Guimerà in Europe and America

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Abstract

The Spanish translations of some of Guimerà’s works and their determined dissemination by María Guerrero’s company in Spain and South America served as the point of departure for translations and performances in other languages and for the opera and film adaptations made in Europe and America over the course of the past century. In the first decade of the 21st century, Terra baixa (Lowlands) still remains the top referent in the dissemination and the international presence of Àngel Guimerà’s theatre.

Keywords: Àngel Guimerà, Catalan literature, Catalan theatre, translation, Terra baixa

Introduction

Àngel Guimerà1 started his career as a writer within the romantic tradition who cultivated both narrative poems with a civil and political bent and the exaltation of a distant past with patriotic leanings as the more lyrical and evocative facet of his oeuvre, focusing on childhood, youthful sentiments and the mother’s death.2 The expressively artistic and dramatic nature of his lyric production was one of the reasons for his immediate and almost exclusive relationship with the theatre until the end of his life. Within the context of the gradual development of certain pioneering propositions in contemporary theatre, Guimerà dedicated his early output to romantic drama written in verse, with titles like Gala Placídia (Galla Placidia, 1879), Mar i cel (Heaven and Sea, 1885) and Rei i monjo (King and Priest, 1888). From the very start, with due acknowledgement of Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and particularly Schiller, this playwright was capable of offering his own unquestionably unique theatre3 based on the internal struggles of characters who obsessively and even pathologically handle the discovery of their hidden identity with denial. In other words, they face up to an intimate reality which violently and dramatically clashes with a social reality laden with tensions, which sometimes leads the main characters in his plays to a process of self-destruction.

Guimerà’s literary journey throughout the 1890s was primarily characterised by the need and desire to write drama in prose with a realistic feel, mainly based on contemporary reality and with an identifiable social background. He used this personal effort to frame and mask an entire series of reflections on the complexity of relationships, feelings and human passions which were anything but idealised. In fact, this is the most personal stage in the creation and consolidation of Guimerà’s texts, those that revolve fundamentally around amorous desire and possession, such as En Pólvora (1893), Maria Rosa (1894), Terra baixa (Lowlands, 1896), La festa del blat (The Wheat Festival, 1896) and La filla del mar (The Daughter of the Sea, 1900).

Working in the midst of Modernism, its development also dovetailed with the gradual dissemination of Guimerà’s plays outside of Catalonia, beginning with Madrid, Buenos Aires and other cities in South America thanks to their propagation by the theatre company of María Guerrero and Fernando Díaz de Mendoza4 and continuing with the European reception of the corresponding theatre and opera versions of Terra baixa.

In the early years of the new century, driven by the desire not to fossilise in the literary sense and pressured by María Guerrero, who was encouraging him to expand his horizons, the playwright temporarily chose a realistic, bourgeois and cosmopolitan model of theatre whose referents might have been the oeuvre of Giuseppe Giacosa and Marco Praga, with titles like Arran de terra (At Ground Level, 1902), La pecadora (The Sinner, 1902) and La Miralta (1905). However, the experience did not work out entirely well, and Guimerà returned to his pathway from the 1890s with texts like Sol, solet...(Sun, Little Sun, 1905) and L’aranya (The Spider, 1906), which constitute the most personal strain of his theatre, “among peasant folk” as María Guerrero noted.5 It is a model of action

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to be present on the Catalan scene. He aired his *Indíbil i Mandoni* (Indíbil and Mandoni, 1917), the tragedy of the origins of a fossilised hair; *Joan Dalla* (1921), a historical play with political intentions; and a couple of contemporary plays, *Jesús que torna* (Jesus Returns, 1917) and *Alta banca* (High Bank, 1921). His *Per dret diví* (By Divine Right, 1926), which his friend the writer Lluís Via readied, premiered posthumously. His death prompted a vast, heartfelt homage from all sectors of Catalan society, precisely when some of his plays – unquestionably *Terra baixa* – had already spread beyond the borders of our culture and enjoyed an international presence.

**Guimerà and the Spanish theatre**

In the web of relations between Guimerà and the Spanish theatre, there are four early factors that help us to grasp the reasons and consequences of their later development. The first is the role of interlocutor that Josep Yxart took on as a critic, connoisseur and friend of a number of highly representative Spanish writers with whom Guimerà also established contact. The second is the positive and fruitful repercussions of Guimerà’s first premiere in Madrid, of *Mar y cielo* (20-11-1891), put on by Ricardo Calvo and the company of the Teatro Español. The third is the attitude taken by María Guerrero, an ambitious young actress determined to revamp the Spanish theatre scene with the support of authors who were heavily influenced by the spirit of the revolution of September 1868. And the fourth is the inestimable role of José Echegaray as a mediator and Spanish translator of some of Guimerà’s most important plays.

Indeed, the staging of *Mar y cielo* drew the attention not only of critics and audiences in Madrid but also of some Spanish writers, most notably the vociferous and unconditional support of Josep Yxart via the *La Vanguardia* newspaper. This Tarragona-born critic’s assessments came at a very delicate time in the development of Spanish and Catalan theatre, one year before Emilio Mario’s company premiered the theatre adaptation of Galdós’ *Realidad* (Reality, 1892):

“Apparently, the success of Guimerà’s tragedy *Mar y cel* in Madrid has not been solely a theatre event, albeit an extraordinary one without greater meaning than all ovations for inspired playwrights. No, it has been something more than that. As can be inferred from the fervent praise in the Madrid press, Guimerà’s play surprised everyone as the unexpectedly vivid and complete revelation of a kind of drama that can in no way be called new, but whose memory had been lost perhaps since Tamayo retired from the theatre. Such vivid characters, so muscular and strong, such human passions and such a high poetic mettle at the same time, the fire of that inspiration intensely and invisibly burning the soul of the characters, the simplicity of the ac-

![Monument to Àngel Guimerà](image.png)
ation, the sober, concise, manly dialogue have reminded Madrid audiences that tragedy is still possible, that the theatre of recherché effects is possible, and that the highest and most moving poetry, without glittering lyricism, is still possible. This is what ensured the success of the Catalan tragedy (read between the lines) after the fluctuations and exhaustion produced by the false grandiosity of some and the anaemic vulgarity of others.  

It should also be noted that the translation of Mar i cel was by Enrique Gaspar, 16 the author of Las personas decentes (Decent People, 1890), the play which heralded the introduction of bourgeois drama in prose into Spanish theatre in a context that was no longer the same as that of the literary generation of “Dumas or Sardou, nor even the next generation of Zola, Becque and the fixer Bunshaft, but a more advanced cohort whose gods were Ibsen, Björnson and Strindberg and who applaud Maeterlinck’s endeavours.”  

The fact that Gaspar was the crucial name in the updating of Spanish theatre in the early 1890s, among other factors, supports the expectations that was aroused when Mario’s company, 13 with Maria Guerrero as the leading actress, premiered Huella de hijos (The Rebellion of the Young, 28-7-1893) at Barcelona’s Teatre Novetats two weeks after the premiere of Galdós’ La loca de la casa (The Madwoman of the House, 6-7-1893).  

The crux of the matter is that between 1890 and 1893, there began to be an irreversible revamping of Spanish theatre which more tentatively corresponded to the revamping of Catalan theatre in an atmosphere in which Guimerà encountered difficulties putting on his productions. Hence the personal acquaintance between Angel Guimerà and Maria Guerrero in July of 1892, 17 when they had both shown signs of modernising their respective fields – the former by performing texts written by “rewamped” Echegaray, Galdós’ and Felip i Codina, and the other by writing the first costumbrist pieces in prose: La Baldirona (1890) and La sala d’espera (The Waiting Room, 1892) — was providential for both, at least until the first decade of the new century. During this extensive period of time, Guimerà premiered a total of 21 texts. Seven of the nine plays performed by Maria Guererro in Spanish premiered before the originals in Catalan Terra baixa / Tierra baja; Mossèn Janot / El Padre Juanico (Father Juanico); La filla del mar / La hija del mar (in Buenos Aires); Andrònic; La Miralta; L’aranja / La arana; L’ànima morta / El alma muerta (The Dead Soul, in Montevideo). Much to Maria Guerrero’s dismay, Maria Rosa premiered on the same day (24-11-1894) in Barcelona and Madrid, and La pecadora premiered on the 11th of March 1902 in Barcelona and on the 3rd of February 1903 in Mexico. There may be at least one explanation for fact that the seven plays premiered in their Spanish version before their Catalan: Guimerà wrote them expressly for a pair of actors who spent a great deal of time offering him all sorts of recommendations and instructions.  

What happened to the other Guimerà texts from those years which were not put on by Fernando Díaz de Mendoza and Maria Guerrero? What were the reasons or circumstances why La festa del blat was not staged in Madrid, for example? Apparently Guimerà liked La festa del blat 19 better than Terra baixa. Both were written virtually in parallel, but he was concerned that the plot twists of the former would not be accepted by Madrid’s audiences. Even though Echegaray, the play’s translator, 16 had liked it, the fact is that Mendoza-Guerrero felt more trapped by the conflict in Terra baixa 20 than by the problem of the anarchist in La festa del blat. However, Guimerà’s fears were stronger 21 and he decided to premiere La festa del blat (24-4-1896) only in Barcelona (two months before the attack on the Corpus Christi procession on Canvis Nous Street on the 7th of June). He did it after deeming that “Tierra baja does not run as much danger and is more likely to be accepted in Madrid” and that “it would be a pity (both you and I say this) if I condemned myself to oblivion in Madrid and Barcelona for one year with two plays on the playlist.” 22  

A year after the La festa del blat affair, Guimerà once again showed signs of his insecurity and concern about displeasing or looking bad in front of his Madrid friends. The dissemination of Missatge a S. M. Jordi I, rei dels hel·lens (Message to His Majesty King George I, King of the Hellenes, 7-3-1897) 23 led to the closure of Catalanist publications and centres, which in turn led to street demonstrations in which the participants wore the barretina, the traditional Catalan cap. One sector in Madrid’s press reported on the issue of “regionalism” and directly attacked Guimerà, who was labelled a “neo-Greek” and accused of heading both Missatge and the barretina demonstration. 24 Most likely consternated by the journalistic and societal repercussions, Guimerà wrote a letter to Echegaray (which I have been unable to locate); in his response, the Spanish playwright tried to calm Guimerà and advised him to issue a public rectification, if he deemed that wise, on a series of specific points:  

“1 That you have not owned the newspaper La Renaixensa for some time.  
2 That you are not the editor-in-chief of this newspaper.  
3 That you have not written anything for it in so many years but occasional article on theatres.  
4 That when the newspaper was suspended you were not at its helm nor do you even know who is.  
5 That you did not sign the message to the King of Greece.  
6 That for a long time you have not signed any document referring to the issue of political regionalism.  
7 That your daughters did not sport the barretina on the Rambla, among other reasons because you have no
daughters (I am not too sure about this; you should know).

8 That nor did you attend the demonstration wearing either a barretina or sashes or emblems.

9 That you honourably profess this or that idea, which are not those of Pi i Margall, and that professing them in no way harms your scientific or literary works.

I have made this list with no other purpose than to organise what you tell me in your letter and to add the part about how your daughters [Aldavert sisters] wore the barretina, because this is the latest telegram."

Echegaray’s letter is nothing but a faithful example of a historical context characterised by the gradual dilution of the Modernist intellectual movement among the participants in Catalanist politics which affected the overall functioning of Catalan literature and greatly touched intellectuals and writers with a recognised public career, including Guimerà. On another order of affairs, the realistic, socially-conscious orientation of theatre which had characterised part of the programming of Maria Guerrero’s company until then began to be revised to open it up to other needs and artistic objectives within a framework in which, parallel to the incorporation of the theatre of ideas and symbolist theatre, manifestations were appearing which, like Edmond Rostand’s Cyrano de Bergerac, earned a response from a broader audience than the aforementioned models. Sensitive to the reorientation and diversity of theatre propositions in fin de siècle Europe, Guerrero premiered Rostand’s play in 1899. Guimerà, who had already finished La suerte (Luck), a dramatic dialogue, with the following motive:

La suerte

Pardo Bazán, Eugenio Sellés and Àngel Guimerà. Origin of two unique initiatives which involved Emilia Guimerà. On another order of affairs, the realistic, socially-conscious orientation of theatre which had characterised part of the programming of María Guer-}

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courage him to stage, in such a colourful and fresh language as Catalan, a dialogue that is not written in Galician simply because it was not possible for the audience to accept it thus, but which, as you shall see, is devised, and felt, regionally? Please tell me whether this is a feasible idea or not, and in the meantime please believe that I remain your faithful friend, Emilia Pardo Bazán."

I do not know whether Guimerà answered her; in any event, Borràs never did perform Bazán’s dialogue. In the case of Eugenio Sellés, Guimerà got much more heavily involved: he translated two texts which were never staged or published in Catalan, but which remain among his papers in the Library of Catalonia collection with a letter from Sellés which paradoxically bears the same date – 5th of June 1904 – as the one sent by Emilia Pardo Bazán. The goal is quite similar, although the tone is different:

"Mr Ángel Guimerà

Dearest friend and colleague,

I wanted to express my wholehearted appreciation for your translations of Las Serpientes (The Snakes) and Los Domadores (The Tamers).

It is as admirable an endeavour as [illegible], and furthermore because the nature of those plays and their style correspond well to the vigorous temperament of your literature.

I would also like to express my gratitude for your praise of them in your affectionate letter.

Yet without a doubt Mr Borràs does not think the same because he seems to have decided not to put them on. He says that there is no time to rehearse them. He has had the translations for many days, the translation of Los domadores since he began to act here, and he has not shown the slightest interest in them, nor has he even shared them. There was more than enough time in so many days to study even one of them if he really wanted to, since after all it is a short, simple act with action and characters.

I am disappointed with this result mainly because you worked so painstakingly in the effort to translate them in so few days. A useless effort and wasted endeavour. I am very sorry to have been the cause of it, and I am also sorry for myself, since I consider Borràs a peerless actor today [illegible] and we would have both reaped success: he and I.

The Madrid season was brilliant. Major triumphs and applause, and crowds at the theatres, especially for your plays. Tierra baja was the biggest hit in terms of both the play and the playwright. I wholeheartedly congratulate you for that.

It came out a beauty.

A warm embrace from your good friend and colleague who holds you in great esteem,

Eugenio Sellés"

Indeed, the Guimerà Collection conserves the bundles of Las serps, “Scenes in one act and original prose by Eugeni Sellès translated into Catalan by Àngel Guimerà. One act”, and Los domadors, “Scenes in one act and prose, original by Eugeni Sellès translated into Catalan by Àngel Guimerà”. If I am not mistaken, after Enrique Gaspar and before Galdós, Sellés was the Spanish playwright who contributed the most to incorporating prose and the contemporary reality into the Spanish stage in the late 19th century from a naturalistic perspective.

What personal interest might Guimerà have had in translating the two plays by Sellés given that he translated no other plays into Catalan? Both short pieces were part of a trilogy – Los domadores (1896), Los caballos (The Horses, 1899) and Las serpientes (1903) – whose common denominator was their treatment of anarchism from a perspective reminiscent of the one expressed by Guimerà specifically in En Pólvora (1893) and La festa del blat (1896). In this vein, the prologue that Sellés published in the edition of Las serpientes (1903) is quite enlightening:

“Las serpientes is the first part of a trilogy that continues with Los domadores and closes with Los caballos. They must be put on in this order in the theatre whenever all three plays are staged together. [...] They are independent and dissimilar in their plots, action and characters, yet they are connected by an ‘inner nerve’ of ideas and underlying purposes.”

It explicitly declares that the total work "runs counter to active anarchisms. And note clearly that ‘anarchisms’ is plural in order to include all anarchy, regardless of where it is from, rising up from the streets or trickling down from the powers-that-be, dressed in either a tunic or in a uniform." (Sellés, 1903, "Prologue", p. 5).

Seeking a subtitle that would encompass the main idea of each play, he noted: “Las serpientes could be given the subtitle ‘How an anarchist is made’. Los domadores could be subtitled ‘How an anarchist is unmade’. [...] The author does not give Los caballos a subtitle; rather he explains that the two anarchies appear in it in place and operating: the ‘bottom-up one, which is the excess of individual freedom, and the top-down one, which is the excess of social authority, despotism denying the rule of law’ (Sellés, 1903, "Prologue", p. 9). We could, then, subtitle it ‘two anarchisms, face to face’.”

If we focus on the plots of both plays, we can better grasp the decision to translate them, most likely based on the ideological affinity between both writers in terms of how the subject of anarchism is dealt with. Sellés’ literary approach to this social issue was as close to Guimerà’s as it was to Ignasi Iglesias’ or Joaquín Dicenta’s, all four of whom were far from the claims of most radical strains of late 19th century anarchist culture. Neither Sellés nor Guimerà attempted to condemn social inequalities or the living conditions of the working classes in order to com-
bat them; rather their aim was precisely to expose them with the goal of understanding them from a moralising perspective which included the redemptive value of love and good feelings.

In those early years of the new century, Guimerà kept his sight set on María Guerrero’s company as well as on Enric Borràs well once he resumed his career as a performer almost exclusively in Spanish. After putting on El camí del sol (The Sun’s Path, 1904), in Barcelona Guimerà consecutively premiered Sol, solet... (17–4–1905, Teatre Romea)49 with Pere Codina and Maria Morera, and two other plays put on by María Guerrero’s company: La Miralta (23–7–1905, Teatre Novetats) and Andròntica (18–12–1905, Teatro Español de Madrid).39

Guimerà was keenly aware of the delicate juncture that the Catalan stage was experiencing, which affected him personally. All we have to do is glance at the letters he sent to Díaz de Mendoza and Guerrero (2–3–1905) and to Enric Borràs (20–6–1905), respectively, prior to the Barcelona premier of La Miralta:

“The new play, the play which I promised you to premier this summer in Barcelona, is already under way. It will be called La Miralta; it is a play of passions. It is strong and tragic and written in prose.

The main characters are wealthy people. It takes place today. La Miralta is an agricultural estate in the Catalan mountains which becomes a factory and falls into ruin. Carlos (Fernando) is an engineer and Débora (María) (I don’t know if it’s written with b or v), his wife, murders a rival in the last scene. How does she kill her? In a new way for María.

Not with poison, a rope, a knife, a working implement, a blow, gas, tickling, a fish hook, a bomb, a car, a club... Ruminante (what a word!) on it. Let’s see who can guess! She kills her in the simplest of ways.

But I am not only writing this play; rather I also find myself required to premiere another at the Romea, because when I got here I became convinced that it would be ill-advised to premiere two plays in a row in Spanish, as the audience here would assume that I was for-

These days I have been racking my brain and silent, all this time under the fear of being unable to make both plays. What a calamity! But the fear has dissipated and now I am fully uncalamitated. Both plays will be ready in due time. The one for the Romea, which will be about country folk, will be called Sol, solet... There is a popular Catalan exclamation which goes “¡Sol solet, vine’m a veure que tinc fred!” (Sun, little sun, come see me; I’m cold!). The main character has not a soul in this world and is seeking the warmth of family. At the end of this play he also commits murder, of course. But here the murder takes place with a farm tool.”40

Guimerà also sent a letter somehow offering his services to Enric Borràs, who had made Mar i cel and Terra baixa part of his repertory throughout Spain. He remind-ed Borràs that he had sent:

“those three tragedies and the two new plays which we could say might have crossed paths in our correspond-ence, which has gone uninterrupted for any reason for so long; because just as I have never doubted your esteem for me for a single moment, I am confident that you have also never doubted that I have always had and continue to have equal esteem for you mixed with admiration that grows stronger every day for all the battles you have won.”41

He was happy that Borràs wanted to put on the plays from his early years as a playwright, but he was afraid of failures because “many years have passed since I wrote them, and just as then I would never have doubted their success in Madrid, now it might be a very good thing that they have aged because the fashions now run in an entirely different direction.” And he added:

“Speaking of the other one, you see how it is going at the Romea. I don’t know how they’ll deal with it. First your loss, and you are forever irreplaceable, and now the loss of Morera and Codina, who were very useful. I assure you that the runs next season will be very dole-

He then sent his regards to Díaz de Mendoza and Guer-

you and Fernando and María? Imagine what a Jesus of Nazareth would come of it! Isn’t it true? The things we would do! I still haven’t given up hope that one day we will do what is worthy of a great company. Imagine Padre Juanico with you, who were so inimitable in it (and I don’t have to say this; it’s already common knowl-edge) and Fernando and Toni, who was also great in it. I know that for now this is all a dream, but some dreams do come true.

And now, before closing, my dear friend, I would like to thank you profusely for touring my plays Terra baixa and Mar i cel through Spain, so ennobled by you. Sometimes newspapers reach me which speak enthusiastically about your performance of these plays, and then I feel so sorrowful at not having you before me to give you a hearty embrace, like the one I am sending you now, your eternal friend, and more than anything the foremost of your enthusiastic admirers.”42

Between 1905, the premier of El alma es mia (The Soul is Mine, 1919) and the withdrawal of the Madrid-based couple Díaz de Mendoza and Guerrero from this play in Seville one year later based on the patriotic discourse in the Jocs Florals of Barcelona, which was presided over by Josep Joffre,43 the relationship between the two sides lost
the fluidity and complicity of the early years. This distancing might have begun when the acting duo left the Teatro Español (1908) and moved to the Teatro de la Comedia, which had different artistic objectives and a repertory focusing on the poetic theatre of Marquina, Villaespesa and Fernández Ardavín, along with certain plays by Benavente, Linares Rivas and the Álvarez Quintero and Muñoz Seca brothers, among others.

Guimerà was unquestionably experiencing a time full of professional transformations which were affecting him personally. As noted above, he was suffering from the crisis in the survival of the Catalan stage, first noted and shaped in the early years of the new century.44 Because of this crisis, like other Catalan playwrights he found himself forced to diversify his output to the utmost and pull out all the stops. He revived his old project, *Per dret diví*, for which he readied a first act in verse,45 and he pondered *Al món blau* (In the Blue World), a project ultimately never completed.46 He worked at the Espectacles Audicions Graner (1907) with the success of *La Santa Espina*47 and with the Sindicat d’Autors Dramàtics Catalans (Union of Dramatic Catalan Authors),48 among other groups. Of everything he wrote, three quite divergent texts – *L’aranya*, *La reina vella* (The Old Queen) and *L’ànima és meva* – were performed by María Guerrero, but the Madrid actress rejected others like *L’Eloi*, a piece in a similar vein to *L’aranya* which premiered at the Teatre Romea (27-3-1906); *Sainet trist* (Sad Farce) which premiered at the Teatre Romea (14-4-1910) and was translated into Spanish by Gregorio Martínez Sierra; and *La reina jove*, which Margarida Xirgu premiered at the Teatre Principal (15-4-1911) in Catalan. Another play, *Jesús que torna*, was performed by Enric Borràs in Catalan (1-3-1917) and in Spanish (8-5-1917).49

**Guimerà in the rest of Europe and the Americas**

Setting aside now the essential projection of Guimerà’s oeuvre on the Spanish stage until his death (18-7-1924), I shall attempt to trace what he achieved in the rest of Europe and the Americas while alive. The fact that María Guerrero and Fernando Díaz de Mendoza’s company had included some of his texts into their repertory was decisive in the dissemination of his plays on both Spanish-language stages and in the theatre and film community of North America.

*Terra baixa* as a paradigm

Everything began with *Terra baixa*, the Guimerà play most often translated into other languages,50 which was the inspiration for two operas, the German *Tiefland* (1903) with a libretto by Rudolph Lothar51 and music by Eugen d’Albert, and the French *La Catalane* (1907), set to music by Fernand Le Borne with a libretto by Paul Ferrier and Louis Tiercelin. Both operas were adapted to the characteristics of the dominant musical codes of their respective cultures: Verism in Germany and “lyric drama” in France. The German version fared better – even today it is found in the repertories of some German-language opera theatres – than the French, perhaps because the realistic facet of Guimerà’s text fit Verism better than the lyric canon.52

The German opera version was based on an Italian version by Giuseppe Soldatin which was apparently never published. The story is nonetheless curious: a Hungarian countess saw a performance of it in Italy, wanted to put it on herself and commissioned theatre agent Wilhelm Minkus to translate it into German based on the Italian version. At Minkus’ request, Rudolph Lothar undertook the translation, and when it was ready it turned out that the countess had gotten married and was no longer interested in it. Despite this, Minkus sent it to different German theatres, one of whose directors, Ernst von Schuch, the head of the Royal Opera of Dresden, became enthused with the prospect and got in touch with Lothar and the composer Eugen d’Albert. Finally, the opera premiered at the Neues Deutsches Theater of Prague (15-11-1903) where it was warmly welcomed by critics and audiences, in contrast to its failure one year later when it was performed in Leipzig (17-2-1904). Upon this poor reception, the publisher of the score, Hugo Bock, asked Lothar and Albert to keep the prologue to the opera, which was based on a retrospective narration by Manelic, but to reduce two of the three acts in the first version. The new, defini-
tive opera, which was premiered once again, this time to success, in Magdeburg (16-1-1905), earned even more recognition when it was performed at the Komische Oper of Berlin, where it premiered on 9-10-1907. In Catalonia, the Italian version premiered at the Gran Teatre del Liceu on the 18th of January 1910; six performances were held under the direction of Franz Beitler. Joaquim Pena wrote the Catalan libretto which premiered at the Teatre Novetats on 23-12-1924.

Doctor Benet Roura Barrios wrote a prologue to the German translation dated the 7th of February 1907, which reveals details about the quick spread of Terra baixa around the world until then:

“The most popular play by Master Guimerà is Terra baixa, and it is put on in theatres abroad in Spanish, Italian, French, Portuguese, Sicilian, English in the United States and the Hebrew dialect of North America, Yiddish (Kalich Theater of New York), Serbian, German and soon it will be performed in Czech. However, in the German language it is not a lyric drama but a musical drama set to music by the famous Viennese piano virtuoso Eugeni d’Albert. [...]”

Apart from these opera versions, Terra baixa was also translated into French by Albert Gelée Bertal (1897), into Czech by Antonin Pikhart (1907), into Russian by Isaac Pawlovsky and A. E. Nikiforakh (1910), into Swedish by Edvard Lidfoss and Karl A. Hagberg (1917) and into Portuguese by João Soler (1939).

In turn, with the title of Feudalismo, Augusto Campana made a Sicilian version which Giovanni Grasso premiered in Barcelona in 1907. The Italian actor included it in his repertory and performed it all over the world: in Madrid, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, Paris, London, Berlin, Hungary and Russia, among other cities and countries.

The dissemination of Terra baixa in other languages and cultures took place through José Echegaray’s translation as opposed to the original text, to such an extent that Echegaray’s version became the common, obligatory reference for its reception in both Europe and America and the point of departure of the different film adaptations that were made on both continents in the first half of last century.

The first translation into English was undertaken by Guido Magburg and William Gillpatrick in 1902 based on Echegaray’s translation. On the 13th of October 1903 it premiered at New York’s Manhattan Theater:

“Once Terra baixa had been translated into Spanish, the play reached not only Madrid but also Latin America. After Guerrero toured the play in Latin America, actress Virginia Fabregas performed the play in Mexico in 1900. In the audience for that performance were Broadway actor Guido Marburg and journalist Wallace Gillpatrick, who went on to translate the play for the American stage. Marburg applied for the translation and production rights. By 1902 a copy of their translation of Echegaray’s translation Tierra baja was deposited at the Library of Congress for copyright protection under the title The Wolf. On March 17, 1903 the New York Times reported that Harrison Grey Fiske had obtained the rights to a Spanish play [...] which in its English form has not been named, [but] will most likely be called Martha of the Lowlands (“News of Plays and Players”).

Martha of the Lowlands premiered in Troy, New York on October 1 of 1903, then opening in New York on October 12 (“Martha of the Low lands in Troy”). The play was also presented in Washington, Pitts-
burgh, and Chicago, and then reports suggest that the show went on to tour other cities (“Mme. Kalich Going on Tour”).

José Echegaray’s version of *Terra baixa* was also used in the adaptation by Camilo Vidal (1909) to the social and cultural milieu of Argentina’s Chaco province. Pablo Podestá premiered the “adaptation” and “reworking” of Vidal’s *Tierra Baja* at the Teatro Odeón in Buenos Aires (4-3-1909), when not only this but also other Guimerà plays were already known by the audiences in that city. Another Argentine writer, José León Pagano, contributed to disseminating the intellectual and literary figure of Guimerà in his book *Atraverso la Spagna letteraria* (1902). Finally, Argentina was also where playwright José Marañón made a parody of *Terra baixa* called *Tierra baja... da*, which was published in 1918.

The film versions
The film industry also took an interest in *Terra baixa*. One film version of it, called *Martha of the Lowlands* (1914), was made in the United States featuring Hobart Bosworth as Manelic and Bertha Kalich as Martha. One year later, Cecil B. DeMille directed the film adaptation of *Maria Rosa* starring Geraldine Farrar, a famous opera singer. The most prominent and controversial film version of which we are aware is the one that Leni Riefensthal filmed, envisioning the character of Manelic as a kind of Parsifal living in Goya’s Spain. This was a project by the German director in which she herself starred with Bernard Minetti in the role of Sebastià. *Tiefland* took almost 20 years to materialise; it finally premiered in Stuttgart in February 1954 and was submitted to the Cannes Film Festival competition that same year to rousing success thanks to the intercession of Jean Cocteau, who was the President of the Jury.

**ON GUIMERÀ’S RELEVANCE**

Since 1939, if we exclude Leni Riefensthal’s film version, the most significant changes in the domestic and international dissemination of Guimerà’s plays have taken place in the past 35 years. Let us begin with the productions of *Terra baixa* according to dramaturgy by Guillem-Jordi Graells (1975) at the Teatre de l’Esborbi; the ones by...
The staging of *Maria Rosa* (1983) directed by John Strasberg, the last three cases according to the corresponding versions made by Josep M. Benet i Jornet. The *Terra baixa* (1990) directed by Fabià Puigserver, director of the Teatre Lliure, featuring Lluís Homar and Emma Vilarasau as the main characters, complemented with a performance of *La filla del mar* directed by Sergi Belbel as part of the Catalan Classical Theatre Series organised by the Centre Dramàtic of the Generalitat in 1992, became the instigation of the renewal and regularisation of productions of Guimerà’s plays. Since then, other productions of his plays have been put on: one version of *Terra baixa* directed by Ferran Madico at the Teatre Nacional (2001), and a couple of versions of *Maria Rosa*, one directed by Rosa Novell (1997) and the other by Àngel Alonso (2004), as well as a new version of *La filla del mar* (2002) by Josep M. Mestres, and *En Pólvora* (2006), directed by Sergi Belbel.

Another major milestone with *Mar i cel* took place when the troupe Dagoll-Dagom created a successful musical based on Guimerà’s play. Xavier Bru de Sala wrote the libretto, which was set to music by Albert Guinovart and premiered and to rousing success in 1988. In 2004, it was re-released to outstanding acclaim in Catalonia and toured around Spain in its Spanish-language version. In 2007, it premiered in German in the Opernhaus in Halle, leaving the original title and adding the subtitle *Der Himmel und das Meer*.

Guimerà is still a universal cultural referent; indeed, we should spotlight two updated productions of *Terra baixa* in both theatre and opera. First, in the 2008–2009 season, the Opernhaus of Zurich’s staging of *Tiefland* was put on at the Gran Teatre del Liceu following the production by Matthias Hartmann, which was totally up-to-date:

“Naturally, Matthias Hartmann, recently appointed director of the Burgtheater, wanted to flee from the concept of (blood and land) [...]. To begin with, Hartmann and the stage designer Volker Hintermeier relativised the vestiges and distanced themselves from the past antithesis between alpine purity and industrial depravation. There is also an act of purification. The sadomasochistic drama around ingenious wild nature, the diabolical, male chauvinist dictator and the beauty who yearns for pure love who is at his mercy has been staged realistically. Hartmann yields a solid, lifelike thriller full of sensationalism in the feelings inspired, which is counterbalanced symbolically by a rainfall of rose petals during the forced wedding. The opera is quite heavy in words, and a handful of exaltations inadvertently sound comical; however, the libretto is better than they say, at least in its representation of the erotics of violence. Ultimately, it is a theatre of vibrant emotions, not necessarily as trivial in the contrasts as has been assumed” (Gerhard K. Koch: "El Parsifal de la pastura alpine”. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 4-9-2006).

However, the most theatrically revolutionary staging that has ever been made of *Terra baixa* was the one by the director of the Staatstheater of Stuttgart, Hasko Weber, with an original script by Kekke Schmidt. It premiered at the Teatre Romea on the 23rd of April 2009 in a process of revamping three aspects that essentially affect the space, the profile of the main character and the condensation and concentration of the play around the triangle made up of Manelic, Marta and Sebastià. In Weber’s production, the action shifts from the flour mill to a bar in Catalonia today, where a unique Manelic appears in the guise of a Black African, an illegal immigrant. Manelic’s unusual illegal situation is harnessed by Sebastià, who offers him a marriage of convenience with Marta, his abused lover, as a way for Manelic to gain legal status. Finally, this version includes a major change in the denouement of the play:

Yet Manelic and Marta’s final flight in Guimerà’s *Terra baixa* in order to be able to live in lofty, Arcadi-

![Figure 6. Manelic. Monument from 1909 to the character in *Terra Baixa*. The shepherd, representing the purity of the solitude of the mountains, is married to Marta, his lord Sebastià’s lover, who hopes to marry her off as a way to overcome his indebtedness, yet without giving up his domineering relations with Marta. Manelic rebels, kills Sebastià and runs far away with Marta.](image-url)
an purity opens up several questions that disturb the viewer: What price have they paid by fleeing from other people to a happiness that they have not yet attained? Can we speak about freedom without the presence of others? Can they truly be free in their solitude, even though they are with each other? As the prisoners of this solitude, won’t they end up turning the supposed purity that surrounds them into a morally infected place? In Kekke Schmidt’s version, the viewer has no time to ask these questions because the playwright believes that the power, and even the death of the one who embodies it with total forcefulness, has effective resources for perpetuating itself since now it is a temporary yet implacable substitute because it must vindicate itself. Schmidt does not leave a crack for hope or even doubt. And after this denouement, we perfectly grasp Marta’s tears that open the play: rebellion implies radical solitude or death, nothing more."

One hundred years after the international dissemination of Guimerà’s *Terra baixa*, we can claim that its relevance is manifested today in the necessary regularity of its presence on Catalan stages, both public and private, and the relation of Guimerà’s *Terra baixa* through the international dissemination of Catalonia’s dramatic literature of Guimerà’s main merits: having ushered in the international recognition of Guimerà and especially Sergi Belbel – see especially: Pere Gimferrer, see especially the monograph by Xavier FàrreGassas. àngel Guimerà: les dimensions d’un mite. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1971, “Llibres a l’abast” Collection, no. 91; Ramon Bacardit. Tragedia i drama en l’obra d’àngel Guimerà. Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2009, “Textos i Estudis de Cultura Catalana” Collection, no. 144.


[11] José Echegaray translated and published María Rosa (1894), *Terra baixa* (1896) and *La filia del mar* (1899). He also translated *La festa del blat*, although his translation was never published.


[13] Regarding the relationship between Guimerà and Gaspar, the Guimerà Collection (Library of Catalonia)


[15] See Roberto G. Sánchez. “Emilio Mario, Galdós y la reforma escénica del xix”. Hispanic Review, no. 52 (1984), pp. 263-279. To Mario, it was a “thesis” play, the kind that “always comes with a disadvantage: they frighten the audience and they refrain from applauding and they don’t tend to yield money if they are salvaged and applauded, and since you have the reputation as a very well-established playwright it pains me that you work so hard and do not earn the money you should earn”; Daniel Poyán. Enrique Gaspar... op. cit.


[19] “I believe, with all due respect to Doña María, that La fiesta del trigo is more likely to be successful than the other: and now that they are both finished it can be seen more clearly in this than in an explanation of the plot. This play which will go first has more intention, more common sense and I think that it has overcome a difficulty that had made me quite wary: making the anarchist likeable, and he is: let us now see what you and our Don José [Echegaray] think. The characters are also better sketched than in Tierra” (letter dated 5-1-1896). In: Guillermo Guastavino. “Doce cartas de Guimerá”. Revista de Literatura, no. 71-72 (July-September 1969), p. 68.

[20] “We do not know any more about the play than what Don José [Echegaray] has told us according to what he has read, and he says he likes it a lot, so everything you have pondered is futile and there is no problem whatsoever. [...] I don’t know on what this fear revealed in your letter is based because Don José says that the play is very lovely and the atmosphere should not inspire fear in you simply because the play we are doing now which is so successful is from the same genre. Forget about abandoning La tierra baja or not trusting La fiesta del trigo, which we are going to read this very night, and then we will write our impressions, even though they cannot carry more weight than the opinion of Don José”, letter from Fernando Díaz de Mendoza to Àngel Guimerá, undated and with the letterhead of the Teatro Español. Guimerá Collection (Library of Catalonia). “It should be dated between the 23rd of February 1896 and the 2nd of March 1896”, says Joan Martori. La projecció d’Àngel Guimerá..., p. 82.

[21] “I told her [María Guerrero] what you told me and I think I have already written you: when I told her the play’s plot she was thrilled, she liked it a lot and thinks it’s better than La fiesta del trigo. I think that the thinking behind the play reveals beautiful virginity; it is like nothing else nor does it have the least bit of vulgarity and it has the hallmark: grandiosity”, letter from Fernando Diaz de Mendoza to Àngel Guimerá. “Viernes 16-95”. Guimerá Collection (Library of Catalonia). “We can date it from the month of August”, says Joan Martori. La projecció d’Àngel Guimerá..., p. 78.

[22] “But you don’t take into account that the worst for me is not hearing even a single word! I appreciate when my good friends speak to me frankly, because if the play is destined to fail (and you have a better sense of this than I do), it’s better to toss it in the fire than to put it on at the Teatro Romea of Barcelona in Catalan to see if the working classes like it, even though I have tried my best not to write a lulling play of distasteful passions. I ask and beg, then, most earnestly for just a little line from Mariita and the latter premiered in Madrid...”.

[24] On the 10th of March 1897 the message, written by the Lliga de Catalunya (League of Catalonia) and the Centre Escolar Catalanista (Catalanist School Centre) was delivered to the Consul of Greece in Barcelona by representatives of 46 presidents and directors of Catalanist corporations and newspapers; the document expressed solidarity with Greece in its struggles against Turkey for the conquest of Crete. The pro-monarchy press labelled the message anti-patriotic and subversive because it aimed to compare the Greeks’ struggle for their independence with the Catalans’ struggle against centralism. The repression fell upon the publications *La Renaixensa* and *La Catalanista*, which were suspended, while Pere Aldavert and Enric Prat were brought to trial, and Catalanist songs like “El Segadors” were banned. The response of the Catalanists and much of the press in Barcelona, even the *Diario de Barcelona*, empowered the Centre Escolar to launch a protest campaign against the repression dubbed the battle of the *barretina*. From the 15th to 22nd of March, thousands of Barcelona residents took to the streets wearing the traditional Catalan *barretina*. Right in the midst of the campaign, the Unió Catalanista published a manifesto: “Al poble català (To the Catalan People), with a print run of 100,000 copies. At that time, Guimerà presided over the Ateneu Barcelonès (Athenaeum of Barcelona) and signed the message, condemned the torture of the prisoners in the famous Montjuïc trials and eliminated the campaign to aid soldiers called “El aguinaldo para el soldado” (The Bonus for the Soldier) with a subscription of aid for soldiers who came back from the colonial war disabled. See Jordi Llorens i Vila. “El missatge a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia” (The Bonus for the Soldier) with a subscription for future theatre, much is unquestionably indebted to Enrique Gaspar (but also, we believe, to Eugenio Sellés). […] This does not mean that both Gaspar and Sellés did not receive critical pans in the 1880s because of their condemnation of the corruption of contemporary customs, since Spanish theatre was entrenched in an idealistic lineage, clinging to romanticism, which had somehow degenerated into an art of recipe and conventionalisms*: Concepción Fernández Soto. *Claves socioculturales y literarias en la obra de Eugenio Sellés y Ángel (1842-1926). Una aproximación al teatro español de finales del siglo xix*. Universidad de Almería, Almeria 2006, pp. 656-657.


[27] It was published, but in the “La Novela Teatral” Collection (Madrid: Oficinas y Talleres de Prensa Popular), no. 196, 12-9-1920.


[29] I see that you have been hearing about the failures of Catalanism. I became convinced that we would never do anything, that Catalonia shine brilliantly with its commercial spirit, that it sacrificed everything to the... drunkenness of making money... This runs in the blood in this country, and every day we see manifestations that this is why we are in Catalonia. For this reason, they have always dominated it and I am afraid that this will remain so until the consummation of the centuries. Every day I distance myself more and more from the merchants of politics. By characters, I prefer to work on my plays, which I can make disappear with one pen stroke if it suits me”, letter from Guimerà to Artur Vinardell (2-5-1904). In: Ángel Guimerà: *Obres Completes*. Vol. 2, p. 1503.


[31] Joan Martori. *La projecció d’Àngel Guimerà...*, pp. 149-160; David George. “Borràs” season”. In: *Theatre in Madrid...*, pp. 117-134. A few months earlier at the Teatre Romea, the company had premiered *El cami del sol* (9-2-1904), a “tragedy” with a Catalanian backdrop and a love story that critics associated with Mar i cel. See Ramon Bacardit. *Tragèdia i drama...*, pp. 306-328.


[33] Letter from Eugenio Sellés to Ángel Guimerà (5-6-1904). Guimerà Collection (Library of Catalonia).

[34] “In conclusion, with prose as the vehicle of dramatic expression, it also seemed clear that it was necessary to change the proportion between dialogue and dramatic actions. Along this pathway, which would be simplified for future theatre, much is unquestionably indebted to Enrique Gaspar (but also, we believe, to Eugenio Sellés). [...] This does not mean that both Gaspar and Sellés did not receive critical pans in the 1880s because of their condemnation of the corruption of contemporary customs, since Spanish theatre was entrenched in an idealistic lineage, clinging to romanticism, which had somehow degenerated into an art of recipe and conventionalisms*: Concepción Fernández Soto. *Claves socioculturales y literarias en la obra de Eugenio Sellés y Ángel (1842-1926). Una aproximación al teatro español de finales del siglo xix*. Universidad de Almería, Almeria 2006, pp. 656-657.

[35] Ermete Novelli premiered *Los domadores* in Italian at the Teatro de la Comedia in Madrid (27-5-1896), Rosario Pino put on *Los caballos* (24-1-1899) at the Teatro Lara in Madrid, and Ermete Zaccioli premiered *Las serpientes* (29-5-1903), also in Italian.


[37] In the former, Sellés showcased the case of Lleó, a man who is sick of poverty who abandons his wife and daughter. He returns with another companion, Pere, with the goal of inciting revolution. However, he finds that during the time he was away his wife has begun to work in a factory in order to maintain Gabriel, their son. Pere suggests that he bomb the factory, but two things stop him: one, he is carrying the bomb in the jacket which is serving as a cushion for his injured son because he has hurt
his head and Lleó would have to rouse him to get the bomb; and two, his wife and Pere’s wife are inside the factory. As a result, the new family situation throttles the attack and manages to vanquish the tamer: the anarchist is ultimately redeemed by the love of his wife and son. In Les serps, Llorenç, a honoured railway worker of the town, lives surrounded by “snakes”: his wife, who complains about the lack of money and the submission to the man; his daughter, Valentina, who shares her mother’s desire for wealth and ostentation; and Pere, the foreman and revolutionary who aims to turn them into his group. Llorenç tries to combat the ambition and materialism of the “snakes”, but he ends up yielding to his daughter’s desires for emancipation and lets himself be convinced by the foreman who offers him money and a blank commission if he causes the derailment of a train filled with troops who are coming to put down a workers’ uprising in the city. The act finishes with the younger daughter asking her father if with this act he will improve their situation. His answer could not be more pathetic: “ask this heap of passions”, referring to the “snakes”.


[39] Pere Codina and Maria Morera premiered La Miralta in Catalan at the Teatre Romea (20-3-1911) and Enric Giménez’s company premiered Andrònica with Margarida Xirgu at the Teatre Principal (22-10-1910).


[46] An incomplete manuscript of the play is conserved among the papers in the Guimerà Collection (Library of Catalonia).

[47] “Here I have found resounding success at the Teatro Principal with Reina vella. La Santa Espina, which, as you know, premiered last year, is put on every day; it will soon reach 200 performances”, letter from Guimerà to Enric Borràs, 1-2-1908. In: Àngel Guimerà. Obres Completes. Vol. 2, p. 1515.


[50] As a point of reference for Guimerà’s translations into other languages, see: <www.visat.cat/traduccions-literatura catalana/esp/llibres-traduits/>.

[51] There are reports of a translation by Eberhard Vogel which was never published. In turn, Lothar’s version was translated into English (1908, version by Rosie H. Elkin), Italian (1909, version by Ferdinando Fontana) and Russian (1911). Lothar also wrote the libretto for La fila del mar, which premiered in Vienna in 1912 under the title of Liebesketten. See Maridès Soler. “La dinàmica dramàtica de La fila del mar, d’Àngel Guimerà i de Liebesketten de Rudolph Lothar i d’Eugen d’Albert: Una comparació”. Zeitschrift für Katalanistik, no. 18 (2005), pp. 197-214.


[56] It premiered on the 28-12-1897 at Théâtre La Bodinière in Paris. Likewise, Maria Pi de Folch translated La reina vella and Rei i monjo into French during the first decade of the century, which is conserved among Guimerà’s papers on deposit at the Library of Catalonia.

[57] Pikhart’s version premiered on the 16th of March 1907 at the National Theatre of Prague. He also translated Mar i cel (1909), which never earned the same acclaim as Terra baixa. See Jan Schiebali. “Projeció internacional de Guimerà”. In: Angel Guimerà en el centenari de la seva

[58] See Manuel Llanas and Ramon Pinyol. "Les traduc-
cions no castellanes de Verdaguer, Òller i Guimerà fins a 1939". In: E. Trenc and M. Roser (ed.). Col·loqui Eu-
 ropeu d’Estudis Catalans. Vol. 1. La recepció de la literat-

[59] Langlandet was published in Modèrma trabadur.
Gleerups Förlag, Lund 1917.

[60] Three performances were put on (9th and 13th of Janu-
ary; 10th of March). See Lidia Bonzi and Loreto Bus-
quets. Compagnie teatrali..., pp. 595-604. The Guimerà
Collection contains a letter and two postcards from
Grasso to Guimerà dated between 1906 and 1907.

Giovanni Grasso: il più grande attore tragico del mondo.
La Cantinella, Acireale 1995. When Grasso died on 14-
10-1930, Josep M. de Sagarra devoted one of his articles to
him, recalling his way of performing: "Giovanni
Grasso has died. This saintly man summoned sweet or-
phonic, Petrioxolesque and Guimeranesque hours from
our infantile, anarchic twentieth century! Grasso had
come to Barcelona to wallow in the stage like a lion, with
a seven-spring knife on his teeth and a vibrant green tear
that fell from his eyes and traced his cheeks full of scars
and blisters like the mountains of Montserrat. The last
time I saw him at the Teatre Barcelona he was totally
swollen, wore a moustache that looked like patent-leath-
er shoes and still had the strength to recite explosive vers-
es, to seduce a candied characteristic and to open a gal-
ant youth from top to bottom. I have seen few men as
Dionysian, as terrific and as tender as Grasso. I imagine
that this thespian would have fared quite well in the days
of the ancient emperors, to perform a drama at the des-
ert of a 20-hour meal, to act as Hercules or Neptune with
a shining, oscillating stage and with a belly brim-
mimg with taunts"]; "L’aperitiu. Grasso". Mirador, no. 91,
23-10-1930, p. 2.

[62] However, in his unpublished doctoral thesis, D. J. Kaiser
adds: "After gaining much attention on stage and screen,
Martha of the Lowlands was finally released in print in
1915 as part of the Drama League Series of Plays. This
edition lists only Wallace Gillpatrick as the translator and
notes that ‘this play is dedicated to the reading public
only, and no performance of it may be given’ (iv). This
same introductory note, however, is preceded by a copy-
right notice crediting both Marburg and Gillpatrick for
The Wolf in 1902. In a translator’s preface, Gillpatrick
notes that ‘the soliloquies and most of the asides [were]
cut’ when Marta of the Lowlands was produced. He de-
fends the authenticity of this 1915 version, however, stat-
ing that the proper office of a translator [is] to render a
foreign work as faithfully as may be, the play is here
printed in its entirety (xxviii)". In: Àngel Guimerà’s Terra
baixa: Three translations. Vol. I. Performing Arts De-
partment, Washington University 2007, p. 82. Regarding
Terra baixa and other translations of Guimerà’s plays
into English, see David George. "Les traduccions de
Guimerà a l’angles". In: Josep M. Domingo and Miquel
M. Gibert (ed.). Actes del col·loqui..., pp. 189-198.

[63] D. J. Kaiser. Àngel Guimerà’s..., p. 81; see also Luis
Pegenaute. "El teatro español de fin de siglo: su re-
cepción en los EEUU hasta 1936". In: Luis Pegenaute
(ed.). La traducción en la Edad de Plata. Promociones y
Publicaciones Universitarias, Barcelona 2001, especially
pp. 222-225 and 254.

[64] Regarding Camilo Vidal’s adaptation, see Jorge A. Du-
batti. "Problemas de teatro comparado. La adaptación
argentina (1909) de Terra baixa de Àngel Guimerà". In:
Comparatística. Estudios de literatura y teatro. Biblos,
Buenos Aires 1992, “Colección de Literatura Com-
parada” Collection, no. 1, pp. 45-62.

[65] A. Aisemberg. "Pablo Podestá". In: Osvaldo Pellet-
tieri. Historia del teatro argentino en Buenos Aires. La
enunciación cultural (1884-1930). Galerna, Buenos

Aires (1880-1930)". In: Actas del III Congreso Argentino de
Hispanistas. Asociación Argentina de Hispanistas and Uni-

[67] See Enric Gallén. “Ángel Guimerá, de José León Paga-

[68] It was published in the "El Teatro Nacional" Collection,
no. 26-27, 23-11-1918. According to the publication, the
one-act parody "set on the national scene" premiered at
the Teatro Argentino in Buenos Aires in 2-1-1911 in a
production by Florencio Parravicini’s company. Parravi-
cini played the character of Melonich; the other charac-
ters were named La Martona, Sebastián, Tonina, Pepina,
Nora, Tomás, Mason, Trompudo, Melena, Pepino and
Nadon. The action takes place "on an estate in the inland
region; inside a country kitchen. From left to right, doors
that open; in the forum, middle ground a doorway
through which the countryside can be glimpsed. To the
right next to the doorway is a staircase leading to a door
that can be opened covered with a curtain. In the fore-
ground on the right side of the kitchen a table, chairs,
field implements, a milky pudding made with mace, etc." Regarding other parodies of Guimerà, see Joan Mar-
tori. "Les paròdies del teatre de Guimerà". In: Josep M.

[69] See "Filmografia de Guimerà". In: Enric Gallén (dir.).
Guimerà 1845-1995. Department of Culture, Centre
Dramàtic de la Generalitat, Barcelona 1995, p. 119.

tiempo” Collection, no. 208, especially pp. 148-151, 245-
257 and 343-362.

[71] See Àngel Quintana. “De Àngel Guimerá a Leni Riefen-
stahl: el extraño caso de Tiefland”. Versants, no. 42
(2002), pp. 161-181; Àngel QUINTANA and Margarida
Casacuberta. “El nacionalismo como mito: Tiefland,
de Leni Riefenstahl, una interpretación de *Terra baixa* de Guimerá”. At: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/80226953108682617400080/

[74] Regarding the divergences between the Guimerà text and Bru de Sala’s version, see Maridès Soler. “*Dagoll Dagom* y el musical *Mar y cielo*, según Ángel Guimerà”. *Gestos*, no. 22/44, pp. 107-117; Maridès Soler. “‘Les veles s’inflaran...’ La musicalització de *Mar i cel* d’Àngel Guimerà, per Dagoll Dagom i Xavier Bru de Sala”. *Stichomythia*, no. 7 (2008), pp. 123-135.


**Biographical note**

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