



IBERIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

# *Catalan Culture*

*Experimentation, creative imagination  
and the relationship with Spain*

Essays in honour of David George

Edited by

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# **‘La totalidad de la obra se representará en perfecto castellano’: Censorship of Theatre in Catalonia after the Civil War**

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In his landmark study of theatrical relations between Madrid and Barcelona from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the civil war, David George shows how close, complex and influential those relations were. He argues that ‘it would be a mistake to view Madrid as the sole or even the principal theatre centre in Spain’, and concludes that ‘Barcelona’s claims to equality with Madrid are compelling’.<sup>1</sup>

The story told by George is largely one of the domination of theatre in Catalonia by Madrid-based companies and the Spanish language. However, ‘Barcelona was always regarded by Madrid as a city where experimentation was possible – in the theatre as much as in the other arts’, and attempts to establish an authentically Catalan theatre in the early twentieth century had some success.<sup>2</sup> This impetus was annihilated by the Nationalist victory in the civil war and not significantly renewed until after the re-establishment of democracy in the late 1970s. The period from 1939 to 1954 is thoroughly documented by Enric Gallén, who shows the extent of

the hegemony of Spanish-language theatre in Barcelona, only gradually and tentatively eroded after the removal in 1946 of the total ban on performances in Catalan.<sup>3</sup> The draconian censorship imposed by the Francoist regime was not the only obstacle to the development of Catalan theatre, which continued to be held back by the conservatism of impresarios and audiences, a lack of investment and initiative by the private and public sectors, and a scarcity of professional training opportunities. However, the immediate impact of authoritarian state control from January 1939 was devastating and censorship continued to act as a powerful constraint on theatrical activity in Catalonia throughout the 1940s, 50s and 60s.

My aim in this chapter is to enhance understanding of theatre in Catalonia during the post-war period by providing new evidence on how censorship was exercised and how it conditioned the relationship between the theatrical worlds of Madrid and Barcelona from 1939 to the 1950s, contributing to a more incisive and detailed assessment of the impact of state control on the evolution of Catalan theatre in this period. The quotation in my title ('The work in its entirety is to be performed in perfect Castilian') is from one of the censorship files I shall discuss – an interesting example of a Barcelona-based dramatist tentatively challenging the dictatorship's ban on theatre in Catalan.

The present study is part of a larger collaborative project investigating theatre censorship in Spain between 1931 and 1985.<sup>4</sup> The Franco regime established an elaborate system of censorship that lasted from 1939 to 1978, involving pre-performance vetting of all scripts as well as inspections of most dress rehearsals and, in some cases, further inspections and interventions on and after the opening night. The primary source of data for our investigations is the collection of files (*expedientes de censura*) held in the Spanish state archive in Alcalá de Henares, the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA).<sup>5</sup> These contain applications for professional and amateur theatrical productions all over Spain, submitted though the provincial office of the relevant ministry (Ministerio de Gobernación from 1938 to 1941, Secretaría General del Movimiento from 1941 to 1945, Ministerio de Educación Nacional from 1945 to 1951, and thereafter Ministerio de Información y Turismo). Each file also contains one or more copies of the script showing proposed cuts; the censors' reports; a record of the definitive decision; a copy

of the certificate (*guía de censura*) to be issued to the applicant; a copy of the notification sent to the provincial delegate of the ministry (including instructions relating to the inspection of the dress rehearsal); and, in some cases, additional correspondence (for example, appeal documents). Copies of the notifications sent to the provincial delegate in Barcelona, together with a few other documents such as reports on inspections, can be consulted in the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Alongside these archival sources, we are also drawing on academic publications, biographical and autobiographical accounts, legislation, newspaper reports, listings and reviews, and interviews with playwrights, directors and actors.<sup>6</sup>

The censorship files provide a comprehensive and detailed record of the complete spectrum of theatrical activity that was taking place throughout the country and of the extent to which that activity was controlled and constrained from the centre. In addition to the censorship department in Madrid and its provincial offices and inspectors, the state's apparatus of control comprised the licensing of venues and companies, and the power of Civil Governors (in close consultation with Madrid) to impose their own restrictions on cultural activity. These overt mechanisms were backed up covertly by the maintenance of police files on suspected dissidents. Inevitably, the constraints imposed by this repressive network massively reinforced the hegemony of Madrid and the Spanish language over theatre in Barcelona, making the rebirth of theatre in the Catalan language, by Catalan authors and about Catalan concerns completely impossible up to 1946 and extremely difficult for the following three decades. On the other hand, the various sources we are examining provide plenty of evidence of gaps and contradictions in the system, idiosyncrasies in its application to Catalonia, and increasing resistance to state control. They cast valuable light on specific ways in which a distinctive Catalan theatrical culture survived and grew in spite of repression, and in the long run imaginatively turned some of the constraints into creative strengths that continued to nourish the evolution of theatre in Catalonia after censorship was abolished in 1978.

The complete ban on performances in Catalan imposed by the Nationalists as their forces occupied Catalonia in January 1939 was the most draconian and wide-ranging act of theatre censorship committed by the Franco regime. Other censorship decisions affected individual playwrights, texts, companies and productions,



and were prompted by particular political and religious factors. This one was an automatic, absolute ban on all forms of theatre in Catalan, covering new plays, revivals of classics from the pre-war repertoire and translations into Catalan, regardless of the identity of the author, the content of the script or the nature of the production. It was not validated explicitly by legislation. The unacceptability of cultural production in Catalan was generally taken for granted as the obvious consequence of the defeat of the Republic, and was enforced at regional, provincial and local levels largely through decisions taken by army officers, Falange officials, Civil Governors and mayors, guided by public statements and internal circulars from central government. The new regime's position had been made clear in declarations by Franco during the war: 'El carácter de cada región será respetado, pero sin perjuicio para la unidad nacional, que la queremos absoluta, con una sola lengua, el castellano, y una sola personalidad, la española' ('The character of each region will be respected but not at the expense of national unity, which we expect to be absolute, with a single language – Castilian – and a single identity – Spanish').<sup>7</sup> Even the abolition in April 1938 of the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (which had established Catalan and Castilian as the official languages of Catalonia) was presented as a barely necessary rubber-stamping of what was claimed already to be an undeniable reality: 'El Estatuto de Cataluña, en mala hora concedido por la República, dejó de tener validez, en el orden jurídico español, desde el día diecisiete de julio de mil novecientos treinta y seis. No sería preciso, pues, hacer ninguna declaración en este sentido' ('The Statute of Catalonia, so imprudently conceded by the Republic, ceased to have any constitutional validity as from the 17th of July 1936. Consequently, there is no need for a formal declaration to this effect').<sup>8</sup>

Theatres in Barcelona had closed down on 22 January 1939, four days before Nationalist forces occupied the city. On 6 February, the victors signalled their intention to keep the newly reprivatized theatrical industry under tight control:

A fin de poner en marcha, a la mayor rapidez, todas aquellas actividades que atañen al Teatro, la Música y los espectáculos de análoga naturaleza, el Departamento correspondiente del Servicio Nacional de Propaganda del Ministerio de la Gobernación, convoca con carácter de urgencia a cuantas personas tengan relación e intereses

con aquellas actividades, para que se presenten en sus oficinas [...], advirtiéndole que cuantas disposiciones y medidas hayan de tomarse sobre el particular, lo serán, naturalmente, con carácter de obligatorias para todos los locales de teatro, música o espectáculos análogos de Barcelona.<sup>9</sup>

(In order to ensure the swift re-establishment of activities related to the theatre, music and public spectacles of a similar nature, the National Propaganda Service urgently requires all persons with an interest in such activities to present themselves at its [Barcelona] office. Interested parties are advised that any measures introduced to regulate said activities will apply mandatorily to all venues in Barcelona offering theatrical, musical and similar spectacles.)

The authorities must have found that compliance with their requirements was less than total, for an official reminder was published in the press on 8 March insisting that all details of professional and amateur theatrical productions needed to be approved in advance by the ministry.<sup>10</sup>

When a new commercial season opened in a small number of theatres less than a month after the closure, productions were exclusively in Castilian, and listings in the press were punctuated by ‘¡Viva Franco! ¡Arriba España!’.<sup>11</sup> There is only one censorship file in the AGA for a play in Catalan in 1939. This was *Un revolcó a temps* (A Tumble in Time) by Francisco Marín Melià, who made the application himself without specifying any production details. The author lived in Castellón, in the north of the Valencian region, and the application was presumably for performances in Castellón or Valencia. Xavier Fàbregas notes that theatre in Catalan-speaking areas outside Catalonia was censored slightly less severely than in Catalonia itself: ‘A València, on el teatre “regional” fou considerat un producte inofensiu, i alhora podia ésser manipulats com un ferment de la fragmentació lingüística entre les capes populars, s’escolà també alguna autorització’ (‘In Valencia, where “regional” theatre was regarded as harmless and could also be manipulated to further linguistic fragmentation amongst working-class communities, a few authorizations were allowed to slip through’).<sup>12</sup>

However, Marín Melià’s application, submitted on 24 November 1939, was clearly premature, as authorization was refused. Unfortunately, theatre censorship files from the first few years of the dictatorship rarely include reports, correspondence or records of meetings. Censorship was being administered on a shoestring by

a handful of Falangists in the censorship section created in July 1939 as part of the Servicio Nacional de Propaganda, and at this time the writer Samuel Ros appears to have been responsible almost single-handedly for theatre. His decision on this application is conveyed curtly: 'Suspendida su representación' ('Production suspended').<sup>13</sup> The grovelling tone of the author's application letter, though, is revealing:

El autor de la referida obrita, consciente de la labor honrada, literaria, que precisa hacer en estos momentos de exaltado patriotismo, ha tenido sumo cuidado en no poner en boca de los personajes, cuya trama desarrollan, frases, que ni sutilmente puedan zaherir los oídos de los espectadores ni mucho menos desahogos, que con carácter de 'chistes' puedan mortificar a determinadas personas. Por todo lo cual, espera que esa Sección de censura, se dignará cederle el oportuno permiso, para que dicha obra pueda ser libremente representada.<sup>14</sup>

(The author of this modest work, conscious of the responsibility of literature to make a fitting contribution in this time of exalted patriotism, has taken great care to avoid putting in the mouths of its characters any expressions that might cause even mild offence to spectators' ears, and least of all the kind of vulgar outbursts that sometimes, in the guise of jokes, might mortify certain persons. The applicant hopes, therefore, that the Censorship Section will be so kind as to license the play for performance.)

There are no records in the AGA files of applications for plays in Catalan in 1940, and only one in 1941. *El Negre*, a rural drama by Fernando Lluç Ferrando set in Valencia, was approved for performance by the Compañía Rafael Balaguer, presumably in Valencia. The brief handwritten report by José María García Escudero is disparaging but not hostile, and does not comment on the fact that the script is mostly in Catalan: 'Obra de ambiente valenciano, en que el autor lo sacrifica todo por conseguir tremendos efectos dramáticos. El lenguaje, a veces impropio; quizá mejor que otras de este fecundo autor' ('A play with a Valencian setting, in which the author sacrifices everything for the sake of exaggerated dramatic effects. The dialogue is occasionally improper. Possibly better than other works by this prolific author').<sup>15</sup> The concern about indecorous language leads to the imposition of eight cuts, most of which are exclamations using religious terms ('¡Redéu!', '¡Cristo!') and one an idiom with possible sexual

connotations: '¡Fuerza en cánut!' [i.e. 'Força al canut!'] ('Power to your pipe [or pouch]!').<sup>16</sup> The work clearly fitted the category of 'inoffensive' regional drama, and could be authorized for performance in Valencia as long as it was tidied up so as not to 'offend the ears' of right-minded spectators.

Authorization of Catalan-language productions in Catalonia was not possible for another five years. The only exceptions to the blanket ban were the traditional Nativity plays (*Pastorets*) and Passion plays, which the Church insisted should continue to be done in Catalan. The Civil Governor of Barcelona, Wenceslao González Oliveros, visited the Bishop of Barcelona on 27 December 1939.<sup>17</sup> Their meeting may have been connected to this issue, since he announced on 31 December that *Pastorets* could be performed in Catalan, albeit under very strict conditions:

Primera. – Que un ejemplar sea previamente remitido a este Gobierno Civil.

Segunda. – Que la representación no constituya espectáculo público y por consiguiente que no se verifique en locales habitualmente destinados a cine, teatros, bailes ni sociedades recreativas en general y que la entrada no se pague directa ni indirectamente, y

Tercera. – Que dicha representación revista un exclusivo carácter religioso familiar.

Sólo al Gobierno Civil deberá ser solicitada la autorización para esta especie de representaciones.

La que no haya sido directa y expresamente autorizada por este Gobierno Civil, queda prohibida con apercibimiento de sanciones, sea cualquiera el organismo que se haya pretendido arrogar atribuciones que no le competen en esta materia.<sup>18</sup>

(1. That a copy of the script be submitted to the Civil Governor's office;

2. that the performance not be open to the general public, and consequently not be carried out in premises normally used as cinemas, theatres, dancehalls or leisure clubs, and that tickets not be sold either directly or indirectly;

3. that the performance have a purely religious, family-oriented character.

All applications for the approval of such performances must be submitted to the Civil Governor's office.

Any performance that has not been directly and explicitly authorized by the Civil Governor's office is prohibited and will be subject to official sanctions, whichever body may have attempted to exceed its powers in this matter.)

Professional productions of Nativity plays in commercial theatres had to be performed in Castilian until 1946, at which point a mixed economy of *Pastorcillos* (in Castilian) and *Pastorets* (in Catalan) emerged. Once the exception of performances with a 'carácter religioso familiar' had been established, the *Pastorets* genre gradually acquired more and more importance as one of the very few channels available for the public use of Catalan, although with minimal publicity. As Josep Maria Benet i Jornet explains, this became a more widespread and influential cultural phenomenon than one might suspect:

Eran obras en las que pasaban muchas cosas. Al final había lo que se llamaba la apoteosis en que veías a los pastores llegar al portal de Belén, etcétera, pero mientras tanto pasaban muchas historias; estas obras duraban tres o cuatro horas, la gente iba mucho, había varias, cada año se hacía en un sitio distinto. Porque había teatros pequeños que dependían de parroquias, teatros muy interesantes, muy bien acondicionados.<sup>19</sup>

(All kinds of things went on in these plays. At the end there would always be what was known as the apotheosis, when you would see the shepherds arriving at the stable, and so on, but in the meantime plenty of other stories were woven in. The shows lasted three or four hours, people attended them frequently, there were various versions, and they would be performed in different places from year to year. They used the small theatres run by individual parishes, very interesting little theatres, very well equipped.)

As well as providing a small but safe public space for the celebration of the Catalan language, the survival of the *Pastorets* tradition helped to nurture community performance groups all over Catalonia and maintain a theatrical infrastructure that later became useful to secular and semi-professional performance groups. In principle, these plays were not subject to state censorship, but local authorization could be refused if there was a suspicion of the purely religious function being compromised. Surprisingly, there are a few authorizations for *Pastorets* amongst the notifications in the censorship files held in the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. The parish choral society in the town of El Vendrell applied for

permission to stage *Los pastorets musicals del Vendrell* by Rosendo Fortunet in December 1966. Even more surprisingly, the censors cut the script in two places and specified that an inspection of the dress rehearsal was required – an unusual condition for a performance authorized for ‘Todos los públicos’ (audiences of all ages). The offending lines contain what look like innocuous references to Joseph initially suspecting Mary of adultery until he is reassured by an angel that ‘el que está engendrat en ella és per obra del Sant Esperit’ (‘the child has been engendered in her by the Holy Spirit’).<sup>20</sup> Also in the 1966–7 Christmas season, the celebrated *L’Estel de Natzaret* (The Star of Nazareth) by Ramon Pàmies, performed by the Centro Parroquial in the Barcelona suburb of Sant Vicenç de Sarrià every year since 1907 except during the war, was submitted for approval by the Board of Theatre Censorship. It was authorized for audiences of all ages, but in this case too an inspection of the dress rehearsal was required.<sup>21</sup> It may be that, in the rebellious atmosphere of the mid-1960s, some *Pastorets* groups were suspected of introducing subversive elements into their performances.

The scarcity of censorship applications for performances in Catalan before 1946 indicates that commercial producers were not even attempting to put the ban to the test – or were being dissuaded by local authorities from doing so. A few dramatists were writing plays in Catalan in the early 1940s with no expectation that they would be staged. Salvador Espriu wrote *Antígona* in 1939; Josep Maria de Sagarra returned from exile in 1940 and devoted much of his time to translating Shakespeare’s plays; Joan Brossa began writing experimental ‘poetry for the stage’ in 1942 which did not begin to be performed regularly until the 1960s. Fàbregas records a small number of unauthorized readings and amateur performances in Catalan in private houses in the early 1940s, mostly of works by Sagarra.<sup>22</sup> More recently, Gallén has gathered further evidence of amateur groups staging plays in Catalan in various locations between 1943 and 1946, below the radar of censorship.<sup>23</sup>

Amateurs were also performing nineteenth-century and pre-war works by dramatists such as Soler, Guimerà, Gual, Rusiñol and Sagarra translated into Castilian, while commercial theatres in Barcelona were showing very little interest in the work of these authors. The only productions of plays by Guimerà announced in the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia Española* between 1939 and

1945 are *Tierra baja* (Low Country) in November 1940 and October 1943, and *María Rosa* in March 1943. That production of *Tierra baja* constitutes Guimerà's only appearance in the censorship files for the years 1939, 1940 and 1941; Rusiñol appears only once with *El místico* (The Mystic) in 1940, and Soler, Gual and Sagarra not at all.

In the meantime, a few Catalan dramatists were pragmatically adapting themselves to the circumstances and writing plays in Castilian. The most successful – though she gets only one passing reference in Fàbregas's *Història del teatre català* – was Cecília Alonso Bozzo (1906–1974), who produced most of her extensive and popular work in theatre, radio, cinema, narrative and journalism under the pseudonym Cecília A. Màntua. She had begun to write plays in Catalan before the war: her romantic comedy *Ha passat una oreneta* (A Swallow Has Flown By) was broadcast in April 1936 by Ràdio Barcelona.<sup>24</sup> She seems to have been involved in agitprop film-making during the war, as she is identified as the director of a documentary made for the Comité de Milicias Antifascistas, *Salvaguarda del miliciano* (The Militiaman's Safeguard) shown in Barcelona in February 1937.<sup>25</sup> When she re-emerged in the early 1940s as a playwright working in various popular genres, the texts were in Castilian, though sometimes with Catalan or Valencian settings. In general, they posed only minor problems for the censors in terms of their moral or political content. However, they did not all have an easy passage through the system, and it seems to have been the Catalan provenance of some of her plays that provoked hostility or suspicion amongst the censors in Madrid.

The first of Màntua's works to be considered by the censors was a zarzuela (operetta) entitled *Serenata de Schubert o A ti vuelan mis canciones* (Schubert Serenade, or My Songs Fly to You). On 13 September 1941 Màntua applied for authorization of a production at the Teatro Nuevo in Barcelona, with the intention of opening on 30 September. The censor's report recommends prohibition on what appear to be linguistic and stylistic grounds: 'Está escrita en pésimo castellano. No tiene ni pies ni cabeza. No puede autorizarse' ('It is written in appalling Spanish. A complete mess. It cannot be approved'). The decision issued on 7 October was: 'Suspendida transitoriamente su representación' ('Production temporarily suspended').<sup>26</sup> The theatre advertised the show as due to open on 9 October, then on the 16th, then on the 17th. The censors must have accepted a revised script and allowed the premiere to go ahead



on 17 October, for the listing on the following day announces the second night of the 'éxito apoteósico' ('triumphant hit').<sup>27</sup> This may have been on the initiative of the authorities in Barcelona, since there is no record of official authorization until 6 December, following an appeal submitted on 26 November. The appeal requests authorization of a production at the Teatro Apolo in Valencia starting on 4 December. It refers to the earlier suspension and points out that the authors have revised the text to make it less bohemian, 'dando al diálogo una mayor pulcritud, matizándolo en grado máximo' ('rendering the dialogue more refined and as subtle as possible'). At the end of their letter they make a plea that provides a striking reminder of the practical and economic consequences of censorship:

QUE la Empresa del Teatro Apolo de Valencia, se dispone a estrenar la obra el próximo día 4 de Diciembre, suponiendo que la obra hubiera sido censurada favorablemente, dado que no ofrece reparos inmorales o políticos, y confiando en ello y dado el trabajo y estudio que requiérese para montarla, hizo pintar el decorado, está realizando el vestuario y los artistas ensayan la parte musical.

TENIENDO en cuenta todos estos extremos, suplicamos de su recto criterio nos la autorice con toda urgencia, tomando en consideración el cambio realizado en ella, así como el trastorno que representaría para dicha empresa, que abonó ya a los artistas una parte de su nómina, para los ensayos de la música.<sup>28</sup>

(We declare that the management of the Teatro Apolo in Valencia is making preparations to premiere the work on 4 December in the hope that it will by then have been approved by the censorship office, given that it poses no moral or political problems and given the mental and physical labour invested in the production, including the painting of the set, the execution of the costumes and the rehearsal of the music. In view of the extremity of these circumstances, we appeal to your good judgement and request that the work be licensed as quickly as possible, bearing in mind the revisions carried out as well as the damage that could be caused to the company, which has already paid the artistes part of their wages for the musical rehearsals.)

On this occasion there was no obstacle to authorization, though not in time for the planned opening on 4 December. The censor, Sr Palazón, commented: 'La obra está escrita con gran decoro, limpieza y gusto literario. Puede autorizarse' ('The play is composed with great decorum, refinement and literary taste. It can be



authorized').<sup>29</sup> The authors clearly did an excellent job of tidying up their libretto – or perhaps Palazón was simply less hostile than Suárez to texts originating from Catalonia.

Between 1942 and 1944, six other works by Màntua were licensed for performance in Barcelona without significant problems. In almost every case, however, the date of authorization is at least a week after the planned date of the first performance. The application for *La canción del Tirol* (Song of the Tyrol) was made on 17 February 1942, giving a date of 15 March for the opening; authorization was given on 19 May after requests for costume sketches and song lyrics had been satisfied; the premiere did not actually take place until 12 August 1943. These delays may have been caused partly by production problems or the failure of theatres to submit the correct documentation, but they also point to the chronic inefficiency of a system that required paperwork to go from Barcelona to Madrid and back again. The inefficiency may indeed have involved a degree of deliberate obstructiveness stemming from hostility towards a Catalan playwright, however commercially successful and politically unthreatening she may have been.

Màntua's story becomes more interesting with *La riada* (The Flood), a play that posed a direct challenge to the regime's language policy. The action is set in rural Valencia, offering a *costumbrista* evocation of country life including numerous phrases in Valencian Catalan. Translations into Castilian are written on the script by hand. The censor José María Ortiz remarks dismissively that the author's attempt to recreate the ambience of the Valencian *huerta* (the fertile countryside surrounding the capital) is a complete failure. He objects in particular to expressions in the vernacular, and the authorization issued on 29 August 1944 was subject to the following condition: 'Que la totalidad de la obra se representará en perfecto castellano, sin palabras ni frases algunas en Valenciano' ('The work in its entirety is to be performed in perfect Castilian, without any words or phrases in Valencian').<sup>30</sup> The author may have chosen Valencia on the assumption that it was a less risky setting than Catalonia, but the show was to be staged in Barcelona and the censors in Madrid were still not prepared to allow even snatches of Catalan to be spoken on stage in Catalonia. There is no record in Barcelona newspaper listings in 1944 or 1945 of performances of *La riada*, which indicates that the condition imposed by the censors killed off the planned production.

Curiously, there is a long gap in Màntua's theatrical career after the premiere of her last play in Castilian, *Bajo el cielo mejicano* (Under the Mexican Sky) in February 1945. There were no further censorship applications until 1950, and no commercial stage productions until 1959, when she burst back onto the Barcelona theatrical scene as an enormously successful author of plays in Catalan with Catalan settings. What makes her absence surprising is that this was precisely when the regime finally began to allow performances in Catalan: the new situation created in 1946 should have provided Màntua with a golden opportunity to be one of the leaders of the rebirth of Catalan theatre. Before turning our attention to her reinvention as a vernacular playwright, let us take a look at the early days of that rebirth.

Like the original ban on performances in Catalan, its removal in 1946 was not enshrined in legislation. As the regime redefined itself in less totalitarian terms following the defeat of Germany and Italy by the Allies, the Falange's influence waned rapidly. Concessions made in response to the new international situation included a slight easing of the repression of non-Castilian languages and cultural production. In July 1945, the propaganda and censorship functions of the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular were transferred from the Falange to the new Subsecretaría de Educación Popular in the Ministerio de Educación Nacional. In January 1946, Luis Ortiz Muñoz (a member of the Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas) was put in charge of the Subsecretaría and Gabriel García Espina took over from Gabriel Arias-Salgado as Director General of Theatre and Cinema. These changes of personnel in Madrid were accompanied by the appointment of a new Civil Governor in Barcelona: Bartolomé Barba Hernández took office in August 1945. He is recorded as having visited Madrid in March 1946 'para gestionar diversos asuntos de interés para Barcelona y su provincia' ('to deal with various matters of interest for Barcelona and its province'), which may have been when he was given the go-ahead for liberalizing measures such as the relaxation of the ban on performances in Catalan.<sup>31</sup> Gallén quotes a strikingly disingenuous comment from Barba's account of his time in charge of Barcelona (published in 1948):

El director general de Cinematografía y Teatro me comunicó que autorizaba las representaciones teatrales en lengua catalana siempre que se cubriesen los trámites reglamentarios establecidos con carácter

general para toda clase de representaciones. La gente no acudió en tropel al primer estreno, ni siquiera manifestó entusiasmo, como hubiera podido, tal vez, esperarse después del tiempo durante el cual no habían sido representadas en catalán obras teatrales, e incluso parece ser que los resultados económicos obtenidos por las compañías no eran muy brillantes. De todos modos, la autorización del teatro catalán privó a los elementos catalanistas de la única bandera fácil y popular que les quedaba, fue un paso hacia la normalidad y, por otra parte, no fue acogida con ninguna manifestación extraordinaria de entusiasmo por el público, lo que daba a entender que la masa de población no hace ni pretende hacer bandera de combate de su lengua, como quisieran los cuatro agitadores que aún quedan flotando sin punto posible de apoyo después de estas disposiciones.<sup>32</sup>

(The Director General of Cinema and Theatre informed me that he would allow theatrical performances in Catalan as long as the official procedures required for all forms of performance were adhered to. People did not exactly flock to the first performance. They did not even show much enthusiasm, as one might perhaps have expected them to do at the end of a period in which no plays in Catalan had been performed, and nor did the companies involved make much money. Anyway, the unbanning of theatre in Catalan deprived the Catalanists of the only easy and popular rallying point they had left. It was a step towards normality and was, in any case, not greeted with any great show of enthusiasm by the masses, which indicated that the majority of the population has no desire to use their language as a campaign banner, despite the urgings of the handful of agitators who have been left drifting without support after the introduction of these measures.)

Although press censorship ensured that the re-establishment of performances in Catalan was not reported or reviewed, there is evidence that at least some of the first professional productions were received with considerable enthusiasm and became box-office successes. There certainly was popular demand for Catalan theatre, and Barba's confidence that Catalans were uninterested in making a banner of their language was eventually proved to be spectacularly ill-founded. If the impact of the lifting of the ban was limited, this was largely due to continuing restrictions on press coverage and advertising, the prohibition of particular authors, and limits on the number of venues licensed for productions in Catalan.

The first play authorized for production in Catalan was *Lo ferrer de tall* (The Knifemaker) by Frederic Soler (under the pseudonym

Pitarra), a rural drama first staged in 1874. There is no indication in the censorship file that the language in which the text was written was a significant issue, and the censor's report is entirely positive: 'Tesis: Un canto al honor y su defensa. Valor puramente literario: Positivo teniendo en cuenta la época en que fue escrita la obra. Valor teatral: positivo' ('Message: a celebration of honour and its defence. Literary merit: positive, bearing in mind the period in which the play was written. Theatrical merit: positive').<sup>33</sup> It is interesting, though, that the initial application (submitted by Jaume Borràs in April for a production at the Teatro Apolo) appears to have posed a problem of some kind. The application is marked: '20.4.46: Con esta fecha se devuelven sin censurar los dos ejemplares al interesado' ('Both copies of the script returned uncensored to the applicant on 20/4/46'). This may indicate that it was initially assumed that a play in Catalan would not even be considered for authorization – that the change of policy was still under negotiation. A second application was submitted on 30 April for a run at the Apolo beginning on 10 May; this was approved but not until 16 June. In the meantime, local authorization must have been given, for the commercial premiere did take place on 10 May and ran until 18 June. It was first advertised in the Barcelona press on 8 May as the opening attraction of a season of Catalan theatre.<sup>34</sup> By 14 May, it was being billed as a 'grandioso éxito' ('great hit').<sup>35</sup> It ran again at the Apolo from July to September, was taken on tour around Catalonia by the Romea company, and was revived in May and September 1947. There was little about this rather old-fashioned play that would have excited Barcelona audiences in 1946, and no reviews were published in the press: its success must have come primarily from the simple fact of constituting the first opportunity for more than seven years to hear Catalan on stage.

What is not recorded either in histories of Catalan theatre or in the censorship file is that the first performance of *Lo ferrer de tall* was given by the Borràs-Clapera Catalan theatre company on 2 May 1946 at a non-commercial venue, the Fomento Martinense in Barcelona.<sup>36</sup> This must have been a 'trial run' approved by the local authorities in advance of authorization from Madrid, perhaps arranged with the help of the Church. The Fomento Martinense played an important role in getting this first season of Catalan theatre under way: the first performance of Guimerà's *Terra baixa* was held there on 23 May 1946 before a commercial production at the Apolo.

The success of *Lo ferrer de tall* was not an isolated phenomenon. The Borràs-Clapera season included revivals of three other Catalan classics: Santiago Rusiñol's *La bona gent* (Good People) from 21 May and *El pintor de miracles* (The Painter of Miracles) from 26 May, and special tribute performances of *Terra baixa* on 18 June. *Lo ferrer de tall* was brought back to the Apolo in July by Josep Bruguera's company alongside *Lo nuvi* (The Fiancé) by Feliú i Codina and Rusiñol's *L'auca del senyor Esteve* (The Ballad of Senyor Esteve). One of the hits of summer 1946 was Sagarra's *L'Hostal de la Glòria*, which after two months at the Teatro Barcelona transferred to the Victoria for a further month. The restriction of the number of theatres licensed for performances in Catalan has sometimes been exaggerated: Ciurans claims that plays in Catalan could be performed in only one Barcelona theatre at a time, with a few venues taking turns.<sup>37</sup> However, listings in the press from 1946–49 frequently show at least three Barcelona theatres simultaneously offering shows in Catalan. The *cartelera* for 24 July 1946 lists six Catalan titles (at the Apolo, Barcelona, Coliseo Pompeya, Condal, Romea and Victoria) and seven Castilian ones (at the Borràs, Calderón, Español, Poliorama, Tívoli, Comedia and Principal Palacio). Long-established companies that had turned themselves into *compañías de teatro español* in 1939 were now re-branded as *compañías de teatro catalán* (Vila-Daví, Borràs-Clapera and Pujol-Fornaguera) and were joined by new companies specializing in theatre in Catalan.

Sagarra is often identified as the first Catalan playwright to have a new play staged: his *El prestigi dels morts* (The Prestige of the Dead) was authorized with no problems in September 1946 and premiered on 17 October at the Teatro Romea. However, the Valencian 'comedia lírica folklórica' ('folkloric musical comedy') *La cotorra del mercat* (The Parrot in the Market) by Paco Barchino and Leopoldo Magenti, could be regarded as the first new work in Catalan to be staged in Barcelona, at the Teatro Condal from 17 July 1946 following a successful run in Valencia. This show had some trouble with the censors, but not for its linguistic identity: 'Alguno de los ritmos, como el bugui-bugui, eran considerados escandalosos por aquel entonces. No obstante la revista alcanzó un éxito extraordinario, representándose también en Barcelona, con lo que sobrepasó el millar y medio de puestas en escena' ('One or two of the musical styles, such as the boogie-woogie, were considered

scandalous at the time. Nevertheless, the show was extraordinarily successful and was transferred to Barcelona, the total number of performances reaching more than 1500'.<sup>38</sup> *El prestigi dels morts* was also preceded by Salvador Bonavia i Panyelles's musical *La Pinxeta i el noi maco* (La Pinxeta and the Likely Lad), which premiered at the Teatro Victoria on 24 July 1946 and ran until 1 September.

By the time Cecília A. Màntua made her theatrical comeback in the 1950s, performances in Catalan by professional and amateur companies were a normal feature of the Barcelona theatre scene, although not a prominent one. Theatre in Catalan received no official encouragement or investment and little press coverage, and was still overshadowed by theatre in Castilian. Advertisements for Catalan plays still had to be in Spanish, and the names of playwrights, directors and actors were still given in their Castilian form. The vernacular repertoire continued to be dominated by classics, and few new plays in Catalan were being produced. The lists drawn up by Gallén show the imbalance between new works in Castilian and in Catalan (see Table 1):

Table 1: Number of new plays staged in Barcelona in Castilian and Catalan, 1947–54<sup>39</sup>

Year	Premieres in Castilian (professional companies)	Premieres in Catalan (some in non-commercial venues)	
	Number	Number	% of total
1947	88	16	15
1948	80	12	13
1949	95	13	12
1950	74	23	24
1951	74	11	13
1952	89	15	14
1953	60	14	19
1954	70	12	15

Màntua's first play in Catalan, *La Pepa maca* (Our Pepa), a romantic drama set in a fishing village on the Costa Brava, was first submitted for censorship in June 1950 by the Compañía María Vila-Pío Daví. Although the censor's report complains about an inconveniently topical reference to rationing and the possibility that a female character might appear in a bathing suit, the

production was authorized with one cut – a mildly suggestive piece of dialogue about camping. The censor’s report sneers at the work’s ‘sentimentalismo un tanto vulgar’ (‘rather clichéd sentimentality’) and appears – or feigns – to underestimate its potential impact: ‘Es posible que se represente, pero suponemos que sin pena ni gloria’ (‘A production is possible, but is unlikely to attract much attention, either favourable or unfavourable’).<sup>40</sup> Despite the fact that no serious problem was identified, the decision was delayed for more than two months, with the result that this production was abandoned. It is unlikely that the author herself – a prominent member of the cultural establishment in Barcelona – was the problem, unless her Republican past had come to light. As in the early 1940s, this looks like deliberate obstruction, perhaps motivated by undeclared antipathy to the work’s Catalanness.

Màntua, however, was patient and had other resources at her disposal. She used her contacts at Radio Barcelona to have a version of *La Pepa maca* broadcast in March 1954, which paved the way for semi-professional productions in non-commercial venues in Barcelona in June (three performances at the Círculo Cultural Español de San Andrés, starring the author herself) and December 1954 (one performance at the Teatro Cine Domènech in Rubí).<sup>41</sup> The music for the *sardana* in the play, composed by Jaume Torrents, was released as a record in 1958 and sold well. Consequently, by the time the commercial premiere finally took place on 13 July 1959, *La Pepa maca* was already well known. The censor’s patronizing prediction that it would go almost unnoticed was satisfyingly confounded. The run at the Teatre Romea lasted until 18 September, followed by a further month at the Talía and a successful tour around Catalonia. Amateur groups were queuing up to perform the work (which they were still doing occasionally in the early 1970s):

Cecilia A. Mantua nos suplica publiquemos la siguiente nota, para agradecer a toda la prensa y público en general la excelente acogida que durante 200 representaciones consecutivas de “La Pepa maca” se le ha dispensado en la ciudad de Barcelona [...]. Todas las compañías de aficionados pueden representarla a partir de esta fecha en Barcelona ciudad, sin necesitar previas autorizaciones por parte de autora. En el resto de Cataluña sigue representándola brillantemente la Compañía del Teatre Romea, agotando las localidades en cuantos teatros se representa, y es la única compañía autorizada para representarla.<sup>42</sup>



(Cecilia A. Mantua has asked us to publish the following note to express her thanks to the press and public for the excellent reception extended to *La Pepa maca* in Barcelona over the course of 200 performances. As from today, all amateur companies may perform the play in Barcelona city without the need to seek permission from the author. In the rest of Catalonia, the Teatro Romea company continues to perform *La Pepa maca* brilliantly to full houses wherever it is staged, and is the only company authorized to stage it.)

By April 1960, when Mântua published a novel based on *La Pepa maca*, there had been more than a thousand performances all over Catalonia. Whatever obstacles had been standing in the way of her triumph as a Catalan playwright writing about Catalan people and settings were now swept away. Between 1959 and 1963 she enjoyed a string of successful premieres of new work and plays written years earlier, some of them having been piloted in the same way as *La Pepa maca*, by means of a radio production and a small number of performances at a non-commercial venue. *La cançó de la florista* (The Song of the Flower Girl, 1959), *La cinglera de la mort* (The Crags of Death, 1960), *Princesa de Barcelona* (Princess of Barcelona, 1960), *María Coral* (1960), *Diana a l'oficina* (Diana at the Office, 1961), *L'inventor del Carrer Gran* (Inventor on the High Street, 1962) and *Història d'un mirall* (Story of a Mirror, 1963) were all authorized relatively quickly and unproblematically, albeit with occasional cuts. Another sign of the gradual loosening of the constraints on theatre in Catalan was that these plays were being reviewed fully (if not always enthusiastically) in the press. These years in which Mântua established herself as one of the leading authors on the commercial Catalan stage also saw the beginnings of the Independent Theatre movement: the Agrupació Dramàtica de Barcelona was set up in 1955 and the Escola d'Art Dramàtic Adrià Gual in 1960.

Mântua's focus on Catalan popular and folk culture was generally regarded by the censors as unthreatening, part of her sentimental appeal to 'el gran público' ('a mass audience').<sup>43</sup> *Princesa de Barcelona*, her biggest hit after *La Pepa maca*, was approved in 1960 and re-examined in 1967. On this second occasion, Barceló's report notes the 'trasfondo de exaltación localista de la vieja Barcelona' ('localist celebration of old Barcelona in the background') but does not identify it as a problem. Aragonés is more explicit in distinguishing between politically motivated nationalism and folksy



regionalism: 'No hay sentimientos separatistas, sino aldeanismo' (There are no separatist feelings expressed, merely provincialism').<sup>44</sup> Cuts were imposed, however, including the following moment of diglossic tension:

LOCUTOR. – Le ruego señora que si quiere interrumpir, no se exprese en lengua vernácula.

CATARINA. – I faci el favor de no dir males paraules que una servidora i la mena no l'heu ofés en res ...<sup>45</sup>

(TV ANNOUNCER [in Spanish]: Madam, if you want to interrupt, would you mind not using the vernacular?)

CATARINA [in Catalan]: And do us the favour of not using bad language, 'cause yours truly and this bloke here haven't said anything against you.)

Màntua does not represent an extreme example of the repressive effect of censorship on theatre. Her pragmatic acceptance of the need to write in Castilian in the 1940s, together with the aesthetic conventionality and ideological conservatism of her work, allowed her to build a reasonably successful career. However, her case casts revealing light on the difficult conditions in which theatre in Barcelona developed in the post-war period, providing specific evidence of both the outright suppression of the Catalan language and the vaguer circumstantial constraints that seem to have weighed particularly heavily on Catalan dramatists. The disdain with which her work was regarded by censors and critics alike was occasioned largely by its Catalan populism, but there is also a gender dimension. A review of *Diana a l'oficina* (1961) asks '¿Hay una masa que responde a los resortes sentimentales todavía?' ('Is there a mass audience that still responds to sentimental devices?') and answers patronizingly: 'En ciertos ángulos del pueblo, sí, y a éstos va destinada la obra. ¿Quiénes son? Los oyentes de seriales radiofónicos. Cultura con minúscula, pero que llena un vacío a quien no tiene en su haber otra cosa que sentimentalismos' ('Yes there is, in certain sectors of the public, and it is at these sectors that the play is targeted. Who are these spectators? People who listen to radio serials. It's culture with a small c, but it fills a void for someone who has nothing to draw on but sentimentality').<sup>46</sup> A statement published by Màntua on *Història d'un mirall* exposes the sexism behind the constant sneering at sentimentalism: 'Yo soy una autora

popular, [...] he tenido éxitos de público, [...] mi teatro es directo y [...] lo corriente es que reciba elogios de ese público – particularmente del femenino, que me sigue a través del teatro y de la radio – y censuras de la crítica’ (‘I’m a popular author, I’ve had plays that have been a big hit with the public. My theatre is straightforward and what usually happens is that it receives warm praise from the public – especially women, who follow me in the theatre and on the radio – and hostility from the critics’).<sup>47</sup> Her work was seen as ‘culture with a small c’ both because of its Catalanness (the language, the settings, the popular culture) and its femininity (the sex of the author and of most of her protagonists, the emphasis on emotional relationships). Its importance in the cultural life of Barcelona in this period was systematically downplayed and undermined by both censors and critics – and we should not forget that some of the censors were themselves critics.

The evidence presented in this chapter provides a more complete and nuanced picture than has previously been available of a series of key phases in the evolution of theatre in Catalonia from 1939 to the 1960s: the enforcement of the complete ban on performances in Catalan; the slightly greater leniency shown towards Valencian regionalism; the significance of the *Pastorets* tradition and the extent to which it was subject to censorship; the difficulties encountered by a Catalan dramatist writing plays in Castilian; the lifting of the ban in 1946 and the extent of the impact of the first seasons of theatre in Catalan; the beginnings of the importance of the non-commercial circuit; the continuing hegemony of Spanish-language theatre through the 1950s; and the underestimated triumph of Màntua as a fully Catalan playwright at the end of the 1950s. The constant factor running through all these phases is the Franco regime’s insistence on treating all Catalan theatre – and indeed Catalan culture as a whole – as ‘culture with a small c’. The language was dismissed as a mere dialect, the cultural tradition as a regionalist backwater, and the desire to produce new work in Catalan as an unnecessary and tiresome irritant, supposedly driven by a few fanatics without popular support. It took Catalan theatre a long time to overcome the effects of these prejudices, but the seeds of its revival can be seen in the period studied here. By the late 1960s, independent Catalan theatre was beginning to have an influence far beyond Barcelona and was regularly challenging the dead hand of state censorship. That process will be illuminated in

the book that emerges from our Theatre Censorship in Spain project.

### Notes

- 1 David George, *Theatre in Madrid and Barcelona, 1892–1936: Rivals or Collaborators?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), pp. 178–9.
- 2 George, *Theatre in Madrid and Barcelona*, p. 178.
- 3 Enric Gallén, *El teatre a la ciutat de Barcelona durant el règim franquista (1939–1954)* (Barcelona: Institut del Teatre, 1985).
- 4 In collaboration with Catherine O’Leary and Diego Santos Sánchez. The project was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council from 2008 to 2011. Project website: <http://www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/tcs>.
- 5 The contents of many of these files are reproduced in Berta Muñoz Cáliz, *Expedientes de la censura teatral franquista*, 2 vols (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2006). Accessible online at <http://www.bertamuñoz.es/exedientes/indice.html>.
- 6 The most comprehensive description to date of the Francoist censorship system is provided in Berta Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el franquismo, visto por sus censores* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2005). For a concise overview in English, see Michael Thompson, ‘The Order of the Visible and the Sayable: Theatre Censorship in 20th-Century Spain’, *Hispanic Research Journal*, 13 (2012), 93–110.
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- 10 *LVE*, 8/3/1939, p. 3.
- 11 See the appendices in Gallén, *El teatre a la ciutat de Barcelona* for lists of works premiered, companies and venues.
- 12 Xavier Fàbregas, *Història del teatre català* (Barcelona: Millà, 1978), p. 267.
- 13 Ministerio de la Gobernación (Madrid), Censorship decision on Marín Melià, *Un revolcò a temps*, 19/12/1939. *Expediente* 463/39 (Archivo General de la Administración [AGA], Alcalá de Henares).

- 14 Francisco Marín Melià, Letter to Servicio Nacional de Propaganda, Ministerio de la Gobernación (Madrid), 24/11/1939. *Expediente* 463/39 (AGA).
- 15 Ministerio de la Gobernación (Madrid), Censor's report by José María García Escudero on Lluch Ferrando, *El Negre*, August 1941. *Expediente* 2428/41 (AGA).
- 16 Fernando Lluch Ferrando, *El Negre*, typescript marked with cuts imposed by the censorship office (1941). *Expediente* 2428/41 (AGA).
- 17 'Nuestro reverendo Prelado pasará unos días en Cartagena', *LVE*, 28/12/1939, p. 3.
- 18 Gobierno Civil de Barcelona, 'Sobre la representación de obras navideñas religioso-teatrales', *LVE*, 31/12/1939, p. 3.
- 19 Josep Maria Benet i Jornet, Unpublished interview with Michael Thompson (December 2010).
- 20 Rosendo Fortunet, *Los pastorets musicals del Vendrell*, typescript marked with cuts imposed by the censorship office (1966). *Expediente* 348/66 (AGA).
- 21 Ministerio de Información y Turismo (Madrid), Notification of authorization of *L'Estel de Natzaret*, 11/01/1967. *Expediente* 356/66, *Fons* 318 (Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Sant Cugat del Vallès).
- 22 Fàbregas, *Història del teatre català*, pp. 268–9.
- 23 Enric Gallén, 'Sobre el teatre professional, amateur i independent a Catalunya durant el règim franquista', in Josep Massot i Muntaner (ed.), *Miscel·lània Joaquim Molas*, 6 (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2010) (Estudis de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes, 61), pp. 121–2.
- 24 Neus Real Mercadal, *Dona i literatura a la Catalunya de preguerra* (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2006), p. 170.
- 25 Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, 'Cine y anarquismo: Listado de películas producidas por los diferentes sindicatos y federaciones de industria del ramo del espectáculo y la cinematografía' (Madrid: CNT, 2001). Online: [http://archivo.cnt.es/Documentos/cineyanarquismo/listado\\_pelis\\_prod.htm](http://archivo.cnt.es/Documentos/cineyanarquismo/listado_pelis_prod.htm) (accessed 15/02/2013).
- 26 Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular de FET y de las JONS, Secretaría General del Movimiento (Madrid), Censor's report by Sr Suárez and Censorship Department's decision on Mantua and Alonso, *A ti vuelva mi canción*, September 1941. *Expediente* 2525/41 (AGA).
- 27 'Cartelera: Teatros', *LVE*, 18/10/1941, p. 8.
- 28 Cecilia A. Mantua and Antonio Losada, Letter to Jefe de Censura de Obras Teatrales, Subsecretaría de Educación Popular, 26/11/1941. *Expediente* 2705/41 (AGA).
- 29 Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular de FET y de las JONS, Secretaría General del Movimiento (Madrid), Censor's report on Mantua and Losada, *Serenata de Schubert o A ti vuelan mis canciones*, December 1941. *Expediente* 2705/41 (AGA).

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- 31 'Gobierno Civil: Regreso del gobernador', *LVE*, 30/03/1946, 10.
- 32 Quoted in Gallén, *El teatre a la ciutat de Barcelona*, p. 111.
- 33 Ministerio de Educación Nacional (Madrid), Censor's report by José María Malagelada on Pitarra, *Lo ferrer de tall*, 04/06/1946. *Expediente* 225/46 (AGA).
- 34 'Cartelera: Teatros', *LVE*, 08/05/1946, 6.
- 35 'Cartelera: Teatros', *LVE*, 14/05/1946, 11.
- 36 'Música, Teatro y Cinematografía', *LVE*, 01/05/1946, 7. The Foment Martinenc is a Catholic workers' educational association (*ateneu*), which still hosts amateur theatre (see their website: [www.fomentmartinenc.org](http://www.fomentmartinenc.org)).
- 37 Enric Ciurans, 'El teatro catalán: una dramaturgia de la imagen', in Osvaldo Pelletieri (ed.), *Teatro, memoria y ficción* (Buenos Aires: Galerna, 2005), p. 316).
- 38 José Soler Carnicer, *Valencia pintoresca y tradicional*, 2 (Valencia: Carena, 2007), p. 161.
- 39 Statistics derived from Appendices 7 and 11 in Gallén, *El teatre a la ciutat de Barcelona*.
- 40 Ministerio de Educación Nacional (Madrid), Censor's report by Javier Rubio on Mantua, *La Pepa maca*, August 1950. *Expediente* 349/50 (AGA).
- 41 Reports in *El Mundo Deportivo* (Barcelona), 04/06/1954, 6 and 23/12/1954, 2. Hereafter, *EMD*.
- 42 'La Pepa maca y las compañías de teatro de aficionados', *EMD*, 22/10/1959, 5.
- 43 Ministerio de Información y Turismo (Madrid), Censor's report by Javier de Valdivia on Mantua, *La cinglera de la mort*, January 1960. *Expediente* 9/60 (AGA).
- 44 Ministerio de Información y Turismo (Madrid), Censors' reports by Pedro Barceló and Juan Emilio Aragonés on Mantua, *Princesa de Barcelona*, April 1967. *Expediente* 182/60 (AGA).
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- 46 Fernando Lience Basil, 'Estreno del sainete original de Cecilia A. Mantua, *Diana a l'oficina*', *EMD*, 24/07/1961, 6.
- 47 Cecília A. Màntua, 'Autocrítica de *Història d'un mirall*', *EMD*, 27/07/1965, 7.

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