tiempo quizá deberías poner la palabra Galicia. No sé, **piensa que se trata de expandirla más entre gentes ajenas [sic] a Galicia y a nuestra colectividad.**²⁰

Galician culture was subjected to a dual minorisation, at the hand of dictatorial policies in the Iberian context and due to its displaced status in Argentina. Its

¹⁷ Farías, ‘Aspectos...’, p.65.

¹⁸ Note how this acception of the term, besides reflecting the quantitative weight of the Galician presence, also contributes to the invisibility of the Galician specificity.

¹⁹ Xoán González Millán ‘Exilio, literatura e nación’. *O exilio galego. Actas do congreso Internacional* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2001), pp.763-788 (p.765).

²⁰ Luís Seoane, Letter to Francisco Fernández del Riego (Buenos Aires, 8 November 1957). Luís Seoane. *Epistolario*. Consello da Cultura Galega. Web. My emphasis.

cultivators in Buenos Aires attempted to break the siege through a tactical use of the dominant language. The feedback between the two sites of Galician cultural activity is evidenced in the existence of a network of exchanges, exemplified by the above quoted letter. While Buenos Aires provided resources and a normality that was not possible in Galicia at the time, it is necessary to nuance the idea that cultural activity was entirely impossible in the home context during the extended post-war period, the metaphorical 'longa noite de pedra'. Likewise, a complete understanding of the Galician system cannot be achieved without the inclusion of diasporic activity, especially between 1940 and 1960.

1.3. Galician theatre in Buenos Aires

During the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the same tendencies seen on the Galician stage had a more or less direct reflection overseas. The Americas were on the touring itinerary of reputed professional companies in the Spanish state, as well as being the home of emerging or relocating actors. The drama staged on each side of the Atlantic followed similar parameters in terms of both form and content, in tune with the demands of audiences in the diaspora: predominantly *costumbrista* productions that exuded traditional values in a rural setting, at times exalting the landscape and the authenticity of the people, at times ridiculing the peasants' lack of worldly vision.²¹ Whether through nostalgia or humour, these theatrical manifestations highlighted elements that, from a distance, could be identified by the expatriates as defining the land they had left behind. Their added function was the 'preservation of identity quotas',²² acting as a binding agent of the migrant community.

The events in 1936 and the developments thereupon caused a substantial shift

²¹ For a historical overview of Galician drama in the period, see Laura Tato Fontaíña's works *Historia do teatro galego (das orixes a 1936)* (Vigo: A Nosa Terra, 1999) and *Teatro Galego, 1915-1931* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 1997).

²² Inmaculada López Silva, 'Ramón de Valenzuela e o teatro: exilio escénico en Bos Aires' in *O exilio galego. Actas do congreso internacional* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura, 2001), pp. 1373-1405 (p.1376).

in the American incarnation of the Galician stage, with the arrival of cultural and political activists in Buenos Aires. In this context, cultural initiatives and the affirmation of national identity often went hand in hand. The premiere of Alfonso D. Rodríguez Castelao's *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* on August 14th 1941 in the Teatro Mayo illustrates the effects of this overlap on dramaturgical activity. Without dismissing its innovative character, it is the status of Castelao as ideological beacon of *Galeguismo* that determined the immediate canonisation of the piece.²³ The play was very well received amongst the more politicised, intellectual sectors of the Galician community but did not gain the unanimous favour of the public, 'acostumado a outros códigos e a unha visión dignificada dos tipos populares, directamente confrontada coa que ofrecían as primeiras manifestacións dramáticas en galego ou de ambientación galega'.²⁴

As exemplified by *Os vellos*, the political function of dramatic representations had to coexist with the expectations of the main part of the migrant community, whose level of political commitment was not on a par with that of the post-1936 arrivals. López Silva points at the duality of emigration and exile in the Galician community in Buenos Aires is a determinant element in the historical evolution of theatrical manifestations in that context:

máis que 'teatro da emigración' ou 'do exilio' debemos entender que a produción dramática de Bos Aires entre 1938 (ano en que se crea a Compañía de Maruja Villanueva) e 1964 (ano en que Valenzuela monta a última das súas obras) é '**teatro para emigrantes e exiliados**', precisión que non só explica moitas das súas características estéticas (o realismo ruralista de Varela Buxán, o ton popular, constantes referencias a Galicia, temática da emigración...) senón tamén a súa propia evolución histórica: esmorece cando a colectividade galega de Bos Aires comeza a nutrirse xa de fillos e netos de emigrantes e cando o ferver ideolóxico do exilio ía quedando atrás no tempo (esmagado polo triunfo do dereitismo en Galicia) e os protagonistas directos da guerra

²³ In a farcical tone, the piece tells the stories of three old men and the misfortune derived from their falling in love with younger women. Castelao drew his inspiration from European avant-garde theatrical modes and suggested a visual conception of the play that steered away from naturalistic representations. Despite these innovative aspects and the dramaturgical qualities of the play, its popularity amongst Galician performers is undoubtedly due to its author's status.

²⁴ Norma Rodríguez González, 'Teatro e creación dramática na diáspora e no exilio', in *Cento vinte e cinco anos de teatro en galego*, ed. by Manuel F. Vieites (Vigo: Galaxia, 2007), pp. 97-110 (p. 106).

comezaban a morrer ou a regresar á terra.²⁵

The use of the ‘theatre in exile’ denomination as an umbrella term for plays published or staged in the Galician-Argentine context during this period reflects the adscription of the agents of theatre production predominantly to the exile group.²⁶ This overarching employment of the ‘exile’ label is a compensatory reaction to the historical invisibility of Galician exile, due to the multiple factors explained in the previous section. By highlighting the role of the exile community, the political significance of Galician drama in Buenos Aires is also heightened. However, this metonymy contributes to the isolation of the diaspora as a collective from the theatrical activity, and limits understanding of its historical evolution. As López Silva explains, key characteristics of the repertoire can be linked directly to the requirements of the existing immigrant audience:

[...] a estética populista e realista predominante (incluso no drama de Castelao, malia á impronta impresionista e vangardista), e o accesible do teatro coma espectáculo, da man do asociacionismo, fronte ó difícil acceso ó libro impreso por parte do groso da comunidade galega, máis proletaria ca intelectual, son algúns dos factores que nos fan comprende-la importancia do teatro dentro do programa cultural, social e político dos exiliados.²⁷

Rodríguez González refers to the demands of the diasporic audience and the shift introduced by the exiles: ‘O público emigrante, sen o compoñente ideolóxico nin a selección que logo traería o exilio, precisaba unha conexión coas manifestacións culturais populares que marcaban a identidade autóctona’.²⁸ She identifies three main lines of work after 1936: one that offers continuation to *costumbrista* theatre tendencies; a second line marked by the incorporation of some

²⁵ López Silva, ‘Ramón de Valenzuela...’, p. 1376. My emphasis.

²⁶ Rodríguez González justifies the use of the term ‘diaspora’ in the Galician case for the pre-1936 period (‘Primeira diáspora’) and ‘exilio’ when referring to activity after the Civil War. This is a conscious terminological decision, which she explains in terms of the impact of exiled authors: ‘[...] todo o posterior ao 36 o considerarei pertencente ao exilio como período, independentemente das motivacións de cada caso particular. [...] xa que no teatro da diáspora a chegada dos autores e distintos persoeiros procedentes do exilio significou non só unha marca definida desde o punto de vista ideolóxico e político, senón tamén de natureza poética e puramente estética’. Rodríguez González, ‘Teatro e creación...’, pp. 98-99.

²⁷ López Silva, ‘Ramón de Valenzuela...’, p. 1378.

²⁸ Rodríguez González, ‘Teatro e creación...’, p.102.

innovative aspects while maintaining features of popular theatre; and a third approach that was openly committed to innovation and experimentation, in tune with other European theatres. Rodríguez González makes this distinction in terms of dramatic writing rather than theatrical activity. Therefore, while the differentiation of these three perspectives facilitates a panoramic view of the Galician stage in Buenos Aires, they cannot be regarded as opposed categories in the realm of stage practice, where cross-collaboration was pervasive. An example of this is Manuel Daniel Varela Buxán, who founded in 1938 the *Compañía Gallega Aires da Terra*, later renamed *Compañía Gallega Maruja Villanueva*, after the successful actress. A playwright and stage manager, linked to the first stable theatre companies and identified by Rodríguez González as the main representative of the *costumbrista* trend, Varela Buxán directed the company in the emblematic 1941 production of *Os vellos non deben de namorarse*, by Castelao,²⁹ an author who is, incidentally, listed as key representative of the second approach to theatre in the exile-diasporic context. Varela Buxán's plays enjoyed considerable popularity with audiences who connected with his themes and aesthetic values: '[n]a reivindicación da terra, a protesta social e o recurso ás trampas do folletín'.³⁰

Therefore, in terms of theatre practice, we could speak of two complementary approaches: a commercial, professional line, represented by Varela Buxán and actors such as Maruja Villanueva (1906-1998), Maruxa Boga (1916-2010) and Luís Fernando Iglesias 'Tacholas' (1909-1991),³¹ and the association-based projects, with a focus on cultural and political concerns, of which Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde would be key representatives. Most of these Galician

²⁹ Villaverde attended that performance, which made a deep impression on her: 'En Bos Aires xa enferma de tuberculose, o primeiro permiso que me deu Sánchez Guisande, o meu médico, foi para saír de noite, para ver "Os vellos non deben de namorarse" de Castelao.' A partir dese momento comezou o meu fervor polo teatro.' Marga Romero and Henrique Albor, 'Memoria viva: Mariví Villaverde. Entrevista', *Terra e Tempo* 136 (2005), 5-10 (10).

³⁰ Rodríguez González, 'Teatro e creación...', p.105.

³¹ During the 1940s, Maruxa Boga, Argentine actress of Galician ascend, and 'Tacholas' worked extensively together and founded their own company, the *Compañía de Comedias Gallegas Boga-Tacholas*.

intellectuals with an involvement in theatrical activity did so under the umbrella of the Galician migrants associations. Eduardo Blanco Amor, already an active contributor to the Galician cultural life of Buenos Aires prior to 1936, established the Teatro Popular Gallego in 1957. The project failed but Blanco Amor collaborated with Ramón de Valenzuela's Escola de Teatro Lucense. After his return to Spain, the author took active part in the debates on different aspects of Galician theatre, with special attention to the issue of corpus supplementation through translation.³² Rafael Dieste, whose original play *A fiestra valdeira* (1927) was reprinted in Buenos Aires in 1958, and Luis Seoane, whose publishing activity was discussed in the previous section, became key figures for the Galician stage in Buenos Aires. Seoane favoured historical drama as a means of dignifying Galician culture, as exemplified by his plays *A soldadeira* and *El irlandés astrólogo*.³³

The overall impact of theatrical activity in Galician language beyond the diasporic community was small, but there was a certain degree of cross-over of practitioners to the Spanish-language Argentinian system. Such is the case of actor Luís Fernando Iglesias 'Tacholas', who enjoyed great popularity in Argentine film and theatre productions, or Roberto Villanueva, director of the Escola de Teatro Lucense, who became a prolific stage director and script writer. However, stagings in Galician language received no media attention other than in the periodicals linked to Galician associations, as López Silva has ascertained through comprehensive archival research in Buenos Aires. She attributes this relative invisibility, to a certain extent, to a conscious positioning on the part of the Galician community: '[...] a prensa bonaerense non dá conta dunha serie de actividades que, conscientemente, situábanse á marxe da cultura arxentina, pois dalgún xeito eran xa centrais noutro

³² For a discussion on the debates on translation during the 1970s, see Chapter Three.

³³ The use of both languages, favouring Spanish for publication, mirrors Seoane's strategy as a publisher with Citania. Originally written in Galician in 1956, Seoane published a Spanish version of *La soldadera* the following year (Buenos Aires: Ariadna, 1956). *El irlandés astrólogo* was originally written and published in Spanish (Buenos Aires: Losange, 1959). Seoane's trajectory has been documented extensively in Xesús Alonso Montero, *As palabras do exilio. Biografía intelectual de Luís Seoane* (A Coruña: La Voz de Galicia, 2002).

sistema cultural, o galego, espallado polo mundo'.³⁴ However, initiatives such as Citania contradict this view, as they aimed to attract the attention of a broader audience.

Even when efforts were made to enrich the corpus in the Galician language through the incorporation of innovative themes and approaches, the realistic, the popular and the rural maintain a constant presence. In this context of displacement, where the defence of Galician national identity and its defining elements was a key function of dramatic manifestations, there was little room for translation. It is against this backdrop that we must consider the stage productions of translated texts, driven by Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde. At first sight, their *O casamento do latoneiro* (after J.M. Synge's *The Tinker's Wedding*) appears to be a deviation from the predominant trends in the extraterritorial system. However, close analysis of this incorporation reveals a degree of embeddedness in the Galician diasporic context as well as links to past and future understandings of Irish drama on the Galician stage.

2. Theatrical recovery in Galicia during Franco's dictatorship

Cultural manifestations expressive of national difference within the borders of the 'patria', understood as 'Una, grande y libre', could not be tolerated. Aside from the – by no means minor – issue of Francoism's added hostility towards cultural difference, the problems affecting onstage activity in Galicia during the long dictatorship were by and large similar to those faced by theatre practitioners in the rest of Spain.³⁵ Subjecting theatre to institutionalised censorship, the regime eventually permitted the use of the language, mainly in folkloric performances and other constrained manifestations that were deemed innocuous to the integrity of

³⁴ López Silva, 'Ramón de Valenzuela...', p.1282.

³⁵ For an overall view of stage activity and the evolution of the theatre map in Spain during the dictatorship period, see John London, "Theatre under Franco (1939-1975): censorship, playwriting and performance", in Maria M. Delgado and David T. Gies (eds.), *A History of Theatre in Spain* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2012), pp. 341-371.

State-promoted ideals. More daring initiatives soon arose from these initially limited opportunities, paving the way for the independent theatre of the 1960s, which constituted a necessary step in the development of a theatre structure in the Galician context.³⁶

References to stage activity during the dictatorship from the vantage point of exile often feature allusions to silence, reinforcing the idea that little could be achieved in those years and that the future of the Galician stage rested upon the work of those in the Americas. Until the mid 1960s, performance activity under the dictatorial regime is scarce and strictly controlled; in Manuel F. Vieites words, ‘nuestro teatro vive bajo mínimos’.³⁷ Nevertheless, we know of a number of groups devoted to amateur theatre practice, inserted in associations of a very diverse nature, sometimes with rather fleeting existences. Many disappeared leaving scarce documentary traces of a work that was often marginal, secondary and even clandestine, which makes the mapping of theatrical activity in Galicia during those years an arduous task.

A large part of performances in the post-war period were initially carried out by the *coros*, associations with an explicit focus on the popular musical tradition. Many of these associations established ‘cuadros dramáticos’, dedicated to the performance of drama, which also played a key role in early twentieth century rehabilitation of the Galician language.³⁸ Their existence was tolerated and, to an extent, encouraged by the regime, insofar as the exaltation of heritage was one of the elements utilised in its discourse.³⁹ We owe the first performance of a Galician play

³⁶ Vieites denominates the 1965-1999 period ‘Nuevo Teatro Gallego’ and divides it as follows: ‘El teatro independiente (1965-1978): Fase de formación; El teatro profesional (1978/1984): Fase de desarrollo; El teatro institucional (1984-1995): Fase de regularización’. Manuel F. Vieites, *La Nueva Dramaturgia Gallega. Estudio y antología* (Madrid: Asociación de Directores de Escena de España, 1998), p. 53.

³⁷ Vieites, *La Nueva Dramaturgia...*, p.44.

³⁸ The activity of the *coros* in the pre-war period is discussed in Chapter One of this thesis.

³⁹ Even the names of those groups are markedly ‘non-threatening’, loaded with references to the musical, the popular, the emotive and even the floral: ‘Cantigas da Terra’, ‘Coros, Frores e Silveiras’, ‘Cantigas e Aturuxos’, ‘Cantigas e Agarimos’.

after the war to two of these associations: ‘Coros Frores e Silveiras’ and ‘Cantigas e Aturuxos’ presented on 11 February 1943, the zarzuela *Non chores, Sabeliña*, written by José Trapero Pardo, with music by Gustavo Freire, in the Gran Teatro de Lugo. During the 1940s and 1950s, ruralist and popular pieces continue to dominate theatre production, mostly carried out by those same musical societies, with some incursions by other community groups.⁴⁰ The plays that were staged often resorted to comical devices or sentimentalism to draw stereotypical and reductive representations of reality ‘sen incomodar nin cuestionar o estado de sitio que se forzaba baixo o xugo e as frechas fascistas’.⁴¹

The choral ensembles provided a means for young amateur practitioners to pursue dramaturgical paths that otherwise would have been blocked by the authorities. One of those associations, Cantigas e Agarimos, presented in 1958 a production of Jean Anouilh’s *Antígona*, under the direction of Rodolfo López Veiga. The choice stands out in a theatrical landscape dominated until then by Galician-language originals and folkloric activity, with a penchant towards rural, popular themes. Anouilh’s contemporary reworking of the classical Sophocles text resonated loudly in a context of dictatorship: not only did the plot conjure up visions of authoritarian imposition, but also the context of the original play – Nazi-occupied France. López Veiga belonged to the theatre group of the Colegio La Salle in Santiago, like Agustín Magán, who established Ditea in 1960, the ‘teatro de cámara’ group closely examined in Chapter Three. Veiga appears in Ramón de Valenzuela’s report for the PCE on activities in Galicia: ‘Joven profesor [...] rodeado de muchos jóvenes galleguistas de todos los matices en materia de religión, pero siempre antifranquistas. Puede ser elemento importante en los movimientos universitarios

⁴⁰ The Centro Cultural Deportivo de Santa Lucía (A Coruña) established a theatre group in January 1948, which was banned shortly afterwards. also in A Coruña, the Asociación Cultural Iberoamericana created a Teatro de Cámara in 1959.

⁴¹ Alfonso Becerra de Becerreá, ‘A dramaturxia nos tempos da ditadura’, *Cento vinte e cinco...*, ed. by Manuel F. Vieites, pp.111-130 (p.112).

que se avecinan'.⁴² The translation was by Xosé Manuel Beiras.⁴³

In 1961, almost twenty years after it was first performed in Buenos Aires, Cantigas e Agarimos staged Castelao's *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* for the first time on Galician soil. The historical stature of the author, perhaps the most emblematic figure of Galician nationalism, lends the production landmark significance and the premiere took place in the Praza da Quintana, a highly representative location in central Santiago. There were repeated performances, something unusual for amateur companies at the time, which gives an idea of the public interest generated around the event.

The Galician stage continued to feed predominantly on Galician-language originals, although the prevalence of the rural theme lessens as we advance through the 1960s. The 1959 production of Álvaro Cunqueiro's *O incerto señor don Hamlet, príncipe de Dinamarca* by the Teatro de Cámara of the Asociación Cultural Iberoamericana in A Coruña represents a turn to literary texts by consecrated authors, not necessarily drama. Álvaro Cunqueiro (1911 -1981) had been one of the key cultivators of literature in Galician language and one of the few who had continued to be active under the constraints imposed by the dictatorial regime, namely a public switch to Spanish language. His reworking of Shakespeare's tragedy was probably intended as a literary exercise rather than a performance text and yet it has been staged on numerous occasions since. The performance generated considerable public interest and came close to being suspended but Cunqueiro's connections appeased the censor. The poet Avilés de Taramancos, also involved in the production, recalled the hostile reaction of the local Delegado de Educación Popular, Francisco Serrano Castilla to the script: 'Voy a llevar a don Hamlet al

⁴² Xesús Alonso Montero, "Ramón de Valenzuela. Informe (clandestino) sobre Galicia: política y cultura en el verano de 1965 (Edición, prólogo y notas), in Carmen Mejía Ruiz (ed.), *Dos vidas y un exilio. Ramón de Valenzuela y María Victoria Villaverde. Estudio y Antología*. (Madrid: Complutense, 2011), pp. 117-142 (p.)

⁴³ Beiras (b. 1936) was to become the leader of the Bloque Nacionalista Galego, the most visible Galician nationalist political party during the 1980s and 1990s. Despite his future left-wing postulates, he is not amongst the activists listed by Valenzuela in his report for the PCE.

paredón'. Tensions were deflected thanks to the intercession of Manuel Fraga Iribarne, newly appointed government minister and acquaintance of Cunqueiro. Avilés refers Serrano Castilla's change of heart and his words of praise towards the young thespians as he personally introduced the performance.⁴⁴ Cunqueiro's version of the Shakespearean tragedy anticipated one of the main lines of work consolidated throughout the following decade and broke the supremacy of *costumbrismo* and popular themes on the Galician stage. Although not a translation as such, *Don Hamlet* was cited as a controversial foreign presence on the Galician stage during the 1970s debates on the issue of translation, which will be further discussed in the following chapter.

In 1965, the Asociación Cultural O Facho established its theatre group, marking the birth of independent theatre in Galicia. The initiative was led by Francisco Pillado and Manuel Lourenzo, both of whom have remained associated to Galician theatre until the present day.⁴⁵ Pillado's account of their first project offers an insight into the challenges faced by practitioners at the time, amongst which censorship and the issue of repertoire stand out:

Eu estaba convencido de que o teatro galego reducíase á existencia de dúas obras: *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* de Castelao e *A fiestra valdeira* de Dieste, e da mesma crenza era Manuel Lourenzo [...] tiñamos moito entusiasmo, pero o que non eramos era idiotas; e o que non se nos ocorría era ir pedir á censura representar *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* de Castelao. Era imposible. Xa nin se nos ocorría.⁴⁶

Since they lacked the numbers to take on *A fiestra valdeira*, Lourenzo and Pillado opted for a dramatisation of poems by Luis Pimentel and Rosalía de Castro and a translated Carlos Muñiz text. Although the performance was refused the

⁴⁴ Antón Avilés de Taramancos, 'Don Hamlet no paredón', in *Obra viva* (Santiago de Compostela: Laiovento, 1992), pp.86-88.

⁴⁵ Manuel Lourenzo continues to be involved in theatre activity, as actor, writer and director. In 1967, he abandons O Facho to set up Teatro Circo. Francisco Pillado's activities veered towards dissemination and education. He has received numerous awards in recognition of his work, amongst others, for his role as publisher of the *Cadernos da Escola Dramática Galega*. In 1996, he donated to the Universidade da Coruña his collections of books and theatre-related materials.

⁴⁶ Xosé Luna Sanmartín, 'Conversa con Francisco Pillado Mayor', in *A Pinguela. Teatro Escolar para ler e representar* 36 (2005), 4-18 (7).

necessary permits, they canvassed the support of recognised personalities who could minimise the risk (or severity) of a potential police intervention with their presence. Amongst those in attendance, was ‘un señor maior’ who approached them after the show and discussion to ask why they had not chosen a Galician dramatic text, to which they replied: ‘mire, non facemos teatro galego porque non existe teatro galego’. The man in question was Leandro Carré Alvarellos, one of the most active figures in Galician theatre before the war:⁴⁷

moi finamente, empézanos a explicar o teatro galego dende o século XIX ata os nosos días [...] É dicir, alí, dous mocetes estabamos negando a biografía, o traballo e os esforzos de homes como Leandro Carré [...] o que nos estiveron furtando, o que nos estiveron roubando esta cuadrilla de asasinados que nin sequera nos deixaban representar a Rosalía.⁴⁸

Francisco Pillado’s reflection on the mutilation of the Galician theatre corpus is a poignant one and the lacuna in their knowledge demands consideration. In the 1960s, Pillado and Lourenzo were driven by their commitment to theatre practice in Galician language to set up their group in a hostile environment. The fact that, despite their vocation, they were so unaware of past practice and texts shows the success of the discrediting, marginalisation and repression that Franco’s government exercised on cultural production.⁴⁹ The dramatisation of poetic texts from the Galician canon, a relatively frequent strategy during the 1960s, allowed for the utilisation of consolidated authors and their political or symbolic credentials.⁵⁰ In contrast, translations of foreign plays remained a rarely adopted supplementation strategy during this period. The mistrust of the authorities towards external

⁴⁷ Leandro Carré was director of the Escola Dramática Galega (1922-1926), founder of Editorial Lar (1924) and member of the Real Academia Galega since 1945.

⁴⁸ Luna Sanmartín, ‘Conversa...’, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Even though the two young practitioners misjudged the tradition, we know that Villar Ponte and his contemporaries were already concerned with the lack of originals, as seen in their contributions to the press, documented on Chapter One.

⁵⁰ The adaptation of poems and prose continued throughout that decade into the next, with dramatisations based on Celso Emilio Ferreiro’s poetry collection *Longa noite de pedra* by O Facho (1966) and Teatro Circo (1967) – also a Lourenzo initiative. Teatro Circo devised *Terra en lume* (1970), on texts by Rosalía de Castro. Histrión 70 staged *Tempo de chorar* (*Arpezos de door e da saudade*) in 1970, also based on Ferreiro’s poems and the Grupo Teatral Verbas e Cousas presented at the Mostra de Ribadavia *Un ollo de vidro* (1975), a play based on Castelao’s novella.

influences and the limited availability of foreign literary works are factors in the scarce onstage presence of translated drama. However, the few translations staged in the decades of the dictatorship were, if anything, the most potentially controversial because of their political connotations, which shows a certain boundary-pushing agenda on the part of theatre practitioners. Besides the above-discussed *Antígona*, based on Jean Anouilh's original (Cantigas e Agarimos, 1958), we find plays by Bertolt Brecht and Max Frisch.⁵¹ While prestige influenced the choices of source texts, as did the social and political relevance of the plays, original creation in Galician language was regarded as the truly pressing necessity during the 1960s and part of the following decade. Although drama translation became increasingly common during the 1970s, it remained the subject of heated debate during those years and, arguably, only the consolidation of professional and institutional theatre practice settled the controversy.⁵²

One decisive initiative in the recent history of Galician theatre has contributed to reshaping dramaturgical activity: the creation of the prize for original drama *Concurso de Textos Teatrais Abrente* in 1973, linked to the association of that name in Ribadavia (Ourense), and the annual theatre festival it hosted, the Mostra de Teatro de Ribadavia. The award promoted original texts while the Mostra was a point of encounter for practitioners, not only to showcase their productions but also to engage in the necessary discussion of the way forward for Galician theatre. Abrente was the stepping stone towards professionalisation in the Galician theatre context. However, there was neither breakage with the previous period nor signs of a leap forward into the next. Many practitioners and authors who had carved their

⁵¹ *Puntila* and *Bonhome e os incendiarios* (both O Facho, 1966), after *Biedermann und die Brandstifter*. The limited availability of originals and, to an extent, the inability to translate them – made mediated translations common practice amongst amateur and independent practitioners at the time. It is worth noting that there is a 1959-Spanish edition of Bertolt Brecht's *Herr Puntila* (Buenos Aires: Losange), while *Primer Acto* published *Biederman y los incendarios* (a translation by Manuela González Haba) in 1965 (n.62, pp.25-45).

⁵² The debates on the role of translation during the 1970s are discussed in Chapter Three, in relation to the activity of Ditea, and the position of translation in the CDG repertoire is analysed in Chapter Four.

niche during the 1960s consolidated their influence in the hearth of Abrente. Much like the political scene, theatre practice was experiencing a slow – although not always smooth – transition.

The developments in stage practice in Galician language that occurred during the 1960s are sometimes overshadowed by the significance of Abrente and the changes that followed: the shift in pace during the 1970s and, with the onset of democracy, the emergence of institutional theatre. The choices of the late 1950s and 1960s anticipate a substantial part of the repertoire of the Centro Dramático Galego, the Galician institutionally sponsored company, which became a powerful agent in the establishment of the canon of drama in Galician language: plays such as *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* (2000) or Cunqueiro's *O incerto señor don Hamlet, príncipe de Dinamarca* (1991) and *Si o vello Sinbad volve á illas* (1999), Rafael Dieste's *A fiestra valdeira* (1994), and key representatives of world drama such as Brecht and Synge.⁵³ The existence of such intersections responds to a multiplicity of factors that go beyond the internal operations within the system but, as can be seen, the list is redolent of names and plays which had already been present during the 'longa noite' of the Franco regime. This is indicative of the extent to which it is necessary to focus on evidence of continuity rather than rupture when it comes to the study of theatre practice. Furthermore, the observation of these common threads should prompt a reflection on the impact that the adverse circumstances had on the canonisation of certain authors and plays.

3. *O casamento do latoneiro*: A play for the diaspora

The Escuela de Teatro del Centro Lucense staged *O casamento do latoneiro* on 19th November 1960 in Buenos Aires. This is the first public performance of an Irish

⁵³ There was also a controversial CDG production of Castelao's play in Spanish, *Los viejos no deben enamorarse* (2002), which is discussed in Chapter Four. Synge is represented with *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (1986), analysed in the same chapter, and Brecht with *A boa persoa de Sezuán* (2008) and *A ópera dos tres reás* (2012), the latter being the most successful production of the institutional company to date in terms of attendance.

dramatic text in the Galician language that we have on record, almost forty years after the first translation was published and twenty-four since the Civil War halted the rehearsals for *O país da saudade* in A Coruña.⁵⁴

Like most Galician theatrical activity in Buenos Aires, the event is directly connected to the associative tissue of the migrant community existing in the capital. Within that network, we will consider closely the role of Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde as initiators of this particular project.⁵⁵ The text, in the form of her own rehearsal script, was preserved in Villaverde's personal archive, which also contains a large number of documents relating to the couple's activity in that period. However, the playtext was subsequently misplaced and only one copy of it could be located.⁵⁶ The limited accessibility to the translation evidences the multilayered subalternity of this endeavour: a play translated into a minorised language, mediated through Spanish and performed in a context of displacement.

The rationale behind the choice of text and its place in the contemporary history of Galician theatre must be considered in relation to Valenzuela and Villaverde's activities, theatrical and otherwise. The impact of this performance transcends the context of the Argentine-Galician stage, as it is representative of the continuity of dramaturgical activity found overseas during the impasse following the Civil War, in terms of the connotative value attached to the choice of author, text and source system in cultural production in the Galician language. These aspects recur in later adaptations of the works of J.M. Synge in the Galician context, including other

⁵⁴The group Keltia were rehearsing Plácido Castro's translation of Yeats' play, under the direction of Serafín Ferro but the process was abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the war, as seen in Chapter One.

⁵⁵ For a detailed account of the couple's life and work, see the monographic volume *Dos vidas y un destino: Ramón de Valenzuela y María Victoria Villaverde. Estudio y antología*. Edited by Carmen Mejía (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2011).

⁵⁶ This script was facilitated to the author by Noemí Pazó González, who obtained a copy from Villaverde and refers to the translation in her *A posición da traducción no desenvolvemento do mapa teatral galego: unha achega, 1960-1978* (Madrid: UNED, 2002). However, López Silva and Mejía were unable to locate the translation in their more recent explorations of the couple's personal archive.

versions of *The Tinker's Wedding*,⁵⁷ hence the importance of positioning this inaugural production also in relation to developments in the Galician system and the broader Iberian theatrical context.

The trope of silence in references to drama during the dictatorship represents a historical wedge between the 'displaced' Galician stage and theatrical activity in the 'Galicia do interior'. The efforts of practitioners in that context, already forced into precariousness and a lack of continuity, appear even more fragmented, another hindrance to the study of the period that further obscures its influence on more recent developments. At the time when the Escola de Teatro Lucense was established, theatre in the Galician language had already turned the corner, a point symbolically marked by the staging in 1958 of *Antígona*, a version of Jean Anouilh's play by the *coro* Cantigas e Agarimos in Santiago, under the direction of Rodolfo López Veiga.⁵⁸ This is the first documented performance of a dramatic text translated into Galician, a stand-out choice on a stage practically given over to Galician-language originals, a situation that would prevail for years.⁵⁹ Furthermore, in a system still weighed down by ruralist themes and pre-war clichés, *Antígona* represented a significant shift towards innovative and socially-engaged drama, two characteristics that may be linked to theatre practice in Spain in the decades to follow.

About their involvement in theatrical activity during their time in the Argentine capital, Villaverde has said: 'Foi unha fermosa etapa, moi, moi gratificante, na que o esforzo se compensaba pola satisfacción de que o teatro na

⁵⁷ Namely, the 1972-production *Cabalgada cara o mar* (*Riders to the Sea*) and *A fontenla dos milagres* (*The Well of the Saints*) in 1979, both by Ditea, examined in Chapter Three, and the CDG productions *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (1988) and a version of *Riders, Xinetes para o mar* (1996), analysed in Chapter Four.

⁵⁸ Ramón de Valenzuela included López Veiga in his clandestine report for the PCE, a document recently recovered. López Veiga directed two productions of Valenzuela's play *As bágoas do demo*: one in 1967, with Cantigas e Agarimos, and a second time with amateur theatre group ATIDE in 1994. Xesús Alonso Montero, 'Ramón de Valenzuela. Informe (clandestino) sobre Galicia: política y cultura en el verano de 1965 (Edición, prólogo y notas)', in Carmen Mejía Ruiz (ed.), *Dos vidas y un exilio. Ramón de Valenzuela y María Victoria Villaverde. Estudio y Antología*. (Madrid: Complutense, 2011), pp. 117-142 (p. 130).

⁵⁹ An illustrative fact is that the first Shakespeare in Galician was a production of *Macbeth* by Manuel Lourenzo's Teatro Circo in 1975.

nosa lingua puidera ser representado, en tempos nos que na terra era imposíbel'.⁶⁰ Villaverde echoes here the extended myth of exile as a safeguard of the Galician cultural essence during a time when activity in the motherland was impossible. However, as described above, this was not entirely accurate and the recovery in performance and publication activity was very much under way at the time of Valenzuela and Villaverde's work in Buenos Aires.

As mentioned in the contextual analysis, the trajectory of Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde is illustrative of a prototypical exile itinerary. It also exemplifies how the line between the two categories, exile and migrant, could easily become blurred in the real circumstances surrounding the crossover from Europe and, notably, how the latter masked the former in a problematic distinction that has been discussed in previous sections. Although they travelled, to all legal purposes, as emigrants, their decision to start a new life in Argentina in 1949 was clearly motivated by socio-political circumstances.

María Victoria Villaverde's father, Elpidio, a Frente Popular *diputado*, fled to Portugal in the early days of the Civil War. After a haphazard journey, the family were reunited in France.⁶¹ In 1939, they made the decision to relocate to Argentina, shortly after María Victoria and Ramón de Valenzuela met. Ramón had been politically active in the campaign for the Estatuto de Autonomía and was a member of the Partido Galeguista. During the war, he enlisted in the National army with the intention of, once at the frontline, crossing over to the Republican side.⁶² He joined Enrique Lister's regiment in December 1937 and was later stationed in Barcelona with the Servicio de Inteligencia. Valenzuela was imprisoned during the war and then went to France. After Villaverde's departure to Argentina, he stayed behind, convinced of his duty to fight the Nazis. He was apprehended, interned and

⁶⁰ Romero and Albor, 'Memoria Viva...', p. 10.

⁶¹ For a more detailed account of their arrival in France, see María Victoria Navas Sánchez-Élez, 'Ramón de Valenzuela (1914-1980) y María Victoria Villaverde (1922-): un viaje de ida y vuelta', in *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Carmen Mejía, pp. 25-78 (p. 38).

⁶² For more on opposition to the National forces in Galicia, see Villares, *Historia...*, p.417 et seq.

eventually, deported to Spain. His conditional release came in 1944.

The following year, the couple married in Vilagarcía (Pontevedra), Villaverde's native town, but the difficulties of making a living in Galicia, due mainly to Valenzuela's 'criminal record', prompted the move to Buenos Aires. Once in Argentina, they integrated into the social and cultural life of 'external Galicia'. The couple maintained their commitment to Galeguismo and political activism during those years, as they would after their return to Spain in the mid 1960s. Besides making their home a hub of cultural activity in which they held frequent meetings and organised theatre readings, Villaverde and Valenzuela became involved in the Federación de Sociedades Gallegas. This association had a markedly left-wing political orientation, in synchrony with their ideological affinities and played a key role in theatre events.⁶³

Both Ramón de Valenzuela and María Victoria Villaverde wrote articles for the press, published narrative works and became involved in the theatre scene.⁶⁴ All of these facets imbricate with their life experience and political convictions, not least their dramaturgical endeavours. Although their interest in drama does not start afresh in Buenos Aires, the associative tissue of the city provided the necessary framework for their initiatives, in the form of prior experiments, the support of kindred spirits, existing infrastructure and, crucially, a target audience.

As presented in previous sections, theatre occupied a prominent place in the cultural production of the Galician diaspora. The establishment of the Teatro Popular Galego in 1957 partly realised the early twentieth century nationalists' views on

⁶³ The couple were active members of the PCE. In 1964, the party commissioned Valenzuela to produce a report on cultural and political activity in the region. He travelled to Galicia under the pretext of business. See Mejía (2011) for the full text of this clandestine report, facilitated by Alonso Montero.

⁶⁴ Ramón de Valenzuela is the author of two novels, *Era tempo de apandar* (1980) and *Non agardei por ninguén* (1957), a collection of short stories, *O Naranxo* (1974) and a theatre play, *As bágoas do demo*. María Victoria Villaverde wrote *Tres tempos, la esperanza* (1962; Galician-language edition, *Tres tempos e a esperanza*, 2002). For a comprehensive list of their publications and journalistic activity, see Carmen Mejía (ed.), *Dos vidas...*, pp.289-294.

theatre practice.⁶⁵ Fronted by Eduardo Blanco Amor, the aim of the project was to provide actors training and a platform for performances in Galician, with a repertoire following the Abbey Theatre model. The Teatro Popular Galego was based in the Centro Lucense, one of the regional centres grouped together in the Federación de Sociedades Gallegas.⁶⁶ Established in 1942, the new premises to which the Centro Lucense relocated in 1957 indicated a commitment to cultural programming, as we can infer from a letter sent by Luís Seoane to Francisco Fernández del Riego: '[Las autoridades del Centro Lucense] Acaban de inaugurar un nuevo local social espléndido, con su pequeño teatro, sala de música, gran salón de actos, etc...'.⁶⁷ Eduardo Blanco Amor's Teatro Popular Gallego was short-lived, due mainly to lack of funding, but another initiative with a similar purpose followed at the heart of the Centro Lucense: the 'Escuela de Teatro'. Behind the project were Villaverde and Valenzuela, joined by director Roberto Villanueva.⁶⁸

The Escola de Teatro Lucense started its activity in 1959 and, after a period of 'aprendizaje técnico, elemental, y a título de iniciación',⁶⁹ their first performance came early the following year: the children's play *Marujita o la Princesa Dolorida*. After a public reading of Valle-Inclán texts and a stage play by their director Roberto Villanueva, they went on to form two casts: one to perform in Spanish, the other in the Galician language. The former made its debut in October 1960 with two plays: one by Valle-Inclán, *Ligazón*, and the other by Synge.⁷⁰ The choice of the Irish dramatist's *La sombra del valle* (*The Shadow of the Glen*) intersects with the

⁶⁵ Xosé Luis Axeitos, 'El teatro gallego en el exilio', *El exilio teatral republicano de 1939/Seminari de Literatura Espanyola Contemporània*, Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes (1999), pp.135-144 (pp.139-40). Web.

⁶⁶ The Federación de Sociedades Gallegas agglutinated a number of smaller regional centres, created post-1939: Centro Orensano (1941), Centro Pontevedrés and Centro Lucense (1942), Centro Coruñés (1950).

⁶⁷ Luís Seoane, Letter to Francisco Fernández del Riego (Buenos Aires, 6 March 1957). Luís Seoane. *Epistolario*. Consello da Cultura Galega. Web.

⁶⁸ Roberto Villanueva (1929-2005) was an Argentinian stage, film and TV director of Galician ascent.

⁶⁹ M.V. Arealonga, 'La Escuela del teatro del Centro Lucense', *Galicia* (30 October 1960). Reproduced in *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Mejía, p. 273.

⁷⁰ The Spanish-language performers also staged Valle's *La rosa de papel* and *La cabeza del Bautista* in June, and *Facundo*, by Villanueva, in July.

selection made for the presentation of the Galician-language group approximately a month later, anticipated in the above-cited press article: ‘El elenco gallego por su parte pondrá en escena alrededor del once de Noviembre, una obra, también de John Synge, vertida al gallego con el título de ‘O casamento do Latoneiro’’.⁷¹

The Valenzuela-Villaverde team worked on three stage productions in Galician language with the Escola de Teatro Lucense: the above mentioned *O casamento do latoneiro* in 1960, *A camisa*, by Lauro Olmo and Valenzuela’s original text *As bágoas do demo*, both in 1964. In all three plays, Galicia features as a key reference point, in search of a connection with the diasporic audience. These plays follow the line of popular theatre, portraying popular characters in a recognisable context, and incorporate elements of social critique, which were not always identified by the censors.⁷² *A camisa* was published in Spanish in 1961 and premiered in Madrid the following year. The play addressed themes such as economic difficulties, marginalisation and displacement, which Olmo experienced first-hand when he moved to Madrid as a child after his own father emigrated to Buenos Aires. This granted it currency and appeal to both the Spanish public and the expatriate audience. The Galician-born Lauro Olmo received the Premio Valle-Inclán for this play in 1961 and the Premio Nacional de Teatro in 1962. Therefore, the central position of the dramatist in the Spanish theatre system at the time was being echoed by the Escola Lucense with this choice of text.⁷³

In contrast, María Victoria Villaverde places lesser importance on *O casamento*.⁷⁴ A contributing factor to this secondary positioning could be its mediated nature: this is not only a play translated into a minoritised language, for a

⁷¹ Arealonga, ‘La Escuela...’.

⁷² The censorship report of *As bágoas do demo* refers not only to a lack of reasons to reject the play but also to a failure to understand ‘the point’ behind character development. This document is reproduced in Mejía, *Dos vidas...*, p.281.

⁷³ The newspaper of the Centro Lucense, *Lugo*, reported an attempt to prevent the performance on the part of the Francoist embassy and the Sociedad de Autores de España, alleging the lack of permission from the author, despite the fact that the group had a letter from Lauro Olmo. López Silva, ‘Ramón de Valenzuela...’, p.1,399.

⁷⁴ Inmaculada López Silva. Personal email communication. 16 January 2015.

displaced audience of migrants and exiles, but also, as I have corroborated, the play text was a translation from the dominant language in both the host nation and, by imposition, in the home country. The source text used by Valenzuela and Villaverde was the 1959 Spanish language edition, published in Buenos Aires by Editorial Losada and, therefore, readily available.⁷⁵ The volume was part of the series ‘Gran Teatro del Mundo’ and includes six plays by John M. Synge, under the title *Teatro: La sombra del valle, Jinetes hacia el mar, La boda del hojalatero, El manantial de los santos, El botarate del Oeste, Deirdre de los Dolores*.⁷⁶ The inside cover page unambiguously reads: ‘Traducción directa de Marta Acosta van Praet’. The plays are preceded by some verses by Yeats on Synge, both in English and in Spanish translation.⁷⁷ The volume also features an introduction by W.R. Rodgers and the preface to the play written by Synge, both also translated into Spanish.⁷⁸ In the context of the Buenos Aires exile, the inclusion of Synge’s works in the Losada catalogue can be seen as a guarantee, given the anti-Francoist associations of the editorial house. The positioning of Losada impinges on the text, favouring the interpretation of Synge’s dramatic works as having a social critical aspect, something that Irish theatre criticism has contemplated only in recent years.⁷⁹

The Escola’s choice of Synge links in to Blanco Amor’s Teatro Popular

⁷⁵ The source text is referred to as ‘probable’ by López Silva in ‘Ramón de Valenzuela...’, p.1393, and supported by Mejía (*Dos vidas...*, p. 251) and by Pazó (*A función ...*, p.59), the only scholar who documented access to the text so far. Although she did not include textual examples in her work, identified the Losada edition as source to both *O casamento* and Magán’s *Cabalgada cara o mar*. I have uncovered evidence of this through textual analysis and also concluded that the same edition was used by Magán for his translation of *The Well of the Saints*. Relevant examples are included in Appendices D and E.

⁷⁶ The list of original titles features several typos: *Seirdoe of the Sorrows* and *Ridder to the sea*, a mistake reproduced in materials relating to the Ditea production of the play examined in Chapter Three.

⁷⁷ The fragment is taken from ‘In Memory of Major Robert Gregory’: ‘Y después vino John Synge, ese hombre indagador/Que muriendo eligió el tema de un mundo vivo y real/Y que no hubiera podido descansar en su tumba/Si al filo de la noche y después de mucho andar,/En un escenario extraño y único,/En el lugar más pétreo y desolado,/No hubiese hallado al filo de la noche/Una raza apasionada y simple/Como su propio corazón’. J.M. Synge, *Teatro*. Trans. by Marta Acosta Van Praet (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1959), p.7.

⁷⁸ Synge, *Teatro*, pp.8-9.

⁷⁹ The depoliticalisation of Synge is further discussed in Chapter Four, in connection to readings of his work in the Galician context.

Galego and to pre-war perspectives on theatre practice which identified the Abbey Theatre as a suitable model in the development of Galician theatre. The selection of play also indicates a consideration of its potential audience, not only the militant *galeguistas* but also the broader Galician community in Buenos Aires, who would be able to identify with the popular theme and the rural setting of *O casamento*. This becomes manifest through a close reading of extratextual and paratextual materials and an analysis of translation and production choices.

3.1. Documentary traces of the Escola de Teatro Lucense project

There are several documents connected to this work by the Escola de Teatro: a press article on the group, two reviews of the performance, a personal letter to Ramón de Valenzuela and a hand programme.⁸⁰ In this section, I will consider how these extratextual and paratextual materials provide an insight into the inception of the Escola de Teatro Lucense and its objectives, the approach to translation and the interpretation of Synge's text.

The establishment of the ensemble is linked unambiguously to cultural action in the frame of the Galician associations, as we can see from the emphatic call for support in one of the reviews:

É necesario, absolutamente necesario, que os nosos asociados, as suas familias, e os seus amigos estimulen coa súa presenza estas manifestacións de arte e cultura, que a nosa institución ven fomentando, pra esbeltización espiritual das suas xentes, e pra xerarquizar a cultura de Galicia, no ámbito da mellor cultura universal.⁸¹

In the Arealonga article, the Escola is described as a necessary and unprecedented initiative, without mention of the Teatro Popular Gallego of scarcely

⁸⁰ Arealonga, 'La Escuela...'; R.S.P., 'O casamento do Latoneiro' (Buenos Aires, November 1960); 'Teatro Gallego en el Centro Lucense'. Unknown source (30 November 1960); Moisés de Presa. Letter to Ramón de Valenzuela (Buenos Aires, 4 December 1960); Escola de Teatro Lucense. Hand programme: *O casamento do latoneiro* (Buenos Aires, 19 November 1960). These documents are included in Mejía (ed.), pp. 271-274; and cited in Pazó, *A función...*, p. 46. Copies of the hand programme (Fig. 2, p. 91) and the R.S.P. review, reproduced in Appendix A, were facilitated to the author by Pazó, for which I am indebted to her.

⁸¹ R.S.P., 'O Casamento do Latoneiro' (November 1960). In all likelihood, the initials correspond to Ramón Suárez Picallo (1894-1964), founding member of the Partido Galeguista and prominent figure of the Galician exile, who addressed the audience before the performance, as indicated in the article.

two years earlier: ‘sin embargo, no había surgido hasta ahora, una iniciativa similar en otra manifestación artística de gran importancia: el teatro’.⁸² The omission of any reference to Blanco Amor’s project suggests a wish to avoid an association with that frustrated initiative. However, another article, ‘Teatro Gallego en el Centro Lucense’ combines praise of current activities (‘de un tiempo a esta parte’) with criticism of past attitudes, perhaps a veiled reference to the failed Teatro Popular Gallego:

Alguna vez hemos notado la ausencia de sensibilidad y emoción, entre sus directivos, por las cosas nuestras – ‘nosas’ –; muy especialmente por la preterición de nuestro idioma gallego [...] Nos hemos callado [...] seguros de que lo racial, lo telúrico, se iba a imponer; y así fue, y así es.⁸³

The work of the Escola is presented as a necessity for the community, an essential step for the recognition of Galician culture beyond its boundaries and a vehicle for the expression of its differential identity. The hand programme refers explicitly to this play as a conscious choice to open the trajectory of the Escola de Teatro Lucense, omitting to mention earlier work by the Spanish-language cast or the accessibility of the text. The short text on the programme takes us through the gap in cultural production that the Escola de Teatro came to fill, in emotionally charged language (‘con agarimo e con fé’). It also provides a rationale for choosing Synge’s *The Tinker’s Wedding*. Firstly, the prestige of the author (‘o grande dramaturgo irlandés’, ‘Synge está dentro da primeira liña do teatro universal’), which connects with the aim to position cultural production in Galician language on a par with that in other languages, as expressed by R.S.P.⁸⁴ Synge’s dramaturgical production is described as ‘absolutamente popular, como arrincada da dór e do gozo, no senso e na fala’, which fits in with the identity building agenda of the institution, based on the maintenance of popular elements.

⁸² Arealonga, ‘La Escuela...’, in *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Carmen Mejía, p. 273.

⁸³ ‘Teatro gallego en el centro lucense’, *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Carmen Mejía, p. 274.

⁸⁴ R.S.P., ‘O Casamento...’.

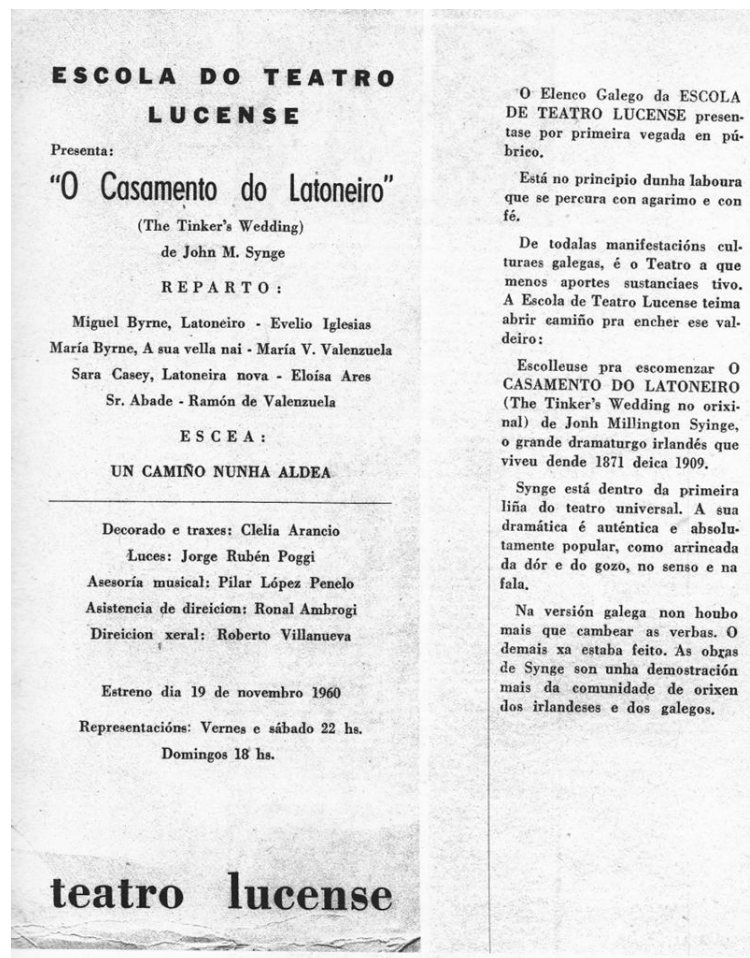


Fig. 2 – *O casamento do latoneiro*. Hand programme.

The closing paragraph emphasises the proximity between Ireland and Galicia, presenting the ease of translation as further proof of common origin: 'Na versión galega non houbo mais que cambear as verbas. O demais xa estaba feito. As obras de Synge son unha demostración mais da comunidade de orixen dos irlandeses e dos galegos'. Leaving aside the irony of this statement, given that the translation was in fact done from the Spanish version, this reference to the kinship between Ireland and Galicia is just one of several aspects that link the production of Synge to the lines anticipated in earlier incorporations of Irish drama to the Galician system. López Silva explains the choice as a continuation of pre-war values, a view not shared by Mejía, who interprets the selection as a prolongation of the popular theatre

experience anticipated by Eduardo Blanco Amor. Whereas these views are not exclusive, the extratextual information points rather definitely, if not to a conscious continuation, at least to a prolongation of the early twentieth century approach. Moreover, the explicit mention of Antón Villar Ponte in Ramón Suárez Picallo's opening address on the night of the premiere connects the play to the former's perspective on the virtues of supplementing the dramatic corpus through translation, while also drawing attention to the popular character of the play and the prestige of its author:

Denantes de iniciar a representación, Ramón Suárez Picallo [...] Lembrou, que fai corenta e cinco anos, o gran xornalista i escritor lucense, de Viveiro, Antón Villar Ponte, asinalou o deficit que nas letras de Galicia tiña o teatro; e suxeriu a necesidade de que, pra suplilo, debíanse de facer traduciós de obras maestras do Teatro Universal en idioma galego.⁸⁵

Equally, the review that appeared in *Galicia* – the periodical of the Federación de Sociedades Gallegas – reiterates the association with the *Irmandades* period by linking Synge to Plácido R. Castro:

en el teatro del Centro Lucense, se está representando una obra notable, en idioma gallego, nada menos que de un gran poeta irlandés, Synge, fallecido hace unos años, traducda [sic] también hace tiempo, por P. R. Castro, un escritor gallego de sólida cultura inglesa. La obra es de carácter popular, costumbrista y de una gran afinidad espiritual con lo popular nuestro. [...] Antes de levantarse el telón, Suárez Picallo dijo unas palabras referentes a las traducciones para enriquecer el acervo lingüístico de nuestro idioma.⁸⁶

Hence, the documents we have at our disposal indicate clearly a degree of instrumentalisation of the performance. *O casamento do latoneiro* was a means for community cohesion, cultural dissemination and linguistic enrichment, in pursuit of prestige for a differential Galician identity.

3.2. Documentary traces of mediation and reception

O casamento do latoneiro was translated into Galician using the Spanish

⁸⁵ According to this document, Suárez Picallo added: 'Il mesmo deu o exemplo, facendo unha fidelísima versión galega da traxedia 'Almas mortas', do escritor ruso, Nicolás Gogol'. R.S.P., 'O Casamento...'

⁸⁶ 'Teatro gallego...', in *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Carmen Mejía, p. 274.

version by Marta Acosta van Praet. This strategy represents yet another point in common with the pre-war approach to the translation of Irish drama. The Catalan sourcing of *Catuxa de Houlihan* discussed in the previous chapter illustrates how the norms governing drama translation and the idiosyncrasies of the Galician-Irish connection favour the occlusion of the mediation process. The weight of the cultural and political agenda attached to dramaturgical activity – language normalisation, ideological dissemination, acquisition of prestige – concurred with the utilisation of the Irish connection to validate the silencing of mediation. Although we do not find the same explicit claim of directness seen in relation to *Catuxa de Houlihan*, any allusion to the Spanish version is omitted and, as seen in the previous section, references to the translation process emphasise a direct connection with the original: ‘Só tivemos que cambiar as verbas’. The amateur character of the production is also stated in the extratexts, which acts not only as a *captatio benevolentiae* but also exempts the project from compliance with acknowledgment of the authorial line: this is not a text destined for publication or commercial distribution but a performance exercise that constitutes a milestone for a minorised culture and its language.

After a brief summary of the themes and plot of the play, I will present proof that *La boda del hojalatero* was beyond reasonable doubt the source text for Ramón de Valenzuela’s translation into Galician. The existence of a mediating translation and the preservation of the Irishness in the text would appear to be opposing tendencies; however, in *O casamento do latoneiro*, I will illustrate how the mediation process coexists with clear attempts to mark and preserve the Irishness of the text, and how the translation process responded to the demands of the target culture. This is evidenced by the treatment of cultural references, the language of the Galician translation and the dramaturgical impact of translation and production choices. By examining the latter, it becomes clear that, in the context of Galician reception of Irish drama, these two tendencies can be not only compatible but also complementary.

The plot lends itself to the enhancement of popular aspects: Sarah Casey wants to marry her long-term partner, Michael Byrne. However, they do not have the required fee for the priest who, reluctantly, agrees to marry them in exchange for a coin and the tin that Michael is making. Before they can do the deal, Michael's mother, Mary, exchanges the tin for drink behind their back. The priest is enraged at what he interprets as an attempt to trick him. The tinkers respond to this unjust insult and come close to killing him, but Mary Byrne becomes the unlikely voice of reason in the end and they free him, with the promise of no legal retaliation.

The Losada compilation includes a translation of Synge's preface to the play, in which the dramatist anticipates readers' reactions to the portrayal he presents of marginalised characters and defends his stance on the basis of humour. Although it does not appear to have been an influence on the text of the hand programme, we can assume that, at least Valenzuela, had knowledge of these lines:

En la mayor parte de Irlanda, sin embargo, todos, desde el hojalatero hasta el sacerdote, aún tienen una vida, y un punto de vista de la vida, plenos de riqueza, de cordialidad y de **humorismo**. No creo que a estos campesinos, que poseen ellos mismos **tanto sentido humorístico**, pueda importarles que **se rían de ellos sin malicia**, como han sido **objeto de risa** en sus propias comedias las gentes de todos los países.
 [In the greater part of Ireland, however, the whole people, from the tinkers to the clergy, have still a life, and view of life, that are rich and genial and **humorous**. I do not think that these country people, who have **so much humor** themselves, will mind **being laughed at without malice**, as the people in every country **have been laughed at** in their own comedies.]⁸⁷

Where Synge had chosen more inclusive phrasing, Acosta reduces the applicability of the preface to the characters in *La boda del hojalatero*, as opposed to being transferable beyond those specific subjects: 'tinkers' and 'clergy' become in the Spanish target text 'el hojalatero' and 'el sacerdote'. In both versions, the preface introduces the text as portraying 'country people', in line with the popular theatre that was being offered to Galician audiences in Argentina. Furthermore, the clarification that the intention of the play is not malevolent or critical – an aspect on

⁸⁷ 'La boda del hojalatero', in *Teatro*, pp.51-52; and 'The Tinker's Wedding', in *Plays...*, p.33. My emphasis.

the other hand corroborated by the onstage developments, where the character of the priest displays the most censorable behaviour – is a key point. As we saw from examples presented in previous sections, caricaturesque representations of popular types were likely to backfire in front of the migrant audiences, specially sensitive to negative stereotyping.

3.3. Translation strategies, language and dramaturgical impact

The lexical choices and dramaturgical solutions found in the target text epitomise the galicianisation of Irish drama, setting identification and audience acceptability as a prevailing norm. The treatment of antroponyms, toponyms and cultural references in the Galician target text is consistent with the strategy followed by Acosta van Praet in the version published by Losada, bar some minor departures. In the character list, the first names are rendered in Spanish while the surnames are preserved in their original form. This and the mention of the original English title in the Galician advertisement draw attention to the fact that audiences are in the presence of a translation, the character of the priest is listed as ‘Sr. Abade’, an appellative used in the play, instead of ‘Un sacerdote’. Names that appear in the body of the text are maintained in the original in both versions, with the exception of Philip O’Cullen (p.13)/Philly O’Cullen (p.73), also with that spelling in Synge (p.55), perhaps an example of hypercorrection.⁸⁸ The descriptive tags for each of the characters, the reference to the setting and even the title in the Galician version mirror the choices found in the Losada edition, as seen in the programme of the play, reproduced in previous pages.

With regards to cultural and geographical references, the general strategy is preserving the Irish locale. For instance, in the bargaining between Sarah Casey and

⁸⁸ Hereon, unless otherwise stated, all examples of the text are followed by the page numbers corresponding to the following versions: Ramón de Valenzuela (trans.), *O casamento do latoneiro*. Unpublished script. 1960; Synge, *Teatro*. Trans. Marta Acosta van Praet (Buenos Aires: Losada 1959); and John Millington Synge, *Plays, Poems and Prose* (London: Dent & Sons, 1958). Valenzuela’s version will appear first, then Acosta’s and Synge’s original, in that order.

the priest throughout the play, literal translations are chosen for currency, with only one departure from this approach:

é capás de me encher as man de chelins por unhas poucas mentiras. (p. 9)	capaz de llenarte la mano de chelines por un par de mentiras. (p.67)	would fill your hand with shillings for a brace of lies. (p.48)
se queredes casarvos tendes que me dar unha libra (p.3)	y si quieren casarse pagarán una libra (p.57)	and if you want to be married, let you pay your pound . (p.39)
sen que teña gastado un cobre (p.9)	sin que haya gastado un cobre (p.67)	and not a farthing gone (p.49)
Non teño nin un carto . (p.3)	No tengo ni medio penique . (p.57)	I haven't a halfpenny at all (p.38)

For other referents specific to the Irish context that may present certain difficulties for the audience, Valenzuela's translation follows closely Acosta's choices, as the following examples show. In the first one, the insertion in the Spanish version is maintained as an explanatory device (b). In example (a), Acosta's choice is replaced with a more general term, albeit with loss of a reference to the original context:

<p>a) 'e se veñen os gardas botámolo de cabeza no pozo que hai detrás da gabia'. (p. 13)</p> <p>'y si vienen los mondadores lo echaremos de cabeza dentro del pozo de turba que está detrás de la zanja'. (p.74)</p> <p>'And if the peelers come, we'll put him head first in the bog-hole is beyond the ditch'. (p. 56)</p>
<p>b) 'Ordénovos que fuxades como o vento, coma se escaparades da cadea de Kilmainhan ou da mesma forza'. (p. 13)</p> <p>'Les ordeno que se vayan y disparen más ligero que si escapan de la cárcel de Kilmainham o de la misma horca'. (p. 74)</p> <p>'Go on, I'm saying, if you'd run from Kilmainham or the rope itself'. (p. 55)</p>

c) ‘e despois irei vender a lata á filla do **pastor**. Alá embaixo, que é **unha santiña de Noso Señor**’. (p. 9)

‘y después iré a vender la lata a la hija del **pastor**, allá abajo, que es **una pobrecita criatura inofensiva**’ (p. 66-67)

‘And I’ll sell the can to the parson’s daughter below, **a harmless poor creature**’. (p. 48)

Acosta decided to render ‘peelers’ literally but Valenzuela opted for ‘gardas’, which would be immediately understood by the audience. The Anglican cleric is a ‘pastor’ in both Acosta and Valenzuela and most likely to be interpreted as a shepherd in performance in absence to any additional reference.

A peculiarity observed in Villaverde’s script is the alteration of toponyms and antroponyms to reflect phonetic characteristics, probably for ease of delivery:

Valenzuela	Acosta/Synge
Razvanna (2)	Rathvanna (55/37)
Ballinacri (2)	Ballinacree (55/37)
Glénmalur (2)	Glenmalure (55)/ Glen Malure (37)
Árlow (2)	Arklow (55/37)
Mid (3)	Mead (57)/ Meath (39)
Jimmy (4), Jimmy Neill (7)	Jemmy Neill (58,64)/ (40,46)
María Berne (7)	María Byrne (61)/ Mary Byrne (43)
Bydy Flyn (8)	Biddy Flynn (65 /47)

These modifications show a wish to maintain Irish elements, even if it was necessary to adapt them. However, the preservation of Irishness does not exclude the incorporation of elements from Galician folklore, to facilitate a connection with the audience, sometimes through humour and clichéd devices. *O casamento do latoneiro*

opened with Sara, ‘latoneira nova’, singing the popular tune ‘Eu quería-me casare’ to background flute music.⁸⁹ As can be seen in Figure 3, the first page of the script, an arrow connects the redundant clarification ‘cantiga galega’ to the title of the song. Such a musical introit would take the audience back to Galicia, while the humorous intention of the lyrics, to which the song no doubt owes its popularity, set the comedic tone of the piece. With such a starting point, hilarity and instant identification were nearly guaranteed. However, we must also consider the connotations of the choice, in terms of both its form and content. The form ‘casare’, an infinitive with ‘e epentético’, characteristic of the Galician oral tradition, situates the speaker in a specific socioeconomic demographic, as does the lack of material means that the song refers to. The song makes light entertainment of a problematic situation and slides into a ‘humorisation’ of poverty. Although an awareness of this is unlikely to have been in the participants’ minds, it is nevertheless an underlying element that links this production to some of the criticism to which Synge’s work had been subjected and, indeed, to the problems that he anticipated in his preface to the play. Furthermore, the caricature of the Galician stereotype was a sore point in a community that endured prejudiced views and was actively contested by some sectors. This preoccupation –by no means exclusive of the diaspora, as discussed in Chapter One – was precisely what motivated the more critical receptions of Castelao’s *Os vellos non deben de namorarse*.⁹⁰ The costumes used for the play, which we can appreciate in the photographs of the performance published at the time, were another familiarisation device. In the case of the priest and Sara, the

⁸⁹ A popular tune, the four verses are a dialogue between a mother and daughter: ‘Eu quería-me casare,/miña nai non teño roupa/Casa miña filla casa/que unha perna tapa á outra’.

⁹⁰ Farías refers to the negative reaction of the audience to the humorous representation of stereotypical Galician characters during a performance in the Centro Orensano in 1945 and to the complaint sent by the Federación de Sociedades Gallegas to the Argentine actress Niní Marshall in relation to her radio caricatures of ‘gallegos’. Farías, ‘Aspectos...’, p.54. A riotous boycott of the play *Doña Quijota de Orense* in Buenos Aires, ended up with the arrest of several members of the *galeguista* group Sociedade Pondal, one of them being Moisés da Presa, author of a letter to Valenzuela with regards to the performance of *O casamento do latoneiro* referred to at a later stage. Bieito Cupeiro, *A Galiza de Alén Mar* (Sada, A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1989), p. 42.

ankle-length *sotana* and the full mid-length skirt and plaited hair spoke to the audience of a Galician clergyman and a young woman respectively, albeit one that adhered to conventional representations.

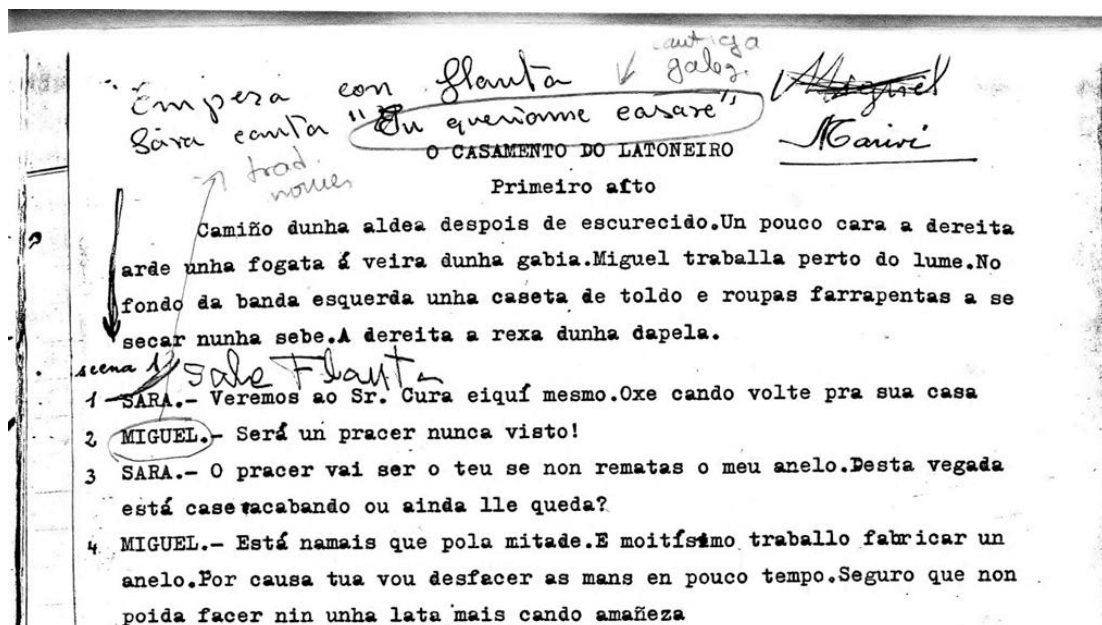


Fig. 3 – Villaverde script. *O casamento do latoneiro*.

The Language of the Translation

The language of this Galician version of *The Tinker's Wedding* is characterised by a popularisation and localisation of the dialogue, achieved through lexical choices along the lines of the stage language sketched in the pre-war period, to which Valenzuela and Villaverde's initiative can be linked. In his presentation of the play, Suárez Picallo reportedly referred to the role of translations as a means to language enrichment ('para enriquecer el acervo lingüístico de nuestro idioma').⁹¹ As seen in the previous chapter, language had been tied to differential identity by the nationalist movement, a view that had continuation in the exile context.

In general terms, the lexicon is used in a precise, accurate manner, providing translations that denote knowledge of everyday language and referents from a rural context, like 'gabia' or 'sebe'. Choices that enhance the popular register, identifiably

⁹¹ 'Teatro gallego en el Centro Lucense' (30 November 1960), *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Mejía, p. 274.

Galician words, or those that are visibly different from their Spanish counterparts are favoured. Sometimes this leads to the use of terms with a more restricted meaning (p. 1 and p. 7), a procedure also found in earlier translations:⁹²

Valenzuela	Acosta	Synge
chilindradas (p. 8)	inutilidades (p. 65)	‘the like of them’ (p. 47)
‘as súas arroutadas por casar’. (p. 6)	‘sus veleidades y su alboroto por casarse’. (p. 61-62)	‘her fussing for marriage’. (p. 43)
‘Que lle pasa para estar tan arroutado?’ (p. 13)	‘¿Qué le pasa para estar tan agitado?’ (p. 75)	‘What ails you, with your wriggings now?’ (p. 56)
falcatruadas (p. 13)	villanías (p. 74)	villainies (p. 55)
ar (p. 1)	aire (p. 54)	air (p. 36)
‘Non vou consentir luxedes a miña eirexa’. (p. 12).	‘No voy a permitir que entren a ensuciar mi iglesia’ (p. 73)	‘I wouldn’t have you coming in on me and soiling my church’ (p.55)
‘perante a primeira parte da feira’. (p. 7)	‘durante la primera parte de la feria’. (p. 64)	‘for the first bit of the fair’ (p. 46)
rubir (p. 1)	subir (p. 54)	walking up (p. 36)
‘e, ademais teño un barullo na cabeza’. (p. 7)	‘Y, además, tengo un ruido en la cabeza’. (p. 63)	‘and my head with a noise in it’. (p. 45)

On occasions, an alternative meaning is attributed to certain terms, mostly verbs: ‘finar (‘finamos’) used in the sense of ‘to finish’ instead of its actual meaning, ‘to die’, and ‘rispar’ (13) is used meaning ‘to escape, to flee’ as an alternative to the much more common ‘escapar’ (74).

Castelanismos are for the most part restricted to calques of Spanish verbal structures, such as reflexive forms of verbs where in Galician we would have a non-reflexive, such as ‘Ireime’ (9), in the Spanish text ‘Me iré’ (67). These syntactic ‘lapses’ are counteracted by the use of quintessential Galician-language constructions:

⁹² This strategy was also identified in the translations by Antón Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro analysed in Chapter One.

‘e doormen cando xa lle non rexe as pernas’ (p. 5)	‘y duermen cuando no les dan las piernas’. (p. 60)	‘and lying down to sleep when your legs are stiff’ (p. 42)
‘Hao de facer, non si? ’ (p. 6)	‘Porque lo hará, ¿verdad?’ (p. 61)	‘for I’m thinking you’ll do it surely’. (p. 43)
‘ Toleaches ’. (p. 9)	‘Estás loca de atar’. (p. 67)	‘Is it raving mad you’re going’. (p. 49)

As in Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro, we find some *hiperenxebrismos*, which distance the text from the Spanish: ‘soberbo’ (p.13), to translate the Spanish ‘altanero’; ‘tranquía’ (p. 6) (for ‘tranquila’); ‘orgulo’ (p. 6) (‘orgullo’). This is combined with the presence of forms that mirror dialectal phonetic realisations: ‘mintireiro’ (p. 1), ‘bunitiña’ (p. 3), ‘rapás’ 4 (a spelling of ‘rapaz’ that reflects a dialectal realisation of the final /θ/ sound), ‘curazón’ (p. 5), ‘eirexa’, ‘soave’ (p. 8), ‘coaresma’ (p. 13). Use of dialectal versions of adverbs of place such as ‘eiquí’ fulfils a dual purpose: on the one hand they enhance the oral, colloquial quality of the text and, on the other, they offer an alternative to the standard ‘aquí’, which coincides with the Spanish word.

Overall, the aim is that of instilling Galician flavour into the text, and for that it is necessary to replace the features of Latin American Spanish found in Acosta Van Praet’s translation, such as the use of the ‘usted’ form of the verb for second person singular in both formal and informal situations and a number of lexical options. While many of these terms exist in Galician, they are replaced by others with an increased vernacular character. Such is the case with the adjective ‘lindo/a’ or verbs such as ‘disparar’ (meaning ‘to run off’) and ‘secretearse’ (to whisper):

‘[...] a Belida de Ballinacri! Como acai ese nome pra unha muller!’ (p. 2)	‘[...] la Bella de Ballinacree. Lindo nombre para una mujer’. (p. 55)	‘[...] the Beauty of Ballinacree, a fine name for a woman’. (p. 37)
‘[...] e non se murcha máis esa carriña de anxo que che deu Noso Señor?’ (p. 10)	‘¿[...] y no perderás esa linda carita que Dios te ha dado?’ (p. 69)	‘[...] and losing the fine face you have’. (p. 51)
‘ Fuxamos, lisquemos,	‘ ¡Disparemos,	‘ Run, run. Run for your

fuxamos de eiquí denantes que veñan!'. (p. 14)	disparemos!; Disparemos antes de que sea tarde!' (p. 77)	lives'. (p. 58)
'Que falabas as caladiñas con ese ome?' (p. 6)	'[...] no estés secreteándote con ese hombre en las narices de Dios Nuestro Señor'. (p. 61)	'Let you [...] not be talking whisper-talk with the like of him in the face of the Almighty God'. (p. 43)

Although it is obvious that care has been taken in the choices, the Galician translation does not display the same degree of lexical diversification found in Villar Ponte. The enhancement of 'Galician traits' is directed towards the reproduction of a popular register and increased expressiveness, which are prioritised over norm-creation. This translation was intended to be immediately accessible to the community and, even though the choice has certain ideological implications, the text itself is not positioned as a political instrument: its value rests on the effectiveness of the performance.

Translation choices and their impact on stage

In general terms, *O casamento do latoneiro* follows closely the Spanish language version, which in turn is a largely faithful rendition of Synge's original. Therefore, there are no substantial changes in terms of content or length. However, several of the translation decisions made by Valenzuela affect the representation of the characters and onstage dynamics.

The Galician-language script omits all stage directions, although some pages display added-in manuscript direction or delivery notes and movement indications. An integral part of a dramatic text, stage directions offer invaluable information for its interpretation and for performance, not only with regards to movement but also in the form of attitudinal indications. An abundance of the latter is a feature in Synge's work, as nearly every intervention is accompanied by a descriptor of the required tone. These allow us to closely track onstage dynamics and character evolution. Marta Acosta van Praet's Spanish translation for the Losada edition by and large

retains the specificities of the English-language original. Hence, in the opening scene, Sarah Casey and Miguel Byrne display a wide range of attitudes: ‘malhumorado’ (grimly), ‘vivamente’ (sharply), ‘con lento mal humor’ (slowly and grimly), ‘enojado’ (angrily), ‘pensativa’ (musingly), ‘burlona’ (teasingly), ‘consternado’ (with dismay), and more. While that detail is absent from the actors’ script, it could have been accessible to those involved in the production via the Losada volume. The script also displays a number of manuscript notes, all relating to María Byrne, the character played by Mariví Villaverde. Although there is a vague correspondence between these annotations and the stage directions in the Losada edition, the incorporation of the source text stage directions is neither systematic nor comprehensive. There are insertions where performance cues are non-existent in either Synge’s original or Acosta’s translation, such as in María Byrne’s soliloquy at the end of Act I: ‘bajo’, ‘grave’, ‘afirmativo, melancólico’, ‘más divertida’, ‘sobrecogida’, ‘in crescendo’, ‘dramática’ (p. 7). All of these insertions are in Spanish, not in Galician, suggesting that the working language during rehearsals was the former.⁹³ This diglossic behaviour is not a rarity: committed *galeguistas*, working towards the rehabilitation of the language were often complicit in the very situation they were trying to revert. Often from a middle-class background, they had little competency in the language or used it sparingly in written contexts. Villaverde referred to her own case in an interview, where she remarked that Ramón had learned Galician from his childhood friends, while she had never used the language growing up.⁹⁴

⁹³ Pages from Villaverde’s script showing insertions by her own hand are reproduced in Appendix H.

⁹⁴ Ana Acuña Trabazo, ‘Obra periodística de Ramón de Valenzuela y de María Victoria Villaverde’, in *Dos vidas...*, ed. by Mejía, pp. 79-116 (p. 94)

15 SARA.- Xa tomaches dabondo. Déitate a durmir un pouco. E o que pode facer unha vella borracha e herexe coma ti. SPOT BLANCO

1 MARIA.- Fóronse e deixáronme coas pernas tan febles que me poderían guindar no chan sómentes con un ~~unco~~ e, ademais teño un barullo na cabeza coma se ~~correrá~~ a auga dun regato entre medias de dúas penedos cando chove. FLAUTA

25... Pra que sirvo eu esta noite, santo Deus? Pra que sirven os fermosos contos que tal sei cando tan pouca xente quere sentir a unha vella? grave

Moitas veces ningúen. Sómentes algunha rapaza espavorida, cando lle chegou a súa hora, ou algunha criatura que non pode durmir de fame nunha noite fría. Namentras son novos pode sere que teñan dereito a se ir por ahí, mais ~~mois divertida~~ aínda que o teñan non chegarán a preñar a María Byrne de tomar o seu grolo de cervexa nunha noite crara. SALE PARAMELO

do ceo Jimmy Neill é un bo rapás que me dará unha pinga por esta lata. sobre-cogida

E se mañán me quedo aveira dos gardas, perante a primeira parte da feira, ó mellor ela non me fai nada... e se malla de min... que me importa un golpiño na cabeza, en comparanza a estar eiquí soa nunha noite crara inmensamente

de lua... ~~sentada~~ ^{en chucha}... sentindo ladrar os cans e chillar os morcegos repe-dramaticamente

tíndome de cote que pouco me queda pra morrer/. Cando Larry se enterou/ ca

Que iba a morrer aforcado/ Axiña dixo que os cregos/ Tiñan todo perparado.. X

Fig. 4 – Villaverde script, manuscript stage directions. *O casamento do latoneiro*.

A levelling of the characters' idiom is present in both the Spanish and the Galician versions. However, while the Losada text tends towards across the board elevation, where both the tinkers and the priest use roughly the same higher register, in the Galician target text the register evens out in the opposite direction and the priest is given an equally popular register, more in line with the idiom of Synge's characters in the original, albeit perhaps unintentionally. In the Galician version, only the tinkers use the 'usted' form of the verb to address the priest, marking a difference in class and status. However, the character of the priest does not correspond with politeness and he appears rougher than in the Spanish text:

'Sodes un feixe de pillos, ladroeiros e mintireiros os tres. Idevos de eiqué e levade eses farrapos morriñento[s] que tedes na gabia' (p. 12)

'Son un lote de pícaros, ladrones, mentirosos, enredistas, los tres. Váyanse de aquí en seguida y llévense esos trapos roñosos que tienen en la zanja' (p. 72)

'It's a wicked, thieving, lying, scheming lot you are, the pack of you.

Let you walk off now and take every stinking rag you have there from the ditch' (p. 54)

O casamento do latoneiro presents a reading of *The Tinker's Wedding* that is closer to social commentary than caricature, if we defer to Moisés da Presa's letter to Valenzuela:

[...] no caso da tua dona, ô chantarse decidida, arrufadamente, no difícil persoaxe que está a representar, adquire a necesaria forza expresiva que fai que o espreitador esquecéndose do xogo, 'sinta' intensamente o persoaxe representado. [...] E que direi de ti, Ramón? Que fás un crego magnífico, magnífico⁹⁵ exemplar de crego alombado e cutre, robizoso de cartos e mal cristiao.

These comments suggest that the interpretation of the characters went beyond the strictly literal to explore more subtle dimensions. In reference to Roberto Villanueva's direction, da Presa says: '...soupo artellar a obra e modelar con verdadeiro acerto –intuición e inspiración – os persoaxes, donándolle un notable relén expresivo'.⁹⁶ It is obvious that words addressed personally to Valenzuela are not necessarily a reliable report on the couple's work. However, the fact that da Presa chose to highlight precisely that aspect points to a certain reception of the performance and, indeed, to audience expectations and reactions. The Spanish language translation signed by Acosta traces the evolution of Synge's characters: the two-fold morality of the money-driven priest, the contradiction in Sarah Casey's insistence on marriage and the matter of fact, unexpectedly logical attitude of Mary Byrne in the final scene. However, while the characters' actions are questionable, they remain unquestioned in the main, as they get the upper-hand in their final confrontation with the priest. Much like the blind couple in *The Well of the Saints*, Sarah Casey abandons the dictates of conventional religion, in this case due to the priest's materialistic attitude, and

⁹⁵ This letter, dated 4th December 1960, is one of the documents reproduced in Mejía, 'Ramón de Valenzuela y el teatro gallego en Argentina', in *Dos vidas...*, pp. 243-287 (pp.275-78). Moisés da Presa was a member of the Sociedade Pondal, a Galician nationalist group based in Buenos Aires.

⁹⁶ Mejía, *Dos vidas...*, p.277.

walks away unconcerned by the threat of God's wrath.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the case of *O casamento do latoneiro*, the first Irish play to be staged in Galician language and one of the first translated pieces to be performed in Galician. The fact that this happened in Argentina might at first push us towards reading it as an isolated event. Yet instead I have shown that this staging was ultimately made possible by the ways in which the 1939 exile reshaped the Galician community in Buenos Aires.

As demonstrated over the previous sections, despite the time lapse between Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro's translations and the Escola de Teatro Lucense, there is much common ground between them, both in terms of translation strategy and ideological associations. The connection to the earlier period is made explicit in the extratexts and the paratexts, through allusions to past efforts and to the commonality with Ireland, which played such a key role in the inaugural translations. Through the signs of connection with pre-war choices, the production emerges as a link, a bridge between the pre-1936 period and the continuation of lines of reception of Irish drama in the Galician context at future stages.

The presence of an Irish play on the diasporic Galician stage and the inaugural position of this performance must be linked to the added value placed on the dramatist and his original cultural context from the perspective of Galician national consolidation. Additionally, these choices must be analysed in light of historical considerations regarding the treatment of Irish cultural products and the position of translation in the Galician theatre system. Aspects such as the affinity with Ireland, the prestige of the author and the popular character ascribed to his drama favoured the incorporation of *The Tinker's Wedding* at that particular moment.

O casamento do latoneiro anticipates directions that were to be followed in future incorporations, in terms of both repertoire and translation approaches. J.M. Synge will become the most performed Irish dramatist on the Galician stage: *Riders*

to the Sea (Ditea, 1972 and CDG, 1996), *The Well of the Saints* (Ditea, 1979), *The Playboy of the Western World* (CDG, 1988), and *The Tinker's Wedding* (Escola de Teatro Lucense, 1960, and Compañía de Marías, 1997). The choice of dramatist and text must be considered in conjunction with its landmark condition, as the first play staged by the Galician-language cast of the Escola Lucense and one of the first translations into Galician to be performed. However, we must also avoid a magnification of its importance beyond the context of active *Galeguismo* in Buenos Aires: the press references we have are from the journal *Galicia*, published by the Federación de Sociedades Gallegas, and it has been established that Galician theatre received hardly any attention in the Argentine press. Yet in a minorised theatre system, subjected to a transatlantic divide, this one production represents the transitional role of the extraterritorial stage in the development of Galician theatre practice.

Chapter Three

Irish drama in 1970s Galicia: Ditea

This chapter will analyse the incorporation of Irish dramatic works into the Galician theatre system during the 1970s. The highlights of this period are productions of four Irish plays by Ditea, a Santiago-based ‘teatro de cámara’ group established in 1960. In chronological order, they staged *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, an adaptation of J.M. Synge’s *Riders to the Sea* in 1972, *Rosas vermellas para min*, their Galician version of *Red Roses for me* by Sean O’Casey in 1976, *O país da saudade*, first performance of the 1935 translation of Yeats’ *The Land of Heart’s Desire* in 1977, and *A fontenla dos milagres*, an adaptation of Synge’s *The Well of the Saints* in 1979. The four productions of Irish plays in the Ditea repertoire constitute the first instances of Irish drama to be presented onstage in Galicia in the Galician language. Each of these choices is representative within the company’s history and reflects their positioning in the evolving socio-political, cultural and theatrical context.

These performances happened during a momentous historical period, between the twilight of a forty-year-long dictatorial regime and the establishment of a democratic government in Spain. The plays are the product of a difficult cultural context; institutional opposition to specifically Galician cultural manifestations in the early 1970s, followed by the struggle to achieve a certain degree of normality in the theatre system, attached many political implications to the decision to work in the vernacular language. If we add to this the historical association between nationalist ideology and Irish cultural products in the Galician context, Ditea were a relatively unexpected initiator of Irish drama in Galicia, given their social and political connections.

Throughout the following sections, I will begin with an outline of the socio-political and theatrical context in Galicia at the time of the productions, revealing

how the identity of Ditea as a group responded to external factors. I will then illustrate the ways in which the Irish plays in their repertoire punctuate the activity of the company and exemplify their position with regards to translation and to the Galician language, two key elements in the minorised Galician cultural context. I will then proceed to undertake an analysis of the incorporations, drawing examples from the texts, paratexts and extratextual materials. The unpublished translations were obtained directly from Ditea, in the form of scripts, as were the programmes corresponding to the performances.¹ The archive of the group provided access to a large volume of materials relevant to the incorporation of Irish drama, including correspondence, press cuttings and other documentation, which have been invaluable in reconstructing this particular performance history.

1. Galicia in the 1960s and 1970s: Key political and theatrical aspects

When examining the work of Ditea it is essential to consider the specific characteristics of this theatre group in relation to the context in which it developed. Since its foundation in 1960, Ditea has been involved in uninterrupted theatrical activity, albeit with uneven intensity, until the present day. The four productions that are the focus of this chapter saw the light at a moment of very special historical significance, 1972 to 1979, during which the Spanish state underwent perhaps the most significant political change in its recent history: the end of Francisco Franco's dictatorial rule and the transition to democracy. Against this backdrop, a professional theatrical structure started to take shape in Galicia, with many existing groups making their own particular transition, marked by the evolution of the independent theatre of the 1960s, as described in the previous chapter.

After the Civil War (1936-1939), Francisco Franco instituted a dictatorship that lasted until his death in 1975. During the latter years of his regime, he made

¹ The hand programmes corresponding to stagings of each of the Ditea plays are reproduced in Appendix J.

provisions to be succeeded by Juan Carlos, grandson of Alfonso XIII, the monarch deposed with the proclamation of the Second Republic in April 1931. Juan Carlos I, as Head of State, initiated the process to establish a democratic government in the frame of a monarchy that had been sanctioned by the dictator.² The ‘Ley para la Reforma Política’, approved by referendum in December 1976, paved the way for the June 1977 elections, the first opportunity for the Spaniards to choose their rulers since the outbreak of the Civil War. Then, in another referendum, the Spanish citizens gave their approval to the Constitution in 1978. While this closed the door on the dictatorial order, a coup d’état fronted by General Tejero in February of 1981 endangered the democratic progress of the previous years. In Galicia, this was a tense reminder of the events in 1936: history seemed to be repeating itself, as the Estatuto de Autonomía was pending final approval at the time of Tejero’s irruption in the Congreso.³ These events allow us to speak of Transition period until the consolidation of the democratic system with the 1982 general election.⁴

Theatrical activity in Galicia was profoundly marked by the political situation and much of it revolved explicitly around ideological commitment, in circumstances where the use of the Galician language was a political statement in itself. The landmark event of the period was the creation of the Mostra de Teatro Galego de Ribadavia in 1973 and the Premio Abrente for original dramatic works in Galician language. The proliferation of public organised events points to the predominant function of theatrical manifestations at that particular moment,⁵ described by Manuel F. Vieites in the following terms:

Fue una época de autoafirmación en la que la simple defensa de la lengua era

² Juan Carlos I, as Head of State, did not carry out the immediate dissolution of the Francoist institutions that had existed during Franco’s regime; in fact, his appointed president, Arias Navarro continued in his post until his resignation in 1976.

³ Approved by popular referendum in December 1980, the Estatuto was passed in March 1981.

⁴ Other scholars extend the transition period until Spain joins the EEC in 1986.

⁵ Besides the ‘Mostras’ in Ribadavia (1973) and Vigo (1975), preceded by the ‘Jornadas de Teatro’ (since 1972), the ‘Semana de Teatro en Marín’ (1973) and, in 1975, the ‘Ciclo de Teatro Gallego’, organised by the Asociación Cultural Valle-Inclán in Lugo.

la única credencial necesaria para subir a un escenario y compartir el cartel más deseado, un momento histórico en el que el teatro constituía, casi en exclusiva, un instrumento de expresión tribal y de lucha social.⁶

Despite the differences with regards to aesthetic codes and approaches, the importance placed on the ideological component acts as a binding agent for diverse projects and groups. In Vieites' words, '[l]a lucha política unía aquello que la creación artística separaba'.⁷ While the affirmation of Galician identity was a cohesive element amongst practitioners, opinions on matters such as the use of the language, the definition of what constitutes Galician theatre and, crucially, the position and function of translation in the developing theatre structures were contentious items on the agenda. Nevertheless, the emphasis on organised events indicates a concerted effort towards establishing a solid theatrical network and a pursuit of normalisation.

As seen in Chapter Two, theatre activity in Galician experienced some degree of recovery during the 1960s. The 1970s would see an intensification of debates around the definition of Galician theatre and the pivotal issue of language expressed in a key question: can there be a Galician theatre in Spanish language? This resulted in what Vieites describes as 'un diferencialismo a ultranza, el ritual de la negación del otro', sometimes leading to the stigmatisation of the use of Spanish language on the part of certain sectors.⁸ Conflicting views on this matter became palpable in the second edition of the Mostra de Teatro de Vigo, in 1976. Faced with the opposition of certain sectors to the presence of Spanish-language performers, the organisers declared themselves to be beyond ideological postulates: 'su intención de crear un teatro plenamente gallego y no solo en gallego, asumiendo la situación sociopolítica de nuestra región para tratar de liberarla de la invasión cultural de que ha sido objeto

⁶ Manuel F. Vieites, *La nueva dramaturgia gallega. Antología y estudio preliminar* (Madrid: Asociación de Directores de Escena de España, 1998), p.62.

⁷ Ibid., p.56.

⁸ Vieites, *La Nueva Dramaturgia...*, p.59.

por parte de la cultura castellana'.⁹

The protectionist attitude of many towards the vernacular language provoked debates around the acceptability of translations in the construction of a corpus of Galician theatre or the need to prioritise original creations in Galician language.¹⁰ Reports on a round table on Galician theatre held at the Galería Sargadelos in Barcelona in 1975 provide an insight into the various positions with regards to translation. On that occasion, Eduardo Blanco Amor pronounced himself contrary to the translation of foreign drama as an investigative, innovative exercise, at the expense of a connection with the Galician people.¹¹ He referred to the work of university groups on his texts: 'El pueblo lo asume y lo asimila, y yo, que soy bastante más refinado en mis menesteres literarios, estoy satisfecho de haber escrito estas farsas populares'.¹² The participants in that debate adopt varying degrees of acceptability towards translated drama, and arguments for or against are overlapping. As Pazó points out, the true key to the matter is the attitude towards stage work and towards the audience, rather than a choice of thematic lines or authors.¹³ Most of the practitioners that resorted to translation at the time alleged a lack of Galician originals that fitted in with their aesthetic or ideological coordinates.¹⁴

One of the preoccupations transpiring from the discussions at the Sargadelos round table was the idea of popular theatre and its ability to connect with Galician audiences. Whereas some contributors saw the potential of foreign popular theatre, others dismissed it on the grounds that it would be 'popular' only in its context of

⁹ Ana Begoña, 'Las dos Mostras se sentaron a dialogar', *Faro de Vigo* (13 July 1977), cited in Vieites, *La Nueva Dramaturgia...*, p. 60.

¹⁰ For a comprehensive study on the position of translation in this period and the different arguments, see Pazó, *A función da tradución...*, p.26 et seq.

¹¹ Blanco Amor's position here must be nuanced with his work in Buenos Aires, where he collaborated with Valenzuela and Villaverde, who were clearly not opposed to the idea of translation for the stage, as seen in Chapter Two.

¹² Ramón Clemente, 'Mesa redonda, en Barcelona, sobre el teatro gallego', *La Voz de Galicia* (26 March 1975), cited in Pazó, *A función...*, p. 26.

¹³ Pazó, *A función da traducción...*, p. 31

¹⁴ Pazó refers to her conversations with translators, directors and dramatists, amongst whom she names Maximino Keyzán and Agustín Magán. Pazó, *A función da traducción...*, p. 31.

origin. This concern with validity and identification is addressed in the paratexts that accompany translations from the Irish theatre system since the early twentieth century, where the ability of those texts to mirror the essence of the Irish people and, by virtue of identification, of the Galician people is recurrently highlighted. As I will show in the following sections, the 1970s translations staged by Ditea are not an exception.

2. Ditea's specificity contextualised

Ditea was established as an amateur company and has maintained this status over the years. Its trajectory is unique in the panorama of Galician theatre because of its longevity – over fifty years and counting – its visibility inside and outside of Galicia and its embeddedness in the community in the city of Santiago. Another characteristic of Ditea was its refusal to adopt a clear ideological position at a time when, as previously said, theatre was almost inevitably a political statement. The company, with Agustín Magán at its helm, persistently declared independence, inclusivity and artistic freedom as its governing principles. However, a look at Ditea's history reveals a polyhedric personality. It was described as independent, despite receiving substantial funding from the local authorities, with whom the group enjoyed a remarkably good relationship during its first decade in existence; they refused to make political declarations but their repertoire is speckled with audacious choices.

In the early days of 1960, a group of well-to-do 'santiagueses' decided to create an amateur company, for which they chose the name 'Ditea', an acronym for 'Difusión de Teatro Aficionado'.¹⁵ In her work on the history of the company, Alejandra Rodríguez Villar describes its foundation, listing six participants in the

¹⁵ The group also used the denominations 'Teatro de Cámara Ditea' and 'Ditea Teatro', as well as 'Aula de Teatro Ditea'. The latter appears on the programme for a performance of *Roda Viva*, organised by the University-based Aula de Teatro, which suggests a wish to blend in with other university groups participating in the event. See Appendix J.

germinal meeting: Agustín Magán Blanco, Jesús Reboredo Rey, Manuel Valiño Segade, José María Paz Sueiro, José Vaamonde Canede and Luis Rodríguez Miguez.¹⁶ All of them were full-time professionals: Magán was a public accountant, Rodríguez Miguez a doctor, Paz Sueiro a solicitor; they undertook their theatrical project without any aim to become professional thespians, but also with an attitude that went beyond the customary ‘aficionado’ mentality, as can be seen from the day-to-day operations of the group. Their social and professional networks proved instrumental in terms of attracting funds, securing venues and getting the pertinent official permits for performances, as evidenced by the correspondence preserved in the company’s archive in Santiago de Compostela.¹⁷

Ditea was established as a ‘teatro de cámara’ group. At a time when the regime exercised control over the content of literary manifestations and public performances, the ‘teatros de cámara’ inhabited a slightly more permissive space in the realm of cultural production. The censors exercised relative lenience when it came to these companies, given the low impact that they anticipated for their output. Certainly, most productions reached a small number of people and many were only staged fewer than a handful of times. However, Ditea challenged this expectation by having repeat performances of most of its shows and attracting a sizeable audience, evidence of its visibility within the community.¹⁸

By their own accounts, Ditea grew out of the ‘cuadro artístico’ of the Colegio La Salle, one of the foremost educational institutions in Santiago. Rodríguez Villar

¹⁶ Alejandra Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral en Galicia: el caso de Ditea (1960-1986)* (Doctoral Thesis, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2005).

¹⁷ Ditea’s first president was Ángel Porto Anido, mayor of Santiago de Compostela at the time. In response to a questionnaire sent out by Los Goliardos, later published in *Primer Acto*, in relation to the funding available to the group, the answer was: ‘La Agrupación recibe subvenciones del Ayuntamiento, iniciadas por don Ángel Porto Anido en su época de Alcalde y continuadas ahora por la primera autoridad señor López Carballo’. The reply to the question of affiliation is categorical: ‘Entidad de que depende: Absolutamente independiente’. Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, p.47.

¹⁸ Besides the attention received by the plays in the local press, the attendance figures compiled by Rodríguez Villar show that many productions were performed to sizeable audiences and ran over several months. Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, pp. 557-612.

labels the former theatre group ‘proto-Ditea’, since most of the above-listed founders as well as actors such as Mariluz Villar – who was their first actress for many years – had been bitten by the theatre bug at the school. The company continued to maintain ties with La Salle and to attract members from amongst its alumni.¹⁹ At a time when lay associations were almost unviable, educational institutions provided an environment for cultural activity that could not have occurred otherwise. Nevertheless, the group’s early history shows links to ecclesiastical authorities and an underlying Catholic ethos.²⁰ The departure from La Salle to create Ditea was described as follows by founding member Luis Rodríguez Miguez:

La reputación del teatro que hacíamos cada vez iba a más no sólo en Santiago, sino también en otras localidades próximas. Al estar el cuadro artístico tan constreñido a la Asociación de antiguos alumnos finalmente nos dimos cuenta de que el proyecto que teníamos en mente necesitaba unos más amplios horizontes de realización. Fue ese el momento en el que decidimos disgregarnos de La Salle y crear nuestra propia agrupación artística que nos brindara un mayor potencial a la hora de montajes y repercusión de público y crítica. El nuevo proyecto, al igual que el cuadro artístico estuvo formado desde el primer momento tanto por antiguos alumnos como por integrantes que nada tenían que ver con La Salle. A medida que fueron transcurriendo los años, el componente lasaliano, por naturaleza fue disminuyendo.²¹

Rodríguez Miguez refers to a wish to overcome the ‘constraints’ imposed by the La Salle frame and the pursuit of further impact. However, he does not clarify whether those limitations were related to repertoire choices, production capability or ideological issues. The timing of the departure must be connected to other theatrical events in Santiago around the same time. In 1960, Rodolfo López Veiga, also a member of the La Salle theatre group, joined Cantigas e Agarimos and directed *Antígona*, the first staging of a dramatic text translated into Galician

¹⁹ Amongst the directors, José María Paz Sueiro was the President of the Federación Lasaliana de Galicia and Luis Rodríguez Miguez its chairperson.

²⁰ In 1970, with the occasion of its tenth anniversary, Ditea organised a theatre festival and, amongst the programmed activities, there was a visit to the Cardinal-Archbishop and a mass for the deceased members. Less anecdotal is the regular participation of Ditea in performances organised on the occasion of religious festivities, such as Corpus Christi.

²¹ Rodríguez Villar, *La cultural teatral...*, pp.36-37.

language.²² As seen in Chapter Two, López Veiga was linked to left-wing cultural activism, a commitment attested by his work with *Cantigas e Agarimos*.²³

In contrast, Ditea chose an uncontroversial opening for the post-La Salle period, *Melocotones en almíbar* by Miguel Mihura.²⁴ Contemporary Spanish and Latin-American drama remained a regular feature in the group's repertoire in years to come, as did a consideration for audience tastes and a wish to cultivate a dramaturgical identity and to set themselves apart, even though they did not necessarily offer something innovative from the perspective of aesthetics or performance modes. Subsequently, Ditea incorporated classic texts into their repertoire, including eight 'autos sacramentales', which became a signature genre for the group and secured its place in the events calendar of the city during the years following its foundation.²⁵

The company's intense work on Spanish classics in their early years, which Rodríguez Villar cites as a source of prejudice against Ditea, placed them within the boundaries of the theatrical approaches encouraged by local institutions.²⁶ Ditea also carried out several performances in the frame of Festivales de España, an initiative bearing the Francoist seal.²⁷ Rodríguez Villar attributes the decline of Ditea during

²² This production is referred to in Chapter Two, in the section on theatrical recovery in Galicia during the Francoist dictatorship.

²³ López Veiga's links with Ramón de Valenzuela are described in the previous chapter and his commitment to theatre in Galician language is also accounted for in Chapter 2. It is worth remembering here that he directed the first performance of Castelao's *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* in Galicia.

²⁴ Ditea staged a Galician version of Mihura's text, *Melocotóns en xarope*, in 2005. A list of the company's repertoire is included in Appendix B.

²⁵ An initiative with the full support of the local authorities, these autos sacramentales were staged in the Praza da Quintana, at the core of Santiago, where elaborate stage designs were purposely built. The performances were advertised in English, German and Japanese and presented as a unique opportunity to witness a Spanish tradition, in order to attract tourist audiences.

²⁶ Rodríguez Villar does not give specific examples of this alleged criticism. However, she cites acknowledgements of the contribution of Ditea to Galician theatre, such as Manuel Lourenzo's: 'Foi o grupo de Teatro de Cámara por excelencia, cun traballo abundante e significativo, tanto referido a clásicos, na primeira época, como máis adiante a autores representativos e difíceis da dramaturxia universal, e tamén polo seu compromiso, a partir de comezos dos anos setenta, coa língoa galega'. Rodríguez Villar, *A cultura teatral en Galicia...*, p. 363.

²⁷ Ditea participated in Festivales de España with several productions of Spanish classic texts between 1965 and 1971.

the 1970s to the increased politicisation of theatre practice in Galicia and to their refusal to align with the prevalent *galeguista*, left-wing activism. This assessment provides a reductive perspective on both the internal history of the company and its environment. Firstly, the absence of any pronouncement against the non-democratic establishment can be regarded as a political positioning in itself. It is evident that Ditea utilised their relationship with the authorities to overcome certain obstacles more easily, as exemplified by the correspondence with Jordi Teixidor, in relation to a possible Galician-language production of his *El retaule del flautista*. After finding out that Carlos Gigirey was in the process of translating the play and that he had made an informal commitment with another group, Ditea decided to shelve the project, in order to avoid any clash, and informed the author of their intentions in the following terms:

A Gigirey le hemos puesto como disculpa ‘pegas’(1) de Censura, (que de verdad existen, aunque **nosotros las superaríamos**) y la necesidad de obtener previamente el permiso correspondiente.
Como tenemos ya bastante trabajo realizado en la labor de montaje y nuestro interés es grande, siempre que nos (2) lo permitas, haremos tu obra en castellano. El tiempo se encargará de nuestra versión gallega... y de su representación.²⁸

An examination of their repertoire reveals that Ditea did not shy away from controversial texts, including authors who represented an understanding of theatrical practice distanced from the company's idearium or blacklisted by the regime, such as Alfonso Sastre or Fernando Arrabal. Their extensive list of productions displays a certain eclecticism: over eighty productions at the last count, including a considerable number of classical texts, not only from the Spanish tradition, such as Calderón de la Barca, Lope de Vega and Lope de Rueda, but also plays by Plautus, Gil Vicente, Molière and Goldoni.²⁹ There is

²⁸ Rodríguez Villar, *A cultura teatral en Galicia...*, p.418. Ditea staged *O retablo do flautista*, the Galician version of Teixidor's play in 1975.

²⁹ The absence of Shakespeare may stand out in a repertoire with such a strong presence of European classics. However, it is not anomalous in the Galician context where, between 1960 and 1978, a production of *Macbeth* (directed by Manuel Lourenzo, Teatro Circo, 1975) is the only documented Shakespearean presence on the Galician stage.

also a considerable presence of contemporary authors, from Latin America (James Endhard, Sergio Vodanovic or Osvaldo Dragún) and from the Iberian context (Lauro Olmo and the above-mentioned Arrabal, Teixidor and Sastre), as well as from other theatres, such as Luigi Pirandello and John Osborne. According to Agustín Magán, the selection of texts was fundamentally made on the basis of dramaturgical and aesthetic factors, and social functionality was subordinated to these:

En el grupo de Magán caben todas las ideologías para su teatro no comercial sino de ideas. A la hora de escoger las obras hay un comité de lectura que selecciona las más interesantes. El suyo no es un teatro revolucionario porque, dice, no va con su carácter. Solo buscan textos estéticos que digan algo. En todo caso hay que hacer un teatro estético con intencionalidad política.³⁰

One aspect of repertoire selection that Magán does not mention is the commemorative or contextual value of the plays, which was evidenced in the choice of the ‘autos sacramentales’, an opportunity provided in support of local tourism initiatives, and in their choices of Irish drama, as I will explain in more detail when contextualising the company’s so-called ‘Irish cycle’.

There are many indicators that Ditea was an active participant in theatre life at the time, not only through performance activity but also through discussions about the future of Galician theatre. Everything points at a high level of visibility and involvement, even in circles that, according to Rodríguez Villar’s assessment, could be a priori considered hostile. They took part in the Mostra de Teatro de Ribadavia, a decisive forum in the history of contemporary Galician theatre, and were also invited to take part in the Mostra de Teatro de Vigo, another key instigator of theatrical activity in Galicia at the time, where their bilingualism – a reflection of their ambivalent attitude to ideological aspects – was in fact backed by the organisers in the face of an attempted boycott by a small number of groups who proclaimed the

³⁰ X. M. Cambeiro, ‘Estaribel y Ditea: Teatro gallego profesional y aficionado’, *El Correo Gallego* (4 August 1981), p. 21.

need for unambiguous linguistic positioning. Ditea were active contributors to the Mostra de Ribadavia until they withdrew their participation in 1977,³¹ in response to the requirement to use exclusively the Galician language on stage, as set out in a letter to the organisers:

Nestes derradeiros anos e un feito a casi exclusiva dedicación do noso grupo o teatro en galego. E na programación de vindeiros montaxes solo figuran textos en galego. Pro refugamos calquer fórmula de compromiso. Sabedes que puxemos de cote todo o noso millor facer e o meirande entusiasmo nas Mostras de Ribadavia e podedes ter a seguridade de que sentimos e lamentamos non estar este ano convosco.³²

Paradoxically, it was at the Mostra that Agustín Magán had announced three years earlier Ditea's commitment to the Galician language, as recalled by Manuel Lourenzo:

Lembro o día aquel en que proclamou, na taberna da Agrupación Cultural, Abrente, de Ribadavia, sede de conspiradores teatrais, con orgullo e voz emocionada: 'O teatro de Cámara Ditea decidiu no futuro traballar sempre en galego'. Frase que vindo do rector da única agrupación entre as presentes que tiña que render contas a unha Xunta Directiva, é dicir, dun grupo que non era 'independente', levantou, polo seu significado, unha ovación.³³

Their abandonment of Spanish as a performance language had been a welcome move in theatre circles and in all likelihood a source of increased acceptance on the part of fellow practitioners and critics. In 1979, Francisco Pillado Mayor contacted Magán to propose that an issue of the *Cadernos da Escola Dramática Galega* be dedicated to Ditea. In his aim to chronicle theatre activity in the Galician context, Pillado was providing Ditea with a visible platform to tell their story.³⁴

³¹ Also, Magán received an Abrente award at the 1980-Mostra for his original play *Alias Pedro Madruga*, staged by the company in 1982.

³² Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, pp. 378-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

³⁴ In his request, Pillado explains: 'Trátase, simplemente, de deixar constancia de todos os montaxes feitos por vos, sinalando a data e o lugar do estreno, pois ben sabes cal é a desfeita de datos concretos que andamos a padecer neste terreo. ¿Poderías enviar xunto co traballo, unha foto dalgún dos vosos espectáculos?'. Francisco Pillado. Letter to Agustín Magán (1979). Ditea Archive, Vol. 1979. The monograph, by Magán himself, appeared in the collection directed by Pillado and Lourenzo the following year. *O teatro de cámara Ditea. Cadernos da Escola Dramática Galega* 9 (1980). For more on the *Cadernos* and their role in the evolution of contemporary Galician theatre see David García Vidal, *Teatro galego e construción nacional: os Cadernos da Escola Dramática Galega (1978-1994)* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2009).

Ditea's visibility and network of contacts went beyond the Galician context. Besides the occasional performance outside Galicia, the group featured in a special issue on independent theatre activity in Spain published in *Primer Acto*.³⁵ Also committed to dissemination, they organised encounters over the years that led to strengthening their links outside Galicia and consolidated them as an independent theatre group in the broader Spanish context.³⁶ These external links seem to have been discontinued in later years in favour of bonds within the Galician context, parallel to their progressive move to Galician as the group's vehicular language. That change in linguistic attitude represents an inflection point in the internal history of the company that will be analysed in more detail in the section on Irish drama in the Ditea repertoire.

In the late 1970s, a professional awareness was gaining presence amongst Galician theatre practitioners. As many embarked on the route of professionalisation, with better or worse fortunes, Agustín Magán's group continued to function as amateurs, despite their high level of organisation and commitment.³⁷ Amateurship had been a defining feature of Ditea since its beginnings at that meeting in 1960. This status was not synonymous with precariousness, just as professionalism does not ensure dignified working conditions, especially in a non-normalised, minorised context like Galicia. During its first fifteen years, Ditea undertook ambitious projects that required sophisticated stage designs and large casts with the support of the local

³⁵ Ditea received a questionnaire from Los Goliardos in 1968, aimed at compiling information on independent theatre activity, which appeared in *Primer Acto* 104 (1969), 13-29 (18). The only other Galician company featured is Tesis, from A Coruña, established in 1965.

³⁶ The programme of the contemporary theatre festival they hosted in 1970 to commemorate their tenth anniversary included several public lectures. One of the speakers was Ricardo Doménech, professor at the Real Escuela de Arte Dramático. Around that time, Ditea received a letter from the RESAD alumni association expressing their intention to establish a touring network for independent theatre groups at state level. RESAD Alumni. Letter to Ditea (1970). Ditea Archive, Vol. 1970.

³⁷ Over the years, Ditea was a nursery for performers that made the transition to the professional milieu. Amongst them, Manuel Oliveira 'Pico' (1955-2013), who returned to his *alma mater* on several occasions, deserves a special mention for his outstanding contribution to Galician theatre and audiovisual arts. One of his many roles was the publican Miguel Castro in the CDG production *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (1986), analysed in Chapter Four. Oliveira's contribution to the hand programme of the play is reproduced in Appendix K.

authorities, at a time when even human resources could be scarce.³⁸ Their capabilities dwindled with the consolidation of democracy and the reorganisation of the Galician theatre map. The responsibility of bringing Galician theatre into the future, which had been carried through the 1960s and 1970s by independent, amateur groups, became the remit of the professionals. The enduring amateur character of the group is crucial for an understanding of their work, marked by their particular navigation of the socio-political circumstances and their positioning (and repositioning) in the Galician and Iberian theatre context.

3. Irish drama in the Ditea repertoire

The evolution of Ditea responds to the changing face of contemporary Galician drama, and is reflected in the incorporation of Irish plays into their repertoire and to the corpus of theatre in Galician language. As I will demonstrate, the company's stance in relation to original Galician drama and to translation must be considered in close connection with each other, as they can facilitate the understanding of their approach to the four Irish plays they chose to perform at different moments in their trajectory.

3.1. Ditea and translation

Initially, Ditea worked exclusively in Spanish, predominantly on original texts; however, translated plays came to occupy a prominent place in the Ditean repertoire, amounting to nearly half of their total body of work.³⁹ The company contributed a large number of translations to the Galician language dramatic corpus, in some instances anticipating repertoire choices that would be taken during the

³⁸ Their 1973-production *El retablo del flautista* had a thirty-one strong cast, with an additional eleven musicians, according to data compiled by Rodríguez Villar in 'A cultura teatral en Galicia...', p.589. This contrasts with the shortage of actors reported by Francisco Pillado in the beginnings of O Facho in 1965, as documented in Chapter 2.

³⁹ Between 1960 and 1986, Ditea staged 11 Spanish-language classics, 16 Spanish-language contemporary plays, 14 translations into Spanish, 14 translations into Galician and 4 Galician-language originals. The total number of translated texts was 28, out of 59 productions. For a list of productions, see Appendix B.

professionalisation period, as I will expand on in the conclusion of this chapter.

Although the first translation – Nicola Manzari’s *Milagro* – dates from 1960, it was not until 1965 that the volume of translations in the repertoire of Ditea began to rise considerably. Until 1970, Spanish was the target language of these translated texts. Between 1970 and 1975, the group continued to stage original Spanish-language drama but all of their translations were into Galician. The texts chosen for translation into Spanish include a range of sources: Portuguese (1 text), Catalan (1), English (3), French (4) and Italian (6). In some cases, it was specified that the translation was Ditea’s own; at other times they used previously published versions of the plays. However, as seen in the case of *Milagro* and as the treatment of mediation with regards to Irish drama will confirm, lack of clarity with regards to the translation process was commonplace.⁴⁰

Besides the four English-language Irish plays that represent the focus of this chapter, the Galician language translations comprise texts from the Portuguese tradition (4),⁴¹ Greek and Latin drama (1),⁴² Italian (2)⁴³ and Catalan, the latter represented by a Galician version of Jordi Teixidor’s *El retaule del flautista* in 1975. It is worth noting the presence of translations of Spanish texts, such as *Oratorio*, by Alfonso Jiménez Romero (1971) and *O vello celeiras* (1979), a version of Miguel de Cervantes’ *El celoso extremeño*, indicating that, despite abandoning the use of Spanish as a stage language, Ditea had not turned their back on Spanish-language

⁴⁰ Rodríguez Villar identifies Nicolás Manzari and Adolfo Lozano Borroy as authors, as opposed to attributing the translation from the Italian to the latter, probably a transcription of the programme, suggesting that translations were frequently obscured from the audiences.

⁴¹ These included a Galician-Portuguese dramatised version of the poem *Morte e vida severina* de Joao Cabral de Melo Neto, which the company had staged in Spanish back in 1969, and *A barca do inferno* by Gil Vicente. In 1981, they staged *O mariñeiro*, with the subtitle ‘Versión de Ditea, sobre textos de Fernando Pessoa’.

⁴² The group produced *A comedia da oliña* by Plautus (1970), in a translation by Aquilino Iglesia Alvariño, and Aristophanes’ *A paz* (1978). More recently, Ditea returned to the former author with *Farsa Plautina* (2011).

⁴³ In 1981, *O escolante* (*Farsátira en dous tempos sobre textos de Nello Saito*) and *Os cornos do mestre Xoan Panxolas* in 1980, stage adaptation of a story collected in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* included in *Roda viva*.

drama. As for the Irish dramatic texts, they are only staged in translations into Galician, which links in with the commemorative character of these performances and the identification with Ireland highlighted in the framing of the plays.

A sense of reflective practice can be observed in their pronouncements about Galician drama and, in particular, the lack of quality originals that, in their opinion, stifled the possibilities of evolution. A 1972 manifesto ‘Encol do teatro galego’, signed ‘Teatro de Cámara Ditea’, refers explicitly to their view of translation as necessary to mitigate the lack of quality Galician-language originals, which they attribute to a lack of ‘dramatic vocation’ amongst Galician authors:

Queixámonos da ancestral falla de vocación dramática nos nosos máis esgrevios escritores, cuia pouquedá de creación escénica mantén a Galicia orfa dun teatro autóctono. Fora de Valle Inclán que non é autor ‘galego’.
[...] ¿Qué podemos facer, entón, os numerosos grupos de Galicia e dos centros culturaes galegos espallados polo mundo adiante, que andamos a procura de textos pros nosos montaxes? Traducións. Temos que verquer o noso idioma as obras que millor se axeitan as nosas posibilidades despóis dunha traballosa escolma do teatro universal, namentras non conquiramos o tan arelado teatro autóctono.⁴⁴

This is neither a new debate nor a new argument. Translation was already advocated in these terms in the 1920s and 1930s, as explored in Chapter One. ‘Encol do teatro galego’ demonstrates not only Ditea’s preoccupation with the current situation of Galician drama and their outspoken attitude but also an aim to provide a rationale for future repertoire choices. The precarious sociolinguistic situation of the Galician language, still largely marginalised by official institutions in the 1970s, gives the group’s pronouncement an additional political dimension.

Ten years later, Magán was to insist on the lack of quality originals in

⁴⁴ Valle-Inclán has appeared repeatedly in discussions around dramaturgical creation in the Galician context, as seen at the time of the *Irmandades da Fala*, when Villar Ponte regretted the lack of talented dramatists working in Galician language. His work has also been at the core of controversies around translation, such as the one sparked by the 1998 production of his works by the CDG that I refer to in Chapter Four. Note that, as we have seen in Chapter Two, Valle-Inclán was also the author chosen by the Escola de Teatro do Centro Lucense for their Spanish language debut. ‘Encol do teatro galego’, Ditea archive, Vol. Year 1972.

Galicia: ‘Hay buenos poetas, buenos narradores pero no hay vocación dramática. O no saben o no quieren [...] Hay alguna obra que parece buena pero que no sirve para llevar a escena’.⁴⁵ These words came at a time when the most recent productions of the company were precisely two Galician language original plays authored by Magán himself: *Mesmo semellaban bruxas* (1980) and *Alias Pedro Madruga* (1982).⁴⁶

In seventy-one productions between 1960 and 1986, the absence of Galician drama is quite notable: only one original play by a Galician dramatist, besides three by Ditea’s artistic director and two collective creations.⁴⁷ The first Galician-language original in the history of Ditea was Antón Villar Ponte’s *Almas mortas* (1977), premiered together with *O país da saudade*, on the occasion of the Día das Letras Galegas. As I will further explore in the following section, this suggests a link between the company’s approach to Irish drama, their changing attitude towards Galician language and the introduction of Galician texts into their repertoire.

3.2. The Irish plays

The 1972 production of *Cabalgada cara ó mar* paved the way to three further performances of Irish plays by Ditea during the 1970s, which came to be referred to in the company’s internal history as their ‘Ciclo irlandés’. Although we can find several unifying threads between the four productions – namely, their Irish origin and the fact that they were all directed by Agustín Magán – there is little more to indicate a premeditated strategy in the selection of the texts. Unlike the company’s

⁴⁵ Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, p. 68.

⁴⁶ This was followed by another text by Magán in 1985 (*A lenda de Xoan Bonome*) and two ‘collective creations’: *O cerco. Catro raridades para un collage* (1983) and *¿Qué queredes, pitos cáiros?* (1984).

⁴⁷ There were also two radio plays: Castelao’s *Os vellos non deben de namorarse*, broadcast in June 1986, and *A Comedia da oliña*, broadcast in December 1986, based on Aquilino Iglesias Alvariño’s version of Plautus original comedy. The latter recovers the first Galician play staged by the company in 1970. As for the choice of Castelao, it was likely to be influenced by the production of the CDG that same year.

French or Italian cycles, these plays were not staged in succession nor connected to a specific venue or cultural event. The ‘Ciclo Irlandés’ label was assigned in retrospect, suggesting an intention to lend cohesive character to the repertoire. As explained in Chapter One, in the Galician context, this is at once tied to and facilitated by the associations attached to Irish drama and the resonance of the Irish label.

Cabalgada cara ó mar is a version of Synge’s *Riders to the Sea* by Agustín Magán, artistic director of Ditea, also translator of *Rosas vermellas para min* and *A fontenla dos milagres*.⁴⁸ Over the years, Magán produced numerous translations of plays destined to be performed by the company, although none of these texts have been published.⁴⁹ The play was staged in Santiago on 17th May 1972, as part of an event organised to mark the occasion of the Día das Letras Galegas, dedicated that year to the poet Valentín Lamas Carvajal. The play was preceded by a poetry reading and a concert by the choir and dance ensemble of the organising association, Cantigas e Agarimos.⁵⁰ The venue was the Aula de Cultura of the Caixa de Aforros de Santiago, a performance space sponsored by a regional financial institution.⁵¹

Ditea premiered three other plays in 1972, all of them by contemporary Spanish playwrights: *La puerta*, by Miguel Ángel Rellán, *El Mosquito* by Ángel Camacho and *Tren A F...*, by José María Bellido. *Cabalgada cara ó mar* stands out for several reasons: it was the only translated play staged that year by Ditea and it was not only the first Irish play ever to be included in their repertoire but also one of the first

⁴⁸ I have established that these three translations were all made from the same Spanish-language edition used by Ramón de Valenzuela for *O casamento do latoneiro* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1959) and provide proof of this mediation in Chapter Two, with further examples in Appendices E and F.

⁴⁹ There are two published versions of *Riders to the Sea* in Galician language: one of them is included in the volume published at the time of the CDG production analysed in Chapter Four. The other is signed by the poet and scholar Martín Veiga. Besides the Agustín Magán script, there is an unpublished 1985- typescript, *Cabaleiros cara o mar*, by Carlos Martínez Barbeito in the Pillado archive at the Universidade da Coruña.

⁵⁰ See other references to the work of the association, in connection with Rodolfo López Veiga, in previous sections (see Chapter Two).

⁵¹ This hand programme is reproduced in Appendix J.

Galician language performances by the company. Moreover, this is the first recorded stage production of an Irish play in Galicia. For this reason, *Cabalgada* represents an inaugural choice both in the trajectory of the company and in the history of Galician theatre, and is certainly one that demands interpretation in the context of the sociolinguistic and political discourses at work in Galicia at the time. Both the language choice and the selection of an Irish play are significant, given the role assigned to the identification with Ireland at the turn of the century in the construction of national identity. In terms of ‘Ditean history’, *Cabalgada cara ó mar* represents the consolidation of a new attitude to the Galician language: while the company will still carry out performances in Spanish until 1975, there were to be no more translations into Spanish in their repertoire.

Rosas vermellas para min was the only production by the company in 1976. I have determined that Magán used Alfonso Sastre’s version of *Red Roses for Me*, the 1942-drama by Sean O’Casey⁵² to present a play aimed at a very different political and theatrical moment in Galicia. In the approach taken by Magán, who was also stage director for this production, the social and religious tensions that dominate the action maintain their Dublin setting. The play’s Irish origin and the affinity with Ireland are flagged in press releases and in the programmes at the time. Later on, the company’s decision to refer to these four plays as their ‘Ciclo irlandés’ also stems from this cultural construct that is the Galician-Irish kinship. Once more, the play marks a significant turning point in the trajectory followed by Ditea. After *Rosas vermellas para min*, Ditea generally opted for less socially committed texts. Their refusal to align publicly with any particular ideology was paramount to their flourishing during the 1960s but, as we have seen, could play against them during the 1970s. Nevertheless, for all their alleged neutrality, Ditea often chose challenging texts during the earlier period, abandoning this trend precisely when political

⁵² Published in 1942, *Red Roses for Me* was first-performed in the Olympia Theatre, Dublin, the following year.

commitment became less of a risk – and also less of a pressing need – in the Galician context. In many ways, this is a company that escapes pigeon-holing by going against the tide.

The return to Irish theatre in 1977 with *O país da saudade* is marked once again by the commemorative aspects of the production. The play premiered on May 16th, the eve of the Día das Letras Galegas, which was dedicated that year to Antón Villar Ponte. The choice of text is directly linked to that homage: not only is Villar Ponte the author of *Almas mortas*,⁵³ the play staged in conjunction with *O país da saudade*, but he was one of the translators of W.B. Yeats' *The Land of Heart's Desire* into Galician, as discussed in Chapter One. Both the 1935 Galician translation originally published by *Nós* and a more recent edition of the book that had its timely release in 1977 include a foreword in which the founder of the *Irmandades da Fala* highlights the bond between Galicia and Ireland and the inspirational – and aspirational – value of Irish drama.⁵⁴ This introductory text, almost inextricably linked to the translation, brings to the fore the implications of bringing Irish drama into the Galician system, especially when using a text incorporated in the early twentieth century and linked to an explicit political and cultural agenda.

The last of the Irish plays that form the Ditean Irish cycle is *A fontenla dos milagres*, a 1979 staging of J.M. Synge's *The Well of the Saints* together with another piece, under the heading 'Roda Viva'. At the time, the activity of the company was in decline. The approach taken by Magán is a continuation of the previous strategic lines, as shall be explored in more detail later on, with a version of the text created for this specific performance in which the action is relocated to the

⁵³ Described as 'unha versión fidelísima da traxedia do escritor ruso Nicolás Gogol' in the R.S.P. review of *O casamento do latoneiro* included in Chapter Two, it is more often referred to as an original play by Villar Ponte.

⁵⁴ W.B. Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas* (Santiago de Compostela: Nós, 1935) and W.B. Yeats, *Dous dramas populares*, trad. de Plácido R. Castro e os irmáns Vilar Ponte (Vigo: Edicións Castrelos, 1977).

Galician context. The play is presented as popular theatre, a claim that is supported by the omission of any mention of Synge's authorship. It is this aspect which is then used to link *A fontenla* and the accompanying text, *Os cornos do mestre Xoan Panxolas*, a Galician version of a *Decameron* story adapted for the stage by Agustín Magán.⁵⁵



Fig. 5 – *O País da saudade*, Ditea, 17 May 1977 (Ditea Archive)

Despite the lack of a coherent project in the Ditean productions of Irish dramatic texts, the four projects underpin the trajectory of the company during the 1970s, marking inflections in their history and reflecting developments in Galician theatre in various ways. It is for this reason that the four texts can be regarded as a unit.

With the exception of *O país da saudade*, the company used texts specifically prepared by Agustín Magán and usually referred to as a ‘versión’, a term that signals

⁵⁵ The trajectory of the text in the Hispanic context is explained in the programme: “Os cornos do mestre Xoan Panxolas” está baseada na hisotria LXXVII do ‘Decamerón’ de Boccaccio, tamén recollida por Casona no seu ‘Retablo Jovial’ co título de ‘Farsa do cornudo apaleado’. The hand programme of *Roda Viva* is reproduced in K.

the liberties taken in the adaptation process.⁵⁶ Although this is not acknowledged in any of the company's documents, Pazó pointed to the 1959 Losada edition of Synge's plays as the most likely source text for Magán's *Cabalgada cara ó mar*. Through comparison of the texts, I have established that, beyond reasonable doubt, this was in fact the case and also that the 1959 edition was the source for *A fontenla dos milagres*.⁵⁷

From the point of view of the approaches to translation used and for the purpose of analysis, the plays will be separated into two blocks: one formed by *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, *O país da saudade* and *A fontenla dos milagres*, and the other by *Rosas vermellas para min*. This division responds to a need to examine and account for the significant common ground but also for the differences between the plays. Crucially, it is in the way in which the incorporation to the target system is undertaken, in relation to aspects such as the framing of the plays and history of their authors in the Galician context, that we find the fundamental rationale for this division.

Firstly, there is a distinction in the setting in the original texts which is mirrored in the adaptation strategy followed in each case. While *Cabalgada*, *O país* and *A fontenla* are located in a rural milieu, the action of *Rosas vermellas* is intrinsically linked to its urban setting. In a prolongation of this differentiation, the former are relocated to Galicia, with all the changes in cultural references that this entails. In contrast, *Rosas vermellas* remains anchored in the city of Dublin. The impulse to replace the Irish rural setting with a Galician equivalent responds to the perception of both milieux as sharing the same essential features, a view that can be traced back to the mythical Irish-Galician identification discussed in Chapter One.

⁵⁶ Two of the scripts feature an epigraph underneath the title: 'En versión e axeitación galega de Agustín Magán' (*Cabalgada cara ó mar*) and 'Versión galega de Agustín Magán para o Teatro de Cámara' (*Rosas vermellas pra mín*). There is no reference to Synge's authorship or to Magán as translator in *A fontenla dos milagres*.

⁵⁷ Full examples to illustrate the mediation of the Spanish text are provided in Appendix E.

While the issue of similarities and differences between the Galician and Irish traditions can be debated as a historical and cultural construct, both nations have built their identity around the retrieval of a quintessential cultural core, safeguarded by rural communities. Cultural manifestations, dramatic and otherwise, have often relied on portrayals of the rural as a representation of authenticity and the national essence.⁵⁸

Ditea chose rural plays by dramatists with a history in the Galician language. As we saw in Chapter One, two W.B. Yeats' plays (*Cathleen Ni Houlihan* and *The Land of Heart's Desire*) were the first Irish dramatic works to be translated into Galician. Although not translated at the time, J.M. Synge was also present in the minds of the early twentieth century practitioners, as corroborated by references to his work in connection with the Abbey Theatre, a recurring paradigm in the *Irmandades da Fala* and *Nós* circles.⁵⁹ The three texts by Yeats and Synge can also be ascribed to the sub-genre of folk-drama, introduced to the Galician system by Antón Villar Ponte.⁶⁰ Ditea's choice to revert to this theatrical form must be interpreted in connection with historical perceptions, even more so when we consider the commemorative value of those performances, linked to the Día das Letras Galegas, a key date in the Galician cultural calendar.

In contrast, Sean O'Casey is a new addition to the Galician stage, and the interest in his work can be connected to the particular developments in the socio-political and theatrical contexts of the 1970s. To a certain extent, the incorporation of *Red Roses* entailed the transference of Sean O'Casey's political commitment, expressed in his drama, into the Spanish, Catalan and Galician theatre systems at a

⁵⁸ As seen in Chapter Two in relation to theatre activity in the diaspora, the exaltation of community identity often involved incorporation of the rural, the popular and other traits of ethnicity.

⁵⁹ Evidence of the existence of Villar Ponte's translation of *Riders to the Sea*, 'Cabaleiros cara o mar', is only circumstantial, despite several references to it, including Ramón Suárez Picallo's at the performance of *O casamento do latoneiro*, included in Chapter Two.

⁶⁰ This is referred to in Chapter One. See also Vieites, 'O folc drama en Galicia...', *Anuario de estudos literarios galegos* (2002) and *Anuario Grial de Estudos Literarios Galegos* (2003).

time when drama was a vehicle for social and political awareness in the minds of many practitioners. While Ditea always stood for independence from political or ideological agendas, the choice of text corroborates the fact that the company did not shy away from political content, despite selecting their repertoire on the basis of dramaturgical qualities. The paratextual references to Irish political events, not only at the time of the play but also at the time of the production, underline the contemporary validity of the play for prospective Galician audiences.

The language in the target texts also reveals a differentiated approach, in line with the above described aspects. Since Agustín Magán departed in all three cases from existing Spanish-language translations, Synge's stage Hiberno-English, Yeats' lyricism and the dialectal and diastratic jigsaw presented by O'Casey were all obscured from his view. For both *Cabalgada* and *A fontenla*, Magán chose a linguistic variety loaded with differentialist choices and oral register markers, along the lines set by pre-war translations and compliant with urban theatregoer's preconceptions regarding a rural idiolect. Likewise, the use of abundant colloquialisms in *Rosas vermellas* fits in with audience expectations of the urban setting.

Notably, only one of these plays was performed on its own, *Rosas vermellas pra min*, with the others being staged in the frame of specific events and/or accompanied by another text. In addition to the strategic choice of relocation of the action to a Galician context, the performances/premieres of both *Cabalgada* and *O país* point to an added commemorative aim in the choices, which in turn we can link to the shift in the company's attitude to the Galician language.

3.3. Ditea and the Galician language

Ditea were not only explicitly contributing to contemporary discussions on the future of Galician theatre. They also took a clear stance in debates over the role of translated drama within the Galician system, illustrated by the continuous presence of adaptations of foreign plays in their repertoire. The plays in the 'Irish cycle'

exemplify an approach that can be linked to the fast-evolving sociolinguistic situation in Galicia during the 1970s and, in turn, to the wider historical, political and cultural context, at a local, regional and national level.

As previously discussed, Ditea staged a play in Galician language for the first time in 1970, ten years into their history. The group had carved a niche for themselves working on Spanish classics, which they alternated with contemporary texts by Spanish and Latin American playwrights and translations of plays of diverse origin.⁶¹ They would continue to use both languages in their productions until 1975, moving to perform exclusively in Galician language from then onwards.⁶² Their first play in Galician was *A comedia da oliña*, a translation by Aquilino Iglesia Alvariño of Plautus classical Latin comedy.⁶³ Both the status of the translator and the norm-setting character of the editorial house lent authority to the version.⁶⁴ Given the political circumstances, the use of Galician language was not a merely creative or stylistic choice but a step that decisively distanced the company from Franco-Regime-endorsed theatrical practice and, in turn, brought them closer to cultural activism in the Galician context. It was also a defining move, as it dissipated any doubt of their place in the system at a time when the debated notion of ‘Galician theatre’ revolved around the language question, with a manifest tendency to apply the ‘philological criterion’ as a sign of identity, i.e. Galician theatre must be made in the Galician language.

Magán’s public declaration of an exclusive commitment to the Galician language on the part of Ditea at the 1974 edition of the Mostra de Teatro de Ribadavia did not have immediate effect and the company went on to present their

⁶¹ Full list of productions in Appendix B.

⁶² The only exception to this is the 2004 reprisal of *Tiempo del 98*, a 1971 text by Juan Antonio Castro under the direction of Xosé Manuel Oliveira ‘Pico’ for the conference *La Galicia de Valle Inclán* (Pobra do Caramiñal, A Coruña).

⁶³ The text had been published by Galaxia in 1962. Aquilino Iglesia Alvariño (1909-1961) was a poet, essayist and member of the Real Academia Galega and author of *Cómaros verdes* (1947), the first book in Galician language published after the Civil War.

⁶⁴ Ditea revisited Latin classics with their *Farsa Plautina* in 1987 and 2011.

final production in Spanish language in 1975: *Retablo en tiempo presente*, by Antonio Martínez Ballesteros.⁶⁵ In the ensuing years, nonetheless, Ditea tended to highlight their work in Galician language, to the point of suppressing references to the previous period, as can be in the text facilitated by the company to the organisers of the Mostra de Teatro de Vigo in 1975:

O grupo de teatro de cámara Ditea foi fundado no ano 1960 por un fato de afeizoados o teatro pertencentes ós diversos estamentos da cidade de Santiago: obreiros, estudantes, empregados, etc.

Nestos quince anos de intensa e xamáis interrompida laboura, leva montadas perto de cincuenta obras das máis variadas modalidades teatrás, dende os primeiros clásicos deica a derradeira vangarda.

En lingua galega representou, a partir de 1968, as seguintes pezas: ‘A comedia da oliña’, de Plauto-Iglesia Alvariño; ‘Oratorio’, de Jiménez Romero; ‘Cabalgada cara ó mar’, de John M. Synge; ‘A barca do inferno’, de Gil Vicente, e ‘Morte e vida severina’, de Xoan Cabral de Melo Neto.⁶⁶

The hand programme to *Roda Viva* (1979) paraphrases the fragment above but omits any reference to *Cabalgada cara ó mar* (1972).⁶⁷ In addition to foregrounding their work in Galician language, Ditea also traded on their status as a Galician company beyond the Galician context. In a letter addressed to the organisers of the ‘Semana de Galicia’ in the Colegio Mayor San Juan Bautista (Madrid) in 1970, *Morte e vida Severina* is described in the following terms: ‘Tratándose de **una versión en lengua portuguesa (igual a gallega) y siendo el nuestro un grupo gallego**, creemos que encajaría perfectamente en esa semana gallega que proyectan celebrar’.⁶⁸ By equating Portuguese and Galician, Ditea were utilising their identity and reshaping cultural boundaries to frame their work in accordance with the receiving audience.

⁶⁵ The announcement took place in September 1974 and the play was staged only twice in March 1975.

⁶⁶ Note the emphasis on the plurality of social backgrounds in its ranks. This document is documented by Rodríguez Villar (*La cultura teatral...*, p. 369), who also points at certain inconsistencies in the timeline given by Ditea.

⁶⁷ In addition to the discrepancy in the dates, the plays are not listed in chronological order, as can be seen in the hand programme for *Roda Viva* in Appendix J.

⁶⁸ Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral en Galicia...*, p. 21. My emphasis.

In contrast with their choice of Galician, not only as their stage language but also as part of their public image, Ditea always clung onto their freedom of choice and rejected linguistic impositions. Their productions of Irish plays punctuate changes in attitude to the Galician language which can be seen as a response to transformations within the Galician theatre system and, in turn, to the sociopolitical metamorphosis of the Spanish state. The first play, *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, consolidates the move to using exclusively Galician language in their productions. *Rosas vermellas para min*, a play with strong political content, arrives in the early moments of the transition to democracy. *O país da saudade* had a commemorative value, linked to the Día das Letras and to the pre-war cultural ideal, and *A fontenla dos milagres* coincides with the strengthening of democracy and a diminution of the need for the political instrumentalisation of theatrical manifestations.

4. Two approaches to Irish Drama: *Cabalgada cara ó mar* and *Rosas vermellas pra mín*

When examining the characteristics of the four Irish dramatic texts considered in this chapter, two differentiated strategies emerged. These two approaches must be considered in light of the characteristics of the source texts, both formal (such as genre, linguistic traits, etc) and contextual (such as the position of the authors and their work in the source system), and how those characteristics are interpreted, received and transmitted in the target system in a process that is inevitably affected by target system idiosyncrasies, such as those derived from the utilisation of the Irish-Galician kinship, or in the case of mediated incorporations, when two or more subsequent incorporation processes overlap. The following sections focus on the ways in which *Cabalgada cara ó mar* and *Rosas vermellas para mín* exemplify not only two differentiated incorporation and translation strategies but also the ways in which Ditea responded to contextual and systemic changes. The significance of these texts within the company's repertoire and their position in the corpus of Irish drama on the Galician stage will also be considered. While *Cabalgada cara ó mar* reflects

an internal change in the company, by marking the turn to Galician as their stage language, the choice of *Rosas vermellas pra mín* unmistakably mirrors its political and theatrical context.

4.1. *Cabalgada cara ó mar*: Commemoration, bilingualism and mediated Irishness

Cabalgada cara ómar was the first of the four adaptations of texts by Irish playwrights in Ditea's repertoire. Although this was not the first play in Galician staged by Ditea, the choice of text confirms movement in a direction that previous productions had only hinted at. This change in the attitude to the Galician language dovetails with the commemorative value attached to the play, with the translation strategies and with the framing of the mediated character of the text, as I will demonstrate over the following sections.

Documentary traces of the performance

As was the case in the translation of *The Tinker's Wedding* discussed in Chapter Two, Magán made his own version of *Riders to the Sea* using Marta Acosta's Spanish version as his source text, an approach maintained for *The Well of the Saints*. Perhaps the brevity of the original contributed to the feasibility of the project, as did the connotations placed on Irish cultural products in Galicia, which overlap with the occasion chosen for the premiere of the text, the Día das Letras Galegas 1972. Ditea also presented *Cabalgada cara ó mar* on the most prominent date in their calendar: the performance on July 25th at the emblematic Praza da Quintana, as part of the programme of local festivities, which traditionally attracted a sizeable audience. The significance of both dates in the Galician cultural context supports a symbolic reading of the choice of texts. The group's presence at both events illustrates the duality in their positioning: on the one hand, they take part in a commemoration of Galician cultural manifestations, on the other, they participate in

the official celebrations of a religious festivity organised by the local authorities. But where Ditea had in previous years presented a predominantly Spanish classical repertoire, they now, for the first time ever, staged a Galician language version of an Irish play which served as a gateway for the company's definitive abandonment of Spanish as their stage language.

The choice of *Riders* can be viewed as another example of incorporation associated with the prestige of Irish drama and the perceived closeness between Ireland and Galicia, with all the implications this carried with regards to national identity. Their adaptation, *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, is set in Galicia, a transposition that, from the dramaturgical point of view, relies on the familiarity of Galician audiences with the problems of a seafaring community. Magán's version is the earliest translation of *Riders to the Sea* into Galician that remains available, in the archive of the group, despite the reported existence of a prior translation by Antón Villar Ponte that has still not been recovered.

Five years later Ditea embarked on the first production of *O país da saudade*, the translation of Yeats' *The Land of Heart's Desire* that Plácido Castro and the Villar Ponte brothers had published in 1935. Once again, the performance is marked by its commemorative value: *O país da saudade* premiered on the eve of the Día das Letras Galegas 1977, which was dedicated to Antón Villar Ponte. On this occasion, they made the decision to pair Yeats with Villar Ponte's *Almas mortas*, a 1922 play around the topic of emigration, notably chosen for the Praza da Quintana event, on July 25th that same year. The commemorative character of the production is flagged in the permit requests sent out to local authorities. A letter to the mayor signed 'TEATRO DE CAMARA DITEA', on 20th April reads:

Queriendo celebrar el 'Día das letras galegas' con la representación de las obras 'Almas mortas' de Antón Vilar Ponte y 'O país da Saudade' de W. B. Yeats, debidamente autorizadas por el Ministerio de Información y Turismo, los próximos días 16 y 17 de mayo, rogamos encarecidamente a V. I. tenga a bien concedernos la utilización del AUDITORIO MUNICIPAL DE SANTO

DOMINGO.⁶⁹

Furthermore, the celebratory character of the event is reiterated in the press releases:

Os próximos luns e martes, co gallo da celebración do ‘Día das letras galegas’, o grupo de teatro de cámara ‘Ditea’ porá en escea no auditorium municipal de Santo Domingo, as obras ‘Almas Mortas’, traxicomedia orixinal de Antón Vilar Ponte (autor a quen se adica este ano a devandita celebración) e ‘O País de Saudade’, folk-drama de W. B. Yeats, en versión dos irmáns Vilar Ponte e Plácido R. Castro.⁷⁰

Months later, reference to the celebration of the Día das Letras Galegas continues to accompany the play, as shown in the following commentary on Ditea’s participation in the Mostra de Teatro de Vigo:

O sábado, cando se escribiu esta crónica urxente, íase representar ‘Almas mortas’, de A. Vilar Ponte, que foi posta na escea por primeira vez polo grupo ‘Ditea’ co gallo do último Día das Letras Galegas. O próximo martes aparecerá a crítica correspondente do que pode ser unha gran revelación. Polo momento hai un grande interés en coñecer a que pode ser a peza dramática máis importante do noso gran escritor.⁷¹

While Ditea maintained *Almas mortas* in their repertoire until June 1978,⁷² the Yeats play was dropped after just one performance, despite the fact that there was a second staging of Villar Ponte’s play on the 17th May, at the same venue. Evidence that *O país* was being offered to programmers appears on a letter signed by Magán, dated 8th February 1977, but the reason for its prompt disappearance from the repertoire is never addressed.⁷³

There are records of three separate performances of *Cabalgada cara ó mar*,

⁶⁹ Ditea, Teatro de Cámara. Letter to the Mayor of Santiago de Compostela (20 April 1977). Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1977.

⁷⁰ ‘Representación de “Almas mortas” e “O país da saudade”’. Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1977, p. 31.

⁷¹ Núñez Yusta, ‘III Mostra de Teatro Galego de Vigo’, 3 July 1977. Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1977, p.44.

⁷² Rodríguez Villar reports 11 performances of *Almas mortas*, with an audience of 5,300 and 880 spectators for *O país* in the Auditorio de Santo Domingo. Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura...*, pp.597-8

⁷³ ‘Para el próximo mes de mayo tenemos prevista la representación de un programa compuesto por las obras ‘ALMAS MORTAS’ de Antón Vilar Ponte, y ‘O PAÍS DA SAUDADE’, de W.B. Yeats, que en la actualidad se encuentra en período de ensayos’. Agustín Magán. Letter to José María Lago Novás (18 February 1977). Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1977.

which was neither a stand-alone play nor part of a fixed double programme either. It was not unusual for Ditea to reprise plays, using them in different combinations, as is the case of their version of Synge's text.

For the July 25th performance in the Praza da Quintana on the occasion of the 'Fiestas Patronales 1972', Ditea presented a 'programa bilingüe' opening at 11pm with *Cabalgada*,⁷⁴ followed by *La Puerta*, a contemporary text by Miguel Ángel Rellán.⁷⁵ Although no explanation or plot summary for either play was included in the programme, differences in tone between the two plays are suggested. *Cabalgada cara ó mar* is presented as 'Ridder to the Sea' [sic], drama de John M. Synge en versión e montaxe ambental galego do grupo 'Ditea', while *La puerta* bears the subtitle 'Farsátira grotesca'.⁷⁶ The lack of connection or apparent dramaturgical rationale behind the pairing of the two plays suggests that *Cabalgada cara ó mar* was meant to form part of a cultural and, perhaps even ideological statement, an idea supported by other elements surrounding the production that will be discussed in subsequent sections.

The original title of the play is repeatedly misspelled on promotional materials, press references and correspondence in the company's archive, a mistake that originates in the Spanish-language source text: the 1959 Losada edition of Synge's drama. All references to the play underline that the company have prepared their own Galician version of the play: 'el grupo de Teatro de Cámara 'Ditea' puso en escena la obra 'Cabalgada cara o mar', original del irlandés John Synge, en versión al gallego, realizada por dicha agrupación teatral compostelana'.⁷⁷ The emphasis placed on these aspects suggests a perceived need to justify the choice of a foreign

⁷⁴ This hand programme can also be found in Appendix J.

⁷⁵ Spanish actor and author Miguel Rellán (b.1943) is one of the founding members of independent theatre group Esperpento.

⁷⁶ The label 'farsátira' is also used by the company to describe *O escolante* (1980), based on texts by Nelo Saito.

⁷⁷ 'Actuaciones de "Cantigas e Agarimos" y "Ditea", en el "Día das Letras Galegas"' (19 May 1972), *El Ideal Gallego*, p. 12.

text for the occasion and its validation via the adaptation strategies implemented.

With a ‘bilingual programme’, Ditea was reaffirming its position with regards to their vehicular language, which the company adhered to until the mid-1970s: they would work in Galician and in Galician language circles but at the same time rejected a total abandonment of work in Spanish, defending a place for drama in both languages in the Galician theatre system. However, a succession of contradictory declarations indicates that the Ditean policy with regards to language was less than consistent. The paratextual materials available in their archive depict an ideological stance that oscillates between committing to the language and avoiding firm positioning. In the hand programme for the above mentioned Praza da Quintana performance, they flag their ‘bilingualism’ by *galicianising* the names of the cast for *Cabalgada* and using the Spanish spelling for *La Puerta*.⁷⁸ This is a reflection of the profoundly diglossic sociolinguistic situation in which the company operated, where such translation dynamics were presented as an example of conciliatory bilingualism.

In the specific case of *Cabalgada*, the emphasis placed on it being both a Galician language version and a transposition of the action to Galicia underlines the way in which the translation choices reflect an agenda that balances the use of the vernacular with the aim to connect with local audiences in order to be recognised as Galician theatre: ‘Finalmente, sera puesta en escena la obra ‘Cabalgada cara ó mar’ (Ridder the sea)[sic], de J.M. Synge, **en versión y montaje ambiental gallego del Teatro de Cámara Ditea**’⁷⁹

Furthermore, this emphasis on the Galician setting of the play can be traced back to the utilisation of the perceived connection between Ireland and Galicia in earlier approaches and can also be linked to debates around translation in the

⁷⁸ See Appendix J.

⁷⁹ ‘Hoy, recital dedicado a Lamas Carvajal en el Aula de Cultura’, 17 May 1972. Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1972. My emphasis.

Galician context at the time. One of the issues frequently subjected to consideration was the need for current social relevance on the part of the texts being staged, which often went hand in hand with adherence to a Galician setting, a feature also found in the framing of *Rosas vermellas pra min* (1976). By explicitly labelling the text as adapted for the Galician context, Ditea underlined its relevance for a Galician audience. However, this did not necessarily imply that concessions to folkloric representations were made. Indeed, this was a tendency openly rejected by Ditea, as can be seen from correspondence with Alfonso Jiménez Romero in connection to their Galician version of his play *Oratorio*. Jiménez Romero suggested the inclusion of traditional Galician music in the production: ‘La canción de Antígona tiene música mía pero vosotros la podríais cantar con aires populares gallegos. Me imagino que lo has pensado’.⁸⁰ Agustín Magán responded that Ditea were attempting to expand the boundaries of Galician as a stage language beyond costumbrista or ruralist drama:

En cuanto al montaje, nada habíamos decidido hasta ahora. A no ser **nuestro modesto pero firme propósito de ir incorporando la lengua gallega al teatro moderno**, o por decirlo mejor, a las nuevas tendencias y técnicas teatrales, ya que, hasta el momento, nuestra lengua vernácula, sólo ha servido para el juguete cómico, el dramita anticaciquil y el sainete folklórico. En ese afán nuestro de ‘desmitificar’, que tú propones y que nosotros también intentamos por aquí y desterrar de nuestros escenarios este ñoño teatro al uso, estamos incluso dispuestos a prescindir de nuestra música, casi toda ella folklórica, a fin de evitar todo contagio con anteriores vestigios y posibles y falsas interpretaciones de concomitancia.⁸¹

Translation choices and the adaptation process

The following section examines how the translocation of the action to a Galician setting and the treatment of references that this demands overlap with the mediated character that marks the Ditea production. Agustín Magán used the Spanish version by Marta Acosta as a source text, a fact that is evident in the presence of

⁸⁰Alfonso Jiménez Romero. Letter to Agustín Magán. Cited in Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, p.388.

⁸¹Agustín Magán. Letter to Alfonso Jiménez Romero. Cited in Rodríguez Villar, *La cultura teatral...*, p.388. My emphasis.

abundant syntactic parallels, as well as in lexical choices and the treatment of cultural references. Magán's version is, however, also characterised by considerable omissions in relation to Acosta's, which was very close in length to Synge's original. The abridgement points to dramaturgical considerations and the specific needs of the company for the stage performance. The relocation of the action to Galicia also indicates absolute prioritisation of target system expectations, legitimised by the Irish-Galician identification established in the early twentieth century. The influence of translations from that period can also be found in the language of Magán's own translation.

In *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, the action is relocated to a Galician fishing village, a recontextualisation facilitated by the perceived similarities between the two Atlantic communities. J.M. Synge chose as his location 'An Island off the West of Ireland'.⁸² Even though he could have drawn on his first-hand knowledge of the Aran Islands in order to accurately depict a specific location in the western region of the country, he instead decided to give his setting a significant degree of anonymity: it is an island, it could be any of the islands off the West coast of Ireland. The emphasis is on the sense of isolation and abandonment endured by the inhabitants of this periphery, in sheer contrast with the 'glorification of life on the western island's western islands' inherited from the romanticisation of the Celts and utilised by the Dublin-based nationalist movement.⁸³ Synge denies his audience the possibility of finding refuge in specificity: Maurya's tragedy, the loss of her husband and all her sons to the sea, can happen anywhere. It is likely to be happening somewhere at any given time. In contrast, Synge's use of geographical references anchors the action in real referents:

⁸² John Millington Synge, *Plays, Poems and Prose* (Dutton, New York: Dent, 1958), p.18. All English-language text examples from Synge's plays in this chapter correspond to this edition.

⁸³ Maria Tymoczko, 'Language interface in early Irish culture.' In *The Languages of Ireland*, pp.25-43 (p.26). In the Galician context, Plácido Castro's descriptions of the Blasket Islands also present a non-idealised view of life in those remote communities, as seen on Chapter One. I discuss Castro's vision of Ireland in Elisa Serra Porteiro, 'Model, Mirror, Distant Cousin: Viewing Ireland through the Work of Plácido Castro'. Unpublished conference paper. *Travel Writing and Narratives of Mobility in Contemporary Iberian Literature*, 28-29 June 2013, University College Cork.

drowned Michael is found in Donegal, Bartley goes to the Galway fair, the rope was bought in Connemara, as were ‘the finest white boards’ intended for Michael’s coffin.

In the Spanish version, Marta Acosta adheres to the duality between the specific and the general, transcribing Synge’s toponyms. However, Agustín Magán chooses a different approach. In the Galician text, the opening stage directions specify that the action is set in the Costa da Morte,⁸⁴ even though this specificity is neither supported by the dialectal features of the target language text nor by the other place names used throughout the play. What the choice adds, in the Galician context, are connotations of extreme periphery – the end of the Earth, the *Finis Terrae* – and the dependence on a treacherous sea.

The specific names of West of Ireland referents are replaced with plausible Galician toponyms: Toirán is used to translate Donegal, and Queiroga replaces both Galway and Connemara.⁸⁵ In addition to the reduction of geographical referents from three to two, there is one instance where Galway is translated as ‘(d)a vila’, reinforcing the idea of a generic location through the use of the hyperonym. In an opposed move, the ‘green head’ (22) is transformed into a place name by means of capitalisation in Acosta (‘Punta Verde’, 40), which Magán maintains.

With the consistent lack of real geographical referents in the Galician target text, the tension between universality and locality that we had in the original acquires a different shape. While *Riders to the Sea* presents us with the story of Maurya, anchored in the heart of a community, yet universally tragic, we cannot find in *Cabalgada* the same dramaturgical strata provided by the superimposition of real world and dramatic universe. The Costa da Morte location is only mentioned in the opening stage directions, and therefore not directly available to the audience. The

⁸⁴ The name of this stretch of Galician coast derives from the large number of shipwrecks occurred in the area. Fisterra (from the Latin, *Finisterrae*) is located in the Costa da Morte.

⁸⁵ Although there are places in Galicia with these names, they correspond to inland locations, distant from the Costa da Morte.

need for obscuring the location responds to the realistic tone of the text and the naturalistic approach taken by Ditea. If the location is explicitly laid out in front of the audience, any incoherence or flaw in the representation will produce a fracture in verisimilitude. By using a non-specific yet evocative location, they are securing additional artistic freedom when it comes to aspects such as the dialectal traits of the language, which are not consistent with Costa da Morte speech, as I will explain below.

Magán resorts to generalisation again for the 1979 staging of *A fontenla dos milagres*. On this occasion, the elimination of Irish toponyms intersects with the effacing of the connection with Ireland in the paratexts, where references to the original, *The Well of the Saints*, its author and source contexts are omitted, as explained earlier on in this chapter in reference to the production *Roda Viva*.⁸⁶ Ultimately, then, the relocation of the action to Galicia links in with the ideological charge that had accompanied – and continues to accompany – incorporations of Irish cultural products to the Galician system. Influenced by the historical affinity that Villar Ponte had tapped into with *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* and the spiritual linkage in Plácido Castro's *O País da saudade*, *Cabalgada cara ó mar* resorts to a shared sense of adversity in the context of a seafaring community. By eliminating the specific Irish setting and replacing it with a stage recreation of Galicia, the characters inhabit a space that audiences can identify as the familiar Ireland where the same reality exists under just a different name. As the Villar Ponte brothers and Plácido Castro had done in their translations, the play recreates 'a hybrid symbolic space' that can be recognised as either Galicia or Ireland, favouring the identification between the two nations.⁸⁷

The repositioning of the text that can be observed in the paratexts and in treatment of place names is consistent with microtextual features of the translations.

⁸⁶ For hand programme, see Appendix J.

⁸⁷ Vázquez Fernández, *Translation, Minority...*, p.253.

The Galician target text is characterised by substantial abridgement in relation to the Spanish translation and, therefore, to the original. These omissions result in loss of intertextuality and of certain nuances, in general leading to a simplification of character dynamics and the sequence of events, and an elimination of intratextual and intertextual references.

Synge's primarily action-oriented instructions are replaced with additional scenographic notes regarding space distribution, props, sound effects and lighting:

Lar dunha casa de Pescadores na Costa da Morte. Das paredes penduran redes, aparellos e outros efectos mariñeiros. Nunha banda un andel con leña; na outra, en primeiro término, unha porta que vai dar a un coarto. Catarina, moza dunhos vinte anos anda a amasar pan cando se acende a luz de escea. Oíse asubía-lo vento e o bruído das ondas na beiramar. Catarina remata o pan, levao fora da escea e volta decontado. Sentase a coser un fato de roupa. (p. 1)

En una isla de la costa Oeste de Irlanda. Cocina de la choza donde se ven redes, hules, una rueca, unos tabloncillos nuevos recostados sobre la pared, etc. CATALINA, muchacha de alrededor de veinte años, termina de amasar un pan y lo coloca dentro de una marmita junto al fuego; luego se limpia las manos y comienza a hilar en la rueca. (p. 37)

Cottage kitchen, with nets, oilskins, spinning-wheel, some new boards standing by the wall, etc. Cathleen, a girl of about twenty, finishes kneading cake, and puts it down in the pot-oven by the fire; then wipes her hands, and begins to spin at the wheel. Nora, a young girl, puts her head in at the door. (p. 19)⁸⁸

The actions and objects that are maintained are slightly modified and a simplification arises from substituting the spinning wheel with sewing, as a result eliminating a potentially awkward prop. A similar simplification takes place when it comes to the 'pot-oven' ('marmita' in Losada, p.37), an element that is inexistent in the Galician context. The inclusion of specific objects such as the spinning wheel, pot-oven or oilskins in the original is conducive to ethnographic reconstruction. The translator could have opted for replacing those with other objects proper to the target context in order to achieve similar effect. Instead, we

⁸⁸ All Galician-language text quotes are from Agustín Magán, 'Cabalgada cara ó mar'. Unpublished script, 1972. Santiago de Compostela: Ditea Archive. Spanish-language examples are from translation by Marta Acosta. Synge, *Teatro* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1959).

have a simplified setting and the erasure of specificities of the Irish cultural context.

The ‘new boards standing by the wall’ are omitted in Magán’s translation, with the subsequent loss of an internal network of references: Maurya mentions these throughout the play, as the material for a coffin. The onstage presence of the boards, a metonymical representation of the coffin, provides a physical reminder of the tragedy. In the final scene, Magán also omits the reference to the nails, which in the original has the function of highlighting the recurrence of tragedy in Maurya’s life: ‘It’s a great wonder she wouldn’t think of the nails, and all the coffins she’s made already’ (p. 29).⁸⁹

Omissions and simplification also affect the treatment of cultural references. Magán’s choices were clearly mediated by the Spanish-language version, which was destined for a target context where identification with Ireland did not have the same function and connotations it had for Galician audiences. In the following example, the juxtaposition of the pagan and organised religion, represented by references to Samhain and holy water respectively, reflects the superimposition of Catholic and pre-Christian elements, which led to a *sui generis* understanding of religion:

MAURYA. I’ll have no call now to be going down and getting Holy Water in the dark nights after Samhain (p. 29)

MAURYA. Ya no tendré que bajar a buscar agua bendita en las oscuras noches del invierno (p. 47)

AURIA. Xa non teréi que baixar a recadar auga bendita nas noites pechadas do inverno [...] (p. 7)

In Synge’s original, the vernacular religion and the legendary is also represented in Maurya’s reference to Brida Dara (‘I’ve seen the fearfulest thing any person has seen since the day Bride Dara seen the dead man with the child in his arms’, 28), which is modified in Losada (‘he visto lo más horrendo que haya podido

⁸⁹ There is no omission in Marta Acosta’s translation. Other omissions and changes can be appreciated in the full version of the scene in Appendix E.

verse desde el día en que María Dara vió al hombre muerto con el hijo en brazos’, 44) and omitted in Magán’s translation.⁹⁰

The appropriation of the story for the Galician context sets the dramaturgical requirement of eliminating, blurring or transforming those traits that would place the action in an Irish setting in ways that might escape a Galician audience’s understanding of Ireland or expectations, an approach that we find again and again in the incorporation of Irish drama to the Galician system.

The relocation of the action to Galicia required the transformation of character names, which build on procedures followed in Acosta’s Spanish translation. In her version, most names are maintained in their original form, although Cathleen and Michael are replaced with their Spanish counterparts (Catalina, Miguel). In the Galician text, Magán uses not only translational criteria but also aesthetic ones. ‘Bartley’ is replaced with ‘Ciprián’ (the Spanish version of Cibrán or Cibrao). The name ‘Auria’ reflects the sonority of ‘Maurya’, introducing a completely different semantic and etymological network of associations (from the Latin, ‘golden’). As for the additional characters, they are for Synge quite simply ‘Men and Women’ and for Magán ‘Labregos e mariñeiros’, introducing the possibility of a slightly folkloric representation of Galician popular classes that would require stylised and clichéd characterisation elements or props.

One significant shift in Magán’s naming strategy concerns the character of the priest, a relevant offstage presence throughout the play. Nora, the younger daughter, is his voice, the transmitter of his predictions which turn out to be wrong, as Maurya had anticipated. He is referred to in Synge as ‘the young priest’, suggesting that youth influences his unconditional faith, his ignorance of life and the sea, and even a touch of arrogance. When Cathleen expresses her disbelief of Michael having been washed up to Donegal, Nora responds: ‘The

⁹⁰ For a full comparative transcript of the scene, see Appendix E.

young priest says he's known the like of it' (p. 19). Despite his assertiveness, the outcome he predicts is dramatically different when it comes to Bartley's fate. In Magán's target text, the priest is referred to initially as 'o señor abade' (p. 1) ('mister abbot'), a common appellative that can have sarcastic connotations, then as 'o crego' ('the priest', p.1) and almost immediately as 'don Senén'.⁹¹ It is Catarina (Cathleen) who introduces the more respectful denomination, when she enquires about his persuading Ciprián (Bartley) not to go to the fair, and right after having questioned the priest's own knowledge of the sea:

CATARINA (*Mirando pra fora con anguria*) ¿Preguntáchelle a don Senén se falóu con Ciprián pra que non vaia hoxe cos cabalos a feira de Queiroga?

NORA .- Falóu. 'Pro non-o puiden convencer' – díxome don Senén –. 'Podedes estar sen coidado. Vosa nai pasa a meirande parte da noite rezando, e Noso Señor non ha querer quitarlle o único fillo que lle resta no mundo'. (p.1)

CATALINA.- ¿Le preguntaste al padre si trataría de impedir que Bartley fuera hoy con los caballos a la feria de Galway?

NORA.- 'No trataré de impedírselo – dijo –; pero no teman. Ella pasa la mitad de la noche rezando y Dios Todopoderoso no ha de quitarle al único hijo que le queda en el mundo'. (p. 38)

CATHLEEN [*Looking out anxiously*.] Did you ask him would he stop Bartley going this day with the horses to the Galway fair?

NORA. 'I won't stop him,' says he; 'but let you not be afraid. Herself does be saying prayers half through the night, and the Almighty God won't leave her destitute', says he, 'with no son living' (p. 21).

This fragment of the Galician target text presents an essentially different priest, who was characterised as young in the original. The appellative 'don Senén' suggests respect towards an established figure in the community who is known by his first name. In the source text, the priest does not even attempt to stop Bartley, presumably because of his absolute conviction that God will not allow tragedy to strike the family again. In his version, Magán introduces a compensatory element: the older, more authoritative don Senén was unable to change Bartley's mind, despite having tried to do so: 'Pro non-o puiden convencer' (2). This contributes to a

⁹¹ 'Abade' was also the term chosen by Valenzuela in *O casamento*, to a different effect.

different representation of the authority of the priest and the position of the church in the source and target texts. The young, slightly arrogant and detached priest of Synge's original is replaced by an established figure in the community, although not authoritative enough to persuade Ciprián not to leave the village.⁹²

Riders to the Sea exemplifies Synge's attempts to find and reproduce the lyricism of West-of-Ireland orality, which saturates this short yet intense play. Its expressive force lies not only in the patently Irish syntax but also in the use of poetic devices and the controlled rhythmic structure of the sentences. Maurya and her family use in Synge a language that was not theirs originally but imposed, subsequently made their own by the infiltration of elements of their mother tongue. The dramaturgical idiom of Synge is one of the biggest challenges his theatre poses in translation. In *Riders*, Synge achieves maximum effect, despite the brevity of the piece, through dramaturgical and linguistic devices, such as the strangeness of the language and, in particular, the rhythmic qualities of Maurya's dialogue, which render the raw tragedy at the core of the play universally moving. In such an expressive text, the translator's approach to the language of the original will have immediate impact on matters such as character construction and stage dynamics.

Riders to the Sea is a profoundly poetic text with huge potential for an expressionist mise-en-scène. Agustín Magán's translation suggests that he intended *Cabalgada* as a fundamentally realistic piece from the offset. Some of his translation choices led to a lessening in lyricism of the text, while other procedures diminished the quotidian aspect present in the original. Just as the juxtaposition of the specific and the universal was blurred with regards to the setting, the contrast between the quotidian and the lyrical is attenuated in the Galician target text, through the filter of the Spanish translation.

In *Cabalgada cara ó mar*, we find a language that has many of the same

⁹² This critical presentation of religious figures also appears in Synge's *The Tinker's Wedding*, where the priest's materialistic attitude is shown in a critical light, as discussed in Chapter Two.

characteristics we have seen in the translations from the pre-war period by Villar Ponte, such as ‘hiperenxebrismos’, dialectal inconsistency and lexical choices from a more literary language. This is consistent with a stylised representation of popular reality for an urban audience, rather than an accurate rendition of popular speech. In other words, where *Riders* would have challenged theatregoers with its ‘strangeness’, *Cabalgada* instead presents them with a strangeness they could recognise.

Unlike the earlier translations of Villar Ponte and Plácido Castro, analysed in Chapter One, we do not find in Magán a clear attempt to elevate the language through strong emphasis on lexical variation. The inclusion of two different alternatives in close proximity is often employed to secure comprehension, especially when dealing with Latin American words e.g. ‘chanchó’ (p. 40) / ‘quino’, ‘rancho’ (p. 3); ‘hombrones’ (p. 45) / ‘homes rexos e barudos’ (p. 5). A singular case is that of ‘petiso tordillo’ (p. 40, 45), the Argentinian-Spanish translation chosen by Acosta for ‘grey pony’ (p. 22), which Magán chooses to localise by replacing the diminutive suffix with a recognisably Galician ending, ‘petiso tordeiro’ (p. 3, 5). In the Galician version, the general tendency is towards lowering the register used by Acosta and enhancing the popular character of the language, as we had seen in Chapter Two in relation to *O casamento do latoneiro*, an approach consistent with the place attributed to Irish drama in the Galician context.

The syntactic structures in Synge’s original reflect Hiberno-English word order and use of conjunctions, including verbal formulations influenced by Gaelic conjugation and the concatenation of copulative sentences, as well as the idiosyncratic use of the preposition ‘on’:

He went by quickly; and ‘The blessing of God **on you**’, **says he**, and I could say nothing. I looked up then, **and I crying**, at the grey pony, **and** there was Michael upon it – with fine clothes **on him**, **and** new shoes on his feet.(p. 27)

The following fragments illustrate the use of verbal constructions influenced by Gaelic conjugation and the syntactic ‘normalisation’ that characterises Acosta’s

and subsequently, Magán's translation, which replaces the continuous aspect of the verbs with a present tense:

MAURYA. In the big world the old people do be leaving things after them for their sons and children, but in this place it is the young men do be leaving things behind for them that do be old. (p. 23)

MAURYA. En todas partes del mundo los viejos, al morir, dejan cosas para sus hijos y nietos, pero en este lugar son los jóvenes los que dejan atrás cosas para los que ya son viejos. (p. 41)

AURIA. En tódolos recantos do mundo, os vellos, ó morrer, deixan cousas pros seus fillos e netos. Eiquí, neste lugar, son os mozos os que as deixan pra os vellos. (p. 4)

The syntactic structure in the Spanish text is evened out and normalised, which results in a loss of the Hiberno-English oral character and strangeness of Synge's dialogue, particularly in Maurya's speech. Magán does not transmit much of the 'poetic strangeness' of Synge's English original, where we find many a structure that reflects Irish language word order and use of conjunctions. The general strategy followed by Magán, building on changes introduced by Acosta, is one of standardisation and explicitation, which has the effect of reducing the marked oral, lyrical quality of the original text and its syntactic strangeness. This is coherent with the commemorative value placed on the play and links in with language dignification and normalisation in the Galician context.

The Galician translation of *Riders to the Sea* produced by Agustín Magán for the Ditea performance was clearly target context-oriented. The approach to the text was influenced by the historical weight of Irish drama in Galicia and determined by the dramaturgical needs of the company at the time. *Cabalgada cara ó mar* links in with pre-war choices through its original author and the commemorative value placed on the play, chosen for performance on the Día das Letras Galegas. However, it does not have the same norm-establishing intent, neither with regards to the language nor in relation to theatrical forms and dramaturgical innovation. Nevertheless, it is significant that Ditea chose Synge for one of their first

performances in Galician language, not only because of the associations with early twentieth century attempts to establish theatre as a form of national expression, but also given that his *The Tinker's Wedding* was the first Irish play to be staged in Galician language in 1960s Buenos Aires. The mediation process involved and especially the source text used are also a point of continuity with the exile choices, an indicator of the presence of cultural exchange networks between Argentina and Galicia.

4.2. *Rosas vermellas pra mín*: A contextual choice

In contrast with the versions of Synge and Yeats, it is the political content of *Red Roses for Me* that makes it a significant choice in 1976 Galicia that must be read in light of historical and theatrical context. Just over a year after the death of Franco, as the regime is being dismantled, Ditea staged a play with class struggle at the core of its plot. *Rosas vermellas para min* also links Ditea's trajectory to the broader Iberian theatrical context and to prior productions in Spanish and Catalan.

The political content and contemporary relevance of *Rosas vermellas pra mín* are underlined in the paratexts accompanying the production, as is the proximity between Galicia and Ireland, a motif that features prominently in the framing of Irish dramatic imports into the Galician system. Agustín Magán's translation is an abridged version for which he used Alfonso Sastre's Spanish version, a fact that is never acknowledged in any of the available documents. Sastre himself based his version of Sean O'Casey's play on Michel Habart's French translation. The overlapping mediations put two additional layers between O'Casey and the Galician context, which place thorough textual analysis of Magán's version beyond the scope of this project.⁹³

Red Roses for Me is set in 1913 Dublin, a city shaken by industrial action, at a

⁹³ I have nevertheless corroborated the derivative relationship between the texts and included relevant examples in Appendix E.

historical moment that is regarded as a symbolic precursor of the 1916 Rising and the struggle for Irish independence. Ayamonn is leading the railwaymen in calls for better pay, backed up by the threat of strike action. He lives with his mother, Mrs Breydon, in poor quarters; their humble economic situation is placed in contrast with Ayamonn's pursuit of intellectual development repeatedly throughout the first two acts. Against the background of class differences and economic precariousness, the play also reveals the multiple and often conflicting belief systems present in the community: Ayamonn's love interest, Sheila, is a Catholic, while he himself and his mother are Protestants, surrounded mostly by Catholic neighbours, with whom they enjoy a cordial relationship. Ayamonn acts as a nexus between several divergent characters that come together at the Breydon household: Brennan, an old musician who enjoys a somewhat more comfortable position; Mulcanny, an atheist and evolutionist; and Roory, a devout Catholic and passionate nationalist. Despite the warnings he receives from Sheila and the protestant Rector, Ayamonn persists in his loyalty to the cause and takes part in demonstrations which are brutally broken up. During the violent clash, Ayamonn is fatally wounded, a denouement anticipated at several moments throughout the play. *Red Roses for Me* has been widely translated and performed extensively for non-English speaking audiences, becoming an international reference point in Sean O'Casey's dramatic output.⁹⁴

Rosas vermellas pra mín in the trajectory of Ditea

During the 1960s and 1970s, the work of Ditea was characterised by an awareness of contemporary theatre developments in the Iberian context. While that outward-looking glance was not generally reflected in a particularly experimental attitude to performance, it clearly informed their selection of texts. Furthermore, their responsiveness to contemporary debates around the notion of drama as a

⁹⁴ For more on the reception of Sean O'Casey beyond the Anglophone context, see James Moran, *The Theatre of Sean O'Casey* (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2013).

politically and socially committed activity is evidenced not only in repertoire choices but also in their practitioner network.

Throughout its history, the company has produced a number of plays that pushed at the boundaries of censorship, despite its establishment-concordant image. These included not only plays that were susceptible of a political reading but also texts by authors who were openly opposed to (and by) the regime, as previously cited. Ditea always defended their prioritisation of dramaturgical qualities over any other criteria or agenda in their choice of plays. *Rosas vermellas* illustrates a wish to build up a Galician-language repertoire in line with that in the dominant language – or at least on a par with developments in other minorised systems within the Spanish State, such as the Catalan field.

Rosas vermellas owes much to an earlier production, directed by Alfonso Sastre in 1969, which he himself referred to in the following terms:

El estreno de mi versión de ‘Rosas rojas para mí’, que escribí libremente – y la censura, ay se dio cuenta – sobre la versión francesa de Michel Habart (L’Arche, París 1959), fue un acontecimiento importante en el teatro de Madrid, claramente enmarcado en la atmósfera ‘sesentayochista’ que muchas gentes vivimos como una esperanza revolucionaria.⁹⁵

The text of *Rosas rojas para mí* appeared in *Primer Acto* shortly after this premiere and therefore, would have been of relatively easy access to Magán.⁹⁶ In the same issue, *Primer Acto* included a ‘Introducción a Sean O’Casey’, by Michel Habart, from which Ditea quote in the programme of the play, albeit under an – intentionally or unintentionally – misspelled name.⁹⁷ The company were familiar

⁹⁵ Alfonso Sastre, ‘Nota para esta edición’, in Sean O’Casey, *Rosas rojas para mí. Versión para el teatro por Alfonso Sastre* (Hondarribia (Gipuzkoa): Argitaletxe HIRU, 1996), pp.5-6 [P.5]. The French translation referred by Sastre here is from Sean O’Casey. *Théâtre 1: Juno et le paon. Roses Rouges pour moi. Histoire de nuit*. Texte français de Michel Habart. (Paris: L’Arche, 1959). In this edition, each of the plays is introduced by Habart, who also gives the original English titles.

⁹⁶ Sastre’s text appeared in *Primer Acto* 114 (1969), together with the above mentioned introduction and details of the concurrent performance in the Teatro Beatriz (Madrid). The production was directed by José M^a Morera, with Carlos Larrañaga and María Luisa Merlo in the leading roles.

⁹⁷ The source of the ‘Introducción’ is specified in *Primer Acto* as ‘*Théâtre Populaire*, núm 34, Traducción de J.R. Brent’. In the same issue, we find ‘El Pueblo y el Teatro’, identified as a translation of the 1946-essay by Sean O’Casey, by Yolanda Aguirre, sourced from the same

with Sastre's work; in 1962, they had staged his play *En la red*, an example of the socially engaged theatre that the dramatist advocated from the pages of *Primer Acto*, where he engaged in heated discussion with Antonio Buero Vallejo.⁹⁸

In 1976, the same year as Ditea's project, the newly created Festival de Teatre Grec in Catalunya hosted a production of O'Casey's play.⁹⁹ The staging of two versions of that particular text in the context of separate Iberian minorised cultures so close in time must be considered in light of the transition to democracy and its deep impact at the level of cultural manifestations. The festival, created under the premise of 'making theatre at the service of the people' was, however, poles apart from Ditea in their approach to theatre. Agustín Magán and his company took a play with a plot that is almost undetachable from left-wing ideology that had previously been undertaken from an overtly political stance in a nearby context, on the basis of its dramaturgical merits, and used it to challenge preconceptions about their middle-class image. Both the political message of the play and its prestige are foregrounded in the paratexts that accompanied the Ditea production and in extratextual references. Nevertheless, Magán's translation choices involved a degree of simplification which resulted in a partial depoliticisation of the text, as I will illustrate below.

The performance run of *Rosas vermellas* was shortlived. Ditea were forced to drop it from their repertoire in June 1977, when the SGAE refused to sanction Magán's Galician version, on the grounds that permission from the original author

publication, 'Le peuple et le théâtre', *Théâtre Populaire. Revue trimestrielle d'information sur le théâtre* 48 (1962), and Michel Habart, 'Introduction à Sean O'Casey', *Théâtre Populaire. Revue trimestrielle d'information sur le théâtre* 34 (1959).

⁹⁸ Sastre and Buero engaged in a back-and-forth discussion on the issue of 'posibilismo teatral' on the pages of *Primer Acto*. Sastre criticised Buero's theatre practice as conformist, while Buero criticised dramatists for engaging in knowingly 'impossible' creation. *Primer Acto* 14 (1960), 1-2; 15 (1960), 1-6; and 16 (1960), 1-2.

⁹⁹ Amongst other plays, the Assemblea d'Actors i Directors produced for the first edition of the Festival Grec *Roses roges per a mi*, directed by Josep Montanyés, Francesc Nel·lo and Josep Maria Sagarra. Photographic images of this production by Pilar Aymerich are available in *Escena Digital* (Centre de Documentació i Museu de les Arts Escèniques). The iconic status of this production in the recent history of Catalan theatre can be inferred from Enric Gallén's choice of one of those images to represent the 1970s in the exhibition *Actrius XX* at the Palau Robert. Helena Buffery. Personal email communication. 29 May 2015.

was required.¹⁰⁰

The paratexts provide us with important insights into the ways in which Magán and Ditea approached the play. Notably, these materials highlight both the play's political content and the proximity between Galicia and Ireland, entwining these aspects with the prestige of the source author, the current relevance of the theme and the naturalistic rendering of the *mise en scène*.

The hand programme includes a quote from 'Introdución a Sean O'Casey', attributed to a 'Michael Habar', who can only be Michel Habart, translator of much of O'Casey's drama into French.¹⁰¹ A text with that title accompanied Alfonso Sastre's version of *Red Roses for Me* in *Primer Acto*, together with an insert of biographical information and a critical overview of the life and works of Sean O'Casey.¹⁰² The programme paraphrases *Primer Acto* at several points but there is no reference to Sastre or to these other sources. The anglicisation of the translator's name ('Michael') further obscures the mediated quality of the text.

The play is described as 'a peza máis representativa do teatro de Sean O'Casey', 'síntesis da sua ideoloxía' in terms of content and as a 'caleidoscopio dramático' with regards to the techniques it features. References to political aspects are interwoven with recognition of its autobiographical character. These emphasise O'Casey's working-class origins, the obstacles to formal education that his dramaturgical vocation managed to overcome, and his participation in the 1913 strike, which is referred to as a large-scale anticolonial conflict transcending workers' demands for better conditions to become an assertion of national identity:

Hai poucas vocacións tan arestadas coma a deste peón, que non puido adeprender a ler i escribir deica a idade de trece anos [...]. O ouxetivo que na realidade era unha loita pola libertade e a dinidade do pobo, foi naquela

¹⁰⁰ This is reminiscent of the intervention of the Sociedad General de Autores de España in Buenos Aires, in an attempt to stop the performance of *A camisa* by the Escola de Teatro Lucense in 1964, referred in Chapter Two.

¹⁰¹ The hand programme for *Rosas vermellas*, facilitated by the company, is reproduced in Appendix J.

¹⁰² *Primer Acto* 114 (1969), p. 12.

ocasión un chelín de acrecemento no salario.¹⁰³



Fig. 6 – *Rosas vermellas para mín*, Ditea, December 1976 (Ditea Archive)

Implicitly, a parallel is drawn between the author and the protagonist of the play brought to the audience: their economic circumstances, their passionate pursuit of education and their political convictions. More explicitly, the socialist, industrial action component is sublimated in favour of more overtly pro-independence endeavours: ‘A folga fracasóu, pro a lección non se perdéu. ¿O soño dunha Irlanda o mesmo tempo independente e socialista chegaría a realizarse ó fin?’¹⁰⁴ This triggers inevitable associations between the political commentary and references to ‘dreams’, ‘hope’ and ‘calling of the future’, and the changing socio-political context in Spain. The temporal proximity of the events is presented as further proof of the relevance of

¹⁰³ *Rosas vermellas*. Hand programme.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

the play, and as a justification for the naturalistic, realistic approach followed in this production:

A nosa posta en escea é, tencionadamente, de formato naturalista, porque ‘Rosas Vermellas’ é unha peza mestra do teatro realista na que O’Casey amosa, sen prexuício da complexidade das relacións persoais, a situación política e social do pobo irlandés **nun tempo que é o noso aínda**.¹⁰⁵

According to the programme, the proximity between the events of the play and the audience is not only contextual but also ancestral, on the basis of the mystical connection between Galicia and Ireland, a seemingly ubiquitous element in the framing of Irish imports in the Galician context, as we have seen.¹⁰⁶ In this case, the language of the play is presented as a bond between the two nations: ‘cun lirismo caseque melodramático, o celme ancestral da Irlanda irmá, que ós galegos non ha de parecernos alleo’. The affinity between Galicia and Ireland resides in their lyrical essence, an ideal form of communication between the two cultures. However, in this particular case, the contact was in fact filtered through two layers of mediation rather than direct, a matter that is perhaps understandably obscured in the paratexts.

Translation process and character representation

The press releases around the time of the performance echo the contents of the programme, sometimes borrowing them to the letter, which suggests the use of text provided by the company. This makes Ditea the more direct source of information on Sean O’Casey and his work for potential audiences and general readership. In the press, the fact that the company produced their own version in Galician is repeatedly pointed out, as are the realistic tone of the piece and the parallel between Galicia and Ireland, with special emphasis on a shared ‘Celtic’ essence as a contributing factor to the relevance of the adaptation: ‘*Rosas vermellas para min*, del escritor irlandés

¹⁰⁵ *Rosas vermellas*. Hand programme. My emphasis.

¹⁰⁶ Pazó remarks on this feature in the paratextual materials from both *Rosas vermellas* and *O casamento do latoneiro*: ‘É curioso, en fin, observar como os paratextos das montaxes proxectaban unha imaxe de proximidade entre Irlanda e Galicia’. Pazó, *A función da tradución...*, p.309.

O'Casey, tiene un gran contenido poético-político-social. Establece un paralelismo entre las culturas celtas, de ahí su adaptación por Ditea y su traducción al gallego'.¹⁰⁷

In contrast with the reiterated allusions to this affinity, the text of Magán's *Rosas vermellas* jettisons numerous references to Irish legendary characters that could have reinforced the idea of the common Celtic past. In O'Casey, these epic elements buttress the political struggle at the core of the play, introducing a parallelism between the mythological heroes and present day 'heroes', a motif explicitly laid out in the following passage, cut out by Sastre and, therefore, lost for Magán:

What would a girl, born in a wild Cork valley, among the mountains, brought up to sing the songs of her fathers, what would she choose but the patched coat, shaky shoes, an' white hungry face of th' Irish rebel? But their shabbiness was threaded with th' colours form the garments of Finn mac cool of th' golden hair, Goll mac Morna of th' big blows, Caoilte of th' flyin' feet, an' Oscar of th' invincible spear.¹⁰⁸

In Act III, Ayamonn is compared in the stage directions with Dunn-Bo, the legendary poet and warrior: 'Ayamonn's head set in a streak of sunlight, looking like the severed head of Dunn-Bo speaking out of the darkness'.¹⁰⁹ This juxtaposition anticipates Ayamonn's tragic fate and exemplifies how the connections between an epic past and troubled present are personified by the characters, a thread that is entirely eliminated in *Rosas vermellas*.

In another scene, Ayamonn speaks of 'Kathleen Ni Houlihan', which would immediately be understood in the source context as an analogy with Ireland.¹¹⁰ Sastre replaces this with a more direct reference to the nation, depriving the text of a layer of intertextuality and, crucially, from an intersection with the first translations

¹⁰⁷ María del Carmen Pallarés et al., 'Ditea, 16 años de teatro', *El Correo Gallego* (18 November 1976). Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1976.

¹⁰⁸ Sean O'Casey, *Seven Plays*, ed. by Ronald Ayling (London: MacMillan, 1985), p.303. All quotes from *Red Roses for Me* are from this edition. For the Spanish and French text examples of this fragment, see Appendix E.

¹⁰⁹ O'Casey, *Seven Plays*..., p.308.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

of Irish drama into Galician analysed in Chapter One. Elsewhere, Sastre translates ‘Osheen’, the legendary Fianna warrior, as ‘Ossián’, a choice maintained by Magán which introduces the possibility of a connection with the poetry of Eduardo Pondal, key figure of the Galician Rexurdimento, whose Celtic-themed poetry fuelled the belief in the Irish-Galician common origin, as seen in Chapter One.¹¹¹

Celtic mythology was a fundamental element in Irish nationalist discourse, as was Celticism for early twentieth century Galician nationalism. Eliminating references to the legendary characters suppresses a strong political component, alongside cultural links between source and target contexts. However, not all of the translations in the text lead consistently to its depoliticisation. Rather, what we find is a target-culture governed rewriting of the political content. At the end of Act I, Roory, the impassioned Gael, breaks into song with the Irish patriotic ballad ‘The Bold Fenian Men’, which is replaced by a song that maintains the theme of nationalist fight and much of the imagery, whilst introducing an explicit republican message that was only implicit in the original nineteenth century lyrics. More relevant to the Galician context is the addition of religious language in the repeated phrase ‘libertad bendita’, ‘liberdade bendita’ in the Galician version.¹¹² Internally, this is consistent with Roory’s embodiment of Catholicism and nationalism throughout the play. For a Galician reader, it evokes the use of religious language in association with national construction, a device found in the *Revista Nós*, as discussed in Chapter One.

The character of Sheila in Sastre’s version undergoes a relevant transformation towards the end of the play. In the initial scenes, she opposes Ayamonn’s involvement in the strike and appears as an infantilised love object: Ayamonn tells

¹¹¹ In his translation into Galician of *Deirdre of the Sorrows* for the Aula de Teatro of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, ‘Deire dos penares’ (1996), Manuel Bermúdez Blanco drew from Pondal’s poetry to replace the names in Synge’s original.

¹¹² The lyrics and music of the production were written by Antón Casal, who also played the protestant rector. For a transcript of the lyrics in the English, French, Spanish and Galician version, see Appendix E.

her to sit by the fire and tries to clean the mud off her skirt. She is referred to as ‘caperuciña vermella’ (p. 5),¹¹³ an appellative that highlights her vulnerability. This attribute reappears after Ayamonn’s death, when the grief-stricken Sheila initially exhibits certain passivity in the face of the Inspector’s advances. However, in *Rosas vermellas*, she reacts violently to the insinuation that she should forget and live on: ‘babión’, ‘¡Asesiño de homes que valen mil veces máis que tí! ¡Vaite pro inferno!’.

This turn in the character’s evolution is introduced by Sastre and continued in Magán’s text, where Sheila comes to personify the ideal of female described by Ayamonn at the beginning of the play, when he suggested that she would look ‘lovely’ barefoot, carrying the ominous red roses: ‘Teño que cavilar neso, en poñerme unha toquiña negra por riba dos hombreiros e andar descalza...ademáis. Qué che parece? E cun ramiño de rosas vermellas na man’.¹¹⁴



Fig. 7 - *Rosas vermellas para mín*, Ditea, December 1976 (Ditea Archive)

¹¹³ In Sastre, ‘una caperucita roja’(p. 38), ‘une petite fille apeurée’ (p. 93) in Habart and ‘a timid little girl’ in O’Casey (p. 269). Full examples in Appendix E.

¹¹⁴ Sheila’s intervention in the different versions is transcribed in Appendix E.

As mentioned above, the hand programme equates the workers' struggle with the pro-independence movement, paring down the political layering present in *Red Roses* ('unha Irlanda o mesmo tempo independente e socialista'). Elsewhere, in a review, the play is simplified into as a confrontation between Catholics and Protestants, which is in line with the efforts to highlight the contemporary relevance of the text, as discussed in relation to the hand programme. The article also includes reactions from the cast, which bring to the fore the political message of the play:

En realidade, las discrepancias entre católicos y protestantes a principios de siglo no son más que el preludio del terrorismo brutal, hoy, en el Ulster. [...] *Rosas vermellas pra min*, en definitiva, es la problemática pretérita de un país –si desechamos las ideologías religiosas vigentes aún – que no es ajena a la situación de una Galicia marginada. [...] algunos de ellos [los actores], todavía incrédulos [sic], declaraban a este informador que, 'aún no comprendo como la censura nos ha permitido la puesta en escena de esta pieza'. En cierto modo, les asiste la razón. Ya no digamos antes, pero después de las profundas transformaciones que ha experimentado el país, podemos asegurar que 'Rosas vermellas para min' desmenuza el contexto más **vanguardista** que se haya presenciado, al menos, en Galicia.¹¹⁵

The description of *Rosas vermellas* as 'avant-garde' is not supported by the translation decisions, the persistent references to realism in other documents or the visual images corresponding to the production, which show particular attention to detail with regards to props.¹¹⁶ Everything points to a literal take on O'Casey's drama, albeit through the filter of Sastre's version. This strategy is justified in relation to the message of the original and to its relevance for a contemporary Galician audience. Despite acknowledging the technical experimentation and dramaturgical innovations present in *Red Roses for Me*, Ditea chose to suppress these elements in their interpretation, which in their view is justified: 'A nosa posta en escea é, tencionadamente, de formato naturalista, porque 'rosas vermellas' é unha peza mestra do teatro realista [...].'¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Roberto Qumata, 'Rosas vermellas pra min. Apuntes', *El Correo Gallego* (5 December 1976). My emphasis.

¹¹⁶ Some of the details of the set can be appreciated in the image reproduced on p. 167.

¹¹⁷ *Rosas vermellas*. Hand programme. Appendix J.

As we will continue to see in the chapters that follow, the history of Irish drama in the Galician context reveals a clear preference for realist representations when it comes to both portrayals of Ireland and transpositions of the action to the Galician context. The identification between the two nations, prominently utilised in the framing of these plays, demands that the stage addresses the audience in a realist key because abstractions or fictionalisations could undermine the alleged direct relation between the Irish and Galician cultures. In addition, the technical requirements of a naturalistic staging present fewer obstacles to production, which represents a pragmatic advantage in choosing a realist frame.

However, another piece that appeared in the press around the time of the performance suggests that the choice of O'Casey's 'pure realism' lacks relevance in the Galician context. At a time when Galician theatre was attempting to rid itself once and for all from the grip of *costumbrismo*, a naturalistic mise-en-scene was to be interpreted as a backward step:

La obra de O'Casey, concebida en el tono de puro realismo, se queda bastante apartado ya de las actuales concepciones teatrales, y la traducción al gallego, por aquello de los países celtas, que en un principio puede parecer atractivo, resultará, sin duda, un trasplante al teatro que se está haciendo en Galicia, y que Ditea considera como algo que se queda en la pura lectura de textos, con unos montajes en la más pura línea de estudio. De todas formas, habrá que verlo y luego juzgarlo, porque buenas o malas no se prodigan las representaciones en nuestro idioma.¹¹⁸

This review belittles the potential relevance of the translation on the basis of a presumed Celtic affinity with Ireland. The theatrical approach favoured by Ditea is also criticised for its excessive focus on text. In turn, the use of Galician language is pointed out as the only positive aspect of the performance. With *Rosas vermellas*, Ditea consolidated their use of Galician as a stage language and, as seen in the opening sections of this chapter, language choice was tantamount to a political declaration in the Galician context at the time.

¹¹⁸ Perozo, 'Hoy y mañana. Teatro'. Ditea Archive, Vol. Year 1976.

In support of the symbolic value attributed to the language, we find commentaries on the qualities of the translation, such as those in Qumata's review: 'Sin conocer el original, creemos que los traductores y adaptadores de la obra de O'Casey, han acertado plenamente. No ha sido un gallego rebuscado, sino popular que ha llegado a la comprensión más mediocre'.¹¹⁹ Given that the reviewer admits his lack of knowledge of the original, it is not his opinion of the process but his description of the language that is most relevant here. In contrast with Magán's other two translations of Irish drama, the language in *Rosas vermellas pra min* is less reliant on differentialist choices and dialectal traits. The key to this is the setting: *Rosas vermellas* is the only play set in an urban milieu while all the others depict rural characters, as is the case in most examples from the corpus of Irish drama in the Galician language.¹²⁰ In the case of *Rosas...*, the emphasis on popular flavour and the lexical intersections with previous translations are attenuated in the recreation of the intrinsically urban characters and events of the play. Magán builds on Sastre's decisions to introduce colloquialisms and expletives, a deviation from the English-language original, possibly in an attempt to bring the play closer to present day audiences.¹²¹ The use of vulgarisms is unique to the case of *Rosas vermellas* and overlaps with the representation of urban types. Because there is not the same demand for dignification of the rural milieu and its inhabitants to counteract the prejudiced associations contained in the onstage caricatures seen in past theatre practice,¹²² the urban characters do not need to refute ideas of preconceived lack of education and, more importantly, they do not need to partake in raising the status of the Galician language.

Notably, *Rosas vermellas para min* was until very recently the only example of

¹¹⁹ Qumata, 'Rosas vermellas...' (5 December 1976).

¹²⁰ There is only one other exception to this, a recent production of Elaine Murphy's *Little Gem* by Eme2, *Meu ben* (2014), which are referred to in Chapter Five and in the Conclusion section.

¹²¹ For specific examples of expletives in translation, see Appendix E.

¹²² A concern with the caricaturisation of rural types and Galician audiences reactions to such devices has been discussed in Chapters One and Two.

an Irish play with an urban setting presented on the Galician stage. Ditea chose this drama to consolidate their decision to use exclusively Galician for their onstage activity, in line with broader acceptance of the needs of Galician theatre at the time. By selecting this particular text, Ditea were also positioning the repertoire in Galician language in the broader Iberian context. This happened at a moment of particular significance, against a backdrop of political changes that aroused hopes of increased artistic freedom.

5. Conclusion

The theatrical activity of Ditea spans over five decades. Considering that Ditea was and continues to be an amateur group, the sheer volume of their repertoire is remarkable, as is their level of interaction with other practitioners, both within and outside Galicia, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, a moment of crucial transformations for the Galician theatre system. After this period, with the advent of a more professional framework for theatre practice, the activity of Ditea declined, coinciding with the consolidation of democracy in Spain.

Ditea had a singular position in the Galician theatre context. At a time of predominant precariousness, they achieved a degree of visibility that remains exceptional for Galician companies. From a unique position, they joined in regime-sponsored initiatives, such as the Festivales de España on the one hand, and on the other hand, they were active participants in that milestone in Galician theatre that was the Festival de Ribadavia.

In terms of repertoire, Ditea displayed a desire to break new ground and, with their choice to perform Irish dramatic works, they were able to establish a dialogue with past, present and future theatre practice in Galician language. These plays connect with tendencies anticipated in the early twentieth century – theirs is the first production of the 1935 translation *O país da saudade* – and provide tantalising links to activity in the diaspora – in their choice of Synge's texts, taken from the same Losada edition used by Valenzuela and Villaverde for their *O casamento do*

latoneiro. Furthermore, Ditea anticipated the direction of the dramatic corpus in Galician language during the subsequent professionalisation and institutionalisation period exemplified by the Centro Dramático Galego, as will be analysed in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Irish Drama and the Institutionalisation of Theatre Practice: the Centro Dramático Galego

This chapter will examine the incorporation of two Irish dramatic works into the Galician system at the hand of the Centro Dramático Galego (CDG), the institutional Galician theatre company established in 1984. The plays in question, J.M.Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* and *Riders to the Sea*, were brought to the stage as *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (1988) and *Xinetes para o mar* (1996).¹ These choices consolidate the prevalence of Synge over any other Irish dramatist on the Galician stage and, therefore, mark the continuity of lines established in the previous periods such as the linkage to the Abbey Theatre, the preference for rural settings and realism, and the need to normalise theatre in Galician language through the prestige of internationally recognised authors.

The two productions appear at two distinct points in the history of the CDG and of Galician theatre. *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* comes at a time, in 1988, when the institutional company is still a budding initiative and experiencing significant internal difficulties.² In this context, notwithstanding continuing debate over the appropriateness of translations in the Galician theatre system, the inclusion of world drama in the repertoire of the institutional company, albeit in the form of a Galician adaptation of the action, represented a definitive move towards translation and the search for a prominent place in the Iberian context. *Xinetes para o mar*, staged under the title *Como en Irlanda* (1996) in conjunction with *Nouturnio de medo e morte*, by Antón Villar Ponte, stands for the will to consolidate the CDG as an organ of canonisation within the Galician theatre context.

¹ *O mozo...* premiered on 26th August 1988 and *Como en Irlanda* on 21st September 1996, both in the Teatro Principal (Santiago de Compostela).

² These were caused by the sudden resignation of its director at the time, Eduardo Puceiro.

Over the course of the following sections, I will discuss the establishment and consolidation of the Galician institutional company, as well as its position within the Galician theatre system. Then, I will demonstrate how the framing of the translations links in with the evolving agenda of the institution before going on to analyse the Irish texts within the repertoire of the CDG and the Galician theatre canon. Through an examination of translation strategies, production choices and paratextual materials, I will illustrate attitudes and perceptions in relation to Irish culture specific to the Galician system but nevertheless informed by aspects affecting the reception of Irish literary and cultural exports at a broader level. Finally, I will indicate the ways in which the productions carry forward the perceptions and functions that have accompanied translations of Irish drama in the Galician target context since the first quarter of the twentieth century and expound the role of the CDG in their consolidation in Galician professional theatre practice.

The Playboy of the Western World became part of the CDG repertoire in 1988, under the title *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, in a translation by writer and journalist Alberto Avendaño, who was also assistant director in the production. The direction was in the hands of Mario Gas, the first non-Galician to undertake such a role in the institutional company. In their version of Synge's play, the action is relocated to Galicia and the characters are recreated as Galician. Cultural, geographical and historical references were changed accordingly, in line with an unambiguously domesticating strategy, framed by abundant references to the similarities between Ireland and Galicia. The play was published in 1990 by Xerais, with the support of the Xunta de Galicia, as part of the series 'Os libros do Centro Dramático Galego'. Avendaño's version is preceded by several introductory texts that will be analysed in detail at a later stage. Furthermore, I consulted a script of the play text in order to trace changes made during the rehearsal period, as many of these are reflected in this

interim version.³ The differences between the published text and the initial version provided by Avendaño will be analysed in light of their potential impact on the reception of the play and its potential afterlives.

As explored in Chapter Three, *Riders to the Sea* was first staged in Galician in 1972. In 1996, the CDG produced another version of the play, as part of *Como en Irlanda*, featuring also *Nouturnio de medo e morte*, a dramatic text by Antón Villar Ponte, one of the fathers of *Galeguismo*. As the overarching title suggests, the dramaturgical unity is built up on the similarities between the Irish and Galician contexts but, unlike that in *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, the action is not transposed to Galicia. As the title also indicates, however, ‘Como en Irlanda’ draws on the potential for translocation: events and situations that occur in Ireland could take place in Galicia, and vice versa. Cohesion between the two plays was granted by onstage devices, such as the fluid transformation of the setting and the participation of cast members in both pieces, and by the framing of the texts as part of the oral tradition.

Additionally, a special volume appeared in the autumn of 1996, almost simultaneously with the production run. The book contains versions of the performance texts, a facsimile reproduction of Villar Ponte’s *Nouturnio*, visual materials relating to the production and a number of framing texts from several contributors. These include forewords by Manuel Fraga Iribarne – the former Francoist minister, President of the Xunta de Galicia at the time – and Manuel Guede Oliva, director of the CDG, which highlight the official character of the publication, as well as the public function of the institution.

1. Theatre as an institution in a minorised context

1.1. CDG: Foundation and characteristics

³ María Bouzas kindly facilitated a copy of the original script she used when playing Susana, in which abridgement and other alterations were input by hand. I am indebted to Avelino González for sourcing this invaluable document.

The creation of the Centro Dramático Galego (CDG) in 1984 marks the birth of institutional theatre in Galicia and represents one of the cultural milestones of the democratic era. After years of marginalisation of cultural manifestations in the vernacular, the decision to provide economic support and symbolic validation to Galician theatre by the political institutions represented a decisive shift in the Galician cultural field.

As we have seen, historically, the CDG was not the first organisation established with an aim to foster theatre creation and this was certainly not the first time drama was identified as a key aspect in the development of Galician cultural production, even from the earliest stages of national construction, as identified in Chapter One. However, it was the first to be underpinned by extensive public funding, placing it in line with developments in public theatre elsewhere in Spain and Europe.

The first attempt to grant public institutional status to a theatrical initiative, the CDG operated without specific legal regulations until 1986 and then became dependant on the IGAEM from 1989.⁴ The CDG has been involved in the debates that arise around the establishment of a national theatre company, particularly when this occurs in a minorised cultural context,⁵ sometimes sparking, sometimes fueling and sometimes settling controversies. What is certain is that the dialogue between institutions, professionals and audiences would have taken a very different shape, were it not for the positioning of the CDG as a reference point.

In 1983, Luis Álvarez Pousa was approached to become the Director Xeral de

⁴ IGAEM: Instituto Galego das Artes Escénicas e Musicais, dependant on the Consellería de Cultura (Xunta de Galicia), established in 1989 and replaced since 2008 with the AGADIC (Axencia Galega das Industrias Culturais). For more on the evolution of the legal status of the CDG, see Francisco Sanjiao, 'Teatro público en Galicia: o Centro Dramático Galego', in Vieites (ed.), *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp.175-181.

⁵ For a perspective on Catalan national theatre, see Helena Buffery, 'Theater Space and Cultural Identity in Catalonia', *Romance Quarterly* 53:3 (2006), 195-209; and Lourdes Orozco, 'National Identity in the Construction of the Theater Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya', *Romance Quarterly* 53:3 (2006), 211-222.

Cultura for the Alianza Popular (later Partido Popular) regional government. Neither a politician nor a ‘party man’ and, indeed, quite distant from the conservative government both in his positions and his trajectory, Álvarez Pousa was initially reluctant to accept the post.⁶ Soon after his appointment, he committed himself to the creation of an institutional theatre for Galicia and chose Eduardo Alonso to lead a project that could fulfil the specific needs of the Galician context: ‘Non queriamos que fose mimético doutros Centros Dramáticos existentes como o de Cataluña ou o CDN dos que, por outra parte, estudiamos o funcionamento’.⁷ However, the label ‘Centro’ clearly follows the path of those other institutional companies established in the Spanish State after the restoration of democracy, such as the Centro Dramático Nacional (1978) or the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1981),⁸ and reflects the need to position the Galician endeavour in the Iberian context. The choice ‘Galego’, as opposed to ‘de Galicia’, points towards the cultural and linguistic commitment: its identity is not based on geographical positioning but on the expression of cultural difference, historically tied in Galicia to the use of language, as we have seen in previous chapters. This almost indissoluble bond between language and national identity placed the language policies of the CDG at the heart of future debates.⁹ Like the other ‘centros’, the CDG avoided the term ‘nacional’, possibly due in part to the not so distant memory of the ‘Teatro Nacional’ that Manuel Fraga promoted in the late 1960s from the Ministerio de Información y Turismo and the detrimental associations to which it would give rise.

The creation of this institutional company has had considerable impact on the overall structure of the Galician theatre system, affecting the status of many

⁶ ‘Eu sabía que non era home de partido e moito menos do P.P’. Antón Lamapereira and Pedro P. Riobó ‘Entrevista a Luis Álvarez Pousa’, *Revista Galega de Teatro* 39 (2004), 6-15 (7).

⁷ Antón Lamapereira and Pedro P. Riobó, ‘Entrevista a Luis Álvarez Pousa’. *Revista Galega de Teatro* 39 (2004), 6-15 (8).

⁸ Based in the Teatre Romea since 1981 and rebranded as Teatre Nacional de Catalunya since 1998.

⁹ The controversial Spanish-language productions *Valle-Inclán* 98 (1998) and *Los viejos no deben enamorarse* (2002) will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter.

professionals, as the financial support of the institutions provided a break from the prevalent precariousness of theatre activity and aided the consolidation of a network of practitioners. One of the aims of the CDG at the time of its creation was the development of the theatre profession in Galicia, as expressed by its first director, Eduardo Alonso: ‘esta institución naceu coa vontade de ser un lugar onde os creadores e os profesionais do teatro puidesen desenvolver a súa actividade nas mellores condicións que o momento permitía’.¹⁰

Furthermore, the involvement of drama practitioners was not to be limited to the creative process. According to the Centro’s original statutes, two representatives from the profession were to be appointed to the governing body, although adherence to this stipulation has been far from strict. Despite what López Silva has described as a ‘relación tormentosa, ás veces de amor-odio entre a profesión e o CDG’,¹¹ the institution has supported the professionalisation of theatre in Galicia, as the discourse of resistance faded and theatre practitioners underwent their own transition from cultural activism to economically viable ventures.

The lack of professional structures in Galicia – and decisively, the lack of availability of formal training to theatre practitioners – resulted in a generalised malleability of the roles intervening in the theatre process, with authors becoming directors and actors turning into authors, directors and even translators. This idiosyncratic flexibility of the Galician theatre environment is showcased by the *modus operandi* of the Centro, which is characterised by a season-by-season approach, whereby plays, directors and cast are selected for each individual project and yet there is a great deal of overlap.¹²

¹⁰ María López Suárez and Anxo Abuín González, ‘O Centro Dramático Galego’, in Vieites (ed.), *Cento vinte...*, pp.171-185 (p.171).

¹¹ Inma López Silva, ‘Centro Dramático Galego: coma o gas, a auga ou a electricidade’, *Grial* 162 (2004), 116-123 (120).

¹² For instance, the twice director of the institution Manuel Guede has been stage director in ten productions and Eduardo Alonso – the first head of the CDG –, in seven productions. The most notable absence is that of female directors: since 1984, only five productions were directed by women, the first of them in 1993, almost ten years into the history of the CDG.

Although the foundation of the CDG was intended as a step towards the normalisation of theatrical activity in the minorised Galician context and, indeed, brought about many qualitative changes, the deficiencies of the system continued to exist, with the persistence of cultural –and linguistic – minorisation. The advent of institutional theatre and subsidies for theatre practice generated a new set of problems, a situation where the survival of private initiatives is not granted by artistic worth but depends on public funding.¹³ As a result, projects independent from public funding have been scarce in the Galician theatre sector. This has raised questions about a detachment between the publicly funded theatre offering and the needs of the public. For López Silva, the key is whether the CDG is at the service of the citizens of Galicia or whether it is an instrument to enable the professionals to make the theatre they want to make.¹⁴

Without attempting to minimise the debates over theatre practice in Galicia in the last three decades, I would argue that the tension between the demands of the public and the creative drive of practitioners in fact provide a necessary dialectic for the evolution of artistic forms. It is the gap between the resources and visibility of the CDG and those enjoyed by the majority of professionals that has caused what López Silva describes as a ‘macrocephalic’ structure in the Galician theatre context,¹⁵ with an institutional company that will inevitably fail to meet the expectations placed on it, not only with regards to drama but, perhaps more significantly, as an organ for the normalisation of cultural production in Galician language and for the establishment of the Galician dramatic canon. The Galician institutional company has nevertheless contributed decisively to the consolidation of the language in formal environments, not least through its role in legitimising translation. The sometimes discordant relationship of the CDG with regards to canon

¹³ For a discussion on the problematic of public theatre in Galicia, López Silva, ‘Centro Dramático...’; and Sanjiao ‘Teatro público...’

¹⁴ López Silva, ‘Centro Dramático...’, p.120.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

and language will be discussed in further detail in the following section.

1.2. The role of the CDG: Towards a Galician theatre repertoire

Besides changing the panorama of professional activity in Galicia, the CDG has been a key player in the consolidation of a dramatic repertoire in Galician language. Its - almost exclusive - commitment signifies an unequivocal step towards the legitimisation of the vernacular, connected to efforts towards linguistic normalisation.¹⁶ In addition, the recovery of Galician dramatic texts and authors, as well as the incorporation of works from other traditions broadened considerably the corpus available to other companies, both amateur and professional, thanks to the publication of the texts and accompanying materials.

Financial resources have allowed the institutional company to undertake projects beyond the reach of any other professional company in Galicia, subject to the demands imposed by commercial viability.¹⁷ Indeed, for Luis Álvarez Pousa, the CDG has an obligation to utilise its status and funds to offer performances beyond the scope of other practitioners: ‘Hai certos espectáculos de grande formato que un centro dramático ten que presentar. É a súa función representar grandes obras do teatro universal e en galego e iso esixe a súa existencia’.¹⁸

The public function of the CDG, its canonizing role, the need to contribute to the consolidation of a Galician language dramatic corpus, all emerge as strong influences in the choice of repertoire. The CDG mission statement outlines the dramaturgical objectives of the institution: ‘recuperación dos nosos autores fundamentais, presenza dos dramaturgos galegos contemporáneos, incorporación á

¹⁶ The two departures from this exclusive linguistic stance – both with Manuel Guede as director of the institution – encountered strong opposition on the part of the professional community and political activists: the Valle Inclán plays in 1998 and the 2002-staging of a Spanish translation of Castelao’s *Os vellos non deben de namorarse* in Madrid and Pontevedra.

¹⁷ For further analyses of demand and other economic factors in relation to Galician theatre see Francisco J. Sanjiao Otero, ‘¿Resulta viable o teatro en Galicia?: Unha análise sobre a demanda teatral’, in Vieites, *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp. 159-174.

¹⁸ Lamapereira and Riobó, ‘Entrevista...’, p.13.

escena galega de grandes nomes da literatura dramática universal de todos os tempos, promoción do teatro infantil e proxección exterior do noso teatro'.¹⁹

Whereas theatre for children and the visibility beyond Galicia of the CDG have been only partially addressed, a glance at the production history of the Galician institutional company confirms the presence of the lines mentioned in the repertoire: foundational Galician authors (Castelao, Álvaro Cunqueiro, Vicente Risco); contemporary Galician-language dramatists, such as Francisco Taxes, Roberto Vidal Bolaño or Manuel Lourenzo; and world drama, represented by both classical and contemporary works.

In the early years, the focus was on counteracting *costumbrismo* and folklorist choices. Its inaugural production was the somewhat unpredictable and controversial *Woyzeck*, by Georg Büchner.²⁰ This could be read as an early expression of the CDG's internationalist vocation, which is expressed in the aims of the institution: '[...] a realización dunha programación escénica que faga posible que o espectador da nosa comunidade teña unha visión completa do panorama dramático contemporáneo'.²¹ The emphasis on internationalism reverts to early twentieth century ideas about national construction, as articulated in the circles of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Grupo Nós*, discussed in Chapter One. However, the choice of play was mostly circumstantial. Valle-Inclán's heirs refused to allow the translation into Galician of *Divinas palabras*, which was the intended inaugural text, and Xúlio Lago put on the table another text he had been working on, *Woyzeck*, as a compromise choice, in fear of the project being indefinitely stalled, because 'ou se

¹⁹ Centro Dramático Galego. 'Creación e historia'. Web

²⁰ During that year, the CDG also produced *Agasallo de sombras*, by Roberto Vidal Bolaño, *Festa Rachada* by Enrique Harguindey and Xosé Ribadulla Corcón, *Fausto* (based on 'Galician traditions' and texts by Goethe, directed by Manuel Lourenzo) and *Informe* (result of collaboration between Troula and the Centro Nacional de Nuevas Tendencias Escénicas).

²¹ The idea of bringing international cultural products to the Galician public was also explicitly expressed in the *Revista Nós*, as seen in Chapter One. Centro Dramático Galego. 'Liñas e obxectivos'. Web.

facía naquel momento, ou non se facía’.²²

As the years went by, the incorporation of European classics from different periods gained terrain in relation to more avant-garde theatrical manifestations, with texts by Aristophanes, Molière, Shakespeare, Gil Vicente, Chekhov and Pirandello, amongst others.²³ Despite the emphasis on experimental theatre, recovered texts or original creations, some of the most successful productions of the CDG in the box office have been European classics.²⁴ The staging of European canonical texts had a double legitimising value, on the one hand contributing to the acceptability of translation processes within the Galician theatre system and on the other, consolidating Galician for formal and literary uses. In turn, the prestige of the plays recognised as universally canonical contends with prejudiced views about a language historically associated with low socio-economic status and lack of education, as discussed in Chapter Two.

This very focus on the classics generated a perception of neglect of original creations in Galician, a sentiment already seen in the debates around translation during the 1970s. Dorotea Bárcena has read the reliance on classics as a safe option that could hinder evolution, going against the CDG’s institutional duties of taking on risks that private companies cannot afford: ‘[...] non se pode facer se nas carteleiras do CDG sempre asinan as pezas de teatro os mortos’.²⁵ Yet the presence of contemporary Galician dramatists in the CDG has been almost as perceptible through their texts as through their dramaturgical contribution as directors. Such is the case of Manuel Lourenzo with *Fausto* (1984), *A casa dos afogados* (1991) and

²² Xúlio Lago, ‘Teatro do Atlántico: A tradución na traxectoria dunha compañía galega’. Unpublished conference paper. *Translation, Language and Performance on the Galician Stage*, University College Cork, 1 April 2015.

²³ A full listing of all CDG productions to date, including technical details and a selection of graphic materials can be accessed in CDG web.

²⁴ *A ópera dos tres reás* (2011), version of Brecht’s *The Threepenny Opera* directed by Quico Cadaval was the most successful CDG production in terms of attendance, with over 19,700 spectators over 34 performances.

²⁵ López Silva, ‘Relato da historia do C.D.G. desde dentro’, *Revista Galega de Teatro* 39 (2004), 28-33 (30).

Hostia (1996), and Roberto Vidal Bolaño, who directed his own *Agasallo de sombras* (1984), *Xelmírez ou a Gloria de Compostela* (1999) and *Rosalía* (2001).

The focus on European classics has a potential impact on the external projection of the CDG outside Galicia, one of the above mentioned aims of the institution. Regardless of the quality of the production, the appeal of a Shakespeare or a Camus in the Galician language is limited to the community of speakers. Outside Galicia, the expectation of the Centro would be the dissemination of vernacular Galician drama, a concept subjected to a problematic delimitation, as discussed in Chapter Three. Interestingly, *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* had a short run at the Teatre Romea in Barcelona.²⁶ The fact that a text by an Irish playwright is one of the most visible CDG productions to date beyond Galicia raises questions about how far the identification between Galicia and Ireland has permeated into the collective consciousness. In the CDG repertoire, the Synge play is one of the few incursions into realism with a Galician rural setting. This is expressive of a perceived need to depart from the tradition of ruralist theatre in the exploration of creative paths for the emerging profession and to avoid the constricting historical association of Galician with the rural milieu, in search of new contexts of use for the minorised language. Such a reaction to the historical hindrance of folkloric and caricaturesque representations, as revealed in previous chapters, led in turn to a generic gap in the system that has continued to be filled by translated drama, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Five. It is significant that, in that process, Galician practitioners turned to depictions of rural Ireland that are viewed as controversial in the source context for the perpetuation of negative stereotypes with a humorous aim, such as J.M. Synge and Martin McDonagh.²⁷

²⁶ Undoubtedly, this appearance at the Memorial Xavier Regàs in the home of the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat was facilitated by director Mario Gas' connections in Catalonia, as was the attention received by the production in the Catalan press. Fragments of those reviews were included in the introduction of the Xerais edition of the text.

²⁷ Martin McDonagh is further discussed in Chapter Five.

1.3. The CDG and the Galician language

The commitment of the Centro Dramático Galego to using Galician language in its productions constitutes one of its defining traits. In the context of a minorised culture, an institutional initiative of this kind cannot be dissociated from socio-political and, specifically, sociolinguistic implications, such as linguistic normalisation. In Galicia, where the use of the language had been regarded as a declaration of principles, theatre practitioners poured into the CDG the responsibility of continuing a degree of cultural activism. The company has been an agent not only in the consolidation of Galician as a language for the stage but also a contributor towards the linguistic norm, by adhering to the standard fixed by the Real Academia Galega.

Furthermore, the CDG's departures from this linguistic pledge into using Spanish language have met considerable hostility. In 1998, the CDG opted to perform *Valle-Inclán 98*, a series of four texts by the Galician-born dramatist, in the original Spanish, given the refusal of the playwright's son to allow the translation of the plays into Galician.²⁸ For José María Paz Gago, the project was unfairly judged from an ideological standpoint, 'desde una perspectiva esencialmente político-lingüística, sacrificando el único aspecto relevante, el estético y el teatral, en aras de preservar las esencias patrias'.²⁹ Paz Gago sidelines the fact that aesthetic and dramaturgical aspects are not the only components of the dramatic phenomenon and that, in the minorised Galician context, sociolinguistic responsibility is attributed to

²⁸ The plays in question were *El embrujado* (dir. Eduardo Alonso), *Ligazón* (dir. Manuel Guede), *La cabeza del Bautista* (dir. Helena Pimenta) and *Las galas del difunto* (dir. Xosé Martíns). The legal impossibility of translating Valle-Inclán into Galician problematises his translation into other languages and his international reception. Even taking into consideration the challenging nature of Valle-Inclán's hybrid stage language, the same prejudice was not applied to the translation of Synge's hybridity, despite the comparisons often drawn between the two dramatists.

²⁹ Paz Gago credits the production with uncovering the essence of Valle: 'Quizás hayamos dado por fin con el lenguaje de Valle, una lengua artística que no se identifica con ninguna de las lenguas peninsulares, un lenguaje teatral universal que no puede circunscribirse a ninguna geografía concreta pero que es de inequívoca estirpe gallega [...]'. Chema Paz Gago. 'Valle-Inclán 98', *Primer Acto* 276 (1998), 154-155.

the CDG. The contended item was not so much the translation of Valle into Galician, regarded by many on both sides of the argument as unnecessary, but the investment of funds that were intended for theatre in the Galician language, contrary to the linguistic stance demanded by the public character of the CDG. Likewise, there was a fear that this breach in the monolingualism that had characterised the output of the institutional company during the previous fourteen years would set a precedent, despite insistence from the institution that this was an exceptional circumstance: ‘Valle merece la pena de romper la norma’, were the words of Manuel Guede.³⁰ However, Guede ‘broke the rules’ once again in 2002, when the CDG staged *Los viejos no deben enamorarse*, a Spanish-language version of Castelao’s play, in Madrid and –more contentiously – in Santiago and Pontevedra. The decision to translate a text by one of the first monolingual authors in Galician language, a passionate political campaigner for the nationalist cause was unsurprisingly received with widespread malaise by theatre practitioners, and literary and political figures. The Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística released a statement, ‘O Centro Dramático Galego, o idioma e o diñeiro público’, that identified the institutional status of the CDG as the main ethical and pragmatic objection to the production.³¹

Debates around translation in relation to the activity of the CDG have centred on its responsibility towards language normalisation and its status as a publicly-funded agent of cultural production. Although there is an expectation that the institution will support original dramaturgical creation in Galician language, as mentioned above, the intention to source texts from other cultural contexts was expressed in its mission statement. The unequivocal position of the institutional company with regards to translation can be viewed as the step that finally settled debates around the legitimacy of translation for the Galician stage. Over one third of

³⁰ Xosé Hermida. ‘Don Ramón no habla gallego’, *El País*, 28 March 1998. Web.

³¹ The Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística is an independent organisation for the defense of the language, founded in 1986.

the more than eighty productions of the CDG are translated texts.

Because of its institutional status, many CDG versions of plays, both originals and translations, have been published. Such publications contribute to the consolidation of the identity of the institutional theatre company in the public eye. Texts selected for the CDG repertoire enjoy a unique degree of visibility not only through onstage performances but also through these editions, in many cases the only Galician-language version of the plays available to practitioners and to the general public. The reception of those dramatic works and their authors in the Galician theatre and literary systems is inevitably determined by how the CDG approached them and, to a great extent, how the plays were framed by the paratextual materials included in their editions.³² The potential impact of these publications deserves special consideration in the case of translated texts, as illustrated by the examples of Irish drama analysed in this chapter.

2. Appropriating Synge

O mozo que chegou de lonxe (1988) and *Como en Irlanda* (1996) exemplify two different approaches to translation and adaptation. The choice of texts, their framing, as well as translation and production decisions must be considered in relation to the evolving agenda of the Centro Dramático Galego and to the history of Irish drama on the Galician stage.

The decision to produce two plays by Synge, albeit separated by almost a decade, confirms the dramatist as the most translated and performed Irish playwright in Galician language. The attention that Synge's works have received in the Galician context can again be traced back to the 1920 and 1930s utilisation of the identification with Ireland and the inspirational value placed on the Abbey Theatre,

³² I refer here to the collections 'Os libros do CDG' (1988-2006), a collaboration between Xerais and the Xunta de Galicia; the 'Colección CDG' (1992-2005), published by the IGAEM; and the 'Colección Escena Aberta' by the AGADIC and Laiovento, since 2006. Additionally, the IGAEM/AGADIC have published since 1992 a series of educational materials ('Cadernos pedagóxicos').

two aspects that can be clearly recognised in the CDG productions in question. In the case of *O mozo*, the decision to transpose the action to Galicia is a conclusive expression of the perceived proximity between Galicia and Ireland, forged at the time of the first translations of Irish drama. References to the near-equivalence between the two contexts and to the naturalistic approach adopted by Gas reverberate through the paratexts and reviews of the play. *Como en Irlanda* draws on the identification by linking the translation of *Riders to the Sea* to Antón Villar Ponte and the foundational days of Galician nationalism, both dramaturgically and through the substantial paratextual materials. In the process of shaping the canon, a historical connection between Irish drama and the dramatic corpus in Galician language is drawn by presenting *Nouturnio de medo e morte* in conjunction with *Xinetes para o mar*.

Both cases exemplify the influence of early twentieth century political and theatrical models, and the ideological associations that accompany Synge's drama in the Galician context motivate its appropriation for identity-building purposes. In contrast, the other Irish dramatist in the CDG repertoire, Oscar Wilde, is presented as 'Escritor inglés de orixe irlandesa' and 'é considerado como un dos dramaturgos máis destacados do Londres vitoriano tardío'.³³ Ireland is not referred to as the source culture of the play but merely as the birth place of the author.³⁴ Both Synge's Irish origin and the paratexts framing *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* and *Como en Irlanda* draw attention to his ability to portray Ireland, a rural Ireland that could be appropriated as an alter ego of rural Galicia, avoiding problematic ruralist and folklorist associations. Synge enables an incursion into rural settings within a

³³ There have been two productions of Wilde's *Salomé*, in 1989, a collaboration with the company Teatro Chévere, directed by Roberto Vidal Bolaño and John Eastham, and 2010, under the direction of Carlos Santiago, both using the translation by Pepe G. Sendón. Centro Dramático Galego. 'Histórico'. Web.

³⁴ In relation to the 2010 production, in the 'Dosier pedagógico', and materials for the press Wilde is also 'o dublinés' but there is no reference to the author in the hand programme. Centro Dramático Galego. 'Histórico. *Salomé*'. Web.

naturalist code, sidestepping local prejudices against rural-themed drama. However, this is only possible by excluding any of the controversial aspects of Synge's reception in the Irish context and focusing on his prestige and his association with the Abbey Theatre, identified as a valuable model in the beginnings of contemporary Galician theatre.

The polinising action of the institutional company in the Galician theatre system is exemplified in the ways in which its 1996 choice visibly prepared the ground for other productions, professional and otherwise. That same year, Compañía de Marías produced *A voda dos moinantes*. The overlap between this and the CDG play is remarkable: the company had been established by María Pujalte and María Bouzas, both of whom were also part of the *O mozo...* cast in 1988; the direction was again in the hands of Quico Cadaval; and the Galician version was the work of Xepe Casanova.³⁵ That same year, the branch of the Aula de Teatro da Universidade de Santiago based in its Lugo campus staged *Deire a coitada*, a translation of *Deirdre of the Sorrows* by Manuel Bermúdez Blanco.³⁶ Also, the company Espello Cóncavo produced *Bailando no verán*, a version of Brian Friel's *Dancing in Lughnasa*, and one of their most successful runs.

2.1. *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*

In 1988, the CDG staged two productions, each representative of a line of work in its repertoire: *Espectros* de R. Otero Pedrayo, signalling the recovery of a canonical Galician author – and *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, a version of J. M. Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*, a key work of world drama.

The Uruguayan Mario Gas, with a considerable reputation in Barcelona and Madrid, was chosen to direct the production. Marcos Ordóñez in his 'Cròniques de

³⁵ Examples of this unpublished script, once again sourced thanks to the kindness of María Bouzas and Avelino González, are included in Appendix D.

³⁶ This text has been previously referred to with regards to the use of antroponyms extracted from Eduardo Pondal's poems to translate the names of characters from Irish mythology in Synge's original.

teatre' points to the scant production history of Synge in Iberia and to the genesis of the production:

Per aquella època [c.1970] Mario Gas ja volia muntar *The Playboy...*, [...] i, amb el bonic nom de *La balada de Cristy Mahon*, presentar-la al Saló Diana amb Juanjo Puigcorbé i Vicky Peña – que precisament n'havia realitzat l'adaptació – com a protagonistes, si no recordo malament.

Va passar el temps i Dorotea Bárcena va fer a Gas la comanda de muntar-la per al Centro Dramático Galego, donant al nostre director l'oportunitat d'executar un d'aquests exercicis de simbiosi funambulesca als quals ens té acostumats: [...] l'ocasió li venia ara com anell al dit per trasplantar la farsa negra de Synge del seu *Western World* originari – l'agresta zona de la badia de Galway, amb els seus camperols salvatges, libèrrims fins al crim i mesquins fins al linxament – a un *Finis Terrae* galaic, entre el parrandismo cantat per Blanco Amor i el Salnés de les comèdies bàrbares valleinclanesques.³⁷

In this description Ordóñez offers of both the inhabitants of the Irish West and of the 'Gallaic Finis Terrae', certain cultural and literary clichés are brought to the fore: the wilderness of the Irish, easily relocated to Galicia, framed by traits of the Galician and Spanish literary and dramaturgical tradition, represented by Blanco Amor and Valle-Inclán.³⁸ In a press conference around a month after the premiere, Mario Gas gave an alternative explanation for the project, as corroborated by Avendaño:

la propuesta de esta obra la hizo el propio Gas cuando la compañía gallega le invitó para realizar un montaje, ya que según él 'es la obra que siempre me interesó, pero no encontré un público que pudiera ser adecuado para captarla en Cataluña o en Castilla, hasta que ahora me di cuenta que encajaba perfectamente en Galicia'. La razón de esta confianza en la aceptación del público se argumenta, según el director, 'en que existe un gran paralelismo entre la vida del pueblo irlandés y la del gallego en el momento en que se plantea la acción, en que se lucha contra el caciquismo y la injusticia'.

Por esta razón, el director, junto con el adaptador, Alberto Avendaño, acordaron hacer una versión gallega en lugar de una traducción literal.³⁹

The existence of this earlier project indicates that the appointment of Mario

³⁷ The review 'Synge a Galicia: *O MOZO QUE CHEGOU DE LONXE*' appeared originally in *ABC-Cataluña*, 5 November 1988, and is included in the anthology by Marcos Ordóñez, *Molta Comèdia. Cròniques de teatre 1987-1995* (Barcelona: La Campana, 1996), pp. 65-66 (p.65).

³⁸ The comparison with Valle-Inclán's singular use of the grotesque, regarded as an inspired – and inspiring – capture of the essence of the Galician rural milieu, illustrates the connection between his work and Synge's.

³⁹ *ABC*, 21 July 1988, and Avendaño, personal email communication.

Gas was not just based on his trajectory as director but was made on the grounds that he could bring his unique perspective and professional prestige to the CDG, at a time of instability. The recently appointed Eduardo Puceiro abandoned his post and his duties fell on Bárcena as an interim solution.⁴⁰ The central role assigned to the director in the decision process places the production within the tendency towards director's theatre that we can identify in other European theatres at the time.

It goes without saying that a key element of the legitimisation strategy of the CDG version of *The Playboy* related to Synge's role as a director, as well as playwright, linked to the Abbey Theatre, something flagged in the introduction to the 1990 edition of the text: 'Convértese en director do mítico Abbey Theatre de Dublín desde o ano 1904 ata que falece o 24 de marzo de 1909'.⁴¹ The choice to describe the Abbey Theatre as 'mítico' is rooted in the mystification to which Ireland is subjected in the Galician context:

A través do textos de John M. Synge discorre a Irlanda máis xenuína, ese mundo rural que posúe tantas concomitancias coa Galicia máis íntima e misteriosa. Aí está o esperpento, ese lirismo que se debate entre a resignación e a crudeza, esa descrición da tribu e as súas miserias. [...] Escribiu [...] desde o interior dun universo que os galegos, coma os irlandeses, aínda coñecemos moi ben e no que aínda podemos identificarnos.⁴²

Synge is described as an insider with a privileged perspective ('desde o interior') when in fact much of the problematic reception of his works revolves around him being perceived as the Anglo-Irish outsider, exploiting rural types for comedic effect. The CDG version evades this controversy, emphasising instead the perceived affinities between the two contexts, which are repeatedly referenced in the paratexts chosen to feature in the introduction to the volume. The selected excerpts

⁴⁰ Bárcena was the only female director of the institution until Ángeles Cuña's appointment in 2005, who was succeeded by Cristina Domínguez (2006-2013).

⁴¹ Synge, *O mozo...*, p. 12.

⁴² The use of 'aínda' implies that Galicians remain in touch with their ancestral identity, like the Irish, and echoes the racial connection seen in the work of Plácido R. Castro and other pre-1936 nationalists detailed in Chapter One.

from reviews – the majority relating to performances in Catalonia and the Basque Country – emphasise the success of the relocation of the action to Galicia:

Aquí ha de pasar alguna d'aquestes coses: o bé J.M. Synge es deia Xan i va néixer a Pontevedra i no a Irlanda, com perjuren els llibres; o bé el seu voluntari exili de Dublín no el va portar a les illes d'Aran sinó a la costa da Morte, o bé el seu fantasma ha mantingut llargues converses a la vora del foc amb Alberto Avendaño. [...] Synge hi és tot, sense trampa greu, però la comèdia que puja a l'escenari és absolutament gallega.⁴³

In the eyes of the reviewers, it is possible to have a play that is 'absolutely' Galician in its humour and faithful to the spirit of the Irish dramatist's original. Once more, we find here at play the identification between Galician and Ireland, and the blurring of the line between the two supported by the translocation.

In line with interpretations in previous periods, Synge's works are read in Galicia as realistic drama, void of any problematic perceptions, and used to fill in the genre gap left by the more experimental performance trends of the 1960s and 1970s. This acquired a specific meaning in the Galician context, where the reaction to traditionalism overlapped with the consolidation of the language beyond the rural milieu and the eradication of derogatory associations. With their rural setting and traditional characterisation, Synge's plays provide a realistic alternative, which was perceived as the key of the production's appeal during its run at the Teatre Romea:

Sospecho, sin embargo, que 'O mozo que chegou de lonxe' [...] es de estos espectáculos que despertarían vivas añoranzas entre quienes sienten que solo el naturalismo bien hecho 'era teatro' y que han conocido el declive de una estética que, en cualquier mercado teatral mejor nutrido que el nuestro, sigue representando una tradición objeto de una regular oferta.⁴⁴

Naturalist representations of rural Galicia are doubly validated through the international prestige of Synge and by the historical connotations of Ireland in the Galician context. Because of previous concerns about rural stereotyping, such

⁴³ Joan Casas, *Diari de Barcelona* (5 November 1988), reproduced in Synge, *O mozo...*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁴ Joan-Anton Benach, 'Singé[sic], Gas y un mozo que llegó de lejos', *La Vanguardia* (5 November 1988), p.39.

dramatic representations have to come through translation rather than by the hand of Galician dramatists. Furthermore, in this case, the initiator of the project is a non-Galician director, Mario Gas, which raises interesting questions as to whether the approach taken would have had the same acceptability had they not been filtered by layers of translation.

2.2. *Como en Irlanda (Xinetes para o mar)*

The publication of the texts corresponding to the 1996 production *Como en Irlanda* was almost simultaneous with the performance run. The volume includes not only the intended performance text of both *Nouturnio de medo e morte* and *Xinetes para o mar* ('O texto da representación'), but also the facsimile of the 1935 edition of Villar Ponte's play, as well as a lengthy introduction, which includes contributions by director Quico Cadaval, translator-dramaturgue Xepe Casanova, a comprehensive 119-page study by Manuel F.Vieites and a selection of images, featuring the set design, figurines of costumes and photographs of the dress rehearsals. Additional forewords by government representatives (Manuel Fraga, president of the Xunta de Galicia, and Jesús Pérez Varela, Conselleiro de Cultura) and by the director of the CDG, Manuel Guede, indicate that the production was not just an artistic initiative but a cornerstone of cultural policy, as well as lending the volume certain commemorative, symbolic value.⁴⁵

The second of J.M. Synge's texts was produced under very different circumstances, at a time when the professionalisation of theatre activity in Galicia was well on the way and, certainly, at a less turbulent moment for the CDG. Manuel Guede had become director of the institutional company in 1991. The longest

⁴⁵ On the final page, a note attempts to connect the publication of the book and other key dates in the biography of Villar Ponte and Synge: 'Rematouse de imprimir este libro amanecendo o outono de 1996. Oitenta anos antes fundábase o semanario 'A Nosa Terra' do que foi principal impulsor e primeiro director Antón Villar Ponte. Doutra banda, no outono de 1903 John M. Synge estreaba en Dublín a súa primeira obra, 'In the Shadow of the Glen'[sic], posta en escena pola Sociedade Nacional do Teatro Irlandés'.

serving director of the CDG's history, Guede provided the necessary stability to consolidate a visible agenda for the institution and a more defined programming strategy.⁴⁶ During his time as a highly visible, albeit controversial at times, front man at the institution, Guede directed seven productions himself, out of the total forty-two staged during his 'mandate'. He manifested a concern with the construction of a foundational corpus for Galician theatre, which can be observed in the selection of repertoire and in his contributions to paratextual materials, such as the *Como en Irlanda* volume. Guede's approach to the choice of texts was based on the alternation of Galician originals with key works from the international dramatic canon. *Hostia* by A. Cotarelo Valledor, directed by Manuel Lourenzo, represented Galician drama in the 1996 season. *Como en Irlanda* introduced the international component, although in a somewhat veiled form because of the dramaturgical structure of the production. As described earlier in the chapter, two texts provide the basis for *Como en Irlanda*, one Irish and one Galician, and the dramaturgical unity is granted by the presumed similarities between Galicia and Ireland. The two short pieces themselves have little in common, bar the rural setting. In Villar Ponte's action-filled *Nouturnio*, all the main characters are male, while in the much more static, *Xinetes para o mar*, it is a female character, Maurya, and her tragic fate that dominates the scene.

In *Nouturnio de medo e morte*, the main character, Fuco, is robbed by two masked highwaymen and seeks shelter at a familiar inn. There he reveals his relative good fortune to the owner, Mingos: the thieves missed the large sum of money hiding in his hat. After Fuco goes to bed, the two masked men enter and it is revealed that they are Mingos' jobless sons. All three decide to finish the job but Fuco, who has overheard them, is prepared for their attack. In the ensuing fight, Mingos and one of his sons end up dead. The piece, reminiscent of the tragically violent 'romances de cegos' is in sharp contrast with the somber tragedy that is

⁴⁶ Guede remained in the direction uninterruptedly until 2004 and returned to the CDG in 2012, a post he resigned in June 2015, quoting personal reasons.

Riders to the Sea.⁴⁷ In *Xinetes para o mar*, a sense of inevitability surrounds Maurya's loss of her son to the sea. The focus is shifted from action to the personal tragedy of the characters, whose resigned attitude is opposed to Fuco's fighting stance.

In his foreword to the printed edition of *Como en Irlanda*, Manuel Guede explains the rationale behind the production, a tribute to Antón Villar Ponte and a reprisal of the theatrical values that the latter reflected upon back in the 1930s. Guede admits an initial interest in other Irish texts ('*Catuxa de Houlihan* and 'No país da saudade de Yests' [sic]', p.15), both in Galician translations linked to Antón Villar Ponte and with an added inaugural value: 'Tal vez supoñeríase máis cabal e redonda a homenaxe complementaria a Villar Ponte de escollérmo-los textos de Yeats que traducidos ó galego polos irmáns Villar Ponte e Plácido R. Castro provocaran o envite e removeran o lume'.⁴⁸ By means of further justification, he mentions Villar Ponte's authorship of a translation of *Riders to the Sea*, 'Os cabaleiros do mar', which to this date has not been located, as previously said.

In the course of a personal interview, director Quico Cadaval reported on Guede's initial project: a production of *Catuxa de Houlihan* and *Nouturnio de medo e morte*. The idea was rejected by Cadaval arguing the dramaturgical weaknesses he perceived in Yeats' text. For him, the allegorical nature of the play could hinder a connection with the audience, as would its political and historical content. As an alternative, Cadaval proposed *Riders to the Sea*, as a more dramaturgically viable counterpoint to Villar Ponte's *Nouturnio*. He believed the unity of *Como en Irlanda* would be strengthened by the fact that one play is set in a seafaring community and

⁴⁷ *Nouturnio* shares more with another of J.M.Synge's works, *The Playboy of the Western World*: the violence, the lack of moral consistency on the part of the characters and the transformation experienced by the protagonist, Fuco, who starts off as victim and goes on to kill his attackers. The CDG production adds two significant elements to Villar Ponte's ending: Fuco buries one of the thieves in the grave that was destined for him and is apprehended by the Garda Civil.

⁴⁸ Manuel Guede, 'Resonancias de metal', in *Como en Irlanda* (Santiago de Compostela: IGAEM, 1996), pp.15-16 (p.15).

the other inland, reflecting the dichotomy of Galician rural reality.⁴⁹

The choice of Synge as the author to accompany Villar Ponte in this double bill fulfills a dual purpose. On the one hand, we have the recovery of the values and ideals expressed by the Galician author and the aspirational value he persistently attributed to the Abbey Theatre and to Irish drama. On the other hand, Guede underlines Synge's place in the European dramatic canon, which fits in with the institutional aim of bringing international theatre to the Galician stage: 'Synge é un dos grandes autores teatrais europeos do século XX. Villar Ponte é un intelectual galego que naceu en Viveiro no ano 1881. Iso é público e notorio e sancionado pola historia'.⁵⁰ Guede resorts to the historical argument to highlight the status of both authors, suggesting that they should enjoy the same degree of recognition. However, while Synge is presented as 'one of the greatest playwrights of the century', Villar Ponte is 'a Galician intellectual', and while Synge's status is supported by his work, Villar Ponte's is merely based upon the time and place of his birth. The binomial structure of this representation implies that the prestige attributed internationally to J.M. Synge can somehow be shared by the figure of Villar Ponte, whose incursions into the dramatic genre have been far from 'sanctioned by history'.⁵¹ Clearly, the inclusion of Villar Ponte's work in the CDG repertoire rests upon his condition as a historical figure of Galician nationalism, his activism in favour of the Galician language and the preoccupation he expressed with the construction of Galician theatre.

The paratexts that frame the translation of *Riders to the Sea* in publication

⁴⁹ This dichotomy is also present in Magán's earlier translation of 'Men and Women' as 'Labregos and mariñeiros' in the character list, as seen on Chapter Three. Director Cadaval referred to Magán's version in his introduction. 'Como en Irlanda: unha escolla azarosa'. *Como en Irlanda* (Santiago de Compostela: IGAEM/Xunta de Galicia, 1996), pp. 25-28 (p.27).

⁵⁰ Guede, 'Resonancias...', p.16.

⁵¹ Guede does not refer at any point specifically to Villar Ponte's achievements as an author, a facet of his work that was not as valued by critics, as seen in Carvalho Calero's critical words, reproduced in Chapter One. If we consider the scant attention given to Villar Ponte's plays on the Galician stage, he could hardly be considered 'sanctioned by history' as a dramatist either, if we are to consider the production history of his works.

reflect the politicisation of Irish drama in the Galician context initiated with Antón Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in 1921. The introduction to *Como en Irlanda* exposes a distinctive politicisation of Synge that fits in with the requirements of the target culture, as his work is systematically connected with issues of linguistic, cultural and national identity.

Translating Synge's Hiberno-English stage idiom is a challenging endeavour. In the case of translation into Galician, these issues are superimposed with the sociolinguistic situation in the community and the historical minorisation of Galician culture. The minorised status of the target language demands careful attention to aspects of national and cultural identity, in translation and through translation. The onstage linguistic identity of the characters, particularly in realistic representations, has specific implications in contexts of linguistic conflict and, in the case of Irish drama on the Galician stage, is further complicated by the historic appropriation of the source culture as a sister culture.

As exemplified by the introduction to *Como en Irlanda*, when it comes to Synge's work, this appropriation entails deproblematising his reception in his source context. Perhaps the quintessential expression of the conflicted reactions to his plays was the riots that met the premiere of *The Playboy of the Western World* in the Abbey Theatre in 1907. The events show a connection between the hostility with which the play was received and the ideological positioning of Synge in the eyes of those political sectors that took exception at Synge's depiction of the 'idolised' West of the country. The last stronghold of unadulterated Irishness was in Synge's dramatic universe populated by characters whose incongruous and at times barbaric behaviour was a far cry from the noble temperament of their legendary ancestors.⁵²

⁵² A more recent instance of problematic reception of West of Ireland set, rural-themed plays in the Irish context is that of Martin McDonagh's dramaturgical explorations of the borderline between the humorous and the grotesquely violent through often dysfunctional characters. These aspects are analysed in Chapter Five, in relation to translations of his 'Leenane Trilogy' into Galician. For wider consideration of the international travels of McDonagh's works see, Patrick Lonergan, *Theatre and*

In the face of his critics, Synge protested the realistic qualities of his material, and one could argue that he had a more direct knowledge of the rural context than those who safeguarded the ideal image of rural communities in the process of national construction. Since it was the use of the word ‘shift’ that sparked the protests, language was also central to Synge’s defence:⁵³

In writing ‘The Playboy of the Western World’, as in my other plays, I have used one or two words only that I have not heard among the country people of Ireland, or spoken in my own nursery before I could read the newspapers.⁵⁴

His arguments were unfortunately detrimental, as by attributing much of his inspiration to ‘a chink in the floor of the old Wicklow house where I was staying, that let me hear what was being said by the servant girls in the kitchen’,⁵⁵ he added to his reputation that of an outsider painting a mocking picture of the Irish peasant and, in the process, keeping the stage Irishman and woman very much alive.⁵⁶

In *Synge and the Irish Language*, Declan Kiberd calls for a reconsideration of a series of assumptions around Synge’s relationship with the Irish language, connected to his presumed lack of political engagement. This perception can be connected to a widely extended view of Synge, which P. J. Mathews attributes to Yeats and his essay ‘J.M. Synge and the Ireland of his Time’ (1910), as ‘the distillation of Synge’s achievements along the lines favoured by the influential poet’.⁵⁷ Mathews rejects the unconditional alignment of Synge with ‘Yeatsian Revivalism’ and points at the ideological and artistic distance between the two.⁵⁸

Globalisation: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) and *The Theatre and Films of Martin McDonagh* (London: Methuen Drama, 2012).

⁵³ Synge’s advocacy of blunt reflections of reality inspired some ingenious replies, such as that of one critic: ‘In art a spade must be called a spade.- But the complaint is, Mr. Synge, that you call it a bloody shovel’. D.H. Greene & E.M. Stephens, *J.M. Synge, 1871-1909* (New York/London: New York University Press, 1989), p.259.

⁵⁴ Preface to *The Playboy*, in Synge, *Plays, Poems...*, pp.107-8.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ In the preface to the Yeats’ translations discussed in Chapter One, Yeats is precisely credited with the opposite achievement: ‘o irlandés de escenario’.

⁵⁷ P.J. Mathews, ‘Re-thinking Synge’, in *The Cambridge Companion to J.M.Synge*, ed. by P.J. Mathews (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), pp.3-14 (p. 10).

⁵⁸ Yeats took credit for Synge’s interest in Irish culture and credited himself with motivating the former’s trips to Aran: ‘Go to the Aran islands’. However, his travels were most likely motivated by

Ben Levitas has argued that Synge's understanding of Irish nationalism and his internationalist interest were muffled under Yeats' simplified account of his evolution up to 'his return to locate his genius in the Aran Islands'.⁵⁹

The CDG publication *Como en Irlanda* favours an interpretation of *Riders to the Sea* in a frame of sociolinguistic and political conflict and, therefore, predisposes future readers and interpreters towards the identification of parallels between Ireland and Galicia, both as historical entities and dramatic worlds. The volume includes a lengthy study of the historical context in which Manuel Vieites covers such issues as the history of colonisation in Ireland ('Sete séculos de dominación, escravitude e barbarie'), the regression of the Irish language and the Anglo-Irish dramatic movement.⁶⁰ After focusing on Ireland in the first four sections, he alternates between the Galician and Irish contexts, reinforcing the idea of a historical parallel between the two nations and their respective colonisation processes. This comprehensive introduction offers a perspective on Irish history, its sociolinguistic situation and theatre system that applies predominantly Galician-centred parameters, as exemplified by the positioning of the Irish Dramatic Movement and its representatives outside the Irish literary system:

Ningún deles asumiu a responsabilidade ou o compromiso de traballar pola recuperación e normalización da lingua gaélica e por moito que respectemos esa liberdade do creador e valoremos a súa obra, non podemos, desde un punto de vista conceptual, integralos no sistema literario irlandés, pois pertencen ó sistema literario angloirlandés, sistema que vén definido quer polo emprego dunha lingua dialectal (Synge) nacida da relación entre o inglés e o gaélico, quer pola recreación da vida tradicional irlandesa e pola recuperación da tradición literaria gaélica (Yeats).⁶¹

his studies in Paris with professor H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. For more on revised interpretations of Synge, see Declan Kiberd, *Synge and the Irish language* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1993).

⁵⁹ Ben Levitas, 'European encounters', in *The Cambridge Companion...*, pp.77-102 (p. 78).

⁶⁰ Vieites argues for the label 'angloirlandés', not only for the Anglo-Irish Dramatic Movement but for all English-language literary and dramaturgical production in Ireland in English language. His perspective on this matter responds to the transposition of the philological criterion from the Galician to the Irish contexts. 'De J.M. Synge a A. Villar Ponte. Teatro, literatura dramática e construción nacional na periferia atlántica. Anotacións para un estudio preliminar', in *Como en Irlanda*, pp.51-167.

⁶¹ Vieites, 'De J.M. Synge...', p. 64.

While the ‘criterio filolóxico’ has determined the delimitation of Galician literature in terms of the language of production, this does not have equivalent relevance in the Irish context, particularly post Field Day Anthology.⁶² The application of the target culture perspective culminates in the final section of the introduction, a short conclusion under the title ‘Como en Galicia’, in which Vieites seeks reverse identification on the part of Ireland:

En Irlanda a cuestión lingüística non semella ter sido parte importante da cuestión nacional e na actualidade a situación do gaélico é verdadeiramente preocupante.

Durante anos os galegos e galegas comprometidos coa loita política, lingüística e cultural atoparon en Irlanda exemplo e modelo. É hora de que os irlandeses saiban ver que, no que fai á preservación do gaélico e á normalización lingüística, Galicia pode ser un exemplo a imitar.

[...] Se no pasado moitos galeguistas fixeron seu o símil, ‘como en Irlanda’, é hora de que **os irlandeses bos e xenerosos**, que os hai, sigan o exemplo dun país que sempre quixo ser irmán.

Como en Galicia, en gaélico.⁶³

This politically charged fragment presents a perspective on Ireland’s past and present deeply marked by target-culture perceptions. Vieites puts the ‘worrying’ situation of the Irish language down to the lack of emphasis on the language in the process of national construction. The direct comparison between the sociolinguistic situation in Ireland, after decades of co-officiality, with that of Galician, to this date and for the foreseeable future a stateless language, is somewhat problematic. The divergences go beyond the sociolinguistic situation, and there are many socio-economic, historical and, not least, political differences between the two nations that

⁶² The first three volumes of *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* appeared in 1991, edited by Seamus Deane. An attempt to establish a Post-colonial, cross-border identity for Irish cultural production, it included works by authors from both Northern Ireland and the Republic. One of the main deficiencies identified by its critics was the absence of female input and, indeed, of female authors.

⁶³ Vieites, ‘De J.M. Synge...’, p. 162. My emphasis. This idea of the ‘exemplarity’ of Galicia in the preservation of its linguistic identity reappears in Avelino González. When he received the María Casares award for his translation of *Un cranio furado*, one of the texts analysed in Chapter Five, his speech included a ‘Que non me pase como en Irlanda. Eu quero seguir facendo cousas no meu idioma’. Martín Arias, “‘Un cranio furado’ obtuvo el premio María Casares”, *El Correo Gallego* (24 March 2011). Web.

have contributed to their current linguistic map. Also problematic is presenting the Ireland where ‘Galicians committed to political struggle’ found their ‘inspiration and model’ as a real entity and not a construct generated within the Galician context itself: that is, an idealised version of the Irish nation. In this fragment, Vieites resorts to those simplifications in an apparent pursuit of reverse identification, appealing to ‘the good and generous’ Irish people.⁶⁴ However, the text is not really aimed at an Irish readership. Vieites turns the tables on the long-lasting utilisation of Ireland in the Galician context as a source of cultural and political inspiration. Using the language issue, he re-assigns the aspirational value historically placed in Ireland onto Galicia, signalling that the time for self-deprecation is over, and placing a different value on the Irish example: that of a sociolinguistic cautionary tale.⁶⁵

3. Staging symbolic geographies

The final sections of this chapter present an analysis of key aspects of the translation strategies in both *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* and *Xinetes para o mar*, in relation to the frame provided by their respective paratexts and to other approaches to Synge’s drama in the Galician context, with special attention to the intersections and divergences between both CDG productions.

3.1. *The Playboy*: ‘unha versión brutal’

In the creation of *O mozo*, Synge’s *Playboy* was approached from a target-culture oriented perspective, subjecting the original to considerable alterations in order to produce an adaptation that, through the transposition of the action to a Galician rural setting, achieved the effect highlighted in the paratexts: the identification with Ireland and the perception of the text as authentically Galician.

⁶⁴ The phrase ‘os bos e xenerosos’ is borrowed from the lyrics of the Galician national anthem, based on the poem ‘Os pinos’ by Eduardo Pondal, himself a contributor to the Celtic myth forged during the Rexurdimento.

⁶⁵ The issue of negative prejudices held by the speakers has been addressed in Chapter Two, in relation to the sociolinguistic situation in the diaspora.

The translation of J.M.Synge's play was commissioned to Alberto Avendaño, who emphasised the dramaturgical freedom with which he undertook the project:

Nas miñas conversas con Dorotea [Bárcena, director of the CDG] e logo na miña primeira conversa con Mario Gas en Barcelona en marzo ou abril de 1988 estaba clara a miña 'axenda' de que non ía facer unha traducción senón **unha versión brutal e libre do texto.**⁶⁶

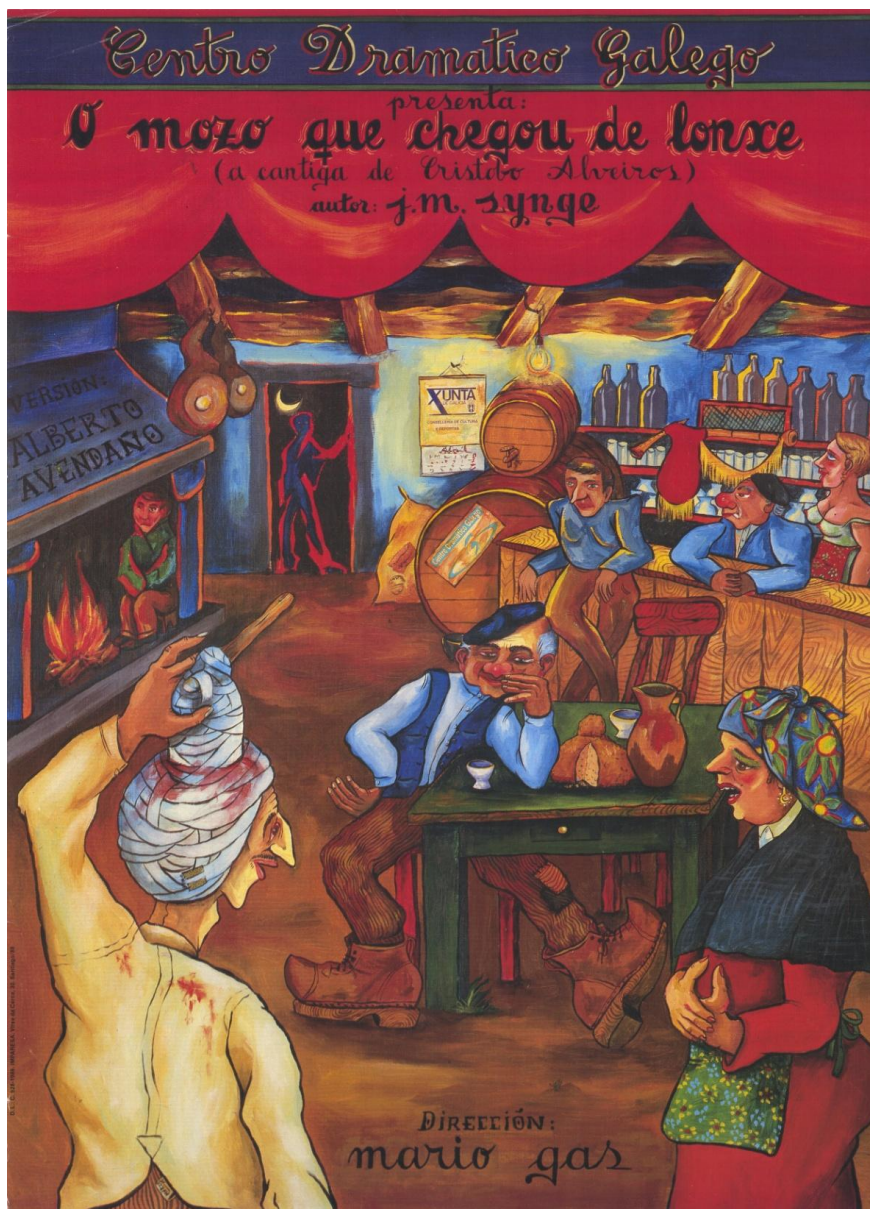


Fig. 8 – Poster. *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, CDG, 1988.

⁶⁶ Alberto Avendaño. Personal email communication. 7 July 2014. My emphasis.

From the beginning, translator Alberto Avendaño and director Mario Gas decided upon a ‘versión brutal’ of *The Playboy of the Western World* that emphatically drew on the opportunities for identification between the Irish and Galician contexts that the original offered. In *O mozo* the action is transposed to Galicia, the characters are given Galician names and the cultural references remodelled after target context realities.

For the analysis of the translation and adaptation process, I have contrasted the published version of Avendaño’s text with one of the actors’ scripts used during the rehearsal process.⁶⁷ This will allow me to trace the changes introduced to the text at the production stages and the subsequent modifications made for its publication.

The role of Alberto Avendaño during the production process was not just that of translator but also assistant director to Gas, a situation that exemplifies the plasticity of roles in the Galician system alluded to earlier in this chapter.⁶⁸ The cover of the published version features J.M.Synge’s name prominently, subtitled by a clarifying ‘Versión de Alberto Avendaño’, a quality underlined in the reviews of the play, where he is on occasion referred to as ‘adaptador’. The presence of Avendaño during the production process enabled him to take part in the modifications to the text that can be traced in the rehearsal script used in this analysis.⁶⁹ The result was a considerably abridged target text, where a large number of stage directions have been eliminated. These changes are maintained in the published text, which omits the passages crossed out in the script and, in some instances, even takes the abridgement further. Rather than a literary translation,

⁶⁷ The script was provided by actor María Bouzas (‘Sara’ in the production). The text contains handwritten corrections and alterations to the initial translation, which I have compared to the version that was finally published by Edicións Xerais de Galicia as part of the series ‘Os libros do Centro Dramático Galego’

⁶⁸ An idea that I have also explored in Elisa Serra Porteiro, ‘Meddling Folks: The Role of the Translator in Adaptations of Irish Drama to the Galician Stage’, Unpublished conference paper. *Process And Practice: Adaptation Considered As A Collaborative Art*, University College Cork, 4 October 2014.

⁶⁹ For examples from the script, see Appendix E.

where concerns with fidelity to the original tend to predominate, the Xerais book instead presents a performance-mediated version, a dramatic text responding to the specific needs of the CDG performance. This has various implications with regards to future dissemination of the play in the target system, but the focus was clearly on the production and on the appropriation of Synge's play for the Galician context:

propúxenme versionar aquel todo, ubicalo nas suas referencias na Galicia de primeiros de século XX... Atopámonos nun microcosmos de pulsións tremendamente autóctonas e tribais, co agrarismo e o movemento anticaciquil de telón de fondo pero non determinante na actitude dos seres que pisan este barro...⁷⁰

One of the changes that we can see in the Bouzas script concerns the title. On the first page, an earlier 'O mozo que chegou do Oeste' is crossed out and replaced by 'de lonxe'.⁷¹ According to Avendaño, he was never quite satisfied with his initial choice and it was Dorotea Bárcena who suggested the alternative. The link of the action to the 'Western World' in the original is a meaningful one. At the time of the play's premiere, the West of Ireland was regarded as the repository of quintessential Irishness, of authentic ethnicity. Yet Synge did not partake of the Western World mystique of his contemporaries and the reference in the title should then be interpreted as an ironic nod. As indicated previously, Synge's sense of humour was not, however, always well-received.

Whereas the sarcastic potential of the 'playboy' and the hyperbolic reference to 'the Western World' combine in the original title to subtly humorous effect, 'O mozo que chegou de lonxe' (The young man who came from far away) could easily be perceived to be a dramatic, dark play. In a way, this also contributes an impending sense of tragedy which anticipates the developments towards the end of the play, as the protagonist attacks his father once again with declared murderous intent and is violently restrained by the very same villagers who had once admired his parricidal

⁷⁰ Alberto Avendaño. Personal email communication, 14 July 2014.

⁷¹ The first page of María Bouzas' script is reproduced in Appendix I.

instincts.

Furthermore, while the original title marks Christy Mahon's belonging ('of the Western World'), Avendaño's final choice shifts the focus to the strangeness of Cristovo Alveiros: he arrived from far away ('chegou de lonxe') and burst into the community space represented on stage by the tavern. Cristovo's otherness is crucial to his assumption of a role that – as we are to discover – is radically different from the one he previously had. The Galician title sets up the audience to expect the arrival of an outsider and to keep in mind the foreign element throughout the play, as Cristovo Alveiros seeks to find a place for himself in his new community. Moreover, the subtitle, 'A cantiga de Cristovo Alveiros', draws attention onto the localisation strategy at work in this adaptation process.

The language of the translation

When asked about the translation process and, in particular, his approach to the language of the original text,⁷² Avendaño describes an initial violent confrontation with Synge's lexicon ('un enfrentamento a peito descuberto') and, secondly, places emphasis on the relocation of the references to early twentieth century. The third step was to aimed at 'tarnishing' the language to make it believable:

O terceiro e case ultimo paso foi vulgarizar, enlamar e ó tempo darlle cor a esa lingua porque tiña que ser 'real' ('Reality is the root of all poetry', Synge dixit) ... Era responsabilidade miña facer un idioma coherente co mundo que o director e mais eu queríamos representar. Estes foron algúns dos camiños para tentar de conseguilo: Escoitei á nai e ás tías de Isabel Estevez entre os montes de Lalín, puxen atención a algunhas aseveracións dos vellos do lugar, trufeí o texto con ditos que están na lingua aínda que non tivesen unha relación directa co texto inglés.⁷³

In the reviews, the language was a contributor to the appropriation of Synge's dramatic universe: 'La obra llega al espectador gallego con su propio idioma, con toda su frescura. Los gallegos nos estamos viendo allí, con toda nuestra realidad,

⁷² When asked about the source text, Avendaño explained: 'Utiliceí unha edición de Penguin que desafortunadamente non teño comigo porque foi un libro que raíei abondo. Sobre todo para cortar escenas con Mario'. Avendaño. Personal email, 7 July 2014.

⁷³ We can see here a parallel with Synge's eavesdropping tactics to find his dramatic language.

miseria, grandeza, frivolidad y gracia’.⁷⁴ The reviews of the play during its performance run in the Teatre Romea, Barcelona, in the frame of the Memorial Xavier Regàs also draw attention towards the role of the language in the successful portrayal of Galician-ness drawn by Avendaño and Mario Gas: ‘La translació és perfectament creïble i el llenguatge [...] està en el seu punt, com una bona *caldeirada*: ni massa fet (culterà), ni massa cru (prosaic)’.⁷⁵ The implication of this culinary simile is that the language chosen by Avendaño is recognisably popular and evocative of the Galician rural milieu both within and outside Galicia. The Catalan reviewers insist on the language as a key element for the interchangeability between the Irish and Galician settings. As the documents relating to the reception of the play show, the choices made in the adaptation process respond not only to target culture norms but also to the perception of Galicia beyond its geographical and cultural borders. Commentary on the effectiveness of the transposition is often presented in relation to the Irish origin of the play, suggesting that the preservation of a certain degree of the original Irishness was a contributing factor to its successful identification as Galician.

Translation decisions and character representation

To support the relocation of the action, character names in *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* are changed into recognisably Galician counterparts in the majority of cases, although there are some departures that follow alternative criteria. Overall, there is a visible pursuit of ‘Galician-ness’ and of a popular flavour through traditional or visibly/audibly Galician patronymics, most emphatically in the case of male names e.g. ‘Michael James’ becomes ‘Miguel Anxo’, a more commonly used combination; Widow Quinn is ‘Viúva Vilarinho’ and ‘Mahon’ is ‘Alveiros’, both using recognisable Galician suffixes.

⁷⁴ Alvarado, *La Región*, 1 October 1988. Reproduced in Synge, *O mozo...*, p.20.

⁷⁵ The choice of terminology (‘translació’ instead of ‘traducció’) draws attention, once again, to the affinity between the Galician and Irish contexts. Ordóñez, *Molta Comèdia...*, p. 65.

In her comparative analysis of *The Shadow of the Glenn* and *Riders to the Sea*, Oonagh Frawley points out the significance of the overlap in names between the two plays and how such commonality ‘heightens Synge’s critique of Irish mores’.⁷⁶ In her opinion, this does not simply respond to a wish to use common Irish names but ‘[t]he interplay of names implies an inter-changeability and critiques the impossibility for individuation under rigid social strictures’.⁷⁷ Synge’s choice of names, then, goes beyond a wish for verisimilitude or local colour. The assignation to the characters of typical and frequently found names, some of them nearing the cliché, as is the case with Pegeen, can be read as a way to accentuate the transferability of the characters’ traits, their actions and even the events they are involved in. However, in the Galician version of the play, Avendaño chose for that ‘wild-looking but fine girl’ the name Agar, which surrenders the quasi generic value of the original Pegeen in favour of another layer to the reading of the character through the Hebrew meaning of the name ‘Agar’ – fugitive – and frames the character’s yearning for a different life, as explained by the translator:

[Agar] é o nome dunha sobriña da miña amiga Margarita Ledo Andión e na casa falándolle en galego dicíanlle Agarcita... O que Xan tamen fai... Ademáis, como nome semítico Agar ten que ver con ‘fuga, forasteira, errante’, é dicir, unha muller nova que sente desexos de voar e saír do ambiente abafante no que vive aínda que sexa proxectándose na valentía de alguén (Cristovo) que no fondo é un fraude...⁷⁸

While Christy/Cristovo is the actual fugitive in the story, the stranger in a new community, Agar carries with her name some of his otherness, a crucial trait in the construction of the main male character. By rejecting Xan Buxo in favour of Cristovo, Agar decidedly turns her back on the conventional, unexciting relationship

⁷⁶ Oonagh Frawley, ‘*The Shadow of the Glenn* and *Riders to the Sea*’, in *The Cambridge Companion...*, pp.15-27 (p.24).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Avendaño, personal email communication, 14 July 2014. Avendaño’s real referent, Agar Ledo (b.1975) is an art curator and scholar. Avendaño. Personal email, 7 July 2015. Another nod to life off-stage is the renaming of Honor - one of the ‘village girls’ - as ‘Dorotea’ in the Galician version, a nod to the director of the CDG at the time, Dorotea Bárcena.

endorsed not only by her father but also by the Church. Indeed, Xan Buxo, her original suitor, represents fearful adhesion to the dictates of authority and is appropriately given the name of a slow-growing bush ('box', Lat. *buxus*). In line with Avendaño's real-life inspiration, Xan Buxo uses the diminutive form 'Agarcita' to address his fiancée, as if trying to contain Agar's force with the diminutive but drawing further attention to his own feebleness instead. In the Galician version, these insertions appear for the most part in place of a stage direction ([To Pegeen]). Xan Buxo uses the Castillian suffix *-ita* throughout the play, as opposed to the equivalent Galician form *-iña*, lining up with the Castillian-speaking authority, i.e. the Church, which is coherent with his references to 'Padre Mesiano' (Father Reilly in the source text).⁷⁹ In his analysis of *The Playboy*, Shaun Richards points out the abundance of negative associations that 'cluster' around Shawn Keogh, one of them to do with his righteousness. In contrast, paganism and, above all, 'the unrestrained expression of passion in the pursuit, or defence, of the fully realised self' as embodied by Pegeen and Christy are presented as a virtue.⁸⁰

Xan Buxo is the only character to use the diminutive, which prolongs the subversion of energies contained in Synge's original, where Pegeen's strength is always in clear contrast with Shawn's submissive weakness. We find the ultimate expression of that juxtaposition towards the end of the play, in the scene where Christy is apprehended by the villagers. Shawn calls for 'Pegeen Mike' to burn Christy, right after being called 'Shaneen' by one of the men.⁸¹ However, in the Galician text, the only diminutive is Agarcita, despite the requirement of physical

⁷⁹ 'Padre Mesiano' had also a real-life homonym that Avendaño borrowed from the 'mitoloxía familiar' of journalist Alfonso Eyré 'Pucheiro'. Avendaño (2014).

⁸⁰ Richards refers to a manuscript note by Synge on an early draft of the play: 'work through Shawn's righteousness in contrast with Christy' (p.64), in support of his argument that the character's righteousness is to be seen as negative (p. 32). Shaun Richards. 'The Playboy of the Western World', in *The Cambridge Companion...*, pp. 28-40.

⁸¹ The diminutive is used elsewhere in the play, linked to his cowardice: 'MICHAEL: Have you not a word to aid me, Shaneen? Are you not jealous at all? SHAWN. [*In great misery.*] I'd be afraid to be jealous of a man did slay his da.' Synge, *Plays, Poems...*, p.158.

strength placed on her.⁸²

Synge	Avendaño (Bouzas)	Avendaño (Xerais)
PHILLY: Let you take it, Shaneen. You're the soberest of all that's here.	BIEITO: Faino ti, Xaimen. Ti é-lo que está máis sobrio de todos nós.	BIEITO: Faino ti, Xan. Ti e-lo que estás máis sobrio de todos nós.
SHAWN: Is it me to go near him, and he the wickedest and worst with me? Let you take it, Pegeen Mike.	XAIME: Faino ti.	
	XAN B. ¿Quen, eu? ¿Queredes que me achegue eu a el, eu que son o que lle provoca os peores sentimentos? Faino ti, Agarcita.	XAN BUXO: ¿Quen, eu? Faino ti, Agarcita.
PEGEEN: Come on, so. (p. 164)	AGAR De acordo, fareino eu. (p. 81)	AGAR: De acordo, fareino eu (p. 83)

In the original, this brief exchange points the audience towards a return to the departure point in the relationship between Shawn and Pegeen. He is set apart from the other men because of his sobriety, and the diminutive, endearing as it may be, reinforces this separation and the character's perceived weakness. By calling her 'Pegeen Mike', Shawn pulls her into the group of men and into the action, contributing to his own alienation. The replacement of Shaneen with a rather neutral 'Xan' in the target text implies the loss of some connotations but it is erasing the change in Shawn's attitude towards Pegeen in this scene that causes the disappearance of a peak in the contrast between them and instead introduces uniformity in the dynamics between characters. Allusions to Pegeen's strength punctuate the whole play, as do references to Shawn's weakness. While she is (re)presented as 'wild-looking', Shawn is 'fat and fair', where Shawn is 'awkward',

⁸² Note the restructuring and abridgement of the dialogue in this scene. All examples from the texts are extracted from the previously cited editions, Synge, *Plays, Poems...* and *O mozo...*; and from the María Bouzas typescript of the translation. The former is referred to as 'Avendaño (Xerais)', and the unpublished rehearsal version as 'Avendaño (Bouzas)'.

she is ‘scornful’ and he is prone to being scandalised. When Shawn is mocked for his fear of Father Reilly, Pegeen steps in ‘[t]aking up the defence of her property’, we are told in a stage direction. Pegeen demands a degree of hypermasculinity that her male counterparts struggle to deliver. However, much of the information around character dynamics is lost in the Galician text because of the omission of stage directions and other abridgments, as explored in the following section.

Paring down Synge: Treatment of stage directions

Whereas inflationist trends are a common feature of translations, with target texts being often visibly longer than the source texts, *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* displays quite the opposite tendency. Numerous characters’ interventions are shortened and/or condensed. For instance, two interventions by one character are compressed into one, usually eliminating another character’s response; lines by secondary characters are redistributed and fragments of dialogue are sometimes completely suppressed. These recurring omissions affect not only dialogue but also stage directions dealing with both movement and attitudinal indications.

Most of these changes are marked in the rehearsal version of the script, a text notably closer to the English-language original. This allows us to see which fragments were part of Alberto Avendaño’s translation, as used by the cast and director, but not on the published version of the text, indicating that a large number of the modifications took place during the rehearsal period. Avendaño’s position as assistant director in the production enabled him to reconsider his translation choices and let them be informed by performative aspects and dramaturgical viability. *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* is, then, the product of organic interaction between stakeholders, where the work of the translator is intrinsically embedded in the path towards a performance text. Therefore, the shifts and changes can only be adequately examined in terms of their potential impact in performance.

The afore-mentioned tendency towards abbreviation is particularly significant – both in quantitative and qualitative terms – in the final scenes of the third act,

where Cristovo's father reveals himself to Agar, disarming his son's murderous persona. During the events following the confrontation between father and son, the dialogue is substantially abridged. The omissions affect mainly interventions by the protagonist, Cristovo/Christy Mahon, while dialogue entries by other characters are also combined and shortened. Overall, this results in a much shorter scene with fewer interventions by each of the characters involved.

Being no more a daring parricide, Cristovo has no place in the community that received him and hailed his audacity. Without the horrific deed, he is just the feeble young man that his appearance suggests, and the return to this perception is marked by Agar's words: 'Moito fume e pouco lume. [...] se non es máis ca un mozo seco coma unha vara de caínzo que non ousaría nin cortarlle o pescozo a un leitón'(p.14).⁸³ However, Cristovo proves that his heroic façade has induced a deeper change, as he tries to live up to the expectation that he created before, only to unleash a completely different response. The extensive abridgement in Act 3 speeds up the conclusion of the play and presents Cristovo's fall from grace in abrupt contrast with the peak of his success, and highlighting the acute disparity between the treatment he receives from the villagers from one moment to the next.⁸⁴

These scenes are also crucial in showing the remarkable evolution in Christy's character, as he becomes the very person the villagers believed him to be: a fearless, violent man capable of aggression towards his own father. And it is that change in Christy that draws attention to the incoherence in the villagers' behavior. By 'cutting corners', we also lose some sense of Cristovo's strong resistance against the attempts to restrain him, which he verbalises in the original, but in the Galician version has a physical dimension only. By removing Christy's dialogue entries, the weight of the

⁸³ In Synge's original: 'You are only saying it. You did nothing at all. A soft lad the like of you wouldn't slit the wind pipe of a screeching sow' (p.117). There is no change to this quote in the Xerais edition of the play (p. 37).

⁸⁴ Appendix F reproduces in full the text of one of the key scenes to show the degree of variation in length, as well as other relevant shifts, between the original, the rehearsal script and the final version for publication.

scene is placed on Xan Buxo and Agar, and the triangular scene of Synge's original becomes a two-way interaction.⁸⁵

The treatment of stage directions in the published version of Alberto Avendaño's translation is marked by substantial omissions. When compared to the script used in the rehearsal process, which overall is closer to available versions of the source text, the published version of the text presents even further eliminations, both with regards to dialogue and to stage directions, as the following fragment illustrates:

Synge	Avendaño (Bouzas)	Avendaño (Xerais)
<i>[Someone knocks.</i> CHRISTY <i>[Clinging to Peggy]</i> PEGREEN <i>[Jumping up and giving him the bread and milk]</i> Go on now with your supper, and let on to be sleepy, for if she found you were such a warrant to talk, she'd be stringing gabble till the dawn of day. <i>[He takes bread and sits shyly with his back to the door.</i> PEGREEN <i>[Opening the door, with temper]</i> What ails you, or what is it you're wanting at this hour of the night? (p. 124)	<i>(Alguén chama á porta.</i> CRISTOBO <i>agárrase a AGAR)</i> AGAR <i>(Érguese dun chimpó e dalle a CRISTOBO o pan e o leite)</i> Veña, toma a cea e vai durmir que con que ela descubra que contigo ten palique garantizado ímola ter aquí latricando ata que chegue a luzada. <i>(Cristobo colle o pan e senta, encollido, de costas á porta. Agar abre a porta, de mal xénio)</i> AGAR <i>¿Que che doe, a que vés ti agora, a estas horas da noite?</i> (p. 24)	<i>(Petan á porta)</i> AGAR <i>(Rosmando)</i> ¡A viúva Vilariño! (A CRIS) Veña, lixeiro. Toma a cea e vai durmir que con que ela descubra que contigo ten palique garantizado, ímola ter aquí latricando ata que chegue a luzada <i>(Entreabre a porta)</i> AGAR <i>¿Que che doe? ¿A que ves ti agora a estas horas da noite?</i> (p. 43)

Just as the widow knocks on the door, a stage direction signals the protagonist's cowardly reaction, but such specification is absent in the Xerais

⁸⁵ For a full transcript of this scene in each of the versions, see Appendix F.

edition. This happens just after Christy/Cristovo's boastful words ('I am a seemly fellow with great strength in me and bravery of...'/ '[...] e máis un tipo tan valente e tan forte coma min...') and reveals the contradictions between his actual feelings and the façade of bravado that he puts on for the sake of newly-found romance and his new community at large. In the Galician translation, we do not foresee to the same extent the character's incongruities, the disparity between the man he had been in his past life, as disclosed by his father at a later stage, and the 'mozo' or 'playboy' that we are introduced to. It is not only a case of providing less information but sometimes conflicting indications. Whereas in the first two versions, the implication is that Pegeen/Agar opens the door energetically with an openly negative attitude towards the caller, in the third text she opens the door ajar, implying more contained behaviour.

In his soliloquy at the opening of Act II, Christy/Cristovo takes stock of the abundance that surrounds him in the inn, counting the pieces of crockery and bottles on the dresser, a fragment that is included in the rehearsal script but not in the published version of the Galician text:

Half a hundred beyond. Ten there. A score that above. Eighty jugs. Six cups and a broken one. Two plates. A power of glasses. Bottles a schoolmaster'd be hard set to count, and enough in them, I'm thinking, to drunken all the wealth and wisdom of the county Clare. (p. 128)

Cincuenta alí, e dez dese lado. Unhas vinte arriba. Oitenta xerras. Seis copas e unha rota. Dúas bandeixas. Unha pila de vasos. Tantas botellas que faría falta un mestre de escola para contalas e con tanto dentro como para emborrachar ó mellorciño do país. (p.30)

While this counting exercise may have seemed trivial and a mere transitional moment between the two acts, its elimination implies the loss of another layer to the character. With those words, Christy/Cristovo measures his good fortune, in a prolongation of his amusement at the prospect of females competing over him. Christy fancies himself in a sort of Valhalla, an image that will be reinforced by the arrival of Susan, Sara, Honor and Nelly, who bring not only their female presence but also food to add to what Pegeen/Agar has to offer.

The substantial eliminations with regards to dialogue in Avendaño's version for the stage, and the additional cuts that the published version presents have various dramaturgical consequences. While the dialogue abridgement affects the length of the overall play and character dynamics, as exemplified by the scene of Cristovo's demise, the omission of stage directions can hinder an understanding of character evolution, where attitudinal indications are eliminated, and a loss of dynamism, in the case of missing movement indications. Much of that information would have been useful for a reader approaching the play as a literary work, but the impact of such choices goes beyond the published text. Alberto Avendaño's remains to date the only Galician-language edition of Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* and therefore, it is the most likely departure text for any future performances of the play in the Galician context. The text comes validated by the Centro Dramático Galego production and by the well-established publisher, as well as by the positive reviews included in the introductory section. As a result, it is less likely to be questioned and a substantial loss of information would potentially be carried forward in any future productions of the play.

3.2. *Riders to the Sea*: 'escolla azarosa'?

As explained in previous sections, the 1996-CDG production *Como en Irlanda* was a step towards the construction of a theatrical corpus in a minorised cultural context, and not a 'fortuitous choice', as director Quico Cadaval's preface may suggest.⁸⁶ As part of its commitment to the repositioning of original drama in Galician language, the institutional company devised a dramaturgy based on two texts: *Nouturnio de medo e morte*, by Antón Villar Ponte, cultural activist and ideologue of Galician nationalism and, and *Xinetes para o mar*, a translation of *Riders to the Sea* by J.M.Synge, one of the most international Irish dramatists of all time. The parallels between the two authors and their work are repeatedly underlined

⁸⁶ Cadaval, 'Como en Irlanda: unha escolla azarosa', in *Como en Irlanda*, pp. 25-28 (p. 25).

in the paratextual materials and reinforced by the production choices. The title chosen for the production has obvious political overtones in the Galician context, as it is easily traced back to a patriotic poem by Alfredo Brañas (1859-1900), one of the ideologues of Galician regionalism: ‘Galicia, levántate e anda | ¡Como en Irlanda! ¡Como en Irlanda!’.⁸⁷

In contrast with *O mozo, Xinetes para o mar* maintains the original Irish setting. Cadaval also includes references to other Synge plays, *The Playboy of the Western World*, and like Vieites in the introductory study, seeks self-recognition on the part of the Irish:

O desexo é que o ‘Nouturnio de medo e morte’ poida facer exclamar a un irlandés ‘¡Como en Galicia!’ [...] Sei que alá os fillos abren con sacho a cabeza dos país, os curas mandan de máis, as augas son sagras e cando o escarabello malbarata a colleita de patacas a xente marcha para América. Como en Galicia...⁸⁸

But much like in Avendaño’s version, the language of the translation is attributed the power to recreate the affinity between Ireland and Galicia, which makes the transposition of the action unnecessary, in the words of director Quico Cadaval:

Se eu non tivese confianza absoluta no autor da traducción **diría que moitas frases saíron do bolígrafo da miña avoa, se ela tivese escrito algunha vez.** O que podo xurar é que as sentía da súa boca. Por iso podo dicir: Como en Irlanda. Porque a nosa xeografía (escenografía) e o noso idioma (texto) permiten que ‘Xinetes para o mar’ suceda aquí como en Irlanda. Porque podemos desprazarnos por esa lenda de mariñeiros sen ter lido nunca unha guía turística do Eire. **Porque de algún modo non o necesitamos.** Esta é a realidade.⁸⁹

The trustworthy translator in question is Xepe Casanova, who speaks of the translation process – in the plural – in one of the introductory texts. Casanova’s role as translator is nowhere explicitly acknowledged and he is only listed as the

⁸⁷ Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos, ‘La huella de Joyce en Galicia’, *IV Encuentros de la Asociación Española James Joyce* (A Coruña, 1993), Francisco García Tortosa, Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos (eds.) (A Coruña: Servizo de publicacións UDC, 1994), pp.31-34 (p. 31)

⁸⁸ Cadaval, “‘Como en Irlanda’...”, pp. 26-27 (p.27).

⁸⁹ Ibid. My emphasis.

dramaturge, a manifestation of the blurred lines between the textual and the dramaturgical aspects in the adaptation process. Customary practice of the institution is to commission their own translation for the performances and subsequent publication, and the tacit understanding would be that *Xinetes para o mar* is no exception. The absence of a clear attribution reinforces the appropriation of Synge, the emphasis on the Irish-Galician connection, and encourages the perception of *Como en Irlanda* as a unit, rather than the amalgamation of two different texts.

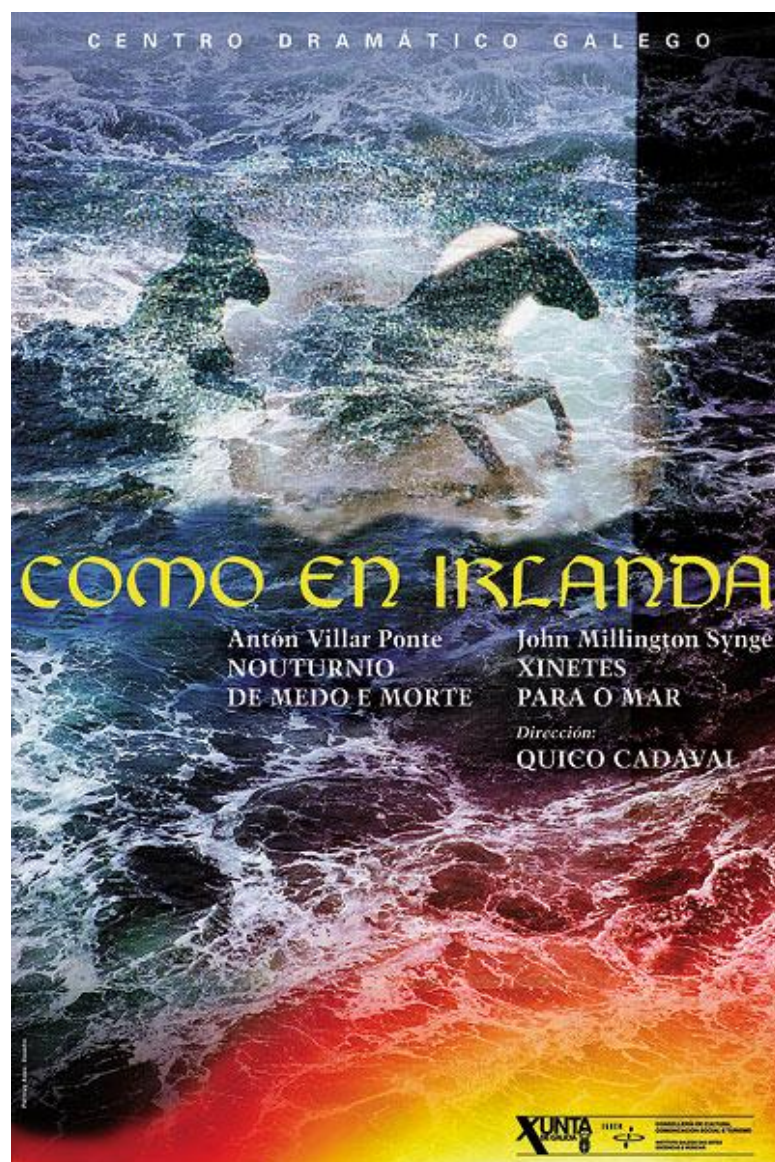


Fig.9 – Poster. *Como en Irlanda*, CDG, 1996.

In his description, Casanova underlines the adaptational quality of the target text, using the word ‘versión’, despite the fact that it traces Synge’s original very closely. The label responds to the linguistic challenges of *Riders*, ‘o anglo-irlandés ‘inventado’ por Synge’, ‘frases longas e ‘estrañas’ tanto para a fala gaélica canto para a inglesa’, which were approached with an aim to mirror both intention and musicality:⁹⁰

A nosa tarefa de traducción –versión, por tanto – estivo encamiñada a crear un paralelismo entre a intención que reflectía de Synge sen perder o ritmo e o ‘sabor’ da cadencia irlandesa e o proceso de comprensión e adaptación no noso idioma [...] Optamos, daquela, non por galeguizar a peza mais por **irlandesizar** a nosa lingua, recreando os ‘Xinetes para o mar’ nun rexistro cultista, ‘inventando’ un dialecto ideal.⁹¹

In order to ‘irlandesizar’ Galician language, rather than ‘galicianising’ Synge’s language, Casanova opted for creating an ideal dialect that, in his view, could carry the same poetic weight as Synge’s stage idiom. One of the devices emphatically used by Casanova is the insertion of the epenthetic vowel [e].⁹² The use of these endings boosts the musicality and poetic qualities of the language, which in turn ties in with the subtitle given to the play here, evocative of oral tradition: ‘A cantiga de Maurya de Aran’.⁹³ The framing of the texts as part of the oral tradition is one of the threads of union between *Xinetes para o mar* and *Nouturnio de medo e morte*. The ‘Cinco labregas que saben a historia e cóntana’, in the character list for the latter, accompany the story with their singing and use their instruments to create sound effects throughout the play, as specified in the stage directions.

Casanova gives further examples of specific strategic choices, such as the exclusion of *gheada* or *seseo* (both features of coastal oral language), and the use of

⁹⁰ Casanova, ‘Dramaturxia da violencia: estratexia dramática’, in *Como en Irlanda*, pp. 29-32 (p.30).

⁹¹ Ibid., pp.30-31

⁹² This device was also explained in Chapter One and Chapter Two, in relation to earlier translations.

⁹³ Note that this is a similar title strategy as that seen in ‘A cantiga de Cristovo Alveiros’, also evoking associations with popular tradition and orally transmitted literature.

archaisms and rare lexicon. Instead of a naturalistic representation of the language, Casanova resorted to the creation of an ideal dialect that Cadaval identifies with the familiar lyricism in his grandmother's language.⁹⁴ In his explanation of his approach to the language, Casanova describes Synge's dramatic language as strange to both the Irish and English languages and as an original creation, as opposed to the dramatic representation of a linguistic reality that Synge was allegedly pursuing. This view mirrors the application of Galician sociolinguistic parameters to the Irish context. In Galicia, due to the diglossic conflict between the vernacular language and Spanish, tolerance of linguistic hybridisation is lower and 'castelanismos' or 'castrapo' are seen as a perpetuation of the marginalisation of the Galician language.⁹⁵ In contrast, in the Irish context, Hiberno-English has been described in predominantly positive terms, as 'a unique collaboration between two languages'.⁹⁶

Paradoxically, in his aim to preserve the intention of the source text, Casanova distanced himself from Synge's dramatic language which the latter vehemently described as directly drawn from real-life sources. The lyrical quality inscribed into the language of this Galician version must, then, be considered in relation to other factors at play, such as the canonising function of the CDG and its adhesion to the grammatical and lexical norms of the Real Academia Galega. Furthermore, the 'cultismo' applied in this translation raises questions around the prevalence of an

⁹⁴ When questioned about the language of his translations of McDonagh's 'Leenane Trilogy', Avelino González draws a similar connection: '[...]en *A raíña da beleza* hai expresións da miña nai, que eu só lle oín a miña nai'. These declarations highlight the role of real-life linguistic references to model onstage representations, an approach seen also in the strategy followed by Avendaño in *O mozo* and Synge's statement with regards to the 'real' quality of his stage language. Cadaval & González, Personal interview, 3 September 2011. González's translations are analysed in Chapter Five.

⁹⁵ 'Castrapo' is a variation of Spanish with borrowings from Galician, associated with lack of formal education.

⁹⁶ Terence Dolan, 'Translating Irelands: the English Language in the Irish Context', in *The Languages of Ireland*, edited by Michael Cronin and Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), pp.78-92 (p. 81). Hiberno-English is presented as an instrument of empowerment, turning the tables on linguistic conflict and colonisation. Elsewhere, we find descriptions of Hiberno-English that emphasise its character of collective creation. P.L.Henry, P. 'Ango-Irish and its Irish Background', in Diarmaid Ó Muirthe (ed.), *The English Language in Ireland* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1977), pp.20-36 (p.21).

association between the popular and the comedic and, conversely, the preference of non-ordinary language to produce the opposite dramatic effect. As previously noted, Xepe Casanova translated that year another Synge play for performance, *The Tinker's Wedding*, which was given the Galician title *A voda dos moinantes*. In that case, he produced a translation featuring colloquialisms and *gheada*, in a purposefully low register.

In the same way as the language of *Xinetes para o mar* is an ideal dialect with the ability to represent Ireland and draw from audience recognition of Galicia, the scenography provides an ideal location that can be interpreted as both Galicia and Ireland, instead of locating the action against a naturalistic recreation of Mingos' inn or Maurya's home. The set is a bare evocation of those spaces, with realistic accents provided by a few key props.⁹⁷ The audience is transported from the exterior to the domestic spaces by means of changes in the set carried out without curtain and integrated into the performance. In *Nouturnio*, the scenography goes from the inhospitable road to the inn. The same setting becomes for the opening of *Xinetes para o mar* a symbolic representation of a shipwreck in a scene choreographed to a backdrop of live music and populated with working seamen. Then it is transformed into Maurya's hut, the domestic space that encloses her tragedy-stricken life and her helplessness. The communal scene that opens the play shifts the weight from Maurya's personal suffering onto the collective dimension of the tragedy. This idea is also present in the subtitle, 'A cantiga de Maurya de Aran', which frames her story as part of the heritage of the community.

It is this very element of oral tradition that underpins the dramaturgical unity of *Como en Irlanda*, which was present also in Villar Ponte's original, subtitled

⁹⁷ In reference to the set design of the McDonagh plays that he directed for Producións Excéntricas, Cadaval stated his preference for a non-naturalistic stage: 'O decorado naturalista é moi deprimente. Canto máis naturalista sexa o escenario, máis vai mirar a xente o que lle falta. Hai que acadar ese equilibrio entre naturalista e simbólico, no teatro ten que haber certa estilización'. Cadaval and González. Personal interview, 3 September 2011.

‘Bárbara anécdota realista en dous tempos (sin literatura) que puido andar nos romances dos cegos’, framed as plausible material for public storytelling. In the CDG production, *Nouturnio* is qualified as ‘O chapeo de Fuco de Arnoia’, a format evocative of the titles of popular tales, in line with the strategy that had been used for *O mozo que chegou de lonxe* (subtitled ‘A cantiga de Cristovo Alveiros’). In all cases, the subtitles connect the plays to heritage and popular tradition, an integral element in the construction of national identity, in both Ireland and Galicia.

4. Conclusion

Since its foundation in 1984, the CDG has shaped the perception of theatre in Galicia through its position with regards to language, translation and, of course, to Irish drama. The institutional company has contributed to the consolidation of Galician as a language for cultural manifestations and, more specifically, for theatrical expression. As evidenced by the debates around the two Spanish-language productions in its history, the CDG is regarded as a fundamental standard-bearer of the linguistic identity of Galicia.

With regards to a Galician ‘theatrical identity’, the prominence given in the repertoire to world theatre texts has been essential in shaping awareness amongst both professionals and audiences of foreign drama as well as attitudes towards translation within the Galician system. The prominence of translation in the CDG repertoire echoes early twentieth century ideas about theatre and national construction, as articulated in the circles of the *Irmandades da Fala* and the *Grupo Nós*. At that time, Ireland was presented both as political and theatrical inspiration, and the place of Irish drama in the CDG trajectory demonstrates the prevalence of those views. Synge, whose genius was praised by Villar Ponte and Plácido R. Castro in the preface to the early Yeats translations, is consolidated through the CDG projects as the most translated Irish dramatist for the Galician stage.

The choice of texts, the framing and even the reception prove that the identification with Ireland and its ideological or affective utilisation continue in this

period and into the next, as I will establish in Chapter Five. When examining recent plays that are unquestionably framed as Irish, the rural setting and the affinity with the Irish context determine both their selection and the nature of the incorporation process.

Martin McDonagh in the Galician Target System¹

The final chapter sets out to analyse the incorporation of Martin McDonagh's plays into the Galician theatre system with particular attention to the ways in which the norms governing his translation, adaptation and reception link in with the history of representations of Irishness on the Galician stage. The texts correspond to McDonagh's *Leenane Trilogy: The Beauty Queen of Leenane, A Skull in Connemara* and *The Lonesome West*. Versions of these plays by Avelino González were staged in Galicia by two different professional companies: *A raíña da beleza de Leenane* by Teatro do Atlántico (2006) and *Un cranio furado* (2010) and *Oeste solitario* (2011), by Producións Excéntricas.

My analysis will begin with the identification of key characteristics of the contemporary Galician theatre context in relation to the productions, followed by the description of relevant aspects in the reception of McDonagh and how these are mediated in Galician adaptations of his plays. In order to reveal the fundamental significance of these works in the Galician system, I will focus on a comparative scrutiny of the approaches followed by Teatro do Atlántico and Producións Excéntricas with regards to the dramatist's *Leenane Trilogy*, and how these plays fit in with broader views of the two companies' work. Finally, I will demonstrate how translation decisions illustrate defining elements of the drama of Martin McDonagh in Galicia.

The texts considered in this chapter are translations created specifically for the stage in close collaboration with the directors, actors and other stakeholders in the

¹ Part of the content of this chapter has been previously published in two separate articles. Elisa Serra Porteiro, 'The Gap and the Craft: Martin McDonagh's *A Skull in Connemara* on the Galician Stage', *Aigne* (2013), 63-79; and 'Taming Irishness: Martin McDonagh's *A Skull in Connemara* on the Galician Stage' *Breac: A Digital Journal of Irish Studies* (2014).

translation process. For the analysis of the translations, I have had access not only to one version of the target texts but also to interim versions, which has allowed for a consideration of the translation for the stage in processual terms. In order to reflect the multilayered nature of the dramatic phenomena and the diversity of dialogical levels present in theatre translation, I will use interviews with practitioners, as well as paratextual and extratextual documents, in order to provide a map of the adaptation process and the place of the productions in the history of Irish drama on the Galician stage.

1. Contextualising Twenty-first Century Theatre Practice in Galicia

The theatrical context in Galicia at the time of these productions was profoundly marked by the changes introduced since the 1980s and 1990s, leading to the birth of institutional theatre in Galicia and the establishment of provisions for publicly funding theatre activity. However, there continued to be significant obstacles in the way of normalised professional activity, not least the global financial crisis that hit just when the professional structures were becoming established in Galicia.

As seen in Chapter Four, the establishment of the Centro Dramático Galego and of structures of public investment in theatre assisted the professionalisation of the theatre sector in Galicia. However, there is also an inherent contradiction in that the institutionalisation of theatre practice has inhibited full professionalisation: public funding contributed to an illusion of independence from market factors, such as demand, and, unsurprisingly, the problems of the profession became poignantly obvious when the economic recession hit hard and funds for the arts were severely cut in the late 2000s. The lack of a theatre-going tradition in Galicia was an insurmountable problem in the absence of subsidies.² In a report issued by the

² Francisco Sanjiao Otero discussed the economic viability of theatre in Galicia, ‘¿Resulta viable o teatro en Galicia?: Unha análise sobre a demanda teatral’, in *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp.159-174.

Consello da Cultura Galega, *As artes escénicas en Galicia: situación e perspectivas* (2013), the authors identified the excessive reliance on ad hoc funding of production and distribution as one of the maladies of the sector. One of the measures they proposed was the creation of a network of residencies that, in their view, would allow the companies to maximise the potential of existing spaces and foster an increase in audience numbers through public perception of the arts as something permanently present in the community.³

The map of cultural spaces in Galicia was reshaped after the accession to power of the PSOE in 1982, with the construction of ‘Casas de Cultura’ in towns and villages, spaces that nowadays are an essential part of the professional theatre circuit in Galicia, and with the rehabilitation of the existing proscenium-stage theatres in the major Galician cities.⁴ However, with their eclectic and predominantly Spanish-language programming, the latter have not been instrumental institutions in the consolidation of a long-term relationship with audiences in those urban contexts, despite their landmark status and their potential to host large-scale theatre productions. On the other hand, the facilities in the ‘Casas de Cultura’ cannot meet the same level of technical requirements as the theatres, a limitation that has forced companies into strategies of flexibility and mobility and, as a result, has shaped the repertoire.⁵

Alternatives to these public spaces exist and, despite their small number and

³ VV.AA. *As artes escénicas en Galicia: situación e perspectivas* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2013). Amongst those commissioned with the writing of the report were Eduardo Alonso (first director of the CDG), Manuel F. Vieites (director of the ESAD), Inma López Silva, Roberto Pascual and Santi Prego.

⁴ The Teatro Rosalía de Castro (1840) in A Coruña, the Teatro Principal in Ourense (1830), the Teatro Principal de Santiago (1842) and the Teatro García Barbón (1927) in Vigo. Santiago Prego, ‘Os oficios teatrais’, in *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp.335-351 (p.341).

⁵ The importance of these steps must be placed in relation to the curtailed embeddedness of theatre in the frame of cultural strategies: in 2007, it was estimated that out of the 300 local councils in Galicia, only 30% offered a regular theatre exhibition. Víctor López Carbajales, ‘A exhibición teatral en Galicia’, in *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp.353-370 (p.365).

limited resources, have played a vital role in the map of theatre creation in Galicia. Often the base for a professional company, such as the Sala Nasa (1992) and the Sala Galán (1993) in Santiago, and Teatro do Morcego in Narón, or established as acting schools, like Teatro del Andamio (2001) in A Coruña, they represent an approximation to the model of residency on Galician soil.⁶ However, these private venues are especially sensitive to the economic downturn and have been, on occasions, caught in local political storms.⁷

In the Galician context, the regularisation of the professional structures required the transformation of theatre from a politically committed endeavour (1960s, 1970s) and an institutionalised activity (1980s, 1990s) into an economically viable, sustainable enterprise. This change was reflected in the main autonomous-government organ for the management of artistic structures, with the conversion of the IGAEM into AGADIC – the Axencia Galega das Industrias Culturais in 2012. While this involved structural changes, the shift in the name is telling of a new market-oriented approach. Two years into this change, the above mentioned 2013 report points at a key deficiency amongst Galician professionals: the lack of management expertise and the inability to apply a business model to theatre practice at all levels: companies, distribution network and institutions.

In order to be part of a self-sustainable, marketable activity, theatre practitioners have to be perceived as professionals. The creation of associations, such as the Asociación de Actores e Actrices de Galicia (1985) has contributed to a visible organisation of roles and the creation of the Premios María Casares in 1997 demanded a taxonomy of roles and generated a sense of recognition around theatre

⁶ More recent examples of residency – still a scantily implanted approach – are the company Sarabela Teatro (active since 1980), based in the Auditorio Municipal in Ourense since 2012, and Teatro do Morcego (since 1989), resident company in the Auditorio de Narón, also managed by the municipality.

⁷ The Sala Nasa was home to Chévere and the Teatro Galán (formerly, Sala Galán) was established by Matarile Teatro in the premises of an homonymous motorcycle shop. In 2012, the Partido Popular local administration withdrew all funding from the Sala Nasa, amidst accusations of apology of terrorism. Chévere continued their activity and were awarded the Premio Nacional de Teatro 2015.

activity.⁸ Yet the absence of theatre from the curriculum of major educational institutions continued to be a major obstacle. In his periodisation of the ‘trade’, Cándido Pazó refers to the necessary next step in the evolution of the profession, ‘Os tempos da formación’.⁹ The creation of the Escola Superior de Arte Dramática de Galicia in 2005 can be considered a decisive step in this direction.¹⁰ The first third-level institution to provide training for theatre practitioners, the ESAD de Galicia has also reactivated the publication of theatre texts, be it plays, criticism or reference works.¹¹

The effects of a lack of regulation and training in other sectors also had an impact on the development of theatre activity. Until the addition of a degree in Translation and Interpreting to the programmes offered by the Universidade de Vigo in 2001, there was no third level institution offering a recognised qualification in this field and, therefore, such thing as certified translators into the Galician Language.

At present, new drama in an international context is more likely than ever to find its way into the repertoire in Galician. When it comes to the corpus of Irish drama in Galician language in the twenty-first century, there has been an unprecedented abridgement of the gap between the premiere of plays in the source context and the incorporation of those texts and authors into the Galician system, even sometimes running in parallel with reprisals in the English-speaking context. As I will show in this chapter, this has become particularly patent in productions of

⁸ Created by the Asociación de Actores e Actrices de Galicia (AAAG) and named after the emblematic Galician-born actress, daughter of the republican *galeguista* Santiago Casares Quiroga, the María Casares are awarded every 27th of March. All productions in Galician language premiered during the previous year and the practitioners involved in them are automatically eligible to be voted for by the approximately 450 members of the AAAG.

⁹ Pazó referred to four stages in the recent history of Galician stage activity: ‘Os tempos da vontade’ (1965-1978), ‘Os tempos de vocación’ (1978-1984), ‘Os tempos de oficio’ (1984-), ‘Os tempos do talento’ (-1998). Cándido Pazó, ‘O oficio de actor’, in *Do Novo Teatro...*, pp. 145-158.

¹⁰ First called Escola Superior de Arte Dramática, ESAD de Galicia since 2006. Its programmes are fully recognised by the Consellería de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria (Xunta de Galicia) since 2008.

¹¹ Amongst these dissemination initiatives is the series ‘Biblioteca ESAD’, published by Editorial Galaxia since 2010.

the plays by Martin McDonagh.

2. The deproblematisation of Martin McDonagh

Notwithstanding the major shift in market forces, it is arguable that the enduring perceptions that determined the first translations of Irish dramatic works into Galician continue to affect the incorporation of cultural products from Ireland. The poeticised connection between Ireland and Galicia on the basis of a common Celtic origin and the aspirational value placed on developments in contemporary Irish political history remain as powerful referents in the collective imagination of Galician people. Whereas this identification comes up repeatedly in relation to Martin McDonagh's plays in the Galician context, the controversial adscription of the playwright to the Irish canon demands more nuanced considerations of questions of national identity and self-definition, and how these aspects are reworked in the reading, framing and reinterpretation of his texts. The identification of McDonagh's works as Irish drama determines whether their international reception is governed by the factors that affect Irish cultural exports and, indeed, this is the treatment they have received in the Galician context.

While Martin McDonagh has found international success as a playwright, many reactions to his work reveal a preoccupation with national identity and, in relation to this, with the author's own national identity. The son of Irish migrants in London, and often referred to as 'London-born Irish', he has always refused to pronounce himself on the matter. This might have been a side issue, if not for the themes he explores in his plays and the attributes he bestows upon his characters, namely a plethora of conventional markers of Irishness. The resulting controversial depiction of Irish rural life is often equated to an outsider's mocking portrayal of the West of Ireland. Elizabeth O'Neill describes in a review of *The Lieutenant of Inishmore* the prevailing manicheist attitudes towards McDonagh's theatre:

A modern day Synge or an English chancer? [...] Audiences have been divided roughly into two camps; those who think he's captured the black humour and

zeitgeist of a postmodern rural Ireland, and those who see him as making a mockery of Ireland and the Irish by lampooning that caricature of old, the 'stage-Irish' fool.¹²

Indeed, reactions to McDonagh's work seem to echo the criticism sustained by Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* nearly a century earlier. The riots with which the Abbey's audience received *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1907 were as much a reflection of the theatregoers as of the play:

The protesters were convinced that they had witnessed a revival of the Stage Irishman in the figure of Christy Mahon [...] but in reality the only Stage Irish scenes had been enacted away from the stage amid the uproar of the pit.¹³

Readings of McDonagh's drama draw attention to his distinctive use of comedic devices and to the place of ethnicity in his pursuit of dark humour. The plays of the *Leenane Trilogy* open as comedies, but the spectator's expectations are challenged by dramatic, even tragic, developments. We witness interactions between dysfunctional, potentially farcical characters, who induce laughter, in spite – or perhaps because – of their dark side. This conflictive dramaturgy produces an encounter between violence and humour which is layered with an explicitation of geographical location and cultural identity that further complicates its reception. The implication is that violent behaviour and dysfunctional attitudes are idiosyncratic to the people of the stage Leenane, with the subsequent danger of establishing a link between ethnic and geographical origin and those behaviours. When humour enters the equation, the portrayal is susceptible of being interpreted as mockery. In an article on McDonagh published by *The Guardian*, Henry McDonald quotes Malachi

¹² O'Neill, Elizabeth, 'Theatre Review. The Lieutenant of Inishmore', RTE, 1 October 2003. O'Neill's review of *The Lieutenant of Inishmore* originally appeared on the RTE website on 1 October 2003 and was accessible until at least the end of January 2013. Subsequently, the URL became inactive and the transcript was sourced directly from RTE and permission to quote it was obtained from the author. Bree Treacy/RTE, Personal email communication, 29 May 2014; and Elizabeth O'Neill, Personal email communication, 29 May 2014.

¹³ Kiberd quotes a review appeared in the *Irish Times* round the time of the performance (30 January 1907): 'It is as if we looked into a mirror for the first time, and found ourselves hideous', Declan Kiberd, *The Irish Writer and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.28.

O'Doherty's views: 'To me a lot of Martin McDonagh reads like paddywhackery. The Irishness of the people is part of the joke'.¹⁴ O'Doherty's declarations suggest that McDonagh's characters would be more acceptable were they not explicitly Irish, and that the negative reaction is intensified by the humorisation of their disfunctionality. O'Doherty refers to Beckett who, despite being Irish, 'when he depicts the depleted human condition, he does it without reference to ethnicity'.¹⁵ The comparison raises the question of whether Martin McDonagh's origins have a substantial impact on the reception of his plays. Journalist Adrian McKinty may well have captured the general public's perspective on the subject. Is it the inappropriateness of the clichés or the fact that he is not undisputably Irish that causes offence?

Of course no one likes stereotypes but I think McDonagh is being picked on because of his 'Englishness' - always the bogey man for a certain class of critic. The gate keepers of Irishness are on very shaky ground when they try to exclude people with planter names (Gerry Adams) or Norman names (the entire Fitzgerald clan) or anyone who's spent the majority of their life living outside the 32 counties (Yeats, Wilde, Joyce, Beckett, Swift, etc.) [...] So let's keep London born McDonagh and just to balance things out I'll gladly swap all four of those proud non tax paying Micks in U2 for him.¹⁶

Obviously, the violent and grotesque elements that dominate the *Leenane Trilogy* are likely to encounter rejection amongst some theatregoers and critics. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook how often Irishness – both McDonagh's and his characters – enters the argument. This evident preoccupation with the issue of belonging responds to what Patrick Lonergan identifies as a 'paradigmatic shift from geographical to conceptual spaces [...] the contested territory nowadays is not land but meaning', which he identifies in contemporary drama.¹⁷ Lonergan proposes a definition of Irish drama based not so much on the circumstances in which it

¹⁴ Henry McDonald. 'The Guardian Profile: Martin McDonagh'. *The Guardian*. 25 April 2008. Web.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Adrian McKinty, 'Is Martin McDonagh Irish Enough?'. *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life. Adrian McKinty's Blog*. 10 February 2009.

¹⁷ Patrick Lonergan. *Theatre and globalisation: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.17.

originated but on the way in which it is disseminated:

So when I write about ‘Irish plays’, I am not necessarily referring to works that were produced in either of the two Irish states, but instead to plays that are **marketed** or **received** internationally as corresponding to the **Irish** ‘brand’.¹⁸

The very fact that this definition is considered reveals on the one hand the existence of clearly identifiable Irish imagery at an international level; and on the other hand, the problematic demarcation of the Irish canon. Whereas a concern with self-definition and national identity is by no means exclusive to cultures with a history of colonisation, such a history can lead to especially emphatic attempts to establish the uniqueness of the nation, both at home and in the international arena. At a time when cultural manifestations cross borders more often than ever due to the increased accessibility brought about by the multiple media at our disposal, the demarcation of a recognisable identity has a specific role to play in the globalised world.¹⁹

As I will further elaborate, Martin McDonagh’s works are unmistakably framed as Irish in the Galician system. The playwright’s liminal national identity is blurred and both stage choices and the promotional materials used for the productions evoke ideas of Irishness that respond directly to target system perceptions. Furthermore, the incorporation of McDonagh’s *Leenane Trilogy* has been determined by theatrical demands in the Galician context and implicitly tied to the tradition of Irish drama on the Galician stage, as I will show.

3. The *Leenane Trilogy* on the Galician stage

The first of Martin McDonagh’s play to be staged in Galicia was *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*, in 2006, ten years after Druid Theatre brought it to life in Galway

¹⁸ Lonergan. *Theatre and globalisation...*, p. 28.

¹⁹ This concern with self-definition is exemplified by institutional initiatives with notable media exposure, such as the Irish Royal Academy’s ‘A History of Ireland in 100 Objects’ in 2012; and by articles such as Patrick Freyne’s, where he points out elements that ‘have shaped Irish identity over the past century,’ from ‘Private property’ to ‘the Irish mammy’. Patrick Freyne, ‘Drink! Fecklessness! Partitionism! Shame! The Irish ideologies’, *The Irish Times Weekend Review*, 8 September 2012.

and London. *A raíña da beleza de Leenane*, in a translation by Avelino González and Olga F. Nogueira was taken to the stage by Teatro do Atlántico, a company established by Xúlio Lago and María Barcala in 1985 and characterised the prominence of translated texts in their essentially realistic repertoire.

Teatro do Atlántico had produced another contemporary Irish play, Conor McPherson's *The Weir* (*O encoro*) in 2005.²⁰ Although in this case they worked with a translation by Beatriz Iglesias, they were introduced to the text by Avelino González.²¹ Their hyper-realistic approach to the McPherson text and its setting in a stereotypical Irish country pub has continuity in *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*, an aspect emphasised by María Barcala, who partly attributes the positive reception of the play to the thorough onstage recreation of the kitchen, allowing for a sense of the quotidian: 'Tiñamos unha billa que botaba auga [...] Eu facía as papas de verdade'.²² For their part, the Santiago-based company Producións Excéntricas undertook adaptations of the other two Leenane plays in quick succession with director Quico Cadaval²³ – *Un cranio furado* (*A Skull in Connemara*) in 2010 and *Oeste solitario* (*The Lonesome West*) in 2011. The translations were also the work of Avelino González, whose role as initiator and particular methodology will be considered in the following section.

All three productions were performed extensively on the Galician theatre circuit and received several María Casares awards, amongst them the Best Adaptation/Translation for Avelino González in 2007 (with Olga F. Nogueira), 2011

²⁰ Not the first time that the company had worked with a text by an Irish playwright, it was also not the last: they produced Brian Friel's *O xogo de Yalta* (*The Yalta Game*) and *Afterplay* in 2009, both translated by Goretti Sanmartín.

²¹ *O encoro* received a number of awards, amongst them two María Casares 2006, in the categories Mellor Dirección (Xúlio Lago) and Mellor Actor Secundario (Toño Casais) and was nominated in other five categories: best production, actor, stage design, music and lighting design.

²² María Barcala and Xúlio Lago, Personal interview, 13 April 2014.

²³ Also director of the CDG's *Como en Irlanda* (1996), one of the productions analysed in Chapter Four.

and 2012.²⁴ *Oeste solitario* was also nominated to the Premios Max as Mejor Espectáculo Revelación 2012, an event that gave it exposure beyond the geographical borders of the Galician-speaking territory but, more importantly in the minorised Galician context, encouraged recognition from within.

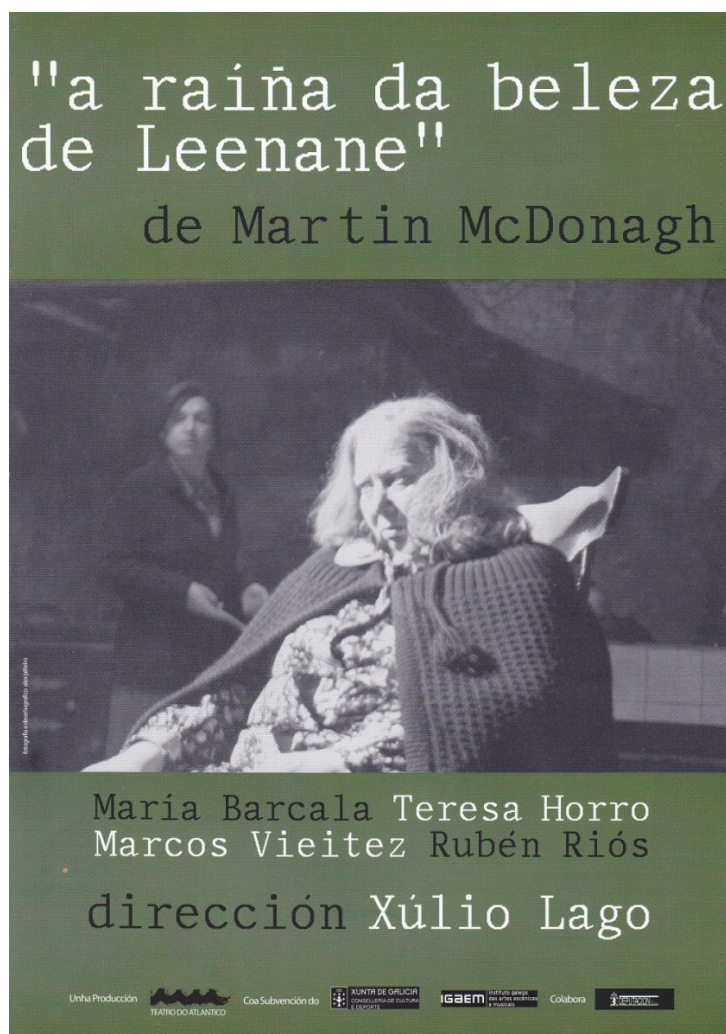


Fig. 10 – Poster. *A rainha...*, Teatro do Atlántico, 2006.

²⁴ *A rainha da beleza de Leenane* obtained other two María Casares in 2007: Mellor Espectáculo, Dirección (X.Lago), as well as a nomination for María Barcala as best actress. In 2011, *Un cranio furado* got five awards, out of thirteen categories: Mellor Espectáculo, Actor Protagonista (Evaristo Calvo), Actor Secundario (Santi Romay), Escenografía (Marcelino de Santiago 'Kukas', responsible for the design in *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*) and Adaptación/Tradución. In 2012, Evaristo Calvo won again the María Casares for *Oeste solitario* and Avelino González, Artur Trillo and María Ordóñez won the Premio Max for the best original text in Galician language for *Pelos na lingua*.

3.1.The incorporations: identification, rurality and genre gap

With the increase in Galician language productions from the 1970s onwards, it is perhaps unsurprising that companies have ventured beyond Synge and Yeats to work with Brian Friel and, more recently, Conor McPherson or Martin McDonagh. The interest in McDonagh arises in a context that is favourable towards stage translation and is buttressed by a history of incorporation of Irish dramatic works. As seen with regards to previous periods, the identification with Ireland and the realistic approach are customarily linked to Irish drama in the Galician context. These elements can also be identified in the works of Teatro do Atlántico and Producións Excéntricas. In these instances, Avelino González's role as initiator was both circumstantial and decisive. During a stay in London, González came across the works of Irish playwrights in a bookshop and purchased a few titles: 'regromou en min o mito de Irlanda e Galicia'.²⁵ His description of that first encounter with McDonagh's work is presented in terms of unambiguous recognition: 'E logo lin esta [*A Skull in Connemara*] e dixen 'Joer, somos nós''. However, when asked about the weight of that Irish-Galician identification in the decision to take a play to the stage, he clarifies: 'Inflúe na librería, pero non á hora de escoller as obras. É algo que se aproveita despois, porque ese imaxinario que eu tiña, o ten tamén o público'.²⁶

The identification between the Irish and the Galician milieu has undoubtedly played a part in the process of adaptation involving the *Leenane Trilogy* and the ease of transposition is repeatedly referred to by Xúlio Lago and María Barcala, director and protagonist of *A raíña da beleza de Leenane*. The actress speaks of her work on the character Maureen Folan:

²⁵Cadaval and González, Personal interview, 3 September 2011. Avelino González even uses a floral metaphor, like the translators in their foreword to *Dous folk-dramas de W.B.Yeats* (1935): 'pillamos d'un horto da Illa Verde co'a fouce druída do luar estas flores' and, in the words of Antón Villar Ponte himself, 'N'eles o celme ancestral da Irlanda irmá anda a latexar senlleiro, com'a seiva diferente cada ano, mais idéntica sempre, nas árbores vellas que inda inza de follas e flores a primavera'. Yeats, *Dous folk-dramas...*, p.1.

²⁶Cadaval and González, Personal interview, 3 September 2011.

Non, eu en ningún momento pensei que estaba en Irlanda, a iso me refiro, podía ser a raíña da beleza de Linén e podía chamarse Mauren,²⁷ para min, as miñas referencias eran da xente que eu coñezo, da miña infancia no rural, eu me sentía a raíña da beleza dun pobo como pode ser Ordes ou como pode ser Culleredo, Cambre. Está claro que era a raíña da beleza dun pobo onde había moi pouca xente, non era unha cousa destas agora da televisión, tan despampanante, eu nunca traballei pensando son unha muller irlandesa que tal y que cual, para min as referencias eran do meu medio ambiente rural e do meu entorno, non fixen nunca esa translación mental.²⁸

María Barcala refers unambiguously to her approach to the character as an exercise of method acting, a process whereby she searched in her memories and experiences, drawing on her own complex relationship with her mother, until she found ‘the violence within’.²⁹ Such purist manifestation of interiorisation in her acting work is, however, not what one would readily associate with McDonagh’s quasi farcical texts. The intense emotions and the violence present in *The Beauty Queen of Leenane* both attracted and repelled Barcala, who initially was reluctant to undertake the project.³⁰ Barcala’s methodology is consistent with the scenographic and dramaturgical principles of her company, Teatro do Atlántico, committed to realism, often with a naturalistic quality, as illustrated by the above-mentioned description of the naturalistic set. The other two plays of McDonagh’s trilogy do not lend themselves to the same degree of naturalistic interpretation of the characters and arrived on the Galician stage at the hand of a company with a somewhat different working method.³¹

A Skull in Connemara and *The Lonesome West* were taken on by Producións Excéntricas in 2010 and 2011 respectively, with Quico Cadaval as director. The core of the company is formed by Evaristo Calvo and Víctor Mosqueira, two experienced

²⁷ The spelling reflects the pronunciation used consistently by Barcala, who – unintentionally first, then more knowingly – ‘Galicianised’ the names, marking her personal experience of the play.

²⁸ María Barcala and Xúlio Lago, Personal interview, 4 April 2014.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ González proposed an alternative, Conor McPherson’s *The Weir*, which the company presented in 2005 as *O encoro*. Barcala, who gravitates towards emotionally charged roles, played Valerie, the Dubliner who lost her child in a tragic swimming accident.

³¹ After the success of *A raíña da beleza*, González approached Teatro do Atlántico with his translation of *A Skull in Connemara*, but they did not feel that the project was right for them: ‘Non somos nós, non é o que nós facemos’. Barcala and Lago, Personal interview, 13 April 2014.

actors who have shared the stage for more than two decades as the comic duo Mofa e Befá. Both actors have experience in *commedia dell'arte* and director Cadaval alternates this role with writing, storytelling and stand-up comedy. Unsurprisingly, the comedic elements in McDonagh are brought to the fore in their productions and, although the overall realistic tone that dominates Galician interpretations of the plays is still identifiable, their approach to the text differs from that of Teatro do Atlántico, as I will illustrate with specific examples in the analysis of translation and production choices.

Whereas the identification with Ireland manifests itself strongly in the incorporation process of Martin McDonagh's plays, the role these works play in the Galician target system has been crucially marked by genre-related issues. In Susan Bassnett's words,

For a translation to have an impact upon the target system, there has to be a gap in the system which reflects a particular need and the skills of the translator have to be such that the end product is more than merely acceptable.³²

Although Bassnett is referring to poetry on this occasion, her words can be fittingly applied to the translation of dramatic works and, more precisely, to the translations of Avelino González for Teatro do Atlántico and Producións Excéntricas.³³ His awareness of the specific requirements of a translation for the stage comes from his own background as an actor. In the specific case of Martin McDonagh's plays being adapted into Galician, the gap would correspond to the lack of original texts in Galician with similar dramatic potential to that offered by the *Leenane Trilogy*.

In the course of an interview, González referred explicitly to his perception of this lacuna when explaining his interest in the works of Irish playwrights: 'O encanto

³² Susan Bassnett, 'Transplanting the Seed: Poetry and Translation', in Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (eds.), *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon and Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp.57-74 (p. 60).

³³ I explored this topic in the article 'The Gap and the Craft:...'.

que tiñan estes paisanos é que escribían o que os dramaturgos galegos deberían escribir e non escriben’,³⁴ something reiterated by director Quico Cadaval, who explained what McDonagh’s works could bring to the Galician stage: ‘Un territorio onde encontrar realismo pouco mixiricas, sen sentimentalismos, mesturado con elementos grotescos, non querendo atribuírle a Irlanda unha serie de características poéticas e con referencias á modernidade’.³⁵

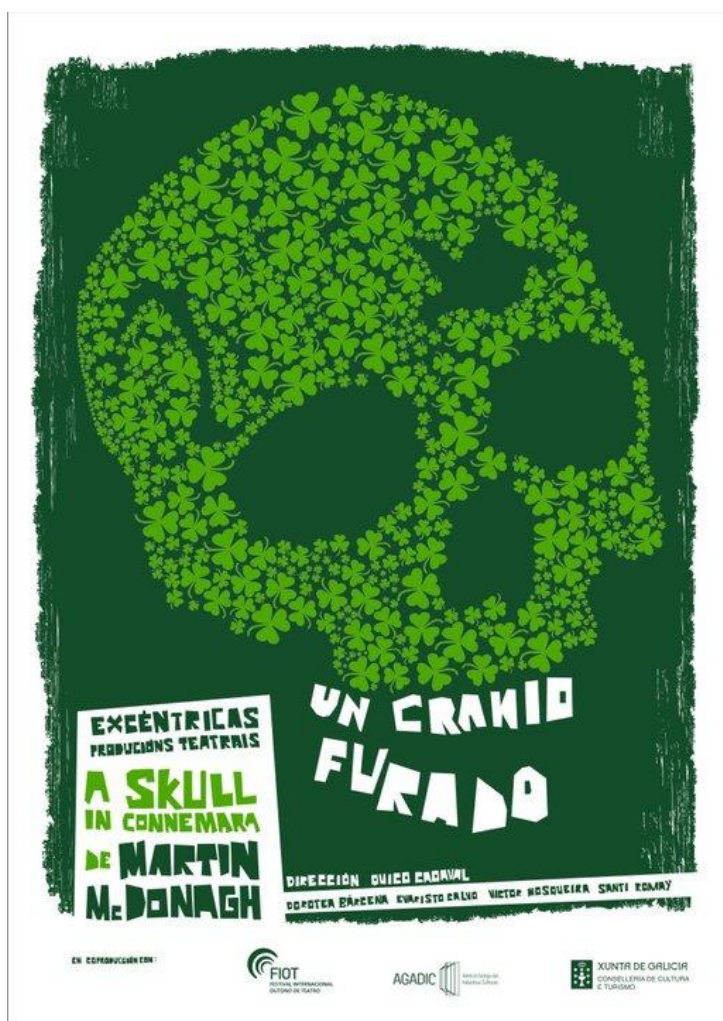


Fig. 11 – Poster. *Un cranio...*, Produccións Excéntricas, 2010.

³⁴ The emphasis placed on the fact that Galician authors were unable to provide original texts to match the performative and theatrical opportunities offered by McDonagh’s work recalls the old problem of the lack of originals in Galician theatre, as voiced by Antón Villar Ponte (see Chapter One), Francisco Pillado (Chapter Two) and Agustín Magán (Chapter Three).

³⁵ Quico Cadaval and Avelino González, Personal interview, 3 September 2011.

The controversial grotesque representations of dysfunctional social interactions in the Irish rural milieu that pervade McDonagh's works may, then, hold the key for their incorporation to the Galician system, where McDonagh's *sui generis* realism is regarded as full of potential because of its 'lack of sentimentality'. Cadaval interprets McDonagh's code as a raw realism that makes no attempt to poeticise Ireland, at least not in the allegorical ways pursued by W.B. Yeats and Synge, so prevalent also in the Galician context. However, there is clearly a degree of stylisation in McDonagh's stage geographies, where Ireland is poeticised through the use of clichés of rural life, while reactualised by the 'references to modernity' identified by Cadaval. The director is not alien to McDonagh's outsider view, which he refers to as a '*dramaturxia de veraneante*', an allusion to the partial experience of a rural community that the London-born playwright's theatrical Leenane reflects.

Nevertheless, both González and Cadaval refer to McDonagh's *A Skull in Connemara* as adhering to a realist convention. This perception permeated the translation and production choices and, in turn, the reception of the play. As we have seen, in Galicia, the prejudice against realistic theatrical modes and against onstage rural settings, in particular, is rooted in a reaction against *costumbrismo* and stereotyped depictions of rural life as a backdrop – nearly another prop – for events dealing with universals of the human condition, a sort of *locus amoenus* that does not deeply affect nor is it affected by the characters. In contrast, McDonagh dissociates himself from the traditional agenda through realistic conventions and the dark humour to which TV and film audiences nowadays have become accustomed.

Avelino González added to Cadaval's observation his view of how McDonagh's cultural background gives him 'a boldness that we do not dare to have'. This raises the question of whether theatre practitioners or audiences would show the same degree of tolerance of similar portrayals of rural life that had originated in Galicia, or whether these would encounter similar criticisms to those triggered by Martin McDonagh's work in the Irish context. On the one hand, certain aspects of

the plays are more acceptable because they originate in a source context that, in Galicia, has a history of associated prestige. On the other, the reading of the texts as essentially realistic leads to the reinterpretation of some of their more controversial aspects through a shift from the parodical and the grotesque to the identifiable and familiar.

3.2. Translation strategies and dramaturgical choices

Avelino González (b.1962) has been an actor, author and storyteller for more than thirty years, predominantly in Galicia and through the medium of Galician: he himself highlights the circumstantial character of the translational facet of his activity: ‘Non son traductor, atópome traducindo’.³⁶ His background as a performer, both on stage and in front of the camera, informs his approach as a translator, which is fundamentally performance-oriented; upon reading a text in which he identifies certain dramaturgical potential, González produces a draft translation (what he rather ‘untechnically’ yet revealingly calls unha ‘roza’ or ‘unha tradución perralleira’) and distributes it amongst practitioners. If any company expresses a serious interest in producing the play, he goes on to do a more thorough version. However, he does not create a finalised dramatic text that he simply hands over to the company; his involvement in the creation of the performance text continues throughout the rehearsal process, during which translation choices are subjected to debate and often reconsidered in the light of directors’ and performers’ feedback. The result is an organic, dialogical process but also one where the interpretation of the plays is inevitably dominated by González’s initial reading.

The evolution of the Galician language translated text can be traced by comparing the final performance version with the interim translations, which illustrate various factors at play in the production process. On the one hand, we have the essentially performative quality of the target texts: the translations are elaborated

³⁶ Cadaval and González, Personal interview, 3 September 2011.

with staging in mind, hence the emphasis on speakability and dramaturgical viability. On the other, pre-existing target context perceptions are crucial in the realistic transposition of the *Leenane Trilogy* to the Galician system. Indeed, the instillation of realism brings about many of the shifts and reinterpretations found in the translations. As I will illustrate below, the strategies employed throughout the adaptation process are consistent with a domesticating approach. Even where the foreign quality of the text remains visible, it is in the form of an image consistent with target system perceptions and expectations, as anticipated in the paratexts.

The description of the translation process on the Producións Excéntricas website is telling of the confluence of identification and target-culture oriented strategies in *Un cranio furado*: ‘Os feitos acontecen en Connemara, mais podían pasar en Bergantiños se tivesemos alguén que os soubese escribir. Como non tiñamos, tivo Avelino González que domear en galego aquel bravo inglés que escribiu McDonagh’.³⁷ González did not just translate, he had to ‘tame’ (‘domear’) McDonagh’s daring language. The attribution of a ‘bold’ quality to the play harks back to the trope of the ‘wild Irish’, consistent with stereotyped perceptions of Irish identity. The implication is that the source text contained an irreverent essence that the target culture lacks and desires, a trait that can only be taken by force through domestication.³⁸

In the following sections, I will provide specific examples to demonstrate how Avelino González’ translations are informed by the history of Irish drama on the Galician stage and also respond to the specific demands of the target context at a specific moment, in line with the above mentioned deproblematism of McDonagh and the prevalence of realism in translations from the Irish source context.

³⁷ Producións Excéntricas. Company website. This fragment is paraphrased in the programme distributed at the performances. For a reproduction of the hand programme, see Appendix L.

³⁸ The perspective that transpires from the Producións Excéntricas description reverberates with Venuti’s definition of translation as ‘forcible replacement’ and his references to ‘the violent effects of translation’. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility. A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.18-19.

Translating dialect: Sociolinguistic implications in the target context

The language used by McDonagh is certainly one of the most distinguishable traits of his dramatic works. The use of a continuous stream of Irish phraseology and stereotyped lexical and syntactic choices results in an overstated West-of-Ireland vernacular, which functions as a location and characterisation device. This dialectal strategy results in an exoticisation of Hiberno-English idiom from the rural West of Ireland, whereby the overload of vernacular features evokes stereotyped images of the rural that are recognisable to Irish urban audiences, sometimes to an alienating degree. To an extent, McDonagh's brand of stage Hiberno-English can be read as a resurrection of 'stage Irish' tropes.

As we saw in the case of Synge, the dialectal features of Hiberno-English are difficult to convey. In Berman's words, 'Unfortunately, a vernacular clings tightly to its soil and completely resists any direct translating into another vernacular'.³⁹ The stylised form of Hiberno-English used by the inhabitants of Leenane is perhaps the most powerful characterisation device in the plays and precisely the one that cannot survive the translation process. Therefore, we must consider to what extent the 'loss' and replacement of linguistic characteristics affect the audience's reaction towards Leenane as stage universe and the interactions between its inhabitants.

The stage Hiberno-English of the source text is distilled into a variety of Galician language, that is, if not completely neutral, marked to a much lesser extent by dialectal traits. The result is a language that audiences can identify as colloquial and rural (or suburban) without restrictive geographical associations. The conventional Irishness present in McDonagh is replaced with an expressiveness that evokes conventional rural speech in the target context, maximizing the comedic potential traits of orality. However, whereas the language has a sustained popular oral element, Avelino González chose to translate McDonagh's English as a much

³⁹Antoine Berman, 'Translation and the Trials of the Foreign', *The Translation Studies...*, ed. by Lorraine Venuti, p.294.

more standardised form of language, one that could be described as ‘tamed’, insomuch as it is closer to norms of standard Galician. As discussed in the previous chapter, given the minorised status of the language, cultural manifestations in Galician language have an additional sociolinguistic function: contributing to the enrichment and consolidation of the linguistic standard. In translation, it is possible to adhere to this standard without facing the audiences with the need to suspend disbelief by not presenting a true-to-nature onstage idiomatic picture. Without any distinct dialectal features, the language melts into the background instead of adding to the exaggerated representation of ethnicity that in McDonagh borders on caricature. This is a response at micro sociolinguistic level to the overall (re)interpretation of the text as a piece of realistic dramatic writing intended primarily to address the above-mentioned generic gap by utilising the now familiar Irish-Galician identification. The inhabitants of a village in the remote West of Ireland are presented through their language as inhabitants of a symbolic space that could be either Galicia or Ireland, an approach that, as shown in previous chapters, can be consistently found in adaptations of Irish dramatic works in the Galician context.

Orality and syntactic naturalisation

The language of Martin McDonagh’s *Leenane Trilogy* is emphatically characterised as colloquial spoken language through lexical and syntactic devices. The marked oral character of the text is maintained by Avelino González, whose awareness of performance requirements and participation in the rehearsal process informed many of the translation choices.

The target text avoids literal translation and offers natural-sounding alternatives, showing less of a concern towards faithfulness than towards coherence and dramaturgical viability. At a syntactic level, the distinctively Hiberno-English order of sentence components is adapted to Galician language patterns, with the subsequent impact on the placement of emphasis (2, 4, 3). The reshaping of the

sentences sometimes involves expression of a higher degree of volition (1) or explicitation (4) than in the original.⁴⁰

McDonagh	Avelino
(1) ‘Sit down for yourself, there, Mary’. (p. 63)	‘Senta onde queiras Mary’. (p. 2)
(2) ‘Encouraging cremation is what the church should be’. (p. 89)	‘O que tiña que facer a igrexa era impulsar a incineración’. (p. 29)
(3) ‘People only minutes dead you come across, neverminding seven years’. (p. 89)	‘Non andas con xente que morreu non hai máis que uns minutos ? Que mal fan estes que morreron hai sete anos?’ (p. 29)
(4) ‘He doesn’t like it when it starts to get closer to home’ (p. 77)	‘Se toca na súa familia a cousa non lle chista nada’. (p. 17)

The treatment of the many markers of orality that punctuate the source text, such as ‘aye’, ‘like’, ‘anyways’, ‘now’ with non-temporal value and ‘g’wan’, does not reveal a consistent strategy. Translations are chosen ad hoc, often resulting in an omission, which is sometimes compensated with the use of a distinctly colloquial Galician expression:

McDonagh	González
‘Cold, aye . It’s turning’. (p. 63)	‘ Vai tal . Está cambiando o tempo’. (p. 2)
‘It’s turning now , Mick’. (p. 63)	‘Está cambiando, Mick’. (p. 2)

⁴⁰ All examples from McDonagh’s plays are taken from Martin McDonagh, *Plays: 1. The Leenane Trilogy: The Beauty Queen of Leenane/A Skull in Connemara/The Lonesome West* (London: Methuen Drama, 1999). Unless otherwise specified, the Galician language examples are taken from Avelino González’s translation, in the version he gives as final. Avelino González (trans.), ‘Un cranio furado’, Unpublished script, 2011.

‘Ah g’wan ’ (p. 69)	‘Ah pero hom... ’ (p. 9)
‘I don’t know, now ’. (p. 86)	‘Eu que sei’. (p. 25)
‘Haven’t I told you, now, about your language?’ (p. 93)	‘Que che acabo de dicer, eh , da túa linguaxe’. (p. 33)

Vocabulary diversification

As discussed in previous chapters and in the previous paragraphs, translators and other participants in the incorporation process of dramatic texts have a role as contributors to the consolidation of standard Galician in the diglossic sociolinguistic context. Without the purposefulness of Villar Ponte in *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* or the commitment shown by Alberto Avendaño in *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, the work of Avelino González reflects a tendency towards lexical diversification, as illustrated in the following exchange:

	McDonagh	González
MICK	I hit them with a hammer until they were dust and I pegged them be the bucketload into the slurry.	Mallei neles cunha marreta ata esfarelalos todos, logo barrinos e boteinos nun pozo de sudre
MAIRTIN	You hit them with <u>a hammer</u> and you pegged them in the slurry ?	Esmagáchelos <u>cunha marreta</u> e botáchelos nun pozo de sudre ?
MARY	Is that right what you said that you <u>hammer</u> the bones to nothing and you throw them in the slurry ? (p. 73)	É certo o que dixeches de que <u>mallaches</u> os ósos <u>cun martelo</u> ata esfarelalos e logo os botaches nun pozo negro ? (p. 12)

Lexical variation is particularly prominent in the field of expletives, which densely populate both source and target texts. Avelino González has referred to the challenge of translating ‘feck’ – which González interpreted as the considerably more taboo fuck* – almost ubiquitous in McDonagh’s original. He felt the need to diversify the renderings in order to reflect the higher variation of terminology

common in Galician language.⁴¹ The potential increase in intensity this misunderstanding could generate is attenuated by the variation introduced by González to accommodate the different functions of the term into Galician language and by its elimination in some instances.

This approach to the treatment of expletives produces a leveling of the language of the various *dramatis personae*, ironing out significantly differences in idiolect that contribute to characterisation and mark dramaturgical developments in the original. In *Un cranio furado*, the evolution in character of Thomas Hanlon is affected by such a shift. Brother to Mairtin and an obstinate law enforcer who clings onto his suspicions of Mick's involvement in Oonagh's death beyond 'a pure drink-driving',⁴² Thomas uses fewer swear words and emphatically deploys legal terminology, which creates a contrast in register between him and the other characters, a reflection of his self-perception as morally and intellectually superior. However, in the Galician translation, the insertion of slang terms reduces the distance between Thomas and his interlocutors. When he threatens Mairtin for cursing in the graveyard, his authority is undermined in the translation by his own swearing. In the final scenes, when Mairtin reveals that they exhumed Oonagh Dowd's corpse to plant evidence against Mick, Thomas becomes extremely agitated and his façade of composure crumbles, as does his polite language. This change is lost in the Galician target text due to the greater uniformity of his register throughout the play.

In *Un cranio furado*, lexical variation in the translation of derogatory terms deserves special attention. While in the original we find a more limited repertoire of an unmistakably dialectal nature, the choices in the target text are denotative of popular language and a specific strategy stands out, namely the pronounced presence

⁴¹ Avelino González, 'Transplanting Contemporary Irish Theatre into Galician: An Actor's Perspective'. Unpublished Conference Paper. *Invisible Borders: Rethinking Translation and Minority*, 1 April 2011, University College Cork.

⁴² McDonagh, *Plays...*, p. 97.

of composite terms, many part of the Galician tradition, e.g. ‘bocapodre’, ‘falabarato’, ‘papahostias’, ‘comemerda’, ‘fendetestas matamulleres’. This tendency to variation is exemplified by the alternative translations of the word ‘blackguard’, all of which add elements of more extensive signification that do not correspond with the historical meaning of the original word in the Irish context, and of other insults:⁴³

‘He’s a wee eejit , or if not an eejit then a blackguard , and we both know the truth of that [...] The boy’s a wee blackguard and nothing else, and even though he’s my own grandson I’ll admit it, he’s a rotten blackguard with nothing but cheek, so don’t you even be thinking about it’. (p. 81)	‘Mairtin non é máis que un bocabodre falabarato . E se non é un falabarato é un laretas , xa o coñece todo o mundo [...] O rapaz é un túzaro redomado e mais nada, anque sexa o meu neto teño que admitilo, é un túzaro revirado con máis cara que espalda, así que non lle deas máis voltas’. (p. 20)
‘Oh he’s as thick as five thick fellas, that fecker . What do they teach them in school now anyways?’ (p. 90)	‘Será burricán! É máis burricán que cinco burricáns xuntos, o moi papahostias . Pero que carallo lles aprenden na escola?’ (p. 31)
‘The family of eejits and blackguards you come from?’ (p. 95)	‘Sodes todos da mesma familia de babosos comemerdas ?’ (p. 34)
‘I take wife-butcherer back, so’ (p. 96)	‘Eu retiro as miñas insinuacións de fendetestas matamulleres, tamén’. (p. 36)

Inflation and deflation

Although literary translation tends towards inflation, the specific purpose of the dramatic text hinders inflationist trends. As pace, rhythm and even duration become physically realised through performance, the prioritisation of theatrical

⁴³ ‘Blackguard: ruffian, rogue, scoundrel’. Terence Patrick Dolan, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English: The Irish Use of English*, p.23.

qualities generally contains augmentation. In González's translations of *A Skull in Connemara* and *The Lonesome West*, clarifications and explications are commonplace but, as is often the case in translations for the stage, simplification prevails overall, sometimes resulting in a loss of dramaturgical layering.



Fig. 12 – Poster. *Oeste solitario*, Produccións excéntricas, 2011.

Un cranio furado and *Oeste solitario* are slightly longer than McDonagh's originals by approximately four pages in both cases. This could be mostly attributed to the structural and morphological differences between English and Galician, as there are no extensive omissions or insertions. However, as signaled above, the avoidance of redundancy and the elimination of references perceived as irrelevant

results in certain dramaturgical simplifications, as illustrated by the examples provided below.

One of the features that justify the *Leenane Trilogy* denomination for the three plays is the intertextuality and the presence, either onstage (Father Welsh) or through allusions of characters from the other plays. Whereas these intertextual links are consistently maintained in *A raíña* and *Un cranio*, in *Oeste solitario* they are sometimes eliminated in the final version of the text. In spite of being the last of the plays to be staged in Galicia, not long after *Un cranio*, Producións Excéntricas chose to place less emphasis on the connecting elements by using a target text that requires lesser knowledge of the whole but in turn lacks the element of audience complicity present in McDonagh's original. In the Galician version, the focus is shifted onto dialogical and physical interactions between the characters present on stage, leading to an increasingly self-contained stage world. The examples below show the translations given by González in both the initial version (a) and the rehearsal version (b). The fragments were omitted or substantially shortened in the performance version, 'versión da estrea'(c), sometimes with considerable impact on the intertextual connections with the other two plays of the *Trilogy*:⁴⁴

- | | | |
|-----|---------|--|
| (a) | WELSH | Unha actitude amable por un... |
| | VALENE | Non me foda e vai botarlle o seu sermón a Maureen Folan e Mick Dowd, se é actitudes amables o que quere, Walsh. |
| | COLEMAN | Aí caláchelo. |
| | VALENE | ¿Qué fixo? Viches que rápido é para... ¡Ese é o meu puto whisky! ¿Que...que...eh? ('Versión inicial', pp.3-4) |
| | | |
| (b) | WELSH | Unha pouca de amabilidade por un... |
| | VALENE | Non me amole, Walsh. Se quere amabilidade vaia botarlle o sermón a Maureen Folan e Mick Dowd . Non é ese o seu puto |

⁴⁴ Avelino González, 'Oeste solitario. Versión inicial', unpublished script, 2012; 'Oeste solitario. Versión ensaios', unpublished script, 2012; and 'Oeste solitario. Versión estrea', unpublished script, 2012. Additional examples of simplifications are provided in Appendix G.

- traballo?
COLEMAN Aí caláchelo.
VALENE E logo non. Viches que rápido é para... Esa é a miña **caña!**
Que...que...eh? ('Versión ensaios', pp.5-6)
- c) WELSH Unha pouca de amabilidade por un...
VALENE Esa é a miña **caña!** Que...que...eh? ('Versión estrea, p.6)
- WELSH A nice attitude that is for a...
VALENE Feck off and sling your sermons at Maureen Folan and Mick Dowd, so, if it's nice attitudes you're after, Walsh. Wouldn't that be more in your fecking line?
- COLEMAN That shut the fecker up.
VALENE It did. You see how quick he is to... That's my fecking poteen now! What's the...eh? (McDonagh, p. 133)

In contrast, some insertions place additional weight on interactions between the characters, in a way that contributes to increase the humoristic potential of the text:

- (a) COLEMAN Que lle dean polo cú á puta fibra de vidro.
VALENE Non, que che dean a ti polo cú en vez da puta fibra de vidro.
COLEMAN Non, que che dean a ti polo cú duas veces en vez de á puta fibra de vidro. ('Versión inicial', p. 3)
- (b) COLEMAN Que lle dean polo cu á febra de vidro.
VALENE Que che dean polo cu a ti.
COLEMAN Non, que che dean a ti polo cu cun saco de abellas e non á puta fibra de vidro ('Versión ensaios', p.4)
- (c) COLEMAN Que lle dean polo cu á febra de vidro
VALENE Que che dean polo cu a ti.
WELSH Eh, eh!
COLEMAN Non, que che dean a ti polo cu cun saco de abellas.
VALENE A ti cun cartucho do 15.
COLEMAN Que che dean a ti cun San Patricio de poliéster.
('Versión estrea', pp. 4-5)
- COLEMAN Feck fibreglass.
VALENE No, feck you instead of feck fibreglass.
COLEMAN No, feck you two times instead of feck fibreglass...]
(McDonagh, p. 131)

The dialogue insertion in the following passage shows the kind of mounting exchange that could be generated during improvisation in a workshop setting and reflects the progressive nature of the adaptation process, significantly informed by developments during the rehearsals. The working methodology of

actors Víctor Mosqueira and Evaristo Calvo, that is, their trajectory as a comedy duo (Mofa e Befá) and their experience in *commedia dell'arte*, favors these contributions. Their input has been specifically acknowledged by González in relation to transformation of the following exchange from *Un cranio furado*:

- THOMAS Mira Mairtin, como non deixes de xurar douche unha hostia eu mesmo, e vai [ser] unha hostia moito máis forte coa que che deu o pimpín ese do cura. [...] **Douche unha hostia que morres de fame no aire.** (p. 32)
- THOMAS Now, Mairtin, I'm liable to give you a batter meself if you go on like that, and a better batter it will be than the one you got from that biteen of a priest. [...] A bloody better batter it will be. (p. 92)

Up to the rehearsals, the chosen translation was the idiomatic 'Douche unha hostia que che rebento a cara'.⁴⁵ The concept of 'starving mid-air' adds further hyperbolic and metaphorical value to the initial version and contributes to a humourisation of violence, which in turns leads to increased acceptability of the character's behavior. As I will continue to illustrate throughout this section with examples of other translation strategies, the 'taming' of McDonagh's text led to the normalisation of certain behaviors and situations to encourage the acceptance of the characters on the part of the audience.

Translation choices and character representation

The presence of a teenage character is one of the intertextual threads weaving together the plays of the *Leenane Trilogy*: Ray Dooley in *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*; Mairtin Hanlon in *The Skull in Connemara*; and Girleen in *The Lonesome West*.⁴⁶ All three teenagers act as messengers in different ways. Ray Dooley

⁴⁵ Avelino González, 'Un craneo en Connemara', Unpublished script, 2012. Note that the title of this initial version is a more literal rendition of the original than the title finally chosen for the production, *Un cranio furado*.

⁴⁶ Ray Dooley is referred to as Mairtin Hanlon's friend in *A Skull in Connemara*, and Girleen is listed as one of the addressees of the letters Pato Dooley writes before leaving for America in *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*.

connects Maureen and the world beyond her house and beyond Leenane, bringing news about his brother. When Mairtin first appears on stage, he too has a message from Father Welsh to Mick. On her part, Girleen, the only female character in *The Lonesome West*, serves alternately as a settling and unsettling presence in the world of the male characters.⁴⁷ Out of the three, Mairtin Hanlon is the one with a central active part in the plot. His appearance disrupts Mary and Mick's trivial conversation, unchaining questions around the nature of Mick's work in the graveyard and even the circumstances of his wife Oonagh's death.

In his interactions with the other characters, Mairtin Hanlon is awkward, indiscrete and not all that smart: he reveals to Mick that the people of Leenane talk behind his back, implicates himself in the bottling of a girl in a nightclub and is persuaded to ask the priest whether he gives the willies of the deceased 'to the tinkers as dog food'.⁴⁸ Mairtin's intellectual capabilities are repeatedly placed in question and exemplified in his repeated failing of the Leaving Certificate. Whereas the rewriting of the event into Galician achieves similar effect, it demotes Mairtin in the frame of the target education system:

MICK	Ai xa es listo, non? E suspendiches dez veces os exames para o graduado escolar, ou foron once?
MAIRTIN	Unha vez.
MICK	Oh, unha nada máis?
MAIRTIN	As outras foron cando me expulsaran inxustamente. (p.22)
MICK	Clever, is it? And is it ten times you've failed the Leaving Certificate now, or is it eleven times?
MAIRTIN	It's one time.
MICK	Oh, is it one time, now?
MAIRTIN	The other time coincided with me wrongful expulsion. (p.83)

The Graduado Escolar, a certificate of primary education, is a long shot from

⁴⁷ The fact that she is not even given a name gives her role even more of a symbolic weight, rather than an action-based presence and it also recalls Synge's character naming strategies, as discussed in Chapter Four.

⁴⁸ McDonagh, *Plays...*, p.87.

the Leaving Certificate. As shown in the table below, Mairtin's rather simple swear-word loaded English is scattered with expressions such as 'disruptive in choir' (7) or 'wrongful expulsion' (p. 22), in sheer contrast with his overall register. These out-of-character interventions appear when referring to situations involving conflict with authority, which suggests that these are not his own words but expressions borrowed from other sources, often revealed by himself (1) or by other characters (5), as in the following dialogue:

MICK. Don't be cursing God in a graveyard, anyway, is what the crux of the matter is.

MAIRTIN. Aye, and don't be **invading people's human rights** is what the other crux of the matter is. The guards are there to serve the people, not the other way round, if you'd like to know.

THOMAS. You've been paying attention in Sociology class anyways, Mairtin.

MAIRTIN. I have

THOMAS. That's a good thing. Is it still Miss Byrne with the mini-skirts teaches that?

MICK. Get back to fecking work... (pp. 29-30)

MICK. De todas formas, non te cagues en deus nun camposanto, iso é o que importa.

MAIRTIN. Xa, e non **arramplar cos dereitos humanos** tamén importa. A policía está para servir ao cidadán, e para nada máis, por se non o sabes.

THOMAS. Xa vexo que estiveches moi atento nas clases de socioloxía, Mairtin.

MAIRTIN. Estiven

THOMAS. Moi ben feito. E a señora Byrne vai inda a dar clases en minisaia?

MICK. Pónteme ao choio dunha hostia dunha vez... (pp. 32-33)⁴⁹

When he compels Mick to 'get [his] facts right',⁵⁰ we later discover that he is mirroring the obsession his brother Thomas has with factual evidence, as revealed in the latter's conversation with Mick in the graveyard scene. However, these higher-register peaks are sanded down in the Galician translation and the more formal expressions are replaced with lexical choices coherent with a teenage character, therefore muting the mimicry carried out by Mairtin.⁵¹ The depiction of Mairtin in the target text does not only vary in terms of his imitative behavior but also when it

⁴⁹ More examples of Mairtin's borrowings can be found on Appendix G.

⁵⁰ McDonagh, *Plays...*, p. 83.

⁵¹ Additional examples of Mairtin's 'borrowings' are included in Appendix G.

comes to his violent conduct. Early on in the play, Mairtin is dragged into revealing details of an incident he categorically denies having been involved in – two girls ending up in hospital after a bottle fight at the local disco. In the Galician version of the text, Mairtin’s violent streak is substantially diminished:

Ao mellor por faceren burla dun colega, cando el o único que fixo foi pedirilles para bailar, e con educación. Entón empezaron a insúltalo a chamalo mamaconas e cousas máis duras. **Devolverllelos insultos** non é abondo para esa caste de malas putas, e mira, alá elas. Tal como empezaron, **insultalas** ía ser mostra de moi boa educación. (p. 10)

Maybe the piss out of a fella’s trainers they took, when all he did was ask them for a danceen, and polite. And then **called their bastard brother over to come the hard. Stitches** aren’t good enough for them sorts of bitches, and well they know. As ugly as them two started out, sure **stitches**’d be nothing but an improvement, oh aye. (p. 71)

In this passage, references to physical violence are replaced with verbal violence, adding detail on the insults used by the girls and contributing to a victimisation of the ‘colega’ – presumably, Ray Dooley from *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*. In a compensatory maneuver, the aggressive charge of the language used by Mairtin is increased not only by the addition of the insult (‘mamaconas’) but also the rendering of ‘them sorts of bitches’ as a more intense ‘esa caste de malas putas’.

The leveling of Mairtin’s language and the increased coherence with teenage speech in the translation causes not only the loss of nuances and hypotextual references but also the simplification of several facets of the character. Not is only the language of Mairtin Hanlon regularised, but also his social interactions are deproblematised and, to an extent, rendered more acceptable.

‘Atópome traducindo’: Misinterpretations and re-interpretations

Avelino González ‘found himself translating’ after a long trajectory as a stage and screen actor, which continues to be his main professional activity. He is quick to highlight the circumstantial character of his endeavours, which have been recognised by Galician practitioners and theatre audiences. His translations of McDonagh are molded after performance requirements, such as rhythm, speakability and character

interaction, aspects that as an actor he is very familiar with. However, the lesser concern with linguistic accuracy results in occasional reinterpretations or possible mistranslations of the original. While in performance these could easily go unnoticed and they are in any case unlikely to be perpetuated, since his versions of the plays remain unpublished, the alterations in meaning produce glitches in the text with an effect on characterisation and representation or reduction of references.

A key instance can be found in *A raíña da beleza*, in the stage directions towards the end of Scene Eight, when it emerges that Mag has been murdered by her daughter. As rendered by González, these indicate an alternative staging, less complex than the suggested by McDonagh:

The rocking-chair has stopped its motions. Mag starts to slowly lean forward that the waist until she finally topples over and falls heavily to the floor, dead. A red chunk of skull hangs from a string of skin at the side of her ear. Maureen looks down at her, somewhat bored, taps her on the side with the toe of her shoe, then steps onto her back and stands there in thoughtful contemplation.

'Twas over the stile she did trip. Aye. And down the hill she did fall. Aye. (Pause.) Aye. (p. 51)

O mexedor parou. Mag empeza a botarse a modo cara adiante, dobrándose sobre a cintura até que finalmente cae pesada no chan, morta. Un rego bermello sae dunha necha na cabeza. Maureen míraa, algo aborrecida, dálle ca punta do zapato, logo písalle na espalda, e como absorta.

Estaba subida no cómaro. Si. E caeu polo monte abaixo. Si. (Pausa) Si. (pp. 37-38)⁵²

The difficulty of recreating the hanging piece of skull is eliminated by replacing it with another sign that indicates equal finality, although to a less gruesome effect, the trickle of blood.

The translation of an anecdote involving Mairtin also contributes to diminishing the macabre mood of the play and, in the process, the inappropriateness of the teenager's behaviour is minimised once again:

Sure the time he put the werewolf comic in with Mrs Dunphy, and hadn't they almos **nailed the lid** on her before we noticed? (18)

⁵² Avelino González, 'A raíña da beleza de Leenane', Unpublished script, 2006.

Como aquela vez que lle levara un tebeo do lobishome á señora Dunphy, e case lle **crava as uñas nos ollos** (nas pálpebras) antes de que nos decatáramos' (20)

González's first translation choice was a more unusual 'nas pálpebras' (eyelids) instead of 'nos ollos' (eyes), which seems to derive from a misinterpretation of 'the lid [of the coffin]' of the English original. Aside from the unclear outcome of the translation, the event loses its place in the network of references to death, funeral rites and burial present within the text.

In the final scene of the play, Mary confronts Mick about his lies. Whereas in the English original there is a return to the suspicious circumstances of Oonagh's death, the Galician translation shifts the attention to the more recent aggression towards Mairtin:

MARY	Pois as mentiras sobre o desenterro da túa Oona, logo.
MICK	Oh non, non me vai vir outra vez coa mesma merda, non? Eu non mentín nunca sobre a tumba de Oona. Nunca.
MARY	Ah non? Entón debín de confundir eu todo o que vin aquí esta noite. Da vosa forma de comportarvos.
MICK	E que víu? Non había nada que ver.
MARY	Xa, supoño que non había nada que ver, non.
MICK	Se ten algo que me dicir, dígamo na cara e deixe de andar a enredar como se fose unha lesma preñada de cuspe. Se tiña algo que a fixera pensar que eu matei a Oona á mantenta, por que había de seguir vindo á miña casa todas as noites durante estes últimos sete anos?
MARY	Antes tíñala boa. (p. 65)
MARY	And the lies o'er your poor Oona's dying then.
MICK	Oh you're still not going on about that fucking one, are you? I have never lied o'er Oona dying. Never once.
MARY	Oh no? I must've been mistaken what I saw that night so, as along the two of ye drove.
MICK	What did you see? There was nothing to see.
MARY	Oh I suppose there was nothing to see, now.
MICK	If you've something to say to me, go ahead and say it outright and stop beating around the bush like a petrified fucking lummo. If you had seen anything made you think I'd killed Oona deliberate, why so would you've still come visiting me every night for the past seven year?
MARY	You had it right earlier. (p. 125)

In McDonagh's original, Mary's insinuations take away from the audience any temporary sense of closure with respect to Mick's involvement in Oonagh's death. Whereas the latest developments pointed towards his innocence ('I had not killed

anybody until tonight'), these assumptions are challenged in the scene. The implication that Mary has known for the past seven years that Mick is a murderer and yet continued to socialise with him turns her into a morally questionable figure. The shift operating in the Galician target text increases the sense of resolution in the play by pushing the possibility of Mick's guilt and Mary's complicit silence into the background. This entails the loss of distinctive features of Martin McDonagh's drama – the twist in the plot, the deceptive appearances, the latent violence in the characters and, crucially, the 'openness' of the plays themselves: '[...] the meanings of McDonagh's plays and films are only fully created when audiences engage imaginatively with what they see'.⁵³ In the Galician translation, the audience are not challenged to 'fill the empty space' to the same extent because that space has been filled for them.⁵⁴

4. Conclusion

Martin McDonagh's drama has opened new creative pathways on the Galician stage. The translations of his works have initiated a previously unexploited sub-genre: a theatrical form in a similar key to realistic modes, set in the rural milieu yet distinct from *costumbrismo* via its borrowings from the language of popular culture such as explicit and implicit violence, plot twists and dark humour that frames sinister events in a deceptively comical manner.

The largely uncontroversial and positive reception of McDonagh's works in Galicia may be read as an indication that these plays' acceptability is built upon both the generic gap they came to fill in the system and the history of Irish drama on the Galician stage. As seen in the previous sections, an analysis of the incorporations uncovers elements of tradition, above all that of the continuing reliance on the

⁵³ Patrick Lonergan, *The Theatre and Films of Martin McDonagh* (London: Methuen Drama, 2012), p.xvii.

⁵⁴ For further discussion on the issue of audience interpretation in *A Skull in Connemara*, see Lonergan, *Theatre and globalisation...*, pp.20-28 (p.28).

identification with Ireland, for the dramaturgical viability of rural realism.

Avelino González's translations and the work of Teatro do Atlántico and Producións Excéntricas positioned Irish drama on the Galician stage between tradition and innovation, between the internal needs of the system and global dramaturgical tendencies. Subsequent incorporations of Irish drama into the Galician theatre system have been noticeably less reliant on a linkage with the Irish context. Moreover, the almost-inexorable bound with the rural setting has been broken.

The year after *Oeste solitario*, a young Ourense-based company, ilMaquinario Teatro presented their version of Martin McDonagh's *The Pillowman*, *O home almofada* (2012). Working on a translation by Manuel F. Vieites, the only concession to 'Irishness' in the paratexts is the description of the author as 'angloirlandés'.⁵⁵ The production earned six nominations to the María Casares awards and in 2014, ilMaquinario presented a Spanish-language version of the production in Madrid.⁵⁶ The founding members of the troupe are recent graduates of the ESAD de Galicia, showing how the creation of this institution has already changed the face of Galician theatre practice.

In 2014, Eme2 produced *Meu Ben/Little Gem*, Elaine Murphy's play, in a translation by Avelino González and Olga F. Nogueira.⁵⁷ Once again, rurality is cast aside in favour of an urban reality and, while the dramatist is identified as 'Irish', there are no concessions to clichéd Irishness. Instead, the emphasis is on the success of the young author and the innovative value of the piece: 'a primeira adaptación escénica desta peza en España'.⁵⁸ Distribution beyond the Galician context was contemplated from its initial stages, since Eme2 acquired the rights for the play not

⁵⁵ The use of this label evidences Manuel F. Vieites input. As seen in the previous chapter, he strongly favors the term for Irish authors writing in English language. However, it is not clear why British-born McDonagh is placed in this category, other than the location of his earlier plays.

⁵⁶ ilMaquinario's *O home almofada* was nominated in 2013 for best production, set design, lighting design, translation/adaptation, actor and director.

⁵⁷ Translators of *A raíña da beleza de Leenane*.

⁵⁸ AGADIC, 'Cultura e Educación apoia a produción da montaxe de Eme2 "Meu ben", que se estrea mañá en Narón subvencionada pola Agadic', 23 January 2014. Web.

only in Galician language but also in Spanish.⁵⁹

The departure from rurality in *O home almofada* and *Meu ben* is not merely a shift in setting and a change in themes: it illustrates a change in the understanding of theatrical activity, not only from the artistic perspective but also from the commercial point of view, with productions conceived not just for Galician audiences but for recognition in a broader context. These examples show how contemporary Irish drama is chosen for its commercial and dramaturgical viability and not just for its possibilities as a self-portrait, revealing a new kind of appropriation.

⁵⁹ *Meu ben* (*Little Gem* in the Spanish version) was directed by Álvaro Lavín, who in 2009 took McDonagh's *La reina de la belleza de Leenane* to the stage, using an earlier Spanish-language version by Vicky Peña (Maureen in both the 1999 production and 1998 Catalan-language *La reina de la belleza de Leenane*, directed by Mario Gas).

Conclusions

The choice of Irish plays for the Galician stage has been marked by a sense of identification, the enduring presence of an affinity between the two nations that permeated the literary and political space in Galicia since the late nineteenth century. The sense of a common Celtic origin played a significant role in legitimising the claims for recognition of a distinct Galician identity made by the nationalist movement. Ireland's struggle for independence was upheld as a parallel of their own agenda, Irish cultural and theatrical models were used to cultivate that sense of recognition and identification with the sister nation that has come to dwell in the Galician popular imagination. Thus, manifestations of this mirroring in the broader Iberian context can be found in the note scribbled by Lorca on a copy of *Jinetes hacia el mar*, a gift to the poet Carlos Martínez Barbeito ('Como esto es irlandés es casi gallego. Cuando leas esto, te parecerá ambiente de tu país'.);¹ or in Mario Gas's readiness to transpose *The Playboy of the Western World* to a Galician setting.

Sirkku Aaltonen's premise that 'translation is not a window on to the secret garden of the foreign at all, but one on to the multitude of texts which can be used to serve everyone' fittingly describes the mediation of Irish dramatic texts in the Galician context.² The complex balance between the other and the self, at the core of every translation process, intertwines in theatre translation with a need to gain the audience's complicity, their acceptance of the characters and of the norms that govern their actions in the stage universe. In Galicia, this is underpinned by the perception of Ireland as akin, a recognisable reality.

It is not only linguistic or cultural aspects of the target texts that respond to this sense of recognition: the consideration of the translation process has been determined by the same mythical intercultural bond and manifested itself in the

¹ Antonio de Toro, *La literatura irlandesa en España* (A Coruña: Netbiblo, 2007), p.10.

² Aaltonen, *Time-Sharing...*, p. 1.

recurrence of silenced mediation. English-language originals were not easily available in Spain until relatively recently. At times, such elusiveness was due to political circumstances, such as the Francoist regime's clampdown on external influence, particularly if perceived to endanger the ideological homogeneity of the *patria*, at other times the agents resorted to a Spanish version simply due to a lack of linguistic competence; the 'need' to translate that particular dramatic text outdid the authority placed on the original. These maladies and cures did not necessarily present an ethical dilemma, as in the case of Alfonso Sastre and the French mediation of his *Rosas rojas para mí*. In the Galician context, secondary translation is not acknowledged and, in the case of Irish drama, it has even been emphatically hidden with claims of directness (Villar Ponte's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*) or obscured with references to the Irish-Galician affinity (Ramón de Valenzuela's *O casamento do latoneiro*). For a minorised language, translation is not merely a strategy for corpus supplementation but also a legitimising process and the inability to dispense with mediating languages compromises its position as a medium for cultural production. In Galicia, the value placed on the direct connection with Ireland transferred into representation of the translation process itself: recognising the need for an intermediary would undermine the argument of affinity and, therefore, the relevance of the piece in the Galician context, an aspect that can be connected to the enduring debates around the adequacy of translation.

The sense of identification with the Irish nation, inherited from nineteenth century Celticist narratives, features strongly in translations of Irish drama into Galician, from the first published version of Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in 1921 to the last instalment of McDonagh's *Leenane Trilogy* in 2012. The agents involved in these incorporations invariably recognised Galicia in the staged Ireland of those dramatic works and, to different extents and following diverse strategies, proceeded

to place it up to local audiences like a mirror on the Galician stage.³ Because of the inspirational value placed on the source culture, this exercise in self-portraiture involved preserving a degree of Irishness in each onstage representation, but one that was compliant with target cultural expectations, as evidenced in the incorporation process, from the choice of texts to directorial decisions at the production stages. When the action is transposed to the Galician context, elements that are identifiable with both nations occupy a prominent place, such as the light rain falling on the stage in *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*, or the Catholic iconography and homemade spirits in *Un cranio furado*.

The analysis of Irish drama in Galicia requires a revision of the delimitation of domestication and foreignisation, as described by Venuti from the perspective of appropriation on the part of a dominant culture, in his writings represented by the English-speaking Western hemisphere.⁴ Inevitably, the minorised status of Galician culture and the historical and ideological meaning that burdens the referent 'Ireland' for Galician audiences has shaped the translations of Irish drama. These are the product of a predominantly domesticating approach, in as much as the resulting representation of Ireland is determined by target cultural views and expectations. Even though geographical and cultural references are often maintained in a way associated with a foreignising strategy, aspects of Irish identity that have come to be perceived as defining features of Ireland are highlighted to conform to the idea of the Irish nation that lives in the collective imagination of the Galician people. The elements that point to the source cultural context are reassembled in performance to form a mirror of sorts that allows audiences to recognise the onstage universe as Galicia, to recognise the Irish characters as 'themselves'.

Whether the Irish setting is maintained or not, the rural element remains a constant presence. The only exception is *Rosas vermellas para mín*, staged by Ditea

³ The analogy of the mirror is also borrowed from Aaltonen, *Time-Sharing...*, p.1.

⁴ Venuti, *The Translator's invisibility...*

in 1976, where the action is set in Dublin city, a departure from the rural context that must be read in connection to political and theatrical events in Spain around the time of the production.⁵ In terms of human geography, a rural configuration is a defining trait of both Ireland and Galicia. Population dispersal and its effects have shaped the consciousness, self-consciousness, and external image of the two nations. Moreover, in their post-colonial struggle, rural communities were presented as the repository of authenticity and the essence of national identity. In Galicia, this has a practical reflection in the sociolinguistic map of the region. The language, such a fundamental element in the construction of national identity, has its stronghold in rural communities, with a smaller percentage of speakers in the urban areas, particularly amongst the younger generations.⁶

The Galician sociolinguistic situation is partly responsible for this reluctance towards using urban settings in plays presented in a realist key. Avelino González, translator of the *Leenane Trilogy*, has expressed his wish to see *Disco Pigs* on the Galician stage but he points to what he perceives as the main issue: the characters are urban, the problematic is urban, and so is the idiolect.⁷ His main concern is giving characters who express themselves in Galician language the necessary urban credibility. However, characters from various social backgrounds and nationalities have been rendered in Galician in an unproblematic way. Why, then, does the Irish city dweller remain beyond his scope? We must return here to the idiosyncrasies of the identification with Ireland and the need to present audiences with characters that are recognisable as Irish in the terms dictated by the target context, in the frame of a stage reality where they can also find the Galician self.

The history of Irish drama on the Galician stage can shed light on evolving

⁵ Of all the productions examined for the purpose of this project, this politically charged play is the one where the identification with Ireland features less prominently, although it is still present in the paratextual materials, as shown in Chapter Three.

⁶ For comprehensive statistical information, see *Mapa sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004* (A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 2007).

⁷ Avelino González, 'Translating contemporary Irish theatre...'

understandings of national identity, at a time when the transfer and mobility of cultural products is ever more intense. The nature of the objects of the present study has required a degree of prospection into materials often sidelined, stowed away or condemned to disappearing. Theatre is ephemeral, translations tend towards invisibility. The process of recovery, in which collaboration with practitioners and, indeed, with other scholars, has been crucial, not only presents insights into Galician Theatre Studies and Translation Studies, but also opens up perspectives on Cultural Studies, both in Galicia and Ireland: how Irish theatre travels and how the Galician stage received Irish drama.

Future research must continue to address processes of pollenisation, cross-fertilisation and contamination between systems, in the frame of a broad perspective that takes into consideration the effects of political and social factors. At a time when intercultural contact and communication is a prime object of scrutiny, it is necessary to position the readings of Irish drama in Galicia in relation to its reception in other cultural contexts. This will not only reveal the embeddedness of Galician theatre practice in the Iberian and European map but also contribute to a map of the networks and pathways of theatre practice in our day.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Review – O casamento do Latoneiro

(Buenos Aires, November 1960)

O Casamento do Latoneiro



Os catro personaxes da comedia en escena.

(The tinker's Wedding) de John M. Synge. Comedia irlandesa en una versión en idioma galego.

A nosa escola de teatro que dirixe o mestre, don Roberto Villanueva, ofreceu, como estaba anunciado, a encantadora comedia do irlandés John M. Synge, no día 19 de novembro corrente.

A á función de preestreno asistiu un público moi seleito e moi calificado, que seguiu os lances da obra con tenaz expectativa. Aítnaro nos reparto os aitoce e aitrices que se citan a continuación:

Miguel Byrne (o latoneiro), Evelio Iglesias; María Byrne (na súa vella nai), María V. Valenzuela; Sara Casey (a latoneira nova), Eloisa Ares; señor Abade, Ramón de Valenzuela Otero.

Unha cantiga popular e galega, "Eu quierame casar, miña nai non teño roupa", deu a tónica e o inicio temático. A mise en escena, resultou perfecta de luz de ambiente.

Donantes de iniciarse a representación, Ramón Suárez Picallo dixo unhas verbas para poñer a obra en ambiente e destacar a súa importancia. Lembrou, que fai corenta e cinco anos, o gran xornalista e escritor lucense, de Viveiro, Antón Villar Ponte, sinalou o déficit que nas letras de Galicia tiña o teatro; e suxeriu a necesidade de que, pra suplilo, debíanse de facer traducións de obras maestras do Teatro Universal en idioma galego. El mesmo deu o exemplo, facendo unha fidelísima versión galega da traxedia "Almas mortas" do escritor ruso, Nicolás Gogol. Falou, despois, do carácter de artistas afeccionados e vocacionais que esa noite ofrecían a versión galega de unha obra irlandesa. Aitrices e aitoce, traballan, na súa vida ordinaria e común en mestres alleos o arte teatral. E sementes fan teatro, pro seu

recreo espiritual e tamen o fan pro recreo espiritual dos demais.

A comedia de Synge tivo neste cencio da nosa Escola de Teatro unha interpretación cuasi que perfecta.

Os personaxes femininos, Sara Casey, a latoneira, foi desmolado por Eloisa Ares con aire, con gracia e con donesura singulares. Elsi como nuna perfecta acentuación e vocalización do idioma galego.

Mariví Villaverde de Valenzuela, na nai do latoneiro, fixo o personaxe, dunha vella perdularia e borrachina, nun difícilísimo rol, que compuxo con verdadeira maestría. Evelio Iglesias, estivo un pouco duro e fora da tono nas primeiras escenas no personaxe dun latoneiro, monante mas disposto de entrar en ambiente de camiños, non embarazante coa súa prestancia saliu moi lucido seu papel. Ramón de Valenzuela compuxo un abade irlandés, pro que podía ser perfectamente de Bolmorte, de Sárria, ou de Castro Caldelas. Mitade fanático. Foi, sen dúbida algunha o personaxe masculino de máis relevancia.

Os doctos e traves de Clelia Arancio, así como as luces, de Jorge Rubén Foggi, e sobre todo, a asesoría musical de Pilar López Feneo, déronlle á obra un ambiente difícil de superar.

A dirección de Roberto Villanueva, e do seu asistente de dirección Ronal Ambrogi, foron tamén elementos principais no éxito artístico e intelectual, desta encantadora velada de arte.

Insistimos oxe, no que xa dixéramos encol da nosa Escola de Teatro. E necesario, absolutamente necesario, que os nosos asociados, as súas familias, e os seus amigos estimulen coa súa presenza estas manifestacións de arte e de cultura, que a nosa institución ven fomentando, pra cabelización espiritual das súas xentes, e pra xerarquizar a cultura de Galicia, no ámbito da mellor cultura universal.

R. S. P.



(Mariví Villaverde's personal archive, courtesy of Noemí Pazó)

APPENDIX B

Ditea repertoire (1960-2014)

The following information on the Ditea repertoire has been divided into two sections in response to a clear shift in the activity of the company before and after the transition to democracy in Spain. Their output in the period between 1960 and 1979 is presented in table form in order to clearly represent the company's shift in language use and attitude to translation between these years. Their work after 1980 has been presented in list form, which is in part facilitated by the substantial decrease in intensity of their activity, and also to reflect the increase in versions, collective creation texts and adaptations that blur the line between originals and translations, making it more difficult to fit this work into the parameters established in the table.

1960-1979

Year	Spanish language originals	Translations
1960	(1) <i>Melocotón en Almíbar</i> , Miguel Mihura (2) <i>La locura de Don Juan</i> , Arniches	(3) <i>Milagro</i> , Nicola Manzari
1961	(4) <i>El hospital de los locos</i> , Valdivielso (5) <i>Comedia para asesinos</i> , James Endhard ⁵²⁷	
1962	(6) <i>El Pleito matrimonial del cuerpo y el alma</i> , Calderón (7) <i>En la red</i> , Alfonso Sastre	
1963	(8) <i>Deja que los perros ladren</i> , Sergio Vodanovic (9) <i>La Siega</i> , Lope de Vega	
1964	(10) <i>La Razón del poder o el dictador</i> , Manuel de Heredia (11) <i>La Gran Casa de Austria</i> , Agustín Moreto	
1965	(12) <i>La Danza de la Muerte</i>	(13) <i>El muerto a caballo</i> , Hènri Ghèon
1966	(14) <i>Don Lucas del Cigarral o Entre bobos anda el juego</i> , Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (16) <i>Pedro Telonario</i> , Mira de Amescua	(15) <i>Dónde está la señal de la cruz</i> , E. O'Neill

⁵²⁷ James Endhard was one of the pseudonyms used by Chilean author and playwright Camilo Pérez de Arce (1912-1970).

1967	(18) <i>La noticia</i> , Lauro Olmo (19) <i>Oración</i> , Fernando Arrabal (20) <i>El pastor lobo y cabaña celestial</i> , Lope	(17) <i>Lutero</i> , John Osborne. (21) <i>Seis personajes en busca de autor</i> , (Fragment) Pirandello (22) <i>El hombre de la flor en la boca</i> , Pirandello (23) <i>El casamiento a la fuerza</i> , Molière (24) <i>Asia</i> , Hènri-René Lenormand (25) <i>L'echappée belle</i> , H. Garcin and R. Bouteille.
1968	(26) <i>La guarda cuidadosa</i> , Cervantes (27) <i>El gran teatro del mundo</i> , Calderón (28-30) <i>La Mojiganga 'Cornudo y contento'</i> , 'La carátula', 'Las aceitunas', Lope de Rueda	(31) <i>Arlequín, servidor de dos amos</i> , Goldoni (32) <i>El imbécil</i> , Pirandello (33) <i>Sigfrido en Stalingrado</i> , Luigi Candoni
1969	(34) <i>Farsa y justicia del Corregidor</i> , Tradición popular en versión de Alejandro Casona (35) <i>Rodrigo del Toro</i> , Lope de Rueda (36) <i>Milagro en el mercado viejo</i> , Osvaldo Dragún (38) <i>Réquiem por un girasol</i> , Jorge Díaz	(37) <i>Morte e vida severina</i> , Joao Cabral de Melo Neto
1970	(41) <i>¡Silencio, pollos pelones, ya les van a echar su maíz!</i> , Emilio Carballido	(40) <i>Historia del zoo</i> , Edward Albee
1971	(43) <i>Retablo de Navidad</i>	
1972	(44) <i>La puerta</i> , Miguel Ángel Rellán (46) <i>El Mosquito</i> , Ángel Camacho (47) <i>Tren a F...</i> , José María Bellido	(45) <i>Cabalgada cara ó mar</i> , John Synge
1973	(48) <i>El retablo del flautista</i> , Jordi Teixidor	
1974	(49) <i>Tiempo de 98</i> , Juan Antonio Castro (50) <i>A barca do inferno</i> , Gil Vicente (51) <i>Morte e vida severina</i> , Joao Cabral de Melo Neto	
1975	(52) <i>Retablo en tiempo presente</i> , Antonio Martínez Ballesteros	(53) <i>O retábulo do flautista</i> , Jordi Teixidor
Year	Translations	Galician-language originals
1976	(54) <i>Rosas vermellas pra min</i> , Sean O'Casey	
1977	(55) <i>O país da saudade</i> , Yeats	(56) <i>Almas mortas</i> , A. Villar Ponte
1978	(57) <i>A paz</i> , Aristófanes	
1979	58) <i>Roda viva: A fontenla dos milagro</i> (59) <i>Roda viva: Os cornos do mestre</i> Xoan Panxolas (60) <i>Roda viva: O vello celeiras</i>	

1980-2014

- 1980** *O mariñeiro*, ‘drama estático a tres voces’.
O escolante, ‘Farsátira en dous tempos sobre textos de Nello Saito’.
Mesmo semellaban bruxas. Retábulo máxico de meigas e inquisidores, Agustín Magán.
- 1983** *O cerco. Catro raridades para un collage*, ‘Creación colectiva’.⁵²⁸
Un ollo de vidro. Memorias de un esqueleto, Alfonso R. Castelao
- 1984** *¿Qué queredes, pitos cáiros?*, ‘Creación colectiva’.
- 1985** *Guerras do alecrín e manxerona*, Antonio José da Silva, O Xudeo
A lenda de Xoan Bonome, ‘Conto popular en versión teatral de A. Magán’.
- 1986** *Os vellos non deben de namorarse*, Alfonso R. Castelao [Radio play, RTVG]
A Comedia da Oliña, Aquilino Iglesia Alvariño [Radio Play, RTVG]
- 1987** *Farsa Plautina*, ‘de Agustín Magán sobre textos de Plauto’.
- 1988** *As Alegres Comadres de Windsor*, ‘de W. Shakespeare, adaptación de Agustín Magán’.
- 1989** *Naia*, ‘de Agustín Magán, inspirada nun conto de O Barón La Mootte-Fouqué’.
- 1990** *As Asemblearias ou se as mulleres mandaren*, ‘de Agustín Magán sobre textos de Aristófanes’.
- 1993** *A Raiña Lupa*, ‘orixinal de Manuel Vidal Rodríguez, versión galega de Agustín Magán’.
- 1994** *Don Xoán*, ‘Agustín Magán sobre textos de Tirso de Molina, Molière e Alexandre Pushkin’.
- 1995** *Beiramar*, Armando Cotarelo Valledor.
- 1997** *Terra Baixa*, ‘de Ángel Guimerá, versión de Agustín Magán’.
- 1999** *M’Gambia*, ‘versión de textos de Agustín Magán’.
- 2001** *A pousada de Petra Cotón*, ‘de Agustín Magán, inspirada en *Le Román Comique*, de Paul Scarron’.
- 2004** *Tiempo de 98, Juan Antonio Castro*. ‘Revisión feita para o Congreso ‘La Galicia de Valle Inclán’’.
- 2005** *Melocotón en xarope*, Miguel Mihura.
- 2008** *Aquí cheira a morto*, versión de *Usted puede ser un asesino* de Alfonso Paso.
- 2009** *Acto imprevisto*, Miguel Gallego.
- 2010** *A forxa dun rei*, ‘guión de Marcos Estebo’.
- 2011** *Farsa Plautina*, ‘de Agustín Magán sobre textos de Plauto’.
- 2014** *Animaliños*, Roberto Vidal Bolaño

⁵²⁸ I have included after the titles the description of each production, as given by the company. These epigraphs illustrate the company’s veering towards ‘versiones’, in particular those created by director Agustín Magán. Alberto Álvarez. Personal email communication, 7 July 2015.

APPENDIX C

Textual Examples – Yeats Translations

Ci. Translation of ‘stranger’ in *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*

Yeats	Manent	A. Villar Ponte
I think it is a stranger (p.84)	Té l’aire de forastera (p. 40)	Ten ar de forasteira (p. 8)
It must be the strange woman Patrick saw a while ago (p. 87)	Potser la forastera que Patrici ha vist? (p. 41)	Cecais a forasteira que Patricio vira? (p. 10)
There is no use leaving it out for every stranger to look at (p. 87)	No és prudent deixar-los a la vista dels forasters d’aquesta manera (p.41)	Non é comenmente deixalos á vista dos forasteiros , do xeito que agora se achan. (p.10)
I’d sooner a stranger not to come to the house the night before my wedding. (p. 87)	176-8 A dir veritat, no m’agrada gaire de veure forasters a casa la primera nit de bodes. (p. 41)	193-5 Falando con franqueza, me non compre ver forasteiros na casa a primeira noite de bodas. (p. 10)
Too many strangers in the house (p. 88)	Hi havia massa forasters a casa meva. (p. 41)	O habere moitas xentes alleas na miña casa. (p. 10)
the hope of putting the strangers out of my house. (p. 90)	l’esperança de llançar els forasters de casa meva.(p. 42)	a espranza de botar aos forasteiros, aos alleos da miña casa (p. 11)
Why do you look at me like a stranger ? (p. 93)	I em mires així, com si fós forastera ? (p. 43)	Ollasme o mesmo que si me non coñeces; como si fose forasteira ... (p. 12)

Cii. *O País da saudade* – Inflation and Specification

<p>MAURTEEN. Shawn, this is half empty; Go, bring up the best bottle that we have.</p> <p>F. HART. I never saw her read a book before, What can it be?</p> <p>MAURTEEN [<i>to Shawn</i>]. What are you waiting for? You must not shake it when you draw the cork; It's precious wine, so take your time about it. <i>Shawn goes.</i> [<i>To Priest</i>]</p> <p>(There was a Spaniard wrecked at Ocris Head, When I was young, and I have still some bottles.) He cannot bear to hear her blamed; the book Has lain up in the thatch these fifty years (p. 66)</p>	<p>MARTIÑO: Xoán, cata que esa garrafa está meio valdeira; vaite â adega e rube d'ela a millor que atopes.</p> <p>P. HART: Seique é a primeira vez que vexo lêr a moza. ¿Qué libro ela lerá?</p> <p>MARTIÑO. <i>A Xoán</i>. Ora qué agardas? Fai o que ch'eu dixen e non revolvas o viño ô sacarlle a cortiza â garrafa. É viño do bon que dá El Señor; conque sen presa terma do mandado. (<i>ao P. Hart depois que saiu Xoán.</i>)</p> <p>Un navío español naufragou en Ocris Head cando eu era novo e ainda teño algunhas garrafas d'aquel agasallo d'o achar. (<i>En aceno cara Maruxa</i>) Non pode sofrir que a repriman. O libro en que ela le estivo esquencido aló pol-o faio coma un meio cento d'anos. (p. 21)</p>
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APPENDIX D

Textual Examples of Mediation – *The Tinker's Wedding*

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET (Losada, 1959)	VALENZUELA (1960)
<p>MICHAEL. That'll be a sacred and a sainted joy. SARAH: It'll be small joy for yourself if you aren't ready with my wedding ring. [She goes over to him.] Is it near done this time, or what way is it at all? MICHAEL: A poor way only, Sarah Casey, for it's the devil's job making a ring[.] (p. 35)</p>	<p>MIGUEL. Será un placer poco común! SARAH. Poco placer va a ser el tuyo si no has acabado mi anillo. (Se le acerca.) ¿Está casi terminado esta vez o le falta mucho? MIGUEL.- Está por la mitad, nada más. Es un trabajo bárbaro fabricar un anillo. (p. 53)</p>	<p>MIGUEL. Será un pracer nunca visto! 1 SARA.- O pracer vai ser o teu se non rematas o meu anelo. Desta vegada está case acabado ou ainda lle queda? MIGUEL.- Está namais que pola metade. E moitísimo traballo fabricar un anelo. (p. 1)</p>
<p>SARAH. [...] and he the first one called me the Beauty of Ballinacree, a fine name for a woman. MICHAEL. [With contempt.] It's like of that name they do be putting on the horses they have below racing in Arklow. (p. 37)</p>	<p>SARAH. [...] él fue el primero que me llamó la Bella de Ballinacree. Lindo nombre para una mujer. MICHAEL (con desprecio).- Se parece a los nombres que les dan a las potrancas que corren en Arklow. (p. 55)</p>	<p>SARAH. El foi o primeiro que me chamou 'a Belida de Ballinacri'! Como acái ese nome para unha muller! MIGUEL.- Seméllase aos nomes que se lle dan as potrancas que van as carreiras de Árlow.(p. 2)</p>
<p>SARAH [Indignantly.] Liar, is it? Didn't you ever hear tell of the peelers followed me ten miles along the Glen Malure, and they talking love to me in the dark night; or of the children you'll meet coming from school and they saying one to the other: 'It's a day we seen Sarah Casey, the Beauty of Ballinacree, a great sight, surely.' MICHAEL: God help the lot of them (p. 37)</p>	<p>SARAH (INDIGNADA).- ¿Nunca oíste hablar de los mondadores que me siguieron diez millas en el Glenmalure, en la oscuridad de la noche, diciéndome piropos? ¿Ni de los chicos que a la salida del colegio se dicen uno al otro: 'Hoy vimos a Saragh Casey, la Bella de Ballinacree ¡y qué linda es!'? MIGUEL.- Que Dios les conserve la vista a todos ellos (p. 55)</p>	<p>SARA.- Nunca sentiches falar dos gardas que me seguiron mais de dez millas en Glénmalure e viñan pola noite decíndome frores? Nin viches aos rapaces cando saen da escola que se din uns aos outros: Oxe poidemos ver a Sara Casey, a Belida de Ballinacree! Que fermosa é!! MIGUEL.- Que Deus lles conserve a vista a todos eles. (p. 2)</p>

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET (Losada, 1959)	VALENZUELA (1960)
<p>PRIEST. [With astonishment] Is it marry you for nothing at all?</p> <p>SARAH. It is, your reverence; and we were thinking maybe you'd give us a little small bit of silver to pay for the ring.</p> <p>PRIEST. [Loudly.] Let you hold your tongue; let you be quiet, Sarah Casey. I've no silver at all for the like of you; and if you want to be married, let you pay your pound. (p. 39)</p>	<p>SACERDOTE (asombrado). - ¿Qué los case? ¿Y por nada? ¿Nada absolutamente?</p> <p>SARAH.- Eso mismo, señor cura; también pensamos que a lo mejor, nos dará usted un poquito de dinero para pagar el anillo.</p> <p>SACERDOTE (levantando la voz).- Cállate la boca, mujer; mejor que te calles, Sarah Casey. No tengo dinero para personas como ustedes y si quieren casarse pagarán una libra. (p. 57)</p>	<p>O CREGO.- Que vos case? Que vos case por nada? Por nada absolutamente?</p> <p>SARA.- Eso mesmo, señor cura; e tamen pensamos que, ó mellor pederíanos dar algún diñeiro para axudar a pagar o anelo.</p> <p>O CREGO.- Cala a boca, muller; ti toleas. Non teño cartos para xente coma vosoutros, e tamen vos digo que se queredes casarvos tendes que me dar unha libra. (p. 3)</p>
<p>MARY. [Nudging Michael.] Did you see that, Michael Byrne? Didn't you hear me telling you she's flighty a while back since the change of the moon? With her fussing for marriage, and she making whisper-talk with one man or another man along by the road.</p> <p>MICHAEL. Whisht now, or she'll knock the head of you the time she comes back. (p. 43)</p>	<p>MARÍA (dando un ligero codazo a MIGUEL).- ¿Viste eso? ¿No te dije que estaba rara desde que cambió la luna? Con sus veleidades y su alboroto por casarse, ahora resulta que anda secreteándose con el primer hombre que se le cruza en el camino.</p> <p>MIGUEL. Cállate; si te oye te romperá la cabeza. (p. 61-62)</p>	<p>MARÍA.- Viche eso? Non che dixen eu que non andaba ao xeito desque cambeou a lua? Coas suas arroutadas por se casar, agora resulta que anda a se segredear co primeiro que se lle entrepón no camiño.</p> <p>MIGUEL. Cala a boca; se te sinte rompeche a cabeza. (p. 6)</p>
<p>MICHAEL. You're after spending more money on the like of them. Well, it's a power we're losing this time, and we not gaining a thing at all. [With the handkerchief.] Is it them two?</p> <p>SARAH. It is, Michael. [She takes one of them.] Let you tackle that one round under your chin; and let you not forget to take your hat from your head when we go up into the church. I asked Biddy Flynn below, that's after marrying her second man, and she told me it's the like of that they do. 47</p>	<p>MIGUEL.- Has gastado plata en inutilidades, con la enormidad que estamos despilfarrando en este asunto, sin contar que no ganamos nada. (<i>Muestra los pañuelos.</i>) ¿Son éstos?</p> <p>SARAH.- Sí. (<i>Toma uno de ellos.</i>) A ver si te lo atas alrededor del cuello; y no te olvides de quitarte el sombrero cuando entremos en la iglesia. Le pregunté a Biddy Flynn, que acaba de casarse con su segundo marido, y me dijo que es así como se hace. (p. 65)</p>	<p>MIGUEL.- Moitos cartos gastades en chilindradas. Con todo canto estamos gastando neste asunto que non sirve para ren...son estes?</p> <p>SARAH.- Si. Mira de atar arredor do pescozo; e non te vaías esquecer de quitar o sombreiro cando entremos na eirexa... Eu pergunteille a Bydy Flyn que fai pouco casou co seu segundo marido e díxome que é así como se fai. (p. 8)</p>

The following examples have been extracted from the unpublished script for *A voda dos moinantes (Compañía de Marías, 1996)*, directed by Quico Cadaval. The translation is by Xepe Casanova⁵²⁹

1. MICHAEL (Amocado).- Hache ser unha saghrada e santa alegbria, ho!
SARAH (Cirrela).- Hache ser unha boa alegbriña para ti se non dás feito meu anele da voda. (Vai onde ele). Tá case feito desta, ou como é que tá? (p. 1)
2. SARAH.- [...] ele fui o primeiro que me chamou a Ghuapa de Ballinacree, o nome máis fino para unha mullere.
MICHAEL (Com desprezo).- Asin che son os nomes que lles meten ós cabalos que teñen alá abaixo para correr en Arklow. (p. 2)
3. SARAH (Indignada).- Mentirán, n' é? E ló nunca escuitaste falare dos sivís que seghiron des millas polo Glen Malure, a disirme cousas de amore na escura da nuite, ou dos rillotes que veñen da escola e dinso o un ó outro, 'hoxe vímola Sarah Casey, a Ghuapa de Ballinacree, que alegraría prá vista.'
MIGUEL .- Deós os axude a todos eles. (p. 3)
4. CREGO (Sorpreso).- ¿Casarvos por nada?
SARAH.- É, señor reverendo. E pansábamos que, se cadra, nos daría un pouquiño de prata para pagar o anele.
CREGO (En voz alta).- Terma da lingua. Cala a boca, Sarah Casey. Eu non teño diñeiro ningún para alguén coma vós. E se queres casar, paga a túa libra. (p. 4)
5. MARÍA (A bater en MICHAEL).- Vistes eso, Michael Byrne? Non che dixera que estaba remudada desque ~~cambou~~ mudou a lúa? Ca súa teima do casoiro e a cochicare cun home e máis con calquera outro home que se tope no camiño.
MICHAEL.- Cala aghora ou che baterá na cabeza cando volte. (p. 8)
6. MICHAEL.- Levas ghashado cartos demais en caralladas. Tá mui ben, eso de botare por fóra o puco que temos, amais de non ghañarmos nen chica. (Cos panos) Sonche estes dous?
SARAH.- Sonche, Michael. (Colhe um deles) Lásao por baixo do queixelo: e non esquesas tira-lo chapéu ~~da cabeza~~ cando entremos na ighrexa. Perghunteille a Biddy Flynn, que hai pouco casou cun seghundo home, e díxome que é o que hai que fasere. (p. 11)

⁵²⁹ Crossed-out sentences reflect manuscript modifications as seen on the original.

Appendix E

Textual Examples of Mediation – Ditea plays

APPENDIX Ei – Riders to the Sea (pp. 25-28)/Jinetes hacia el mar (pp. 44-46) /Cabalgada cara ó mar (pp.5-6)

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
CATHLEEN. <i>[After spinning for a moment.]</i> You didn't give him his bit of bread?	CATALINA <i>(después de hilar un momento en silencio.)</i> . - ¿No le diste su pedazo de pan?	CATARINA: ¿Topache a Ciprián?
<i>[Maurya beings to keen softly, without turning round.]</i>	<i>(MAURYA, sin volver la cabeza, empieza a entonar un treno.)</i>	Auria comeza a entoar un treno.
CATHLEEN. Did you see him riding down?	CATALINA. ¿Lo viste pasar a caballo?	CATARINA <i>(A Auria, impaciente)</i> ¿Qué che dixo Ciprián?
<i>Maurya goes on keening.</i>	<i>(MAURYA sigue con su lamentación.)</i>	<i>(Auria, sen ouvir a Catarina, sigue o treno con crecente intensidade)</i>
CATHLEEN. <i>[A little impatiently]</i> God forgive you; isn't it a better thing to raise your voice and tell what you seen, than to be making lamentation for a thing that's done? Did you see Bartley, I'm saying to you?	CATALINA <i>(con un poco de impaciencia)</i> . – Que Dios te perdone, madre. ¿No sería major hablar y decirnos lo que hiciste, en lugar de estar lamentándote por algo que no tiene remedio? Te pregunto si has visto a Bartley.	CATARINA ¡Que Deus te perdone, mamá! ¿Non sería millor falar e sabe-lo que pasou por vez de estar ahí laiándote por algo que xa on ten remedio?
MAURYA <i>[With a weak voice.]</i> My heart's broken from this day.	MAURYA <i>(con voz débil)</i> . – Este día me ha destrozado el corazón.	AURIA: <i>(Con voce desmaiada)</i> Iste día ténme amargurado e desfeito o corazón!
CATHLEEN <i>[As before]</i> Did you see Bartley?	CATALINA <i>(insitiendo)</i> . - ¿Has visto a Bartley?	CATARINA <i>(Insistindo)</i> ¿Viche a Ciprián?
M AYRIA. I've seen the fearfulest thing.	MAURYA.- He visto algo horrendo.	AURIA: Acabo de ver algo arripiante.
CATHLEEN <i>[Leaves her wheel and looks out.]</i> God forgive you; he's riding the mare now over the green head, and the grey pony behind him.	CATALINA <i>(deja la rueca y mira hacia afuera)</i> .- Que Dios te perdone. Ahí va por Punta Verde, montado en la yegua y con el petiso tordillo detrás.	

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
MAURYA. <i>[Starts so that her shawl falls back from her head and shows her white tossed hair. With a frightened voice.]</i> The grey pony behind him. ...	MAURYA <i>(con un sobresalto que le hace caer el chal sobre los hombros, descubriendo su pelo blanco rizado. Habla con miedo).</i> – El petiso tordillo detrás...	
CATHLEEN. <i>[coming to the fire.]</i> What is it ails you at all?	CATALINA <i>(acercándose al fuego).</i> - ¿Qué te pasa?	
MAURYA. <i>[Speaking very slowly.]</i> I've seen the fearfulest thing any person has seen since the day Bride Dara seen the dead man with the child in his arms.	MAURYA <i>(habla muy lentamente).</i> – He visto lo más horrendo que haya podido verse desde el día en que María Dara vió al hombre muerto con el hijo en brazos.	
CATHLEEN and NORA. Uah.	CATALINA y NORA. - ¡Ay!	
<i>[They crouch down in front of the old woman at the fire.]</i>	<i>(Se sientan en el suelo, junto al fuego, frente a la anciana.)</i>	
NOR Tell us what it is you seen.	NORA.- Cuéntanos lo que viste.	CATARINA: ¡Fala dunha vez!
MAURYA. I went down to the spring well, and I stood there saying a prayer to myself. Then Bartley came along, and he riding on the red mare with the grey pony behind him. <i>[She puts up her hands, as if to hide something from her eyes.]</i> The Son of God spare us, Nora!	MAURYA .- Llegué hasta el manantial y allí me quedé rezando hasta que vi acercarse a Bartley montado en la yegua alazana con el petiso tordillo detrás. <i>(Levanta las manos en ademán de tapar algo ante su vista.)</i> ¡Que jesucristo se apiade de nosotros, Nora!	AURIA: Cando cheguei o manancial estiven alí agardando hastra que vin achegarse a Ciprián montado na besta alazán e detrás --- ¡Así Deus me axude! ---

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
CATHLEEN. What is it you seen?	CATALINA.- ¿Qué viste?	
MAURYA. I seen Michael himself.	MAURYA .- Vi a Miguel en carne y hueso.	AURIA: Detrás del viña Miguel a caballo do petiso tordeiro.
CATHLEEN. <i>[Speaking softly]</i> You did not, mother. It wasn't Michael you seen, for his body is after being found in the far north, and he's got a clean burial, by the grace of God.	CATALINA <i>(hablando con suavidad)</i> .- No puede ser, madre. No fué a Miguel a quien viste, porque acaban de encontrar su cuerpo allá en el Norte, y por obra y gracia de Dios le dieron Cristiana sepultura.	CATARINA <i>(Faland a modiño)</i> Non puido ser, mamái, non poideche ver a Miguel, porque acaban de topa-lo seu corpo sen vida aló no Norde, onde por gracia de Deus lle deron cristián sepultura.
MAURYA. <i>[A little defiantly.]</i> I'm after seeing him this day and he riding and galloping. Bartley came first on the red mare, and I tried to say 'God speed you', but something choked the words in my throat. He went by quickly; and 'The blessing of God on you', says he, and I could say nothing. I looked up then, and I crying, at the grey pony and there was Michael upon it – with fine clothes on him and new shoes on his feet.	MAURYA <i>(con algo de desafío)</i> .- Acabo de verlo hoy mismo, a caballo, galopando. Bartley iba delante en la yegua alazana y traté de decirle: 'que Dios te proteja'; pero algo ahogó las palabras en mi garganta. Pasó de largo, ligero, y me dijo: 'que Dios te bendiga'. Y yo no pude decir nada. Alcé entonces los ojos llenos de lágrimas y mire al petiso tordillo y ahí estaba Miguel, montado ... Llevaba puesta buena ropa y tenía zapatos nuevos en los pies.	AURIA: <i>(Un algo alporizada)</i> ¡Fai un intre que vin a Miguel vivo, Catarina! Ciprián iba diante, agallopando na besta. Quíxenlle dicir:. 'Que Deus te protexa, Ciprián', pro afogáronseme as verbas na gorxa. Pasou lixeiro o longo do camiño e díxome: 'Deus te bendiga, mamái. Eu baixéi a testa e non puiden responderlle. Cando rubín os ollos cheios de bágoas, miréi pro petiso tordeiro e alí estaba Miguel, a caballo dél. ¡Estaba vivo, Catarina! ¡Estaba vivo, Nora! Levaba roupa e zapatos novos.
CATHLEEN. <i>[Begins to keen.]</i> It's destroyed we are from this day. It's destroyed, surely.	CATALINA <i>(empieza una lamentación)</i> .- Ya no tenemos salvación. No tenemos salvación.	CATARINA ¡Ai, Nora! Estamos perdidas. ¡Non temos salvación!

APPENDIX Eii– Red Roses for Me/Roses rouges pour moi/Rosas rojas para mí/Rosas vermellas para mín

Table 1 - Expletives

O'CASEY	HABART	SASTRE	MAGÁN
AYAMONN. Damn it, can't you let a man alone a minute? What th' hell d'ye want now? (p. 164)	Nom de dieu, ne pouvez-vous pas laisser un homme tranquille une minute? Que diable veuz-tu encore? (p. 110)	¡Me cago en la mar! ¿Es que no podéis dejar tranquilo a un hombre ni un solo minuto? ¿Qué demonios quieres ahora? (p. 64)	¡Me cago na mar! ¿E qué non podedes deixarme tranquilo nin siquiera un minuto? ¿Qué raio queres agora? (p. 12).
2nd man [waking suddenly, spitting out vigorously, and speaking venomously]. Rowlin' in th' coin o' th' realm – bastard! (p. 192) ⁵³⁰	LE 2ÈME HOMME.- Vautré dan ses louis d'or!... Ah, le bâtard!	HOMBRE 2º.- ¡Podrido de millones, el muy cabronazo! ¿Tiene razón esta! (p. 97)	HOME 2º.- Apodrecido de millóns, o moi cabrón (p. 21)
2ND MAN. Off with you, old man, thinkin' to turn our thoughts aside from th' way we are, an' th' worn-out hope in front of us. 1ST MAN. Get to hell outa that, with your sootherin' songs o' gaudy idleness! (p. 194)	LE 2ÈME HOMME.- Eh, le vieux! Fiche-moi le camp! Et dire qu'il croit nous changer les idées, avec tous ces jours sans espoir qui nous attendent! LE 1ER HOMME.- Va au diable, avec tes berceuses et ta flemme de gueulard. (p. 134)	HOMBRE 2º.- ¡Eh, tú, viejo! ¡Vete a hacer puñetas! ¡El tio éste se cree que va a hacernos cambiar de ideas, y menos ahora, con los días negros que nos aguardan! ¡No te fastidia! HOMBRE 1º.- ¡Sí, vete al cuerno con estas nanas que cantas, de viejo soplapitos! (p. 99)	HOME 2º.- ¡Ei, ti, vello, váite a facer puñetas! HOME 1º.- ¡Sí, váite de ahí, arreda de nós con esas cantarexas de vello soprapitos! (p. 22).
EEADA. God speed you, scut! (p. 197)	Que Dieu t'engraisse, mufle. (p. 137)	Vete a la mierda, groserísimo. (p. 103)	¡Váite a merda, bocarrachada! (p. 22).

⁵³⁰ The text used as a reference here is the 1951-version, revised by the author. On an edition published in 1951 – corresponding to an earlier version – the dialogue is slightly different and Habart's apparent insertion emerges as not such: "2nd man [waking suddenly, spitting out vigorously, and speaking venomously]. Rowlin' in th' coin o' th' realm – bastard!" Sean O'Casey. *The Complete Plays of Sean O'Casey*, Vol. III (London and Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1951 [1984]), p.192.

Table 2 – Sheila

O'CASEY	HABART	SASTRE	MAGÁN
AYAMONN. Don't be like a timid little girl ensconced in a clear space of a thicket of thorns [...] (p. 142)	Ne sois pas comme une petite fille apeurée, enfermée dans sa clairière au milieu d'un fourré de ronces [...] (p. 93)	Eres... como una caperucita roja que tuviera miedo de todo lo del bosque. (p. 38)	Ti eres como unha caperuciña vermella que tivese medo de tódolo do bosque. (p. 5)
SHEILA <i>[musingly]</i> . He said that roses red were never meant for me; before I left him last, that's what he said. Dear loneliness tonight must help me think it out, for that's just what he said. <i>[Suddenly – with violence]</i> Oh, you dusky minded killer of more worthy men! (p. 226)	SHEILA, <i>rêveuse</i> .- Il a dit que les roses rouges ne seraient jamais pour moi. C'est ce qu'il m'a dit, quand nous nous sommes quittés pour la dernière fois. Je vais y penser ce soir, dans la paix de la solitude. <i>(Sur un ton brusquement violent)</i> Oh! Imbécile, imbécile! Assassin! Ceux que tu as tués te valaient cent fois! (p. 157)	SHEILA.- <i>(Soñadora.)</i> Claro que no... Y quiero pensar en eso, y en otras muchas cosas; y las quiero pensar con una toquilla negra encima de los hombros... y descalza además, ¿qué te parece...? Y con un ramo de rosas rojas en la mano, y... <i>(Grita de pronto.)</i> ¡Que esperas para dejarme en paz, idiota! ¡Asesino de hombres que valen cien mil veces más que tú! ¡Vete al infierno! (p. 135)	Teño que cavar neso, en poñerme unha toquiña negra por riba dos hombreiros e andar descalza...ademáis. Qué che parece? E cun ramiño de rosas vermellas na man. ¿A qué agardas pra me deixar en paz, babión? ¡Asesiño de homes que valen mil veces máis que tí! ¡Vaite pro inferno! (p. 31)

Table 3 – References to Irish mythology and history

O'CASEY	HABART	SASTRE	MAGÁN
FINOOLA. What would a girl, born in a wild Cork valley, among the mountains, brought up to sing the songs of her fathers, what would she choose but the patched coat, shaky shoes, an' white hungry face of th' Irish rebel? But their shabbiness was threaded with th' colours from the garments of Finn Mac Cool of th' golden hair, Goll Mac Morna of th' big blows, Caoilte of th' flying feet, an' Oscar of th' invincible spear. (p. 192)	Une fille, née dans les vallées sauvages des montagnes du Cork, élevée pour chanter les chants de son père, qu'aurait-elle pu choisir, sinon la veste rapiécée, les souliers baillants et le visage blanc de faim du rebelle irlandais? Mais les haillons étaient faits des fils de couleur dont avaient été tissés les vêtements de Finn Mac Cool aux cheveux d'or, de Coll Mac Morna aux poings durs, de Caoilte aux talons ailés, e d'Oscar à la lance invincible. (p. 132)	Una chica nacida en los valles salvajes de las montañas de Cork, educada para cantar los cantos de su padre, ¿qué hubiera podido elegir sino el traje zurcido, los zapatos rotos y el rostro pálido de hambre del rebelde irlandés? Eso sí, con harapos tejidos con los mismos hilos que los de las vestiduras de nuestros héroes más antiguos: Fin Mac Ceol, el de los cabellos de oro; Coll Mac Morna, el de los fuertes puños; Caoilte, el de los tobillos alados, y Oscar, hijo de Ossián, el de la lanza invisible. (p. 95)	Ø
AYAMONN. Roory, Roory, your Kaithleen ni Houlihan has th' bent back of an oul' woman as well as th' walk of a queen. We love th' ideal Kaithleen ni Houlihan, not because whe is false, but because she is beautiful; we hate th' real Kaithleen ni Houlihan, not because she is true, but because she is ugly. (p. 197)	Roory, Roory, ta Kaithleen Ni Houlihan peut avoir le dos voûté d'une vieille femme, ou la démarche d'une reine. Nous aimons la Kaithleen Ni houlihan dont nous rêvons, non parce qu'ell est illusion, mais parce qu'elle est belle. Nous détestons la véritable Kithleen Ni Houlihan, non parce qu'elle est vérité, mais parce qu'elle est laide. (p. 136)	Irlanda puede andar encorvada como una vieja o caminar como una mujer muy bien plantada. Nosotros amamos la Irlanda de nuestros sueños, no porque sea una ilusión..., sino por su belleza, y detestamos la verdadera Irlanda no porque sea verdad, sino porque es fea. Y esto puede cambiar si todos nos ponemos. (p. 102)	Ø

O'CASEY	HABART	SASTRE	MAGÁN
[...] Ayamonn's head set in a streak of sunlight, looking like the severed head of Dunn-Bo speaking out of the darkness. (p. 198)	<i>La tête d'Ayamonn nimbée dans un rayon de soleil, rappelle la tête coupée de Duun-Bo qui parle du fond des ténèbres.</i> (p. 137)	<i>La cabeza de Ayamonn aparece nimbada por los rayos del sol poniente.</i> (p. 103)	<i>A testa de Ayamonn aparece nimbada polos raios do solpor.</i> (p. 23)
FINOOLA. Songs of Osheen and Sword of Oscar could do nothing to tire this city of its shame. (p. 198)	Les chant d'Osheen et l'épée d'Oscar n'arriveraien pas à sauver cette ville de la honte. (p. 137)	Ni los cántos mágicos de Ossián, ni la espada de Oscar, nombrada por las historias como invencible, podrían salvar esta ciudad de la vergüenza. (p. 103)	FINOOLA.- Nin os cánticos máxicos de Ossian, nin a espada lexendaria de Oscar poderían salvar a esta cidade de vergoña. (p. 23)

Table 4 – Ayamonn and Roory’s song (final scene, Act I)

O’CASEY	HABART	SASTRE	CASAL/MAGÁN
<p>(Patriotic ballad ‘The bold Fenian Men’)</p> <p>Our courage so many have thought to be agein’, Now flames like a brilliant new star in th’ sky; And Danger is proud to be call’d a good brother, For Freedom has buckled her sword on her thigh. Then out to th’ place where th’ battle is bravest, Where th’ noblest an’ meanest fight fierce in th’ fray, Republican banners shall mock at th’ foeman, An’ Fenians shall turn a dark night into day! (p.281)</p>	<p>Nos coeurs qu’ils croyaient morts d’un seul coup se réveillent, Et se lèvent au ciel comme un nouveau soleil, Le danger redevient notre ami de toujours.</p> <p>La liberté appelle. Debout, c’est notre jour! Courons aux barricades où le combat fait rage, Où la patrie dressée brandit ses étendards</p> <p>Qui sortent de la nuit pour ses heures de gloire. La liberté appelle. Debout, c’est notre jour! (p.106)</p>	<p>Algunos ya creíamos la libertad perdida, pero brilla de nuevo: ¡Como una espada brilla! ¡Desafiando el peligro, orgullosa, camina con la espada en el cinto la libertad bendita! ¡Adelante, a la lucha, Los pobres de la tierra! Ya ha alzado la República sus alegres banderas. De la noche del alma resurge la luz nuestra. Somos el nuevo mundo. Somos la clase obrera. ¡Por una Irlanda libre, orgullosa camina con la espada en el cinto la libertad bendita! (p.58)</p>	<p>Algúns xa coidábamos A libertade perdida, Mais éla brila de novo! ¡como unha espada brila! Desafiando o perigo Éla orgullosa camiña Coa espada na cintura A libertade bendita. ¡Adiante coa loita os probes desta terra. Xa erguéu a república As suas ledas bandeiras. ¡Por unha Irlanda ceibe, ela orgullosa camiña coa espada na cintura A libertade bendita. (p.)</p>

APPENDIX Fiv Examples of Mediation - *The Well of the Saints/El manantial de los milagros/A fontenla dos milagres*

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
<p>MARY DOUL. [...] Well, the sun's coming warm this day if it's late autumn itself.</p> <p>MARTIN DOUL. [<i>Putting out his hands in sun.</i>] What way wouldn't it be warm and it getting high up in the south? You were that length plaiting your yellow hair you have the morning lost on us, and the people are after passing to the fair of Clash.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>MARTIN DOUL. [<i>Sitting down beside her and beginning to shred rushes she gives him.</i>] If I didn't talk I'd be destroyed in a short while listening to the clack you do be making, for you've a queer cracked voice, the Lord have mercy on you, if it's fine to look on you are itself. (p. 61)</p>	<p>MARÍA.- [...] Bueno, el sol está tibio hoy a pesar de que termina el otoño.</p> <p>MARTÍN (<i>extiende las dos manos al sol</i>).- ¿Cómo no va a estar tibio si ha llegado al punto más alto? Tardaste tanto en trenzar el pelo rubio que Dios te dio, que hemos perdido la mañana y ya pasan las gentes que van camino de la feria de Clash.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>MARTÍN (se sienta junto a ella y empieza a pelar los juncos que ella le da).- Si no hablara me volvería loco en poco tiempo, oyendo tu charla de tarabilla con esa voz rara que tienes, toda cascada, por más belleza que seas para los que pueden verte. (p. 81)</p>	<p>MARÍA.- O sol está morno hoxe a pesares de que o outuno vai na derramada.</p> <p>MARTIÑO.- (<i>Alongando as dúas mans ó sol</i>) ¿Cómo non vai estar morno se xa chegou o punto máis alto? Tardaches tanto en cadrelar ese pelo louro que Deus che déu, que perdímo-la mañá e xa pasan as xentes camiño da feira.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>MARTIÑO.- Se non falara viraríame tolo oíndo as tuas larapetadas con esa voz roufeña que téis, pesia beleza que din que eres para quen te pode ver.(p. 1)</p>
<p>TIMMY. Did you ever hear tell of a place across a bit of the sea, where there is an island, and the grave of the four beautiful saints? (p. 65)</p>	<p>TIMMY.- ¿Han oído hablar alguna vez de un lugar que queda cruzando un poco el mar y que es una isla donde está el sepulcro de los cuatro santos? (p. 85)</p>	<p>COLÁS.- ¿¿Oíchedes falar dunha hermidá perto do mar, na que se garda o sartego dos catro santos? (p. 2)</p>
<p>TIMMY. [<i>Relenting</i>] It's a fine holy man will bring it, a saint of the Almighty God.</p> <p>MARY DOUL. [<i>Overawed.</i>] A saint is it? (p. 66)</p>	<p>TIMMY (<i>cediendo</i>).- Un hombre admirable, un santo.</p> <p>MARÍA (<i>impresionadísima</i>).- ¿Un santo has dicho? (p. 86)</p>	<p>COLÁS.- Un home maravilloso, un santo.</p> <p>MARÍA.- (<i>Acontentada</i>) ¿Un santo? (2)</p>

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
MOLLY BYRNE. Let you keep away from me, and not be soiling my chin . (p. 73)	MOLLY.- Déjeme tranquila y no me ensucie la cara . (p. 93)	RIQUETA.- ¡ Déixame tranquila e non me líxe-la cara ! (p. 5)
MARTIN DOUL. [<i>Horried.</i>] Would you have me getting my death sitting out in the black wintry air with no coat on me at all? (p. 79)	MARTÍN (<i>horrorizado</i>).- ¿Quieres que me muera sentado en este frío, con el viento helado y sin chaqueta? (p. 99)	MARTIÑO.- (<i>Estarrecido</i>) ¿Seica queres que morra con esta friaxe, co vento xeadó e sin chaqueta zamarra? (p. 6)
MOLLY BYRNE. This should have been a queer time for an old, wicked, coaxing fool to be sitting there with your eyes shut, and not seeing a sight of a girl or woman passing the road. (p. 83)	MOLLY.- Un viejo charlatán y perverso como usted debe haber pasado momentos muy raros, sentado ahí, con los ojos cerrados, sin poder ver a una muchacha o una mujer que pasaba por el camino . (p. 103)	RIQUETA.- Un vello corrupio e lingoreteiro coma ti tivo que pasar momentos amargos arruallos, cos ollos pechados, sin poder olla -las mulleres que percorren os camiños . (p. 7)
MOLLY. [<i>Looking at him with interest.</i>] It's queer talk you have if it's a little, old, shabby stump of a man you are itself. MARTIN DOWL. I'm not so old as you do hear them say. (p. 84) [...] MOLLY BYRNE. [<i>Turning round half amused, and looking him over from head to foot.</i>] Well, isn't it a queer thing when your own wife's after leaving you because you're a pitiful show, you'd talk the like of that to me? (p. 85)	MOLLY (<i>lo mira con interés</i>).- Tiene usted una forma curiosa de hablar para un viejo desgreñado y regordete. (p. 104) MARTÍN.- No soy tan viejo como dicen. (p. 104) [...] MOLLY (<i>se vuelve semidivertida y lo mira de pies a cabeza</i>).- Vamos, ¿no le parec[e] raro hablarme así cuando su mujer lo ha dejado porque tiene usted una facha que da lástima? (p. 104-105)	RIQUETA.- (<i>Vírase adivertida e mírao de pes a cabeza</i>) Coiro! ¿E fálasme así cando a tua muller te deixou porque téis unha facha que metes medo? MARTIÑO.- (En voz baixa e con énfase) Non son vello nin tan feo coma dín. (p. 7)

SYNGE	ACOSTA VAN PRAET	MAGÁN
MARTIN DOUL. [...] I'll be getting my death now, I'm thinking, sitting alone in the cold air, hearing the night coming, and the balckbirds flying round in the briers crying to themselves, the time you'll hear one cart getting off a long way in the east, and another cart getting off a long way in the west, and a dog barking maybe, and a little wind turning the sticks. (p. 91)	MARTÍN.- [...] Estoy seguro de que me voy a morir sentado aquí solo, en el frío, oyendo acercarse la noche y el vuelo de los mirlos entre las zarzas, con sus gritos desolados en la madrugada cuando llega hasta aquí el ruido de algún carro que se aleja a la distancia por el Este, y otro carro que se aleja a la distancia por el Oeste, y quizá el ladrido de algún perro y un poco de viento que mueve las ramas. (p. 111)	MARTIÑO.- [...] Vou morrer sentado aquí soio, entalado co frío, oíndo achegarse a noite e a voz dos melros antre as silveiras e o oubear dos cans nos palleiros. (p. 8)
MARTIN. [...] Ah, it's ourselves had finer sights than the like of them, I'm telling you, when we were sitting a while back hearing the birds and bees humming in every weed of the ditch, or when we'd be smelling the sweet, beautiful smell does be rising in the warm nights, when you do hear the swift flying things racing in the air, till we'd be looking up in our own minds into a grand sky , and seeing lakes, and big rivers, and fine hills for the taking the plough . SAINT [<i>To people.</i>] There's little use talking with the like of him. MOLLY BYRNE. It's lazy he is, holy father, and not wanting to work; for a while before you had him cured he was always talking, and wishing, and longing for his sight . (p. 99)	MARTÍN (<i>con ferocidad</i>).- Les diré que nosotros, aquí sentados, lejos de todo , en la dulce tibieza de la noche, tenemos mejor vista que todos ustedes (<i>el Santo se aleja de él, retrocediendo</i>), cuando oímos un zorzal tardío y los chillidos de veloces seres alados que surcan el aire que hacen nacer en nuestras mentes la visión de un cielo bellísimo y de lagos y anchurosos ríos, y de montes cuyas laderas esperan el fecundo contacto con la pala y el arado . MAT SIMON (<i>riendo a carcajadas</i>).- ¡Se ha vuelto poeta ahora, santo hombre! PATCH.- Se ha vuelto loco. MOLLY.- Ni siquiera eso... Es un haragán que no quiere trabajar, sencillamente. No hace mucho, se lo pasaba chillando por ver la luz del día . (p. 119)	MARTIÑO.- (<i>Con fereza</i>) Diréi que nós, aquí sentados, lonxe de todo , na morneza do día, temos mellor vista que todos vos (<i>o santo afástase recuando</i>). Cando oímos os chíos dos paxaros que sulcan o aire a fan nacer na nosa maxín a visión dun ceo belísimo e de lagoas e anchos ríos e de montes cuias encostas agardan o enxerme da ligoña e do arado . MANECHO.- ¡Viróusenos poeta, home santo! SABELA.- ¡ Virouse tolo! CATUXA.- Nin siquiera eso. É un perguiceiro que non quere traballar. RIQUETA.- É certo. Aínda hai pouco non facía máis que renegar por non vé-la luz do día . (p. 11)

Appendix F

Textual Examples – *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*

O mozo que chegou de lonxe

Abridgement and editorial treatment of the final confrontation scene

SYNGE	AVENDAÑO (BOUZAS SCRIPT) ⁵³¹	AVENDAÑO (XERAIS) ⁵³²
<p>CHRISTY. You're blowing for to torture me [<i>His voice rising and growing stronger.</i>] That's your kind, is it? Then let the lot of you be wary, for, if I've to face the gallows, I'll have a gay march down, I tell you, and shed the blood of some of you before I die.</p> <p>SHAWN [<i>In terror</i>] Keep a good hold, Philly. Be wary, for the love of God. For I'm thinking he would liefest wreak his pains on me.</p> <p>CHRISTY [<i>Almost gaily.</i>] If I do lay my hands on you, it's the way you'll be at the fall of night, hanging as a scarecrow for the fowls of hell. Ah, you'll have a gallous jaunt, I'm saying, coaching out through limbo with my father's ghost.</p> <p>SHAWN [<i>To Pegeen.</i>] Make haste, will you? Oh, isn't he a holy terror, and isn't it true for Father Reilly, that all drink's a curse that has the lot of you so shaky and uncertain now?</p>	<p>CRISTOVO.- <u>Remexes no lume para torturarme. (A súa voz faise máis forte) Así es ti en realidade ¿non é? Pois</u> gardádevos todos, porque se teño que ir ó garrote non vou ir eu só. No camiño vai queda-lo sangue de algún antes que eu morrer.</p> <p>XAN BUXO (<i>Con terror</i>).- Suxéitao ben, Felipe. <u>Ten coidado, polo amor de Deus, que me temo que a vai tomar comigo.</u></p> <p>CRISTOVO (<i>Case con alegría</i>).- <u>Se che poño as mans enriba xa sabes a quen vou desnucar coma un espantallo, que antes de que veña a noite pecha vas servir de pasto ós corvos do inferno. Que hoxe arde Troia, dígocho eu, e boa troula vas ter mentres crúza-lo Limbo camino do lume eterno acompañado polo fantasma de meu pai.</u></p> <p>XAN BUXO (A AGAR) ¿Quéreste apurar? Que este home é unha fera enrabexada e aquí vai haber unha esganiza, <u>Ten razón o Padre Mesiano cando di que o augardente é unha maldición, que estades todos bébedos, tremelicando e sen saber que facer.</u></p>	<p>CRISTOBO. Gardádevos todos, porque se teño que ir ó garrote non vou ir eu só. No camiño vai queda-lo sangue de algún antes que eu morrer.</p> <p>XAN B. ¡Suxeitádeo ben! (A AGAR) ¿Quéreste apurar? Que este home é unha fera enrabexada e aquí vai haber unha esganiza</p> <p>(Cristovo alcánzalle unha perna a Xan Buxo)</p>

⁵³¹ Crossed over fragments, underlined in Avendaño (Bouzas).

⁵³² Changes and insertions in the printed text, in bold in Avendaño (Xerais)

SYNGE	AVENDAÑO (Bouzas)	AVENDAÑO (Xerais)
<p>CHRISTY. If I can wring a neck among you, I'll have a royal judgement looking on the trembling jury in the courts of law. And won't there be crying out in Mayo the day I'm stretched upon the rope, with ladies in their silks and satins sniveling in their lacy kerchiefs, and they rhyming songs and ballads on the terror of my fate?<i>[He squirms round on the floor and bites Shawn's leg.</i></p> <p>SHAWN [Shrieking.] My leg's bit on me. He's the like of a mad dog, I'm thinking, the way that I will surely die. (pp. 165-6)</p>	<p><u>CRISTOVO Con que poida retorcerlle o pescozo a algún de vós vanme facer un xuízo de moita zona e mirarei como se arrepía o xuíz na súa cadeira. Pois non vai ser un día de pranto no país cando me axusticen, que se comporán coplas e cancións sobre o meu horrible final.</u></p> <p>XAN BUXO (<i>Berrando</i>).- Traboume na perna. E coma un can doente. Agora vou colle-la rabia e vou morrer. (pp. 83-4)</p>	<p>XAN B. (<i>Berrando</i>) Traboume na perna. E coma un can doente. Agora vou colle-la rabia e vou morrer. (pp. 83-4)</p>

Appendix G
Textual Examples – *Leenane Trilogy*

Table 1 – Simplification of dialogue in *Oeste solitario*

	McDonagh	González, ‘Versión inicial’	‘Versión ensaios’	‘Versión estrea’
1	<p>WELSH. Like an alcoholic you paint me as half the time.</p> <p>COLEMAN. Well that isn’t a big job of painting. A bent child with no paint could paint you as an alcoholic. There’s no great effort needed in that. (p. 130)</p>	<p>WELSH. A metade do tempo píntasme como un alcólico</p> <p>COLEMAN. Tampouco é un gran traballo de pintura. Un neno artrósico sen pintura podería píntalo a vostede como un alcólico. Non fai falla moito esforzo para facelo. (p. 2)</p>	<p>Estásme poñendo de alcólico</p> <p>Tampouco lle é unha postura tan rara. Vostede cóllea con moita facilidade (p. 3)</p>	<p>Estásme poñendo de alcólico.</p> <p>Non fai falla que o poñan que xa ven posto de carallo (p. 3)</p>
2	<p>COLEMAN. Vol-au-vents, feck. The white-haired owl ghoulish fucking whore. She’s owed me the price of a pint since nineteen-seventy-fecking-seven. It’s always tomorrow with that bitch. I don’t care if she does have Alzheimer’s. If I had a vol-au-vent I’d shove it up her arse.</p> <p>WELSH. That’s not a nice thing to be saying about a...</p> <p>COLEMAN. I don’t care if it is or it isn’t. (pp.130-31)</p>	<p>COLEMAN. Buñuelos de vento, merda. A vella puta canosa e carroñeira. Débeme unha pinta dende o puto ano setenta e sete. Sempre é mañán con esa cabrona. ¿A min que me importa se ten o Alzheimer? Chego a ter buñuelos de vento e métollos polo cú</p> <p>WELSH. Non está ben decir esas cousas dunha...</p> <p>Dáme igual que o sexa ou non. (p. 2)</p>	<p>Canapés, a cona. A puta vella corona da MaryJohnny. Débeme unha pinta de cervexa dende o carallo do ano setenta e sete. Sempre é mañán con esa cabrona. A min que me importa se ten Alzheimer? Chego ter canapés e métollos polo cu</p> <p>Non está ben decir esas cousas dunha...</p> <p>Dáme igual que estea ben ou non . (p. 3)</p>	<p>Ø</p>

Table 2 – Translations of ‘feck’ in *Un cranio furado*

MCDONAGH	GONZÁLEZ
MAIRTIN. I told you, now, it was the fecking lake, or the lake rather. (p. 74)	MAIRTIN. O que eu dicía, era na puta lagoa do carallo, ou mellor dito, na lagoa. (p. 13)
MAIRTIN. Feck you (p. 75)	MAIRTIN. Vai tomar polo cu (p. 14)
MAIRTIN. We do have a sight better dinners in our house than you do in this fecking house anyways! (p. 75)	MAIRTIN. En calquera caso na nosa casa temos unas ceas moito mellores das que tes ti neste cortello (p. 15) [Previous versión: ‘nesta puta casa’]
<p>MICK. Will you ever feck off home for yourself?</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Feck off home, is it? I’ll feck off home, all right. I don’t have to be asked twice.</p> <p>MICK. No, fecking five times you have to be asked!</p> <p>MAIRTIN (p. <i>exiting</i>) Uh-huh, I don’t have to be asked twice. (p. 80)</p>	<p>Queres largarte dunha hostia dunha puta vez?</p> <p>Largarme, eh? Xa me largo, cona. Non mo tes que dicer dúas veces.</p> <p>Non ho, cinco veces hai que repertircho</p> <p>(<i>Saíndo</i>) Ah-ha, non tes que pedirmo dúas veces. (p. 19)</p>
MAIRTIN I’ll pass you the fecking sack... (p. 85)	Agora che paso o saco do carallo... (p. 24)

MCDONAGH	GONZÁLEZ
<p>MAIRTIN. A back-fecking-hander the fecker gave me, you fecking bastard ya!</p> <p><i>Mick and Thomas laugh</i></p> <p>What the feck are yous laughing for, you feckers you?</p> <p>THOMAS. Stop your cursing now, Mairtin. Not in the graveyard. Against God so it is.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Against God, is it?</p> <p>THOMAS. It is.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Feck God so! And his mother too!</p> <p>(p. 91-92)</p>	<p>Largoume unha hostia o moi fillo de puta, oíches ti, cabrón!</p> <p><i>Mick e Thomas rin.</i></p> <p>De que hostia estades a rir vos, eh? Fillos de puta.</p> <p>THOMAS. Deixa de xurar, Mairtin. Por riba estás nun camposanto. Iso vai contra deus.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Vai contra deus?</p> <p>THOMAS. Si, contra deus.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Pois que lle dean polo cu a deus! E máis á cona que o botou!</p> <p>(p. 31-32)</p>
<p>MAIRTIN. I see you say nothing to him when he says 'feck' in the graveyard. Is it only kids, so you go shouting the odds with?</p> <p>THOMAS. It is, aye. Only kids.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. I know well it is.</p> <p>THOMAS. I do like to specialise.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. I know you do. (p. <i>Pause. Mumbling.</i>) Specialise me black arsehole. [...] You're a fecking fecker, Thomas. And you're nothing else.</p> <p>[...] You're always ganging up on me, the fecking two of you. (p. 93)</p>	<p>MAIRTIN. Non che oín que lle dixeras nada a el cando dixo 'hostia' no camposanto. Só cos rapaces, só te atreves a berrarnos a nos?</p> <p>THOMAS. Efectivamente. Só á rapazada.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Ben sei que si.</p> <p>THOMAS. Estou especializado neles.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Xa o sei (p. <i>Pausa, besbellando</i>) Especialízate en tomar polo cu.</p> <p>[...]Es un mamón fillo de puta. E máis nada.</p> <p>[...] Sempre vos xuntades contra min, vos os dous, fillos de puta (p. 33)</p>

Table 3 – Mairtin’s borrowings

MCDONAGH	GONZÁLEZ
‘I’ll close the door (<i>p. Does so.</i>) or was it a barn with a wide open door you were born in, me mam says.’ (p. 69)	‘Pecho a porta, ou foi que naciches nunha corte coa porta aberta, di miña nai. A miña nai di, coma se fose o belén onde deu a luz a Virxe’ (p. 8)
‘Father Welsh or Walsh sent me over. It was choir and I was disruptive.’ (p. 69)	‘Mandoume vir o padre Walsh ou Welsh. Estaba co coro e seica eu estorbaba a todo o mundo.’ (p. 8)
<p>MAIRTIN. The other time coincided with me wrongful expulsion.</p> <p>MICK. Your wrongful expulsion? Uh-huh. The cat you cooked alive in biology?</p> <p>MAIRTIN. It wasn’t me at all, now, Mick, and they knew well it wasn’t me, and didn’t they have to reinstate me on the spot when Blind Billy Pender came out and confessed, with not a word of apology from them. [...]</p> <p>And it was a hamster anyways, if you would like to get your facts right (p. 83)</p>	<p>‘As outras foron cando me expulsaran inxustamente’ (p. 20)</p> <p>MICK. Expulsaronte inxustamente? Ah-ha. Cando o do gato aquel que asaches en bioloxía.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Eu non fun, Mick, e todo o mundo sabía ben que eu non fora, e tiveron que readmitirme decontado cando o chosco de Billy Pender saíu e confesou, e ninguén me pediu perdón sequera.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>E ademáis, non era máis que un hamster, hai que falar con xeito. (p. 22-23)</p>
I’d forget me head if it wasn’t screwed upon. Me mam does say ‘You’d forget your head you would, Mairtin’. I say oh aye. (p. 48)	Quen non ten cabeza...ten pes. Arriba. Xa me dicía a miña nai ‘Un día vas deixar atrás a cabeza, Mairtin’. E eu dicíalle que si. (p. 51)

MCDONAGH	GONZÁLEZ
<p>MICK. Don't be cursing God in a graveyard, anyway, is what the crux of the matter is.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. Aye, and don't be invading people's human rights is what the other crux of the matter is. The guards are there to serve the people, not the other way round, if you'd like to know.</p> <p>THOMAS. You've been paying attention in Sociology class anyways, Mairtin.</p> <p>MAIRTIN. I have</p> <p>THOMAS. That's a good thing. Is it still Miss Byrne with the mini-skirts teaches that?</p> <p>MICK. Get back to fecking work... (p. 91-92)</p>	<p>MICK De todas formas, non te cagues en deus nun camposanto, iso é o que importa</p> <p>Xa, e non arramplar cos dereitos humanos tamén importa. A policía está para servir ao cidadán, e para nada mais, por se non o sabes.</p> <p>Xa vexo que estiveches moi atento nas clases de socioloxía, Mairtin.</p> <p>Estiven</p> <p>Moi ben feito. E a señora Byrne vai inda a dar clases en minisaia?</p> <p>Pónteme ao choio dunha hostia dunha vez... (p. 32-33)</p>
<p>Your ma was a queer and your da was a queer and how they came up with you is a mystery of the Universe! (p. 96)</p>	<p>A túa nai era lesbiana, o teu pai un maricón e o misterio máis grande do universo é saber como puideron facerte! (p. 35)</p>
<p>MICK: A pure drink-driving was all my Oona was, <u>as all along I've said</u>, but if it's a murderer ye've always wanted living in yere midst, you can <u>fecking</u> have one. (p. 118)</p>	<p>O da miña Oona foi por conducir borracho, foi o que dixeron, pero se o que queríades era ter un asasino vivindo entre vos, xa o tedes (p. 58)</p>

Appendix H

***O casamento do latoneiro* – Mariví Villaverde's Script**

Empresa con Glanta ^{antiga} ~~galega~~ ^{galega}
 Sara conta "En qu'enome casare"
 O CASAMENTO DO LATONEIRO Miguel
Kairi

Primeiro acto

Camión dunha aldea despois de escurecido. Un pouco cara a dereita
 arde unha fogata á veira dunha gabia. Miguel traballa perto do lume. No
 fondo da banda esquerda unha caseta de toldo e roupas farrapentas a se
 secar nunha sebe. Á dereita a rexa dunha capela.

scena 1 ~~Sale Glanta~~

- 1 SARA.- Veremos ao Sr. Cura eiquí mesmo. Oxe cando volte pra sua casa
- 2 MIGUEL.- Será un pracer nunca visto!
- 3 SARA.- O pracer vai ser o teu se non rematas o meu anelo. Desta vegada
 está case acabando ou aínda lle queda?
- 4 MIGUEL.- Está namais que pola metade. É moitísimo traballo fabricar un
 anelo. Por causa tua vou desfacer as mans en pouco tempo. Seguro que non
 poida facer nin unha lata mais cando amañeza

'Cantiga galega' (p.1)

bebera polo camiño a metade da xerra. Aínda estás na toleada do casamento? *Indignada haciendo -10-*

SARA.- Si, María Byrne. Hei casar axiña e de oxe en diante ningún me *a Sara*
 poderá chamar motes cando venda latas en Wicklow ou Wexford ou na mes-
 ma cidade de Dublín.

MARIA.- E ti és quen casa coela? *Silencio, lentamente hacia Miguel*

MIGUEL.- Si, son eu e que Deus nos axude. *es nino en silencio luego risa burlesca y ha- cia centro*

MARIA.- Eu sabía que ela é unha rapaza robusta e dura, mais deica oxe *centro*
 non soupen que tiña un fillo parvo de todo... Teño sentádo decir que se *atras*
 pode ensinar a un burro, e mais a un can pra cazar e mais a un cabalo
 pra que corra como o vento, mais Deus non me deu sabencia pra lle ensinar
 a este meu fillo a ter xuicio

MIGUEL.- Sé non caso coela é capás de se ir esta noite con Jim O BUnito
 e ti, parece que estás esquecendo que non hai ningún coma ela pra xun-
 tar cartos e venderlle cantigas aos omes *volvendome hacia Miguel*

MARIA.- E ti, badulaque, pensas que con lle dar os cartos ao crego vas
 facer que fique contigo unha muller que ten ganas de se ir?

SARA.- Non destrague todo coa tua leria. Teño tanto dereito a casar de- *(M)*
 centem ente coma clisquera das morriñentas que durmen alá enriba nesas
 chouzas nas que nin tansiquera unha mula pode respirar. *Pasando delante de*

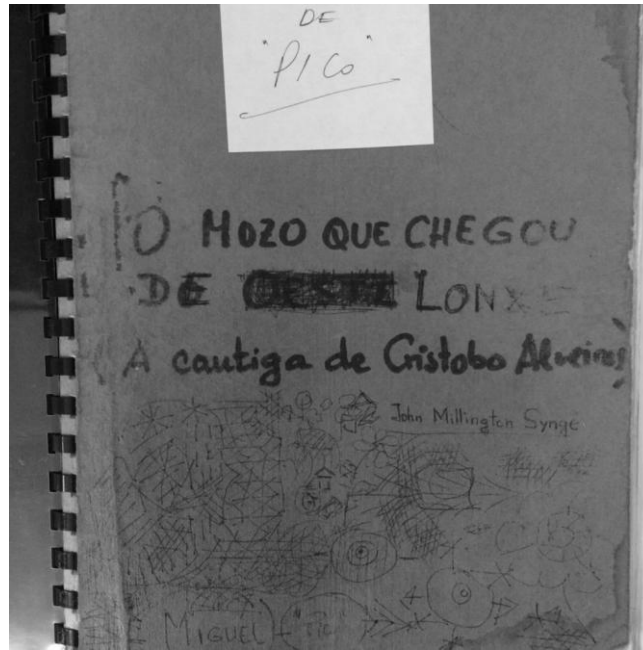
MARIA.- Tés, xa sei que té tanto ou mais. Pero? Que ganarás con casar? *Sara*
 Pensas que con poñer un anelo no dedo xa fuxe de ti a velléz e non se *levantan*
 murcha mais esa cariña de anxio que che deu Noso Señor? Pensas que cando *dome*
 teñas un fillo válo parir sin dór, cando aínda sofren as que se casan

Manuscript stage directions (p. 7)

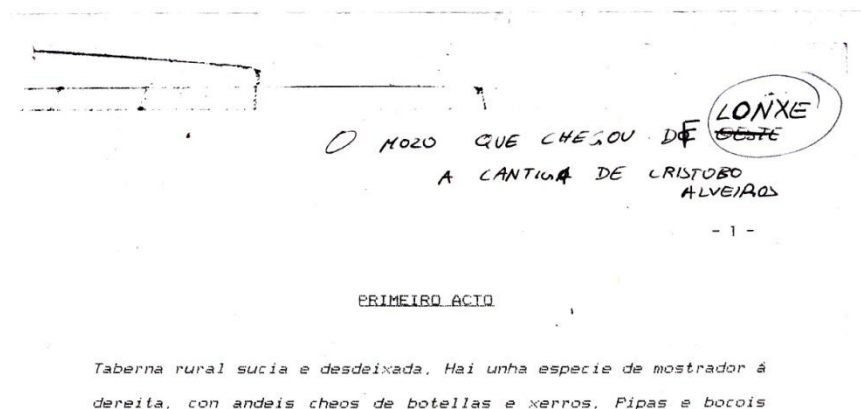
Appendix I

O mozo que chegou de lonxe

Manuel Oliveira ‘Pico’ and María Bouzas’ Scripts



Manuel Oliveira 'Pico'
(Ditea Arquivo)



María Bouzas
(Courtesy of María Bouzas and Avelino González)

Appendix J

Hand programmes – Ditea productions



Cabalgada cara ó mar (1972)

CABALGADA CARA Ó MAR

("RIDDER TO THE SEA")

DRAMA DE

JOHN M. SYNGE

EN VERSION E MONTAXE AMBENTAL
GALEGO DO GRUPO "DITEA"

PERSOAXES:

Auria NILA SEXTO
Ciprián XOSE MARIA G. MARCOS
Catarina LUCRECIA CARRIL
Nora VIKI G. LALINDE

COREUTAS:

MATILDE TARRIO
INES OLIVEROS
CHIRUCA TARRIO
ROSA LAMAS
ANDRES HERNANDEZ
FRANCISCO CEREJO
XAVIER LAÍÑO
EMILIO CAO
MANOEL AMENEDO
XAQUIN G. MARCOS

Rexidor:

Luis Rodríguez Míguez.

Dirección:

AGUSTIN MAGAN.

LA PUERTA

FARSATIRA GROTESCA

DE

MIGUEL ANGEL RELLAN

REPARTO:

Don Porfirio Eugenio de
Calastraneca y Turcos ANDRES HERNANDEZ
Don Domitilo Saltalacuerda
de Iteotocas JOSE REY
El Paralítico FRANCISCO CEREJO
Encarna, la Cigarrera NILA SEXTO
El Científico EMILIO CAO
Doña Damasquina LUCRECIA CARRIL
Ernestina, una Dama Borrica MATILDE TARRIO
Una Dama Castísima INES OLIVEROS
Otra Dama Castísima ROSA LAMAS
Otra Dama Castísima CHIRUCA TARRIO
Otra Dama Castísima LUCIA OLIVEROS
El Hombre Vulgar JAVIER LAÍÑO
La Opulenta Dama VIKI G. LALINDE
Un Periodista MANUEL AMENEDO
Aliatar, hijo de Doña
Damasquina JOSE MARIA G. MARCOS
Botarda, Novia de Aliatar M.ª DOLORES MONTERO
Pepe "El Barriga" ANTONIO MALVIDO
El Mozo Juan ANTONIO NODAR

Regidor:

Luis Rodríguez Míguez.

Dirección:

MARILUZ VILLAR.

Cabalgada cara ó mar (1972)



Maquinista Ricardo Outes
Son Antón Posse
Lumeación Ramón Fandiño
Antón Malvido
Atrezzo Adela Moldes
Vestimenta Lucrecia Rodríguez
Rexidora Pilar Pereira
Montaxe e Dirección Agustín Magán

IMPRESA «LA IDÉICA» - ALFARER PROVISORIAL, 6 - SANTIAGO - 1976.

DITEA
TEATRO DE CÁMARA

APRESENTA

ROSAS
VERMELLAS
PRA MÍN

DE

SEAN O'CASEY

AUDITORIO MUNICIPAL
DE
SANTO DOMINGO
(PORTA DO CAMIÑO)

XOVES, 2 E VENRES, 3
AS OITO

SANTIAGO, DECEMBRE DE 1976

Rosas vermellas para mín (1976)

"ROSAS VERMELLAS PRA MÍN" é, quizáis, a peza máis representativa do teatro de Sean O'Casey. Ela é como unha síntesis da súa ideoloxía, da súa dramaturxia e, asemade, como un caleidoscopio dramático onde as posibilidades do teatro, maiormente no terceiro acto, son empregadas a fondo: técnicas xustapostas, melodrama, sátira, farsa. Á parodia sucede o bulreiro; ós anacos de elocuencia os contrastes emocionais. Eiquí O'Casey quixo, en detrimento da cohesión, dar varias obras nunha soia. A crítica inglesa saudou "como unha esgrevia obra de poesía dramática" esta historia dunha desfeita que tamén é un acto de fe. Pro este drama barroco non é unha traxedia no senso clásico do termo. A historia dos seus persoaxes non lles dá paso a grandeza do heroi trágico.

Sean O'Casey nacéu en Dublín en 1884, no seo dunha familia humilde de orixen protestante. Hai poucas vocacións dramáticas tan arestadas coma a deste peón, que non puido adeprender a ler i escribir deica a idade de trece anos, co aquel de ter que andar ós moquetes coa miseria e as doenzas que houbo de sufrir. Como obreiro dirixente sindicalista interviú na folga que no ano 1913 enfrentaría ó proletariado de Dublín e a burguesía británica-irlandesa. Nestas xornadas está baseada "Rosas vermellas pra mín" que O'Casey escribiu trinta anos despóis. O ouxetivo do que na realidade era unha loita pola liberdade e a dinidade do pobo, foi naquela ocasión un chelín de acrecemento no salario.

O espírito de Irlanda rexurdía, non baixo os brocados senón baixo os farrapos; non a golpes de espada ou de sátira fina e sutil senon a trompadas e baixo os cuspiñazos. Os traballadores erguíanse conducidos por Laikin e Connolly. A folga fracasóu, pro a lección non se perdéu. ¿O soño dunha Irlanda o mesmo tempo independente e socialista chegaría a realizarse ó fin? O terceiro acto de "Rosas vermellas" canta a esa esperanza.

Michael Habar, na súa "Introdución a Sean O'Casey" di: "Rosas vermellas pra mín" é o drama dos mortos vivos que se ergueron contra ós vivos mortos; dos mortos cuio sacrificio é fonte de vida, erguidos contra ós vivos que non son máis que sartegos branqueados; do chamado do futuro contra o empantoamento das pegadas do pasado; dos traballadores en marcha contra as forzas da represión".

A nosa posta en escea é, tencionadamente, de formato naturalista, porque "Rosas vermellas" é unha peza mestra do teatro realista na que O'Casey amosa, sen perxuício da complexidade das relacións persoais, a situación política e social do pobo irlandés nun tempo que é o noso aínda. E no fondo, cun lirismo caseque melodramático, o celme ancestral da Irlanda irmá, que ós galegos non ha de parecernos alleo.

ROSAS VERMELLAS PRA MÍN

DE

SEAN O'CASEY


EN VERSIÓN E MONTAXE DE DITEA

CANCIÓNS DE ANTÓN CASAL

REPARTO

Sra. Breydon	Encarna Domínguez
Ayamonn	Xoan Lois Tarrío
Eada	Pilar Pereira
Dympna	Pilar Feáns
Finoola	Chiruca Tarrío
Sheila	María Xosé Lorenzo
Brennan	Antón Casal
Roory	Xosé Manuel Olveiro
O Cantor	Xulio Mirelis
Mulcanny	Xurxo Fernández
Muller 1. ^a	Matuxa Tarrío
Muller 2. ^a	María García
Home 1. ^o	Xosé Antón González
Home 2. ^o	Andrés Hernández
Retor	Xosé Rey
Ferroviano 1. ^o	Alfonso Armada
Ferroviano 2. ^o	Evaristo Pereira
Inspetor Finglas	Manuel Amenedo
Samuel	Gabriel Vieites
Dowzard	Xesús Seage
Foster	Xoan Manuel Alves

Rosas vermellas para mín (1976)



O grupo de teatro DITEA celebra o "Día das letras galegas", adicado este ano a ANTON VILAR PONTE, poñendo en pe dúas obras: "Almas mortas", orixinal deste esgrevio escritor, e "O país da saudade" de W. B. Yeats, en versión dos irmáns Vilar Ponte e de Plácido Rodríguez Castro.


"Almas mortas", verdadeira xoia do noso teatro autóctono, é, quizáis, a peza máis representativa da creación dramática de Vilar Ponte, xa que nela, coma en ningunha outra, se refreza a rexa personalidade deste arestado loitador das liberdades, nemigo decrarado do caciquismo e da emigración, cuíos males pranteza e combate en esceas mesturadas de sarcástico humor e de doorosa trazedia.

"O país da saudade" e obra do poeta irlandés, laureado co premio Nóbel de Literatura, William Butler Yeats. Antón Vilar Ponte, un dos seus tradutores, nas liñas de abreinte do volume da Editorial "Nós", que publicou esta peza o ano 1935, di: "Este folk-drama pensamos nós que haberá de gorentarvos deixando nas vosas almas un ronsel de poesía... Nel o celmé ancestral da Irlanda irmá anda a latexar senlleiro, coma seiva diferente cada ano, mais idéntica sempre, nas árbores vellas que aínda inza de follas e frores a primaveira. O complexo da tradición pagá que fai compatible na terra de San Patrick o freixo escorrentador de meigas e trasnos coa crás que escorrenta ó demo, tan ben refrexado neste folk-drama, ós galegos enxebres non ha de lles parecer estrano.

Imprenta LA IBÉRICA. Alférez Provisional, 6. Santiago. 1977.

DÍA DAS LETRAS GALEGAS

DITEA
TEATRO DE CAMARA
APRESENTA



ALMAS MORTAS

DE
ANTON VILAR PONTE
E
O PAIS DA SAUDADE
DE
W. B. YEATS
EN VERSION DOS IRMANS
VILAR PONTE E PLACIDO R. CASTRO
AUDITORIO MUNICIPAL
DE
SANTO DOMINGO
(PORTA DO CAMIÑO)
LUNS, 16 E MARTES, 17
AS OITO
SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, MAIO DE 1977

O País da saudade (1977)

PRIMEIRA PARTE

ALMAS MORTAS
TRAXICOMEDIA DE
ANTON VILAR PONTE

FIGURAS:

Loísa PILAR LORENZO
Tío Xan XURXO FERNANDEZ
Don Ramoncíño XOSE MANOEL OLVEIRO
Pepe ANTON CASAL
Concha ENCARNA DOMINGUEZ
Chuchín ALFONSO ARMADA
Teté MARIA XOSE LORENZO
Manoel MANOEL GARCIA
Pedro XESUS SEAGE
Pancho XOAN MANOEL ALVES
Don Eduardo XOSE ANTON GONZALEZ
Paulos GABRIEL VIEITES
Rosa MATUXA TARRIO
Meniño FRANCISCO XAVIER POSSE
Meniña IRENE LOPEZ
Mendigo XOSE RAMON BARREIRO
Loís EVARISTO PEREIRA
Rapaza PILAR FEANS

SEGUNDA PARTE

O PAIS DA SAUDADE
FOLK-DRAMA DE
W. B. YEATS

VERSION DOS IRMANS
VILAR PONTE E PLACIDO R. CASTRO

CANCIONS DE ANTON CASAL

PERSOAS:

Martíño XOSE MANOEL OLVEIRO
Bríxida PILAR PEREIRA
Xoan MANOEL AMENEDO
Maruxa LUCRECIA CARRIL
P. Hart ANTON CASAL
Unha Fada CHIRUCA TARRIO

OUTRAS FADAS:

MARICARME TARRIO
MARIA GARCIA BONOME
MATUXA TARRIO

Rexidores:

PILAR PEREIRA e XOSE ANTON GONZALEZ

Maquinista RICARDO OUTES

Lumeación:

RAMON FANDIÑO e ANTON MALVIDO

Atrezzo e Coreografía ADELA MOLDES

Vestimenta LUCRECIA RODRIGUEZ

Montaxe e Dirección AGUSTIN MACAN

O País da saudade (1977)

RODA VIVA

A FONTENLA DOS MILAGRES

E

OS CORNOS DO MESTRE XOAN PANXOLAS

(VERSION E ADAPTACION DE DOUS TEXTOS DE TEATRO POPULAR)

SENTIDO E SIGNIFICADO DUNHA EXPERIENCIA TEATRAL

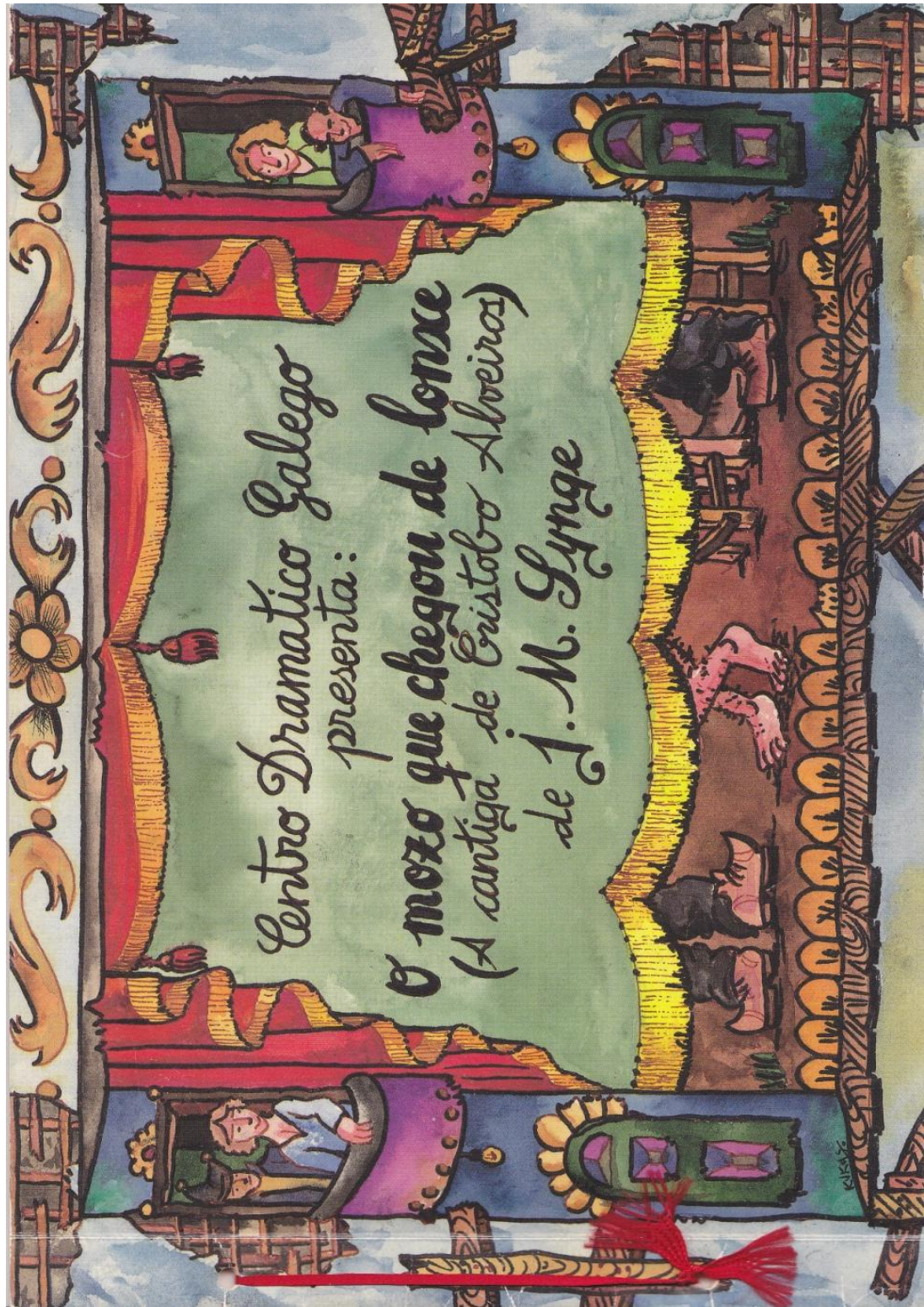
Pensando na necesidade de representar versións especiais de obras que poidan interesar e seren valedías pra toda clase de público, puxemos en pé o espectáculo RODA VIVA que enfeixa dúas pezas teatraís de moi disterante temática: «A fontenla dos milagres» e «Os cornos do Mestre Xoan Panxolas», en montaxe colectiva do grupo axeitada ó noso medio e á nosa fala.

Na «Fontenla dos milagres» refundimos unha lenda popular da illa irlandesa de Arán, recollida tamén por John M. Synge no seu drama «The Well of the Saints». Dunha aparencia pantástica nace e medra unha traxedia ricaz en sentimentos humanos e fonda veracidade vital. O verdadeiro e mailo maxinario, o tradicional mesmo que o individual son os contrapuntos desde sinxelo e poético conto cheo de vida.

A segunda peza, «Os cornos do Mestre Xoan Panxolas» está baseada na historia LXXVII do «Decamerón de Boccaccio, tamén recollida por Casona no seu «Retablo Jovial» co título de «Farsa do cornudo apaleado». Xentil farsa, desenfadada e inxeniosa, cos mesmos enleos e ben arteirados equívocos que se dan na comedia de «triángulo amoroso cómico», mais cunha hilaridade e entidade escénicas moi por riba das que nos ofrece a vulgar e empalagosa combinación ternaria de marido, muller e amante do teatro ó uso.

Appendix K

Hand programme – *O mozo que chegou de lonxe*



O mozo que chegou de lonxe (1988). Hand programme cover.
Designed by Marcelino de Santiago 'Kukas'.

Chamome Miguel Anxo Castro. Non me lembro dos anos que teño nin cantos hai que quedei viuvo. Teño unha taberna e unha filla taberneira. Tamen teño un traxe con chaleco que o merquei cando finou a miña muller. Sempre o levo enriba, ás veces, durmo con el posto.

Son dos que pensan que a vida hai que tomala a tragos, e a morte... o peor é do que vai alá. Gostaría-me ter unha ducia de netos valentes e blasfemos, pero tampouco me importaría que a miña filla quedase solteira.

Onde eu son case nunca pasa nada. Sempre é o mesmo. Lémbrome que a última vez que pasou algo fóra do normal, foi un día que chegou aquí un mozo que disque matara a seu pai...

Miguel A. Castro



X.M. Oliveira "Pico", como Miguel Anxo Castro

Text by Manuel Oliveira 'Pico' (Miguel Castro)

Chamome Miguel Anxo Castro. Non me lembro dos anos que teño nin cantos hai que quedei viuvo. Teño unha taberna e unha filla taberneira. Tamen teño un traxe con chaleco que o merquei cando finou miña muller. Sempre o levo enriba, ás veces, durmo con el posto.

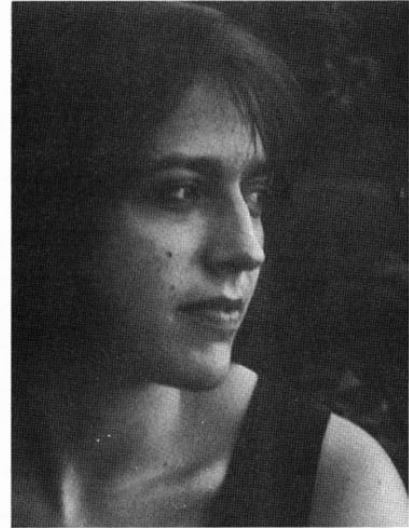
Son dos que pensan que a vida hai que tomala a tragos, e a morte...o peor é do que vai alá.

Gostaría-me ter unha ducia de netos valentes e blasfemos, pero tampouco me importaría que a miña filla quedase solteira.

Onde eu son case nunca pasa nada. Sempre é o mesmo. Lémbrome que a última vez que pasou algo fóra do normal, foi un día que chegou aquí un mozo que disque matara a seu pai...

Miguel A. Castro

Hai paisaxes onde a Terra e as Xentes
 non a mesma cousa.
 Alí nacín eu SUSANA. Paso o día muxi-
 ndo as Bacas e levando o gando ó
 Rego. ~~Cando~~ Cando Podo escapar subo ás
 árbores para ver se aparece dunha vez
 algun MOZO casadeiro. Pero Nada Nadiña
 de nada. Nestas terras emigran todos.
 Así non hai maneira de facer algo do
 que Valla a Pena confesarse.
 Pero... Seica onte apareceu na Baiuca
 do Señor MIBEL un mozo ben feito
 e polo que din debe ser de Fenómeno
 porque... ARREDEMO!... matou a
 seu pai. Así que lle vou levar
 unha pila de Manteiga...
 e de paso... ♥



Mª Xosé Bouzas, como Susana

Text by María Bouzas (Susana)

‘Hai paisaxes onde a Terra e as xentes son a mesma cousa.

Alí nacín eu Susana. Paso o día muxindo as bacas e levando o gando ó rego. Cando podo escapar subo ás árbores para ver se aparece dunha vez algun MOZO casadeiro. Pero nada nadiña de nada. Nestas terras emigran todos. Así non hai maneira de facer algo do que valla a pena confesarse.

Pero...seica onte apareceu na Baiuca do Señor Migel un mozo ben feito e polo que din debe ser un fenómeno porque...ARREDEMO!... matou a seu pai. Así que lle vou levar unha pila de manteiga... e de paso...’

Appendix L

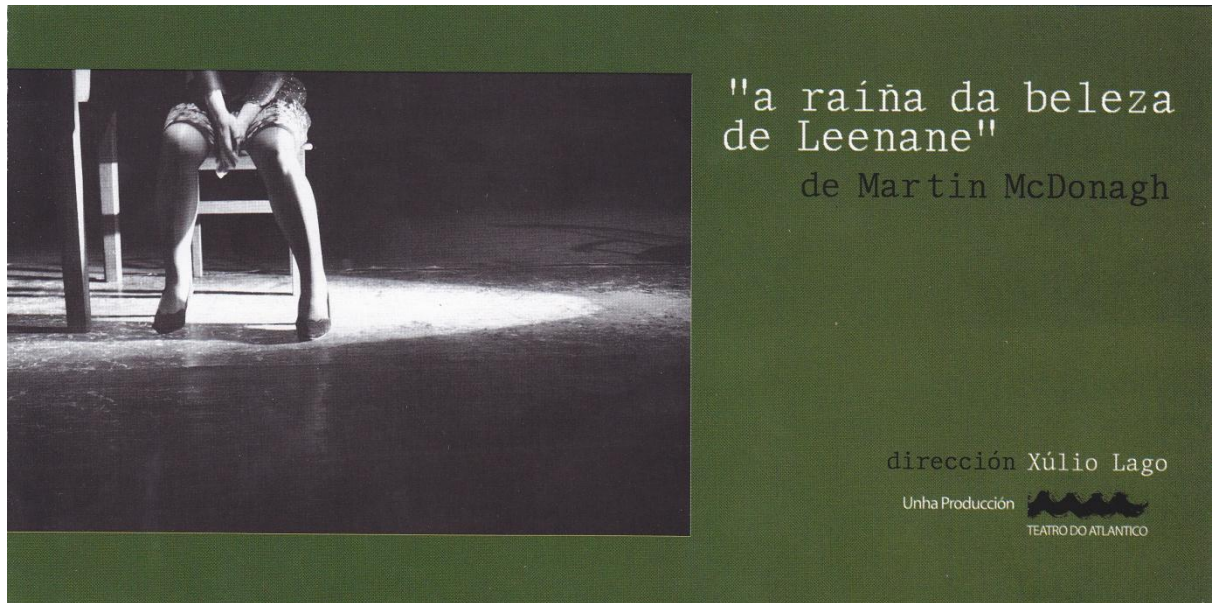
Hand programmes

Teatro do Atlântico and Produções Excéntricas



FICHA TÉCNICA	
Espectáculo	O ENCORO
Autor	Conor McPherson
Traducción	Beatriz Iglesias
Fotografía, diseño cartel	Alex Piñeiro, Fran Martínez
Música orixinal	Rodrigo Romaní
Espacio escénico e vestuario	Antonio Simón
Realización escenografía	Rodrigo Roel
Diseño de Iluminación	Xúlio Lago
Dramaturxia e Dirección	Xúlio Lago
INTÉRPRETES (por orden de aparición)	
JACK	Gonzalo M. Uriarte
BRENDAN	Toño Casais
JIM	Artur Trillo
FINBAR	Antonio Simón
VALERIE	María Barcala
Técnicos de escena	Antón Arias, Marcos Vietez
Transporte	José Luis
O noso agradecemento a María Jesús Naveira, Avelino González, Talía Teatro, Ancora Teatro e Heineken España pola súa colaboración	

O encoro (2004). Hand programme. Designed by Alex Piñeiro and Fran Martínez.



Ficha Tecnica		
Espectáculo		"A rainha da beleza de Leenane"
Autor		Martin McDonagh
Traducción		Avelino González e Olga F. Nogueira
Espacio escénico e vestuario		Antonio Simón
Realización Escenografía		Rodrigo Roel
Música orixinal		Xosé Liz e Anxo Pintos
Fotografía e deseño gráfico		Alex Piñeiro
Deseño de Iluminación		Xúlio Lago
Dramaturxia e Dirección		Xúlio Lago
Interpretes		
MAUREN FOLAN		MARÍA BARCALA
MAG FOLAN		TERESA HORRO
PATO DOOLEY		MARCOS VIEITEZ
RAY DOOLEY		RUBÉN RIÓS
Técnicos de Escena		Antón Arias
		RTA
Transporte		Jose Luis
O noso especial agradecemento a Toño Casais pola súa colaboración		

A rainha... (2006). Hand programme. Designed by Alex Piñeiro



Un cráneo...(2010). Hand programme. Designed by Gende Estudio.
Photography by Pablo Silva



Festival Internacional Outono de Teatro, despois de 19 anos establecendo liñas de comunicación entre o público e os artistas teatrais, decide dar un novo paso. Ata esta edición, o festival seleccionara espectáculos, exercendo dalgunha maneira de representante do público, agora decide producir unha obra de teatro. A compañía Producións Teatrais Excéntricas, que xa tiña demostrado con “fracasos” como *Shakespeare para ignorantes* e *Obra, no coment*, a súa boa onda co público bergantiñán, foi requerida para a creación dun espectáculo que servise para inaugurar o FIOT 2010.

Excéntricas propúxolle ao FIOT a obra *Un cranio furado*, e ao FIOT pareceulle ben. Unha obra moderna, comercial, divertida, escrita por un explosivo e xoven autor anglo-irlandés nos anos 90, Martin McDonagh, que tiña tanta vontade de provocar ao tradicional mundo irlandés que herdara dos seus pais, como horrorizar ao requintado público urbano londiniense.

Os feitos pasan en Connemara, mais podían pasar en Bergantiños se tivéssemos alguén que os soubese escribir. Como non tiñamos, foi Avelino González quen puxo en galego aquel bravo inglés que escribira McDonagh. Todo aconteceu nun cemiterio, onde o horror que se albisca na penumbra está sempre compensado por un humor, sorprendente e feroz. O mesmo humor que aparece naqueles contos galegos que se contaban no outono a carón dos cabazos furados que os cativos transformaban en cráneos para asustar os camiñantes na noite.



Un cranio... (2010). Hand programme.

FICHA TÉCNICA E ARTÍSTICA

Elenco

Mary Rafferty
Mick Dowd
Mairtin Hanlon
Thomas Hanlon

Dorotea Bárcena
Evaristo Calvo
Santi Romay
Victor Mosqueira.

Deseño de luz:
Baltasar Patiño

Música e deseño de son:
Pili Sanz

Escenografía e atrezzo:
Kukas

Deseño gráfico:
Pancho Lapeña

Deseño programa de man:
Gende Estudio

Foto:
Pablo Silva

Vídeo promocional:
Masako Hattori

Xefe técnico:
Octavio Mas

Técnico de escena:
Pepe Quintela

Técnico de son:
Xosé Breixo

Técnico de gravación:
Fernando Campos

Realización escenográfica:
Borja Insúa, Marcelino Santiago, Seara y Mirari Uruzola.

Confección de vestiario:
Concha Abad

Best boy:
Dario González Orsi

Autor:
Martin McDonagh

Tradución:
Avelino González

Xefe de produción:
Marcos Orsi

Dirección:
Rubén González Pedrero

Distribución:
Quico Cadaval

ruben.excentricas@gmail.com
www.excentricas.net

Un Cranio Furado

EXCENTRICAS
A SKILL
A CANTABRA
M. MARTIN
M. DONAGH

Unha produción de Telón e Aparte & Concello de Carballo

Dirección, organización e produción: **Alberto Sueiro, Carmen Castro, Miguel Suárez, María Martínez, Yolanda Abellanda, Nuria Cortés, Antón Rodríguez, Xiana Márquez, Maite Parga, María Álvarez, Irene Rama, Mª Carmen Cambón**

Responsable técnico:
Antonio Porteiro

Concelleira de Cultura:
Belén Lendoiro

Presidente da A.C. Telón e Aparte:
Alberto Sueiro

FIOT e EXCENTRICAS agradecen a Isabel Rey, Xoán Cejudo, Pilar Paz, Constantino Vázquez, cafetaría do Pazo da Cultura, Simón Balbis, Gema Moreira, Gonzalo Porteiro... e os voluntarios do FIOT.

FIOT FESTIVAL INTERNACIONAL DE TEATRO OUTONO DE TEATRO

[A] A.C. Telón e Aparte

AGADIC XUNTA DE GALICIA XUNTA DE GALICIA

AGADIC XUNTA DE GALICIA XUNTA DE GALICIA

Un cranio...(2010). Hand programme.

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