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(Re)membering the Disarticulated Body: Catalan Nationalism and Cultural Reconstruction, 1975-2017

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Alícia Hernàndez Grande

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Abstract

This dissertation examines how theatre makers, activists, and politicians staged performances as a tool for rebuilding Catalan cultural identity and strengthening the Catalan independence movement. Through these performances, many Catalonians have sought to define their identity by invoking a retrospective of abuse and trauma, while presenting a united—albeit simplified and idealized—body politic ready for a nation-statehood. In this dissertation, I build a performance genealogy that traces productions from the end of the Franco dictatorship to the 2017 independence referendum. These performances present Catalonia as a historical nation, whose united body politic seeks independence as a form of redress from a traumatic past.

Activists have transformed public performance into a political tool for persuading audiences to join the independence cause. I conduct detailed analyses of four theatrical productions in line with a series of mass demonstrations, which together date from 1977 to 2017. By tracking these performances chronologically, I show how, during the last forty years of Spanish democracy, artists and activists build upon one another to create new performances, each time defending Catalonia's culture, language, and right to independence. Across my case studies, I trace the repertoire of Catalan identity as the creators' political aims shift from cultural restoration, to exceptionalism, to secession. Chapters 1 and 2 provide close readings of the development process of two anti-Franco productions, *La Torna* by Els Joglars and *Mori el Merma* by La Claca, which toured during the Spanish transition to democracy when theatre makers took risks by challenging changing censorship, thus pushing the limits of political expression. Chapter 3 closely examines two showcase performances from the 1992 Barcelona Olympics Opening Ceremony: *Mediterani, Mar Olímpic* by La Fura dels Baus and *Tierra de Pasión* by Manuel Huerga and Pepo Sol. The two performances provided contrasting readings of

the host nation: one of Catalonian civilization begotten from Greece, the other of the Spanish stereotypes popular with tourists. Chapter 4 shifts to the performative *Diada* demonstrations, which publicly celebrate Catalonia's national day while also demanding independence from Spain, demonstrating how organizers use performance to convince their supporters and the wider world that a Catalan nation-state is feasible. Using an autoethnographic approach, the epilogue explores impromptu performances during my own experience of the October 1, 2017 Catalan Referendum for independence. Voters used their bodies and appearances to emphasize the referendum as a democratic exercise and a form of redress for the generation that survived the Spanish Civil War.

In this dissertation, I develop an interdisciplinary research methodology to bring in new voices to the understanding of Catalan theatre and performance history. By coupling archival research with interviews, broadcasts, and autoethnographic work, I correct the argument that anti-fascist Catalan theatre ended alongside the France regime. Instead, I reveal how anti-fascist movements developed and borrowed from each other in their own shift from opposing the Franco regime to supporting an independence cause for Catalonia.

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Introduction

Toppling Franco: Public Performances of Catalan Nationalism

In October 2016, Barcelona was overwhelmed by protesters after a headless statue of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco was installed as part of an art exhibition outside El Born, a cultural center and historical museum dedicated to human rights and commemoration. Meant to elicit new understandings of how fascist symbology continues to exist in Spain's streets, the beheaded statue was one of three altered statues from the Franco regime, part of the exhibition *Franco, victòria, república: impunitat i espai urbà* (Franco, Victory, Republic: Impunity and Public Space).[1] The statue of Franco atop his horse, which was created in the 1960s, had been found forgotten in a city storage unit. While in storage, an unknown person had sawed off the dictator's head. The public outrage, however, did not stem from the statue's beheading, but from El Born, a museum dedicated to the victims of human rights abuses, exhibiting Spain's fascist dictator. Franco, in his 1939 to 1975 regime, had maintained a reign of terror throughout Spain through imprisonment, extra-judicial killings, and repression of political opponents, as well as through targeted, systematic attack against Catalan and other minoritarian identities. Over the course of its week-long exhibition outside El Born, the statue was abused, defaced, and eventually destroyed by anti-fascist protestors.

For these protestors, the beheading of the statue was not enough to satiate their anger and rejection of fascism; only complete destruction would satisfy them. Over several days, protestors attacked the statue, changing its appearance to better reflect the public outcry: a pig's head was attached to the statue's neck; the statue was splashed with blood red paint; the Catalan independence flag and the LGBTQIA+ pride flag were painted onto the horse or hung from Franco's shoulder lapels like a cape; novelty inflatable sex dolls were added to either side of

Franco's body; and more. Protestors stood vigil around the statue, holding up signs with their family members' names on them—each one a victim of the Spanish Civil War or of the subsequent reprisals and repression. On October 20, 2016, three days after it was installed, the statue was toppled by protestors, some bringing their dogs to urinate on the wreckage. After its toppling, the statue was removed from El Born and carried away in a garbage truck.

This emotional outburst upon Barcelona's streets is indicative of the latent anger held by survivors and victims' families over the lack of official redress for Spain's violent twentieth century. Not only did the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) bring about significant loss of life, but new cultural policies also established by the dictatorship sought to destroy Spain's cultural diversity, targeting regions like Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia for a cultural reprogramming. These regions were not only subject to the repressive dictatorship, but also saw their culture and language banned from public life. In fact, the longevity of the Franco regime means that violence against political enemies lasted well past the war, with the last political executions coming in 1974, during the final years of the Franco regime as social and political violence yet again increased.[2]

After Franco's death, the Spanish military agreed to transition to a constitutional democracy, a process called the Spanish Transition (1975-1978). The Transition, however, was predicated upon a "law of impunity" that covered all acts from before June 15, 1977.[3] This impunity was required by the Spanish military to cede power, arguing that such a law would allow a clean slate for all, including agitators, activists, and armed groups that had opposed Franco during the Spanish Civil War until the death of the dictatorship. However, this amnesty also applied to the Franco dictatorship.[4] The Spanish Constitution considers the actions of the dictatorship merely "political acts" as part of a tit-for-tat violent conflict between the Spanish

military and leftists groups instead of systematic and targeted repression by the Franco regime against its political and cultural opponents.[5] Returning the statue of Franco to public exhibition allowed a temporary outlet in the streets of Barcelona for survivors, victims' families, and other anti-fascists to perform their anger and outrage at the perceived injustice at the center of the Spanish Constitution and the Spanish Transition that did nothing to address Franco's violent repression of many minority communities, including Catalan cultural identity as a whole. In today's Catalonia, Catalan cultural activists assert their identity simultaneously while rejecting the Franco regime. As Spanish democracy endures, publicly performed assertions of Catalan identity and nationalism become places of recovery of Catalan identity as well as attestations of Franco's dictatorship.

This dissertation considers these public performances of Catalan nationalism from the end of the Franco regime in 1977 to the contentious Catalan Independence Referendum of October 1, 2017. The Spanish Transition promised a clean break from the past, in part by creating a public taboo against discussing the violence inherent to the Franco dictatorship. By discouraging discussion, the Spanish Transition created a "memory crisis" where "in the desire to slay the father (Franco), Spain's recent past became, to echo David Lowenthal's felicitous phrase, 'a foreign country.'"[6] In Catalonia, the social taboo concerning the past and the legal barriers protecting the Franco regime placed the region in a paradoxical position: the end of the dictatorship allowed the Catalan region to embrace and recover its distinct language and culture, but simultaneously prevented the Catalan people from openly processing the repression they endured, which Catalan historian Josep Benet has characterized as a *cultural genocide*. In such public performances as theatrical plays, court trials, opening ceremonies, public protests, and electoral events, I consider moments of rupture, during which the paradox proves impossible to

sustain and the traumatic impact of the Franco regime is publicly revealed. In these moments, I show how the Catalan Independence Movement, a loose affiliation of grassroots initiatives and political activists seeking secession, provide an alternative reading of the Spanish Transition, in which a Catalan nation-state is proposed as a mode of redress for past trauma and violence.

Furthermore, this dissertation demonstrates that after the Spanish Transition, performances of Catalan identity expanded from the theatre to para-theatrical arenas, such as sporting competitions and public protests. As scholars like Jennifer Duprey, Sharon Feldman, and Mercé Saumell have noted, the social and political changes of the Spanish Transition created a rupture in theatre across Spain.[7] During the Franco regime, "non-professional," independent theatre was commonly intertwined with resistance and underground political movements, whereas the Franco regime used the professional stage as a propaganda machine, only allowing portrayals that emphasized Franco's political aims. Theatre artists not part of this government apparatus turned instead to theatre created outside of professional venues or systems, such as student theatre or itinerant theatre groups. After the regime ended, most of these theatre companies disbanded, no longer united by their original *raison d'être* of opposing the regime through theatrical performance. Spanish theatre history scholars tend to argue that the widespread disbanding of these non-professional theatre companies in the aftermath of the Spanish Transition is proof that this kind of political amateur theatre form could not exist without the Franco regime.[8] However, I argue that in Catalonia, the performance strategies and impulses present in anti-Franco theatre troupes can still be found today in non-theatrical public performances. These demonstrations for Catalan Independence are a part of the performance genealogy of anti-fascist theatre during the Franco regime. In other words, although the

dictatorship ended in 1975, the impact of the Franco dictatorship upon Catalan cultural identity and nationalism has continued in a way that is particularly visible in these para-theatrical venues.

This dissertation applies a performance lens to Catalan studies. Through five case studies that bridge the end of the Franco regime to the 2017 Referendum for Catalan independence, performance analysis allows us to see how Catalan identity, culture, and nationalism are articulated and defended by artists, activists, and politicians. This dissertation's first two case studies begin during the Transition. The 1977 Spanish tour of Els Joglar's *La Torna* (The Counterweight) tells the story of the last executions by the Franco regime through a masquerade that satirizes the Spanish military. The 1978 European tour of La Claca's *Mori el Merma* (Death to the Tyrant), used giant puppets to celebrate Franco's death as the Spanish military threatened to derail the Transition and reassume power. In these two cases, theatre was still an active venue for biting political critique against the saber-rattling of the Spanish military. This dissertation's latter case studies—the 1992 opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the revival of the *diada* (National Day of Catalonia) protests in 2011, and the Catalan Independence Referendum in 2017—reveal the growing frustrations with the forced limits of the Transition, which protected the Franco regime and prevented officially discussing the past in anything more than a whisper. In these three later cases, Catalan identity was and still is being performed outside of the theatre, in public spaces. Every case study in this dissertation marks a moment in which the articulation of Catalan cultural identity becomes a larger public performance, as frustrations increase, performances become more about political independence from Spain than about Catalan cultural recovery. For the independence-minded performers in these moments, the only way to fully recover Catalan cultural identity is to create a nation-state free of Spain.

Body and State: The Performance of Cultural Recovery

Since 2000, archeologists and victim advocacy groups have been opening mass graves dating from the Spanish Civil War. Images have proliferated on news and social media of jumbled skeletons, buried in fields and prairies, some showing signs of torture, others still holding tokens of their lives, like coins or a baby's rattle.[9] Yet, the opening of these graves has moved at a glacial pace. In Catalonia, it is estimated that 509 mass graves exist due to violence committed between 1936 and 1975. Of these, only forty have been opened, with 341 bodies recovered. However, of these bodies, only eight have been positively identified.[10] These discouraging numbers come from the political and financial cost of exhuming mass graves, meaning that the majority lie untouched, an indication that recovering Spanish Civil War victims and returning them to their loved ones is a seemingly impossible task.

As sociologist Francisco Ferrándiz has shown, public opinion in Spain is shifting as "the exhumed skeletons are, as a collective body, increasingly claiming visibility and prominence within the category of victims of the Civil War and Francoist repression."[11] These skeletons from Spain's violent twentieth century are proving true to playwright Federico García Lorca's famous statement that "in Spain, the dead are more alive dead than in any other place in the world."[12] The jumbled mess of bones unearthed with each of these excavations does more than merely document the physical terror endured during the Spanish Civil War and Franco regime but also represents the psychic horror of victims being buried with no headstone or recognition. Some graves, like the mass grave El Fossar de la Pedrera in Barcelona, hold up to 4,000 bodies. Determining the identity of an individual within such a grave is near impossible, and many mass grave locations are unknown or are in such states of decay that current DNA technology cannot always provide positive identification.[13]

Metaphorically, these disarticulated and unidentifiable bodies speak to Spain's and Catalonia's struggles to define their culture and history. An explicit policy of the Franco regime was to develop a unifying identity to apply over the entire Spanish state with which to replace the system of semi-autonomous regions, several of which have distinct languages, cultures, and national identities, like Catalonia, the Basque Country, and to a lesser extent, Galicia, Aragon, and Andalusia.[14] A single cultural and national identity worked symbiotically with the fascist ideology and Roman Catholic theology promoted by the leaders of the Spanish military. This version of Spanish identity was "used *ad nauseum* to control post-war society, while physical terror was employed as a means of purifying the sins of Spaniards who had supported an 'anti-Spanish regime.'"[15] In Catalonia, Spanish "cultural imperialism" was explicitly aimed at replacing Catalan identity and sought to "reinforce an exclusive construction of the fatherland,"[16] as Franco's Spain. My dissertation's case studies all mark moments of Catalan cultural recovery from the cultural destruction wrought by the Franco regime.

The Body

An overarching Spanish identity, or the Spanish body politic is, to borrow Jennifer Duprey's phrase, a "(dys)functional" and paradoxical space that simultaneously claims to represent the entire nation-state (including the regions like Catalonia) while rejecting regional cultural identities as not Spanish.[17] In the democratic era, distinguishing the body politic from the cultural restrictions imposed by the Franco regime still proves challenging. Defining Spanish body politic is further complicated by centuries of unions and civil wars between the regions and the royal families of the Iberian Peninsula, until the rise of the nation-state in the eighteenth century. It is difficult to find a way to differentiate between the Spanish body politic versus Spanish cultural identity versus the diversity of cultures present within the Spanish nation-state.

Not only is the vocabulary of the nation-state difficult to apply to the pre-nation state time period, but, in English, the nuance of regions is lost through the overall name of Spain or Spanish, which eliminates the crucial denomination of the Spanish language as Castilian, being from the Castile region rather than representative of the entire nation-state. Within this already complex situation, Catalan cultural identity has developed a strongly national and anti-Spanish bent in reaction against the Francoist repression and historical conflict between Catalonia and the political center of Madrid.[18] Trying to define Catalan body politics means also taking into account the entangled cultural practices, historical connections, and linguistic traditions, some shared with the wider Iberian Peninsula and with Southern France and others specific to the region, creating a mess as tangled as the bones within the mass graves that dot the Catalan countryside.

This dissertation illuminates how the Catalan Independence Movement has responded to the (dys)functional body politics by using actual and constructed human bodies. Representing the body itself becomes a way to define an overarching Catalan identity and, by extension, nation. This is accomplished through recalling the jumbled skeletons in mass graves (Chapters 1, 3, and 5/6), gathering large groups of people (Chapters 4 and 5/6), and the use of Catalan puppet traditions (Chapters 2 and 3). If the economic and historical arguments about Catalan independence have counterarguments, the physical dimensions of a body—dimensions that extend past death in the form of a skeleton that can be exhumed—provide an irrefutable, three-dimensional way to view and interact with Catalonia.

Catalan national identity has historically often been expressed through puppet bodies—or by treating human bodies as puppets. After 1975, a significant part of post-Franco cultural recovery included reviving the folk tradition of traditional puppets like the *gegants*, or giants,

and *capgrossos,* or bigheads, that feature in Catalan summertime festivals. During the forty years of the Franco regime, Catalan festivals were prohibited, leading to the disuse of traditional Catalan puppets. The puppet theatre thus became a way to perform anti-Francoist rhetoric and art.[19] Since puppet theatre was collectively dismissed by Francoist censors as children's entertainment and hence unworthy of strict censorship, the art form became a hidden-in-plain-sight vehicle for anti-Franco performance.[20] As the dictatorship stretched on from 1939 to 1975, anti-fascist theatre makers turned to puppet theatre to escape censure and create a new style of Spanish theatre.

In Catalonia, due to its history of cultural, linguistic, and governmental repression, the puppet body became a site to "address questions of cultural memory and identity"[21] to reconstitute Catalan cultural identity, and render the Catalan body whole again. As scholar Cariad Astles has argued, the puppet body is a "specific site of [identity] negotiation, through its presence in carnivalesque performance or by its absence, fragmentation, or imprint."[22] Through what the puppet body does and where it is used, "puppet theatre is therefore understood as symbolic action which, in performance, represents the concerns about culture through the body."[23] Hence, the puppet's body becomes a site for the performance of Catalan identity and memory.

As Franco had banned the Catalan language from the stage, "the great rage and rebellion that [the Franco regime] provoked gave rise to a particular expression of visual performance" among Catalan theatre groups.[24] Theatrical styles like mime, experimental theatre, and puppetry were picked up as a way to create theatre where meaning is made through spectacle, gesture, and movement, avoiding language altogether and creating opportunities for subversive moments.[25]

Catalan theatre groups thus utilized styles that allowed them to completely eschew the Castilian language onstage, simultaneously creating a theatrical aesthetic and a political statement.

In this dissertation, I am particularly interested in analyzing how post-Franco performances of Catalan national and cultural identity utilize human and puppet bodies. Puppets, at their core, are inherently subversive because, in the words of Peter Schumann, they "are not obligated to [the general sense of everything] and instead take delight in the opposite sense."[26] The puppet can defy gravity, age, time, and more. Their defiance, their existence within opposites, makes the puppet particularly apt for subversion and opposition. The puppet also allows for violence to be physicalized, understood, and repeatedly recreated on stage: "one reason puppetry so often waxes violent is that it *can.*"[27] They can move, come together, and be ripped apart and still finish the performance and repeat it the next day. These dynamic and perhaps immortal puppets contrast sharply with the bodies within the mass graves, whose visible bullet holes and marks from torture attest to the human body's vulnerability in the face of war, summary trials, and firing squads. While the mass graves remain fixed symbols of the Francois past, the puppet's flexibility allows the Catalan cultural movement to adjust and change to meet the future.

The Theatrical State

This dissertation considers the lingering impact of the Franco regime's repression, specifically upon Catalan cultural identity, which was explicitly targeted by the regime, and the cultural destruction that continued after the dictatorship ended. While the fascist government controlled cultural output through its police and prison systems, an important element of the dictatorship's repression functioned through self-censure. To avoid punishment or official censure, individuals adjusted their everyday speech, actions, associations, and creative work. As

was intended, as Catalans used self-censorship to avoid punishment, they participated in their own cultural destruction. This phenomenon has been discussed by Berta Muñoz Cáliz, who characterizes the aftermath of the Franco regime as a kind of Stockholm Syndrome in which "the ghosts of Francoism have been internalized by its victims" leading to self-sabotage.[28] Sharon Feldman further argued that the abundance of self-censorship during the dictatorship had repercussions on the next generation of theatre makers. Citing how post-Franco plays rarely set their works in Catalonia or directly addressed Catalan culture, Feldman calls this *autoodi,* or self-hatred, where the Franco regime's repression of Catalonia extends past the dictatorship itself into Catalan self-expression itself.[29] I further their argument by uncovering how self-censorship led to performance choices on stage and on the streets during and after the Franco dictatorship.

I characterize the everyday self-censure enacted in response to the dictatorship as akin to what Suk-Young Kim has called as a "theatrical state." Kim argues that a theatrical state occurs when the state provides an idealized view of society for its citizens to uphold, often under threat of violence should they refuse.[30] Kim's examination of the rigid and long-lasting dictatorship of North Korea leads her to conceptualize the many, constant performances North Korean citizens engage in their everyday lives to prove their fealty to the state. A theatrical state enforces these daily performances, rendering the citizen a simultaneous victim and abettor to the state's violence and repression. The power and impact of a theatrical state upon its citizens becomes clear once we consider the constant performances enacted by these citizens to affirm their adherence to the state to others around them and, eventually, to themselves.

Unlike Michel Foucault's "panopticon," the centrally located and omniscient guard tower whose potential ability for constant surveillance impacts behavior,[31] Kim's theatrical state adds the quasi-constant element of pomp and circumstance created by the state to legitimize its

existence and its constant need for adherence. Authoritarian regimes that engage in theatrical states use public spectacle like military parades, speeches, or the threat of outside enemies to enforce not only constant surveillance but also allegiance behavior within citizens themselves. While the Foucauldian Panopticon is also an appropriate metaphor for many authoritarian governments—in fact, the Model Jail in central Barcelona was built in the 19th century as a panopticon and then used by the Franco regime and others to house prisoners—, understanding the Franco dictatorship as a theatrical state allows us to see the role of public performance in the Francoist everyday. I argue that, because the theatrical state put such pressure on removing Catalan identity from everyday behavior, public performance has in turn been an essential aspect of the Catalan Independence Movement and Catalan cultural recovery.

A theatrical state, in Kim's sense, was in play throughout Franco's dictatorship. The regime began after the bloody Spanish Civil War, during which citizens themselves were, at times, viewed as enemies of the state. Perhaps the most paradigmatic example of civilian suffering during the Spanish Civil War was the bombing of the Basque town Gernika (called Guernica in Spanish), where the town was subjected to an extensive aerial bombing on the night of April 26, 1937.[32] The bombing of Gernika, a town known to have a high number of civilians and little tactical advantage, was part of a war that saw no distinction between civilian and combatant and that led to the tragic loss of life throughout Spain. Violence and repression continued in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War; as Paul Preston has shown, the loss of life after the war was greater than during the war.[33] The dictatorial police further compounded the actual violence of war and executions by preventing public performances of mourning: family members were disallowed from mourning their dead, in the form of visiting gravesites, holding mass in honor of the departed, or wearing black.[34] As previously noted, mass graves were

purposefully forgotten in that their placement was never marked or later removed from public listings, preventing family members from ever achieving closure. In some instances, even the birth certificates or marriage information of an executed prisoner were struck from the record, erasing the person legally and leaving family members with little to no recourse for their recovery.[35]

In 1955, the Eisenhower administration sought a rapprochement with the Franco regime, hoping to establish US military bases on Spain's strategically significant Mediterranean coast and gaining an advantage in its Cold War against the Soviet Union. To do so, however, Eisenhower required the regime to loosen its grip on Spanish society. Although the dictatorship did concede to some freedoms in order to comply with American demands, in his theatrical state, most citizens maintained their performance of self-censorship nonetheless. Franco could satisfy the demands of the Eisenhower administration and subsequent American presidents without removing the apparatus of the theatrical state, confident that citizens would continue to outwardly perform their allegiance in self-preservation until the performance became commonplace.

Spain's theatrical state also forced adjustments to cultural and linguistic systems. Catalan language was banned from public life. Local festivals and cultural exhibitions were prohibited. Migration from other parts of Spain to Catalonia was encouraged to dilute the Catalan population. These and other strategies were purposefully applied to Catalonia as well as to the Basque Country and other regions of Spain with distinct cultures and languages. For Franco, destroying these regional identities would allow for a cleansing of Spain, removing differences and allowing for a more unified (Castilian) country. Franco further saw himself "as a great hero like the saintly warrior-kings of the past" who "could restore the monarchy to its sixteenth-

century greatness but only after he had assiduously eradicated the poison of three misspent centuries."[36] Through enforcing a theatrical state, the Franco regime sought to destroy regional cultures just as much as they suppressed political enemies.

However, because Franco's theatrical state depended on self-censorship, individual citizens bore the brunt of adjusting their everyday actions, speech, and performance. Stepping outside of these limits could bring on police violence and arrest, from a reprimand from the neighborhood guard to admonishment to "speak Christian" (meaning to speak Castilian Spanish), to beatings, arrests, and other brutalities by the national police. Although the dictatorship ended with Franco's death, the performances caused by its theatrical state did not. Like any traumatic experience, memories of the Franco regime persisted, infiltrating everyday life even after the danger was past. Thus, the Franco regime and its policies impacted how theatrical and public performances were developed and produced during the democratic era that followed. As Calíz concurs, although a general evaluation of theatrical censorship is possible by analyzing the censorship bureaucracy and the scant archives they left behind, it is impossible to quantify how artists self-censored during and after the dictatorship.[37] This is especially evident when considering public performances of overt Catalan culture, a type of expression that, for the most part, was prohibited until 1975. The productions and performances discussed in this dissertation thus all exist within a performance genealogy indelibly marked by the Franco theatrical state even if they date from the period after his death.

Public Performance

Understanding the impact of the *theatrical state* allows an understanding of the accented set of stakes in public performance. In this dissertation, I understand public performance as events in which a large audience is invited to engage with the actors. Crucial to these public

performances are their novelty: after decades of censorship and the imposition of the *theatrical state*, these public performances are opportunities for alternative narratives. The case studies in this dissertation are all public performances that stand in opposition of the *theatrical state* and censorship, using their performances to assert a Catalan cultural and national identity that could not exist under Franco. Hence, perhaps the most significant part of the public performances discussed in this dissertation are their publicness: the space in which they take place, spaces that were part of the extensive *theatrical state*.

As behavioral scientist Robin A. Harper analyzes, the state can redefine what public space means, creating it or limiting its access through "the relations between citizens and the state."[38] In Franco's Spain, public space was not only a place to reify the dictatorship but also a place of surveillance, where one was evaluated for their fealty. What happens, though, when the state's understanding of public space differs from societal expectations of that space? Or when activists subvert the purpose of a space? This dissertation takes on such questions, considering performances that are subvert the expectations of space such as courtrooms, theatre stages, stadiums, and city streets. In so doing, I analyze these case studies as public performances, where an inherent part of the larger event is the kind of space within it occurs, and how the state sanctions (or does not sanction) that space for such performances.

The Layers of Catalonia

Spain is known for its tourist attractions, such as its beaches, architecture, and cuisine. Among the most visited sites in Spain is the Alhambra, an architectural wonder in Granada, in southern Spain. The Alhambra fortress—used as a palace, castle, mosque, and Cathedral—has a layered history, the site having first been built by the Romans, only to be expanded further by Arabic and Spanish successors. Visiting the Alhambra is akin to seeing all of Spain's history at

once: the building shows its layers, with different architectural eras combined into an amazing and strangely coherent structure. To fully appreciate the building, one needs to understand these layered histories, where one site was home to the center of Arabic Spain, the royal palace from which the Catholic kings gave Christopher Columbus royal endorsement for his expedition, and the symbol of Federico García Lorca's somber poetry. The incoherence of the military fortress, royal palace, religious center, and artistic symbol all in one building encapsulates Spain's long and complex history.

Like the Alhambra, Catalonia has a layered history, some of which is barely imperceptible while other parts routinely demand to be reckoned with. For example, the Montjuïc hill to the south of the city translates to "Jewish mount", recalling the hill as the site of a medieval Jewish cemetery whose exact location is now lost. Shrapnel still embedded in the facades of Barcelona's buildings marks the multiple battles fought in the city between invading Spanish armies and the city's inhabitants. Even now, in the democratic era, political behavior and cultural performances are deeply dependent on the past, pulling from historical events to mark locations with signification. Whether it is to recall a past injustice or reframe Catalonia's position within Spain, Catalan nationalism depends on these significations to reach their audiences.

In this section, I introduce how recent Catalan history has inspired Catalan cultural activists to demand independence. I show how the Franco regime imposed levels of censorship on the theatrical stage to fold the theatre into the state's propaganda apparatus. This theatrical manipulation, however, unintentionally created a vibrant counter-cultural theatre movement, the *Teatro Independiente* (TI), the artists of which developed a theatrical style that could exist and criticize the dictatorship within the bounds of censorship. TI's opposition to the dictatorship

ended during the Spanish Transition as the country's government transformed itself into a representative monarchy. Although this shift into a democratic system presented itself as a break from the past, the Spanish Transition was more of a repackaging of the dictatorship's powerful ministers. The Transition, and the dissatisfaction with it, has given a new adversary for activists turning to theatrical strategies.

Censorship During Francoism

There is no single narrative for the Franco regime's complex and shifting censorship bureaucracy or how censorship developed and changed over the forty years of the dictatorship. Due to changing ideological needs for censorship, bureaucratic restructurings, and external pressure from the U.S. and European countries, censorship laws changed often, creating an inconsistent system and uneven application.[39] The uncertainty of the censorship system made performing and publishing harder, adding to the terror strengthening self-censorship. At the onset of the Franco regime, theatrical censors took a hardline approach, as fascist agents seizing theatre playhouses and purging them of works and artists. The severe theatrical censorship from 1939 to 1950 was predicated on spreading Francoist ideology and propaganda, and adapted its approach to theatrical censorship from Mussolini's Italian fascist and Nazi German models.[40] Censorship laws only allowed select types of entertainment, removing anything risqué,[41] and foreign plays were banned from the stage.[42] In collaboration with the Franco regime, the Roman Catholic Church was another major instigator of what censorship would entail, particularly limiting social themes such as divorce or blasphemy, converting repertory theatre into "yet another tool for political propaganda and from its very first moment [the Francoist government] sought to control it for their own means."[43] The severity of censorship in the first decade of Franco's regime is made apparent by an approximately 25% rate of prohibition of plays submitted for censorship.[44]

Theatrical censorship in Catalonia was a bureaucratic system of political repression and a systematic attempt to malign and destroy Catalan culture, language, and identity. The Francoist government and censorship bureaucracy were deeply suspicious of all Catalan language performances, thinking that even private productions could reach and subvert a large audience.[45] For example, in 1939, the censor required scenes be cut and other shortened for the innocuous nativity play *Els Pastorets* (The Little Shepherds), a children's show that tells of the shepherds arriving in time for the birth of Jesus.[46] In a survey of Catalan plays from 1966 to 1977, Sharon Feldman and Francesc Foguet argue that Catalan theatre artists were subjected to more extensive censorship than their Spanish colleagues, and overzealous censors saw even the most abstract characters and plots as a condemnation of Franco and his regime.[47] Furthermore, theatre censorship also extended to publishing houses, which had difficulties publishing edited play collections or other play scripts.[48] Large burnings of Catalan-language books from public and private libraries, as well as routine purges of Catalan theatre companies occurred in 1939, 1940, and 1941.[49] The Catalan language was banned from the stage, even after foreign plays began being allowed in the 1950s, meaning that foreign language productions were eventually able to be produced in Spain while the Catalan language continued to be marginalized.[50] The regime's theatrical censorship aimed at carrying out the destruction of Catalan in the public sphere.[51]

The biggest change to the censorship apparatus occurred with the Press Law of 1966, which altered theatrical censorship to such an extent as to create a new kind of theatre, one whose influence lasted until well after the dictatorship. Pushed by reformists within the Franco government, the Press Law sought to rehabilitate the Franco regime's reputation within Europe by loosening publishing rules, all the while keeping censorship in practice.[52] The law did do away with advance censorship, meaning that instead of submitting a play to be censored before

publication, productions themselves required prior authorization, and censors attended dress rehearsals or the opening night to gauge if censorship was required.[53] Authors were free to try to push the envelope against censorship, but offending shows could be shut down and the authors faced heavy fines or prosecutions if they were found to be too liberal with their productions.[54] The Press Law reforms may have given the guise of freedom of expression, but it maintained the status quo of theatrical censorship.[55]

Teatro Independiente

Although the censorship bureaucracy continued shifting, the last era of censorship (from the 1966 Press Law to the end of censorship in 1978) was particularly marked by the rise of the TI and their strategies against censorship. TI was made up of loosely connected and often only semi-professional touring troupes who created a politically contingent, anti-Francoist theatre often without using traditional theatre spaces or repertories.[56] TI groups were particularly inventive, finding ways to flout censorship not only during their productions but also in events surrounding the productions, such as talkbacks, debates, and roundtables.[57] Defying censorship almost became a game, as TI groups developed their "consistently experimental and overwhelmingly anti-Francoist" theatre practice within the limitations of censorship.[58] However, decades of theatrical censorship had depressed audience numbers for both repertory theatre and TI productions, which "ultimately frustrated the ethical and aesthetical project of TI and limited it to a minoritarian phenomena."[59] It is emblematic of TI's inability to fully overcome censorship that their plays were unevenly approved throughout the dictatorship, with prohibitions lasting well after Franco's death, including the sudden stop to Els Joglars' 1977 tour of *La Torna* (that also resulted in the theatre company facing a military tribunal and imprisonment for flouting censorship) and the prohibition of other texts by Lauro Olmo, Fernando Arrabal, and Joan Oliver

the year before.[60]

The Spanish Transition

The Spanish Transition is a contentious and still unresolved part of Spanish history which, on its own, would be an extensive research project. In its simplest terms, the Spanish Transition was meant to be the political process that transferred power from the Franco regime and Spanish military to a new democratic government in the form of a constitutional democracy. The transition of power from dictatorship to democracy lasted from the death of Franco on November 20th, 1975, to the ratification of the current Spanish Constitution on December 6th, 1978. Its most significant document is the 1977 Amnesty Law that pardoned all political crimes committed during the Civil War and the Franco regime. While the 1977 Amnesty Law forgave crimes committed by those resisting the Franco dictatorship, it also protected the members of the Franco government who carried out repressions, from the individuals tasked with executions to the officials who gave the orders. The Amnesty Law ensured the safety of the Franco Regime and was the prerequisite to move forward into democracy and leave the dictatorship in the past. However, in "promoting forgiveness without first addressing the injustices of the past…the law prevented the establishment of the discursive framework crucial for the public articulation of memories and overcoming of trauma."[61] As a democratic government was established and survived (including a military coup in 1981), the wounds inflicted by the war and dictatorship festered. Franco's death and the ratification of a democratic constitution are events that can be dated and quantified, but the ongoing repercussions of Spain's turbulent twentieth century elude such easy conclusions.

This dissertation joins arguments in political science, memory studies, and anthropology scholars in recasting the Spanish Transition as a social process that delayed the (emotional) reckoning with Franco and his lengthy dictatorship until several generations later, thus creating a different kind of political crisis.[62] In so doing, I consider the Spanish Transition as a series of arguments, discussions, and disagreements over the events leading up to the Spanish Civil War, the violence meted out during the war, and the repression carried out by the Franco regime, instead of a simple political process with a specific end. The nebulous Spanish Transition is still ongoing in the public discourse surrounding Catalan national identity, especially as the Catalan National Movement has grown and evolved to confront the Spanish government directly. Two case studies in this dissertation—the 1977 tour of Els Joglars's *La Torna* and the 1978 tour of La Claca's and Joan Miro's *Mori el Merma*—occur amidst the political process leading to the democratic government, full of confusion and discussion over the promise of democracy after decades of dictatorship. The other three case studies—the opening ceremony of the 1992 Olympic Games, the massive *diada* protests from 2012 to 2017, and the 2017 independence referendum—all occur during the debates in the aftermath of this political process, as Spain and Catalonia both seek to grapple with the traumatic past and the political framework that covers up such trauma. Taken in this context, these five case studies are confirmation of Catalan cultural scholar Kathryn Crameri's argument that "Catalan calls for independence are partly inspired by a desire for a more trustworthy democracy."[63]

The transition from dictatorship to democracy was always uncertain, as Franco had a succession plan in place to continue his governance under a different head of state. In 1969, Franco officially designated Juan Carlos, the grandson of the last Spanish King, as heir to the Spanish state, laying the groundwork for continuity after Franco's death. In the 1970s, as

Franco's health further declined, social turmoil and workers' movements increased, and the Basque separatist movement *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA) began a terrorist campaign with the goal of ending of the Franco regime and independence for the Basque Country from Spain.[64] The growing tension in everyday Spain resulted in a crackdown by police. The situation worsened with ETA's assassination of Franco's second-in-command Luis Carrero Blanco in December 1973. Without Carrero Blanco, there was no hardline minister to control the succession to Juan Carlos or the latter's continuing government. What was already an uncertain situation was now even more precarious; nobody knew what exactly would happen to Spain after forty years of Franco's regime.

Franco died on November 20, 1975, leaving Juan Carlos to become king. Surprising the nation, Juan Carlos then announced that he would lead a transition to a constitutional monarchy. Over the next few years, a new constitution was negotiated and written, eventually ratified on December 6, 1978. During this period, Francoist ministers became advocates for democratization, a phenomenon colloquially referred to as *cambios de camisa*, or "changing their shirts." As Spanish and Catalan cultural scholar Edgar Illas notes with a clear sense of sarcasm, previously fascist ministers who had upheld and benefited from dictatorship were suddenly able to advocate for democracy without backlash in moves that were "not perceived as lack of integrity but as signs of flexibility and progress."[65] Hence, by the time the events of this dissertation begin, with Els Joglars's *La Torna* in 1977, Spain had committed to a political transition led by the same ministers who had, only a few years previously, formed part of a violent military dictatorship.

Spain transitioned from dictatorship to democracy by actively "looking forward," or burying the traumatic past of the Spanish Civil War and violence during the Franco regime. The

transitional government primarily made up of ex-Franco ministers argued that the country should simply forget the "collective insanity" that gripped the country in the 1930s and instead focus on Spain in the 1970s.[66] Political scientist Paloma Aguilar Fernández argues that it was through this shared "collective traumatic memory" that all parties during the transition had a reason to compromise.[67] Sociologist Elizabeth Jelin further argues that the Spanish Transition's success came from a generational change during Franco's lengthy dictatorship. The generational shift between the Civil War and the transition put distance between the trauma of the war and the new governmental project, allowing "a political act of forgetting, a strategic silence that could happen while the Civil War was becoming the focus of cultural expression for filmmakers, musicians, writers, and academics."[68] Although the past was discussed in media, politically it was set aside. Aguilar Fernández and Jelin are only two of a general academic and political consensus that the Spanish Transition required forgetting to successfully change to a democratic state, in which "the memories of conflict and war played a pacifying role in the transition."[69] The successful shift to democracy catapulted Spain into the advanced democracies of Western Europe.

However, another generation reopened frustration and anger at the Spanish transition, now understood as a self-serving agreement that allowed Franco's regime and his collaborators to avoid scrutiny and justice for crimes committed during the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship.[70] Throughout my fieldwork for this dissertation, I regularly encountered this new generation of those who were born after 1975, aware of the violence that befell their families during the war and the dictatorship and part of a wider European context in which liberal democracy is a default government structure. I, too, am also part of this generation: the first set of grandchildren to have lived without a dictatorship or a war. For this generation, the Transition's continuities between the Franco regime and democracy inherently delegitimize the

democratic project so that "the re-inscription of the old dictatorship onto the new democratic system has created a growing discontent about Spanish democracy's fake and untrustworthy nature."[71] Unlike their grandparents—traumatized by war—or their parents— kept in line by a violent and repressive dictatorship—, this generation believes that the burying of the past renders the Transition itself illegitimate. Without fear of repression, the demands for justice after the Franco dictatorship grows even louder.[72] In Catalonia, the narrative around restitution has coalesced with the renewal of Catalan nationalism, with the argument that only independence will correct the harm caused by the cultural destruction of the 20th century.

Is Catalonia a Nation?

At the heart of this dissertation is the long-standing struggle at the heart of the Catalan region: what, exactly, is Catalonia? Like other stateless nations such as Corsica, Scotland, the Basque Country, and Wales, Catalonia has a cultural patrimony distinct from the nation-state to which it belongs, along with a significant political movement seeking independence. However, questions such as whether Catalonia should become independent, or what that process would look like, are tenuous at best. It is unclear how cohesive or expansive the understanding of or wish for Catalan independence is. Indicative of this is the 2014 Catalan self-determination referendum (also called the Citizen Participation Process on the Political Future of Catalonia) that asked its voters two questions: 1) Do you want Catalonia to become a State? 2) Do you want this State to be independent? By the 2017 Catalan Independence Referendum, the two questions had changed to a single one: Do you want Catalonia to become an independent state in the form of a republic? Both referenda had informal results—they were considered illegal by the Spanish government and hence no formal counting or oversight over the voting was carried out.[73] Either way, these referenda questions point to the struggle Catalonia faces: what kind of nation are we?

The idea of Catalonia as an independent state from Spain is not a new concept. It has a long history, with a through line from the mid-19th century to the Second Spanish Republic predating new resurgence in the 2010s. Hence, defining Catalan nationalism as a single political or social idea is an impossible task. The only consistent aspect is the claim that Catalonia has a distinct history from Spain, such as its medieval trading empire and its military conflicts with the French and Spanish armies (The Reaper Wars 1640-1659, The War of Spanish Succession 1701-1714).[74]

As Reinhard Koselleck argues in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, "the simple use of 'we' and 'you' establishes a boundary" which becomes the means to define political or social agency.[75] It is through classifying what counts as "we" and what counts as "you" that the stateless nation defines itself within the nation-state paradigm. In the aftermath of the Franco regime, only the latest centralized regime that sought to destroy Catalan culture and national identity, a type of Catalan nationalism has slowly developed that ties Catalan independence with the recovery of Catalan culture destroyed under Francoism and its protection against increasing Spanish intervention. This conceptualization of Catalan nationalism is certainly controversial and has caused extreme political tension, including the exile or imprisonment of most of the Catalan regional government leaders in 2017.

Catalan nationalism after the Spanish Transition grows from two specific time periods: the economic boom of the 19th century, which set off the Catalan region as exceptional and unique within Spain, and the period following the 1986 publication of Benedict Anderson's influential *Imagined Communities*. A consequence of Catalonia's industrial revolution was the codification of Catalan cultural identity, a process called the Catalan *renaixança*, or renaissance, lasting from 1833 to 1892. The booming economy allowed for investment in Catalan cultural

projects, the most significant results were in architectural and linguistic. Architecturally, new and innovative buildings were built in Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia, including the *Sagrada Família* church (construction begun in 1882 and still ongoing) or the *Palau de la Música Catalana*, a concert hall (construction 1905-1908). In these new buildings, "the [Catalan] bourgeoisie created a civil institution to parade its relative splendor around philharmonic pleasures."[76] Meanwhile, Catalan poetry and linguistics were also receiving financial investment. In 1867, Jacint Verdaguer published the epic poem *L'Atlàntida* (mentioned again in Chapter 4), heralded as a national text as "writing would not only save the Catalan language but would legitimize claims to nationhood because the existence of a national literature was one of the factors which defined a nation."[77] In 1913, Pompeu Fabra i Poch published a Catalan dictionary and grammar book, further helping to standardize the Catalan language.[78] Literature became a political tool, in which "writing in Catalan was a way of saving and promoting the Catalan language, and was in any case regarded…as a vital expression of the national soul and character."[79] Meanwhile, the rest of Spain (except for the Basque Country) resisted industrialization: "the cultural and political project of Catalanism emerged in a Spain which was marked by isolation and backwardness."[80] The Catalan bourgeois class was actively codifying Catalan cultural expression within the context of an industrialized, modern Catalonia - especially in comparison to the still provincial Spain.[81] This bifurcation between Spain and Catalonia continues as a major thread of the 2010s Catalan independence movement.

In the 1980s, the Catalan independence movement paired the cultural riches of pre-Civil War industrialization with the scholarly debate surrounding the creation of the nation-state to create a concept of the Catalan nation as a real, identifiable, and, most importantly, achievable. The publications by Ernest Gellner (1983), Anthony D Smith (1986, 1998), and Benedict

Anderson (1986) provided Catalan nationalists with a veneer of legitimacy: these scholars' definitions of the nation-state suggested that Catalonia had undergone the same process as other, currently independent, European nation-states. Within these arguments, Anderson's understanding of national belonging as a shared identity codified with the help of an industrialized economy and the wide distribution of printed newspapers was particularly seductive to Catalan nationalists. In 2005, Editorial Afers and the University of Valencia published a Catalan edition of *Imagined Communities*, the first translation "into a sub-national language."[82] While there are multiple Spanish-language editions, as of 2021, all of them were published by South American presses; the lack of an edition published in Spain in Castilian Spanish seems to confirm the idea that *Imagined Communities* legitimizes Catalonia as a nation. In his 2006 edition, Anderson points out that "doubtless the Catalan [translation of *Imagined Communities*] was also intended to help Catalonia achieve the maximum autonomy possible in what was once nicely called Las Españas."[83] Catalan nationalists who argue for an independent state call upon Catalan history and scholarship on nation states to justify that Catalonia developed independently from Spain, and hence imagine themselves as Catalan rather than Spanish. Through the Catalan printing industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Catalan cultural identity could be defined and refined through literature and poetry and with more colloquial publications, including cookbooks.[84] As the works printed in the Catalan language increased, Catalonia was able to understand itself in new ways, in which the region could come together through reading the same newspaper - in Catalan, of course.[85]

However, at the heart of Catalan nationalism is an ugly truth. Developed during the Catalan economic boom in the 1800s and early 1900s, the origin story of Catalan nationalism is dependent on a white supremacist reading of Europe and North Africa. In 1909, as the ancient

Phocaean site of Emporion (today, Sant Martí d'Empúries) was excavated, a new national myth was constructed: Catalonia was born from Greece.[86] Ignoring the Iberian Peninsula's history of Roman, Visigoth, and North African settlement, Catalonia promoted the concept of a more noble linkage between themselves and Ancient Greece, making Catalonia "the main representative of European civilization in Spain."[87] Borrowing an understanding of Europe from French thinkers, Catalan artists and writers replicated a racialized view of the white European north versus the Black European south.[88] White Europe was begotten from Greece, an unadulterated line of descendants of democracy and civilization. Meanwhile, southern Europe had been altered by its "barbarian" influence, with the North African settlements in Spain seen as the point of entry.[89] By claiming Greek ancestry and portraying Catalonia as economic and cultural power force of Spain, turn-of-the-century Catalan intellectuals and artists were replicating a white supremacist reading of race, culture, and Europe. These narratives continued during the Spanish Civil War. Franco's military career was primarily developed in Morocco, and his army left North Africa to invade Spain. The Republican process began to make comparisons to Medieval Spain, transforming the Spanish Civil War into a conflict between an enlightened, leftist Spain and the Black, barbaric North African army. My own grandmother, who was about eight years old at the time, swears she remembers the Black bodies of Franco's army triumphantly marching into Barcelona in 1939, even though the Nationalist army was made up of other Spaniards and her apartment's balcony did not face the street on which the army marched on. The narrative of Catalan exceptionalism has been repeated so often that its racist undertones are mostly ignored.

Catalan nationalism understand itself as a correction from the Franco dictatorship. As this dissertation's first two chapters on Els Joglars and La Claca detail, theatrical productions became ways to defy the dictatorship through Catalan culture, language, and humor. Even as time passes

since the end of the Franco regime, the trauma of the period is an inherent part of major national presentations, such as the 1992 Olympic opening ceremony. The activists behind the contemporary independence movement frame the annual *diades* protests and the 2017 referendum as the inevitable result of a failed Transition that has failed to bring about justice for the repression of the Franco regime. Yet, much like the Spanish nation-state it claims to reject, Catalan nationalism has its own dark underscore that is often ignored by the same activists that seek the Catalan nation-state.

Methods

This dissertation draws on mixed research methods, including archival research practice and ethnographic research, while also considering the space my own culturally complex body took up in the archive and on Barcelona's streets. I gathered much of the archival data related to this project at the Museu de les Arts Escèniques (Museum of Scenic Arts) at L'Institut del Teatre (The Theatre Institute) in Barcelona. The Theatre Institute first began in 1913 as an organization that could both teach performing arts and organize conferences and exhibitions about theatre and performing arts in Catalonia and worldwide. The Museum's holdings were gathered via events the Institute organized and donations from individuals, including from Catalan theatre companies themselves as they disbanded. My research on the puppet show *Mori el Merma* also took me to the Col-legi D'Arquitectes de Catalunya (The College of Catalan Architects) and the Fundació Joan Miró (Joan Miró Foundation). At the Fundació Joan Miró, I was able to handle the original puppets from *Mori el Merma* on a research trip on July 9-10 2019. Finally, the extensive newspaper holdings at the Centre de Documentació i Estudis (Center for Documentation and Studies) at Camp Nou (New Camp), the football stadium for Football Club Barcelona, proved extremely helpful.

However, archives in Spain are notorious for complicating scholarly visits. Additionally, during my research visits to Barcelona, political tensions reached new heights as the Catalan referendum for independence vote approached. I was therefore denied entrance to the Archivo del Tribunal Militar Territorial Tercero (Archive of the Military Tribunal for the Third Territory), which I believe holds the transcript of the military tribunal of Els Joglars. Hence, I turned to investigative journalist Raul Riebenbauer's discussion of his 1992 entrance to this same archive in *El Silencio de Georg: La verdadera historia de Heinz Chez ejecutado el mismo día que Salvador Puig Antich* (Georg's Silence: The True Story of Heinz Chez, Executed the Same Day as Salvador Puig Antich). I also rely on Berta Muñoz Cáliz's *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo, visto por sus censores* (The Spanish Professional Theatre during Francoism, as Seen By Its Censors) as well as Sharon G. Feldman's and Francesc Foguet i Boreu's *Els límits del silenci. La censura del teatre català durant el franquisme* (Silence's Limits: Censorship of Catalan Theatre during Francoism). These two latter texts, which are based on painstaking archival research, gave me insight into the archival holdings of the materials held at military archives, especially that of the Archivo del Tribunal Militar Territorial Tercero. I am grateful for these sources that allowed me to understand archival holdings without being able to enter the archive myself.

This dissertation also utilizes evidence gathered from a multitude of interviews that I held in person, over Skype, and via WhatsApp messaging. I held multiple interviews with Els Joglars member Ferran Rañe.[90] Rañe not only facilitated interviews with other actors from *La Torna* but also gave me access to his own, personal archive of books, newspaper clippings, and legal proceeding documents from Els Joglars and *La Torna*. I have also been in touch with Rañe since our meeting in March 2017. I interviewed Myriam de Maeztu in Madrid,[91] and I interviewed

Gabriel Renom,[92] Arnau Vilardebò,[93] and Arnau Solsona.[94] I am particularly grateful to have had the opportunity to share a meal and coffee with Solsona, who also gave me access to his personal archive, before his passing on May 24, 2018. I also interviewed Elisa Crehuet, a member of Els Joglars and a performer in *Mori el Merma,* in Barcelona[95] and at her home in L'Esquirrol.[96] I was able to interview La Claca founder Joan Baixas in Sant Celoni,[97] and *Mori el Merma*'s assistant director Gloria Rognoni in Valldoreix.[98] Finally, I spoke to three organizing members of the Catalan referendum and the *diada* protests in person on August 30, 2017, and via WhatsApp in the years since, although all prefer to remain anonymous.

An inherent difficulty in this research project was codifying and analyzing knowledge that had been shaped and altered by suppression, trauma, and violence. As Royona Mitra argues in discussing Akram Khan's 2018 *XENOS*, a performance about an Indian dancer whose physical body is converted into a weapon of war, "if materiality as evidence is what constitutes archives, then the disappeared bodies who have been historically denied a place within them, and the contemporary bodies who bring the erased to life through the performative power of dance, are themselves archival subjects."[99] In gathering the research for this dissertation, I found myself engaging in narratives, oral histories, memories, and other types of sources that are, as a whole, denied entry into Spain's archives. This primarily came into play in my research for Chapters 1 and 3, on *La Torna* and the Barcelona Olympics. For both, I visited mass graves and executions fields, spaces filled with unnamed bodies and traumatic memories that continue to exist outside Spain's archives or even the local guidebook, their deaths still unrecognized, justice still out of sight.

Engaging in this research also meant attending performance events and experiencing through my body what it feels like to partake in mass spectacles and protests. I attended the

diada protest on September 11th, 2017, standing amongst the millions of other participants. I also attended multiple protests that summer and fall, including the anti-terrorism protest on August 19th, 2017, the protests in Barcelona on September 23rd, 2017, and the post-referendum protests on October 3rd, 2017. At each of these events, I experienced not only active participation in the event but also the emotional electricity of these gatherings—including the tension in the air in 2017 as large crowds had recently been newly targeted by terrorists. Finally, I attended the Catalan referendum, joining the crowds at three different polling locations where I mingled with and accompanied voters. In each of these places, I got a sense of scale between my body and the larger community around me, aware of when I stood alone and when I stood amongst a crowd of tens, hundreds, or thousands. This wide variety of sources allows me to put disparate events in conversation with each other, tracking how theatrical strategies from the Transition era were used in sporting events, protests, and electoral clashes. Through these expansive sources, this dissertation thus makes new connections between theatrical strategies and the Catalan Independence Movement.

Chapter Breakdown

This dissertation tracks how Catalan cultural identity has been publicly performed from the onset of Spanish democracy in 1978 after Franco's death in 1975 to the Catalan Independence referendum in 2017. In each chapter, I consider public expressions of Catalan cultural identity as temporally contingent, though each chapter also builds upon the previous one. Hence, many of the players in this dissertation—actors, theatre companies, politicians, activists—are featured in consecutive chapters, or appear and reappear. This chronological order allows me to follow the strategies of TI off the stage and into other venues.

Chapter 1 examines the performance tour of the 1977 play *La Torna* (The

Counterweight) by Catalan theatre group Els Joglars. *La Torna* exemplifies the uncertainty in how Catalan theatre would adapt to this new, uncertain political world. The show broke with Els Joglars' conventions, becoming a spoken-word show that strongly critiqued the dictatorship. In so doing, however, *La Torna* also spelled the demise of Els Joglars. The company itself would go through a restructuring process that inherently changed the performance group into a new company with the same names. *La Torna* also revealed that the Franco regime had not died with the Spanish Transition. The final performance of *La Torna* occurred at the military trial for Els Joglars, after they had been arrested for flouting Franco's censorship laws. *La Torna* overtly exposed the cruelty of the Franco regime and the trial proceedings against Els Joglars proved that political transition would protect the interests of the regime.

In Chapter 2, I consider the creation and performance of the puppet show *Mori el Merma* (Death to the Tyrant) by theatre group La Claca and Catalan surrealist artist Joan Miró in 1977 and 1978. The construction and rehearsal process of *Mori el Merma* reveals a concerted effort to openly recover a Catalan puppetry and visual aesthetic contingent upon the Spanish Civil War and anti-Fascist militancy. Similarly to Els Joglars, La Claca also completely reconfigured their approach to theatre with this production, creating an ambitious, all-puppet performance that celebrated the death of the tyrant, depicted as a monstrous mix of Ubu Rois and Franco himself. Playing concurrently with *La Torna*, *Mori el Merma* inadvertently revealed the Catalan political elites powerlessness against the military overstep of prosecuting Els Joglars.

Chapter 3 jumps ahead to the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, for which theatrical expression moved into the sport stadium. In the decade or so since the Spanish transition, Spain's economy had boomed and Catalonia had developed a new autonomy agreement that protected Catalan cultural and linguistic traditions. However, as the Olympic Opening ceremony reveals,

underlying tensions between Spain and Catalonia remained. The ceremony became a "war of flags"[100] between Spanish national identity, Catalan national identity, and Barcelona's city identity. Furthermore, the Barcelona Olympic Stadium, which was built upon the ruins of the Second Spanish Republic, became a symbolic eulogy to the Catalan President Lluís Companys, who had been executed on October 15th, 1940, less than a kilometer from the stadium. In this chapter, I offer a close reading of the Opening Ceremony to show how a seemingly apolitical broadcast was made up of many, small, symbolic claims for Catalan and Spanish national identities.

Chapter 4 shifts forward to the massive street protests for Catalan independence that began in 2010 and continue today. These annual protests see about a million people come together on the streets of Barcelona and engage in coordinated actions meant to present the Catalan body politic as a united and numerically significant group. Here, street demonstrations become a public performance of Catalan national unity for multiple audiences, including other Catalan nationalists, the Spanish government, and international groups like the European Union. These demonstrations simultaneously recall the subversive performances of Catalan cultural identity under Francoism, including Els Joglars' trial, and cast the demonstrations as future-looking, as an example of what an independent Catalonia could look like.

The epilogue analyzes voters behaviors during the 2017 Referendum for Catalan Independence. The performances of unity and political activism seen yearly on the streets of Barcelona took on new context and audience on October 1st, 2017 during the Catalan Independence Referendum. Through social media, local civic performances were held, recorded, and spread across the region and world. Aware that the Referendum would not be accepted by the Spanish authorities, the day became instead about outwardly and self-consciously promoting

a Catalan civic performance, where Catalan nationalism tied to democratic values.

Together, these chapters track how public performances of Catalan cultural identity have consistently grappled with expressing what exactly makes Catalan identity distinct from Spanish identity. Characteristic of the 1970s was explicitly political theatre, in which the theatre was a tool to critique the Franco regime and hence define a Catalan aesthetic of protests and subversiveness. By the early 1990s, the tactics changed towards more symbolic gestures that reify Catalan cultural identity but in such a non-threatening form that the messaging went largely unheard by the Olympic Ceremony's international audience. Finally, by the 2010-2017 protests and Referendum, Catalan cultural identity was actively performed as one of a modern state, with a united body politic, unique political identity, and a set of democratic values shared by the European Union.

Chapter 1—1977: The Spanish Transition on Stage and on Trial

Introduction

When the Catalan theatre group Els Joglars (The Buffoons), began touring their latest show, *La Torna* (The Counterweight), on 6 September, 1977, they had little idea of the influence their production would have on Catalan theatre, Catalan national identity, or freedom of expression. *La Torna* tells the story of how the Franco judicial system used a human counterweight to steer public sympathy away from the from the sentencing of Catalan political prisoner Salvador Puig Antich, by executing him alongside a much less sympathetic man: a common criminal and murderer Heinz Chez. Due to *La Torna*'s biting political critique, the production's tour was abruptly prohibited and Els Joglars found themselves facing a military tribunal, years in jail or exile, and being made a national example of the continuing power of the Francisco Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) and Spanish military over Spain even in the Transition period. In this chapter, I consider *La Torna* in terms of its production development, and examine its impact during the Spanish Transition, the political process that saw the dictatorship end and democracy begin.

This under-studied production reveals a unique perspective into the Spanish Transition and the development of Catalan *Teatro Independiente* (TI). TI theatre, as discussed in this dissertation's introduction, saw a vibrant and subversive theatrical aesthetic develop within the shifting censorship laws and cultural restrictions. Usually taken up by young people who toured productions throughout Spain, TI sought to provide an alternative to the professional, sanctioned theatre of the Franco regime.[101] By considering the details of *La Torna*, I reconstruct how TI artists approached the political uncertainty and promise of the Spanish Transition, seeking ways to apply the strategies developed under censorship to the new opportunities of dictatorial Spain.

La Torna also marks how Catalan politics and cultural identity were emerging out of the repression enacted by the Franco regime and into a national political force.

Touring nationally and in European theatre festivals, Els Joglars were known for their daring theatre, which fearlessly created a Catalan performance style within a repressive regime. By the 1970s, TI was in a paradigmatic position: the restrictions imposed by the Franco government had inadvertently led theatre makers to develop a unique and vibrant theatre style, but restrictions on audiences and touring had damaged the profitability of theatre. As Sharon Feldman and Francesc Foguet argue in *Els límits del silenci: La censura del teatre català durant el franquisme*, this impact was doubled on Catalan TI groups, which were, in general, viewed more suspiciously and subject to stricter censure.[102] However, Els Joglars were still able to enjoy a modicum of success as a theatre company, even if their members relied on other sources of income or family support.[103]

In *La Torna*, Els Joglars performed an explicitly Catalan critique of the defunct Franco system, at the same time as Catalan nationalism and political negotiations for autonomy had come back out into the open after decades of repression. Through a masked farce, *La Torna* satirizes the executions of Puig Antich and Heinz Chez on 2 March, 1974, the last executions carried out by the Franco regime. Puig Antich was an anti-fascist Catalan activist, executed for ostensibly killing a police officer in a firefight during a botched bank robbery. The police's investigation into the death of their colleague was viewed with great suspicion by the Catalan public and brought international condemnation, including from Amnesty International, which lobbied against the execution of the activist it deemed a political prisoner. To lower the political profile of Puig Antich, the Franco regime timed Puig Antich's execution with that of Heinz Chez, a transient foreigner whose identity was obfuscated by the police and press to push

constructed a narrative of criminality and insanity.[104] Welzel, who was identified by the media as Heinz Chez, had shot and killed a police officer.[105] By executing the two men together, the Franco regime aimed to conflate them, in the hope that the public would attach criminality to both. Today, Puig Antich is viewed as an innocent victim who was framed and murdered in the last gasps of the Franco regime, while Heinz Chez has dissipated into obscurity. Through *La Torna*, Els Joglars sought to recuperate the story of Heinz Chez to criticize the Franco judicial system which had used human beings as political pawns.

This chapter considers this production as an example of the quickly shifting Transition and illuminates how Els Joglars adjusted and developed a theatrical language specific for the political situation they found themselves navigating. I first engage in *La Torna*'s theatricality, examining how the show utilized strategies developed during the dictatorship while also pointing to a future direction for post-Francoist Catalan theatre. I then consider the events during *La Torna*'s tour that caused its sudden closure, after which Els Joglars began organizing protests of the Spanish military that eventually saw them jailed and exiled. Finally, I analyze how Els Joglars and their military tribunal have continued to mark the Catalan cultural movement even though, ultimately, *La Torna* and the cause of Els Joglars was a financial and judicial failure. As scholars interested in the Spanish Transition note, the prosecution of Els Joglars for a theatrical production evoked the prohibitions and repressions of the Franco regime just as it was being dismantled.[106] Els Joglars served as the proverbial canary in the coalmine for the continuing meddling of Franco-era ministers and powerbrokers in democratic Spain.

Context

This chapter corrects the common absence of *La Torna* from Catalan theatre history and theatre history more broadly. Theatre scholars such as Simon Breden, Mercè Saumell, Sharon

Feldman, and Jenifer Duprey have considered the work and theatrical aesthetics of Els Joglars, yet all have mostly avoided discussing *La Torna*, perhaps in part because within the context of this theatre's larger oeuvre, *La Torna* is an outlier as their first production to use a written script.[107] During the Franco era, strict censorship rules defined Els Joglars' aesthetic as wordless, abstract, and movement-based. With *La Torna*, Els Joglars experimented for the first time with a linear narrative and extensive dialogue. Furthermore, the process of developing *La Torna* and the stress of the trial, jail, and exile fractured the theatre company entirely. After 1977, Els Joglars became *La Torna*'s director Albert Boadella's theatre company, keeping the same name. However, I will reference Els Joglars as the theatre company as it existed in 1977: Ferran Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Miriam de Maeztu, Andreu Solsona, Arnau Vilardebò, Gabriel Renom, and Albert Boadella.[108] Hence, most analyses of Els Joglars' theatrical aesthetic post-Transition consider solely the tenure of Boadella as artistic director. Yet, *La Torna* was directly responding to a rapidly changing political and social world, in which Catalan identity and language were emerging from decades of repression and "cultural genocide."[109] Theatre itself was changing, as the censorship rules that had limited public expression were due to phase out. A closer look at *La Torna* reveals one of the first attempts by Catalan artists, who were accustomed to working in counter-cultural ways, to adapt their theatre to Catalan political legitimacy.

This chapter is built from extensive interviews with *La Torna*'s actors Ferran Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Gabriel Renom, Miriam de Maeztu, Andreu Solsona, and Arnau Vilardebò, conducted in March 2017, June–September 2017 and July 2019 in Barcelona, L'Esquirol, and Madrid. These interviews were crucial not only for the extensive information provided by these six theatre makers, but also because of the extensive documentation they were able to provide. I also conducted additional archival research in March 2017 and July 2019 at L'Institut del Teatre.

Also integral to understanding the creation of *La Torna* was a trip to L'Esquirol, where Crehuet lives. Not only did she entertain my many questions about her work in the Catalan theatre scene during the Spanish transition, but she drove me through the sites where *La Torna* was created, including the farmhouse out in the nearby enclave of Pruit where the Els Joglars rehearsal space is still located.

Section 1: The Creation Process of La Torna

It is striking that none of the members of Els Joglars think that *La Torna* is a good production, especially considering that some of them endured years of exile or jail due to its creation and performance. I met with Ferran Rañé at the Hotel Pulitzer, a luxury hotel near Barcelona's bustling avenue Las Ramblas, often overwhelmed by throngs of tourists who have heard of the open-air markets and cafés leading down to the shore of the Mediterranean. The Hotel Pulitzer boasts a beautiful internal courtyard, shielded from the hectic streets and bustling tourist season by its green walls of ivy and other climbing plants. There, as we spoke about *La Torna*, he surprised me by claiming that the production was crass, obvious, with lumbering dialogues and overly long scenes. He seemed annoyed in my interest in *La Torna* instead of Els Joglars's other works.[110]

La Torna was a very different production for Els Joglars, who were testing what kind of theatre was possible after the Franco regime. In this section, I detail how *La Torna* was developed from a combination of Els Joglar's aesthetic process, informed by the years of censorship the theatre company had endured, as well as by the unprecedented and uncertain political situation in Spain. In so doing, I show that *La Torna* was the result of Els Joglars' well-known anti-Francoist theatrical strategies conflicting with the democratic freedom promised by the Spanish Transition.

Els Joglars

Els Joglars were well-known members of Spain's Franco-era TI movement. Like other TI groups, Els Joglars constructed semi-professional theatre shows, touring them around to municipal halls and other makeshift stages. Els Joglars, like many other TI groups who had connections to local universities, were associated with the Institut de Teatre in Barcelona and attracted many passionate students to help build their extensive and intricate shows.[111] Also in tune with other TI groups, Els Joglars engaged in theatre as an act of ideological resistance to the Franco regime. Taken together, Els Joglars were known for ambitious shows and daring theatrical aesthetic that purposefully subverted censorship by commenting on political and social matters.

In 1962, Anton Font, Carlota Soldevilla, and Albert Boadella, all three working as mime teachers at the Institut de Teatre, founded Els Joglars. They focused their theatrical language on mime and mask-work, eager to bring a new theatrical language to the Spanish stage by creating "a climate of artistic interdisciplinarity, re-envisaging theatrical languages with their biting political and social satires and exuberant indoor and outdoor spectacles."[112] Els Joglars's reputation for cutting-edge work came from its rehearsal process, which created a closely bonded ensemble for each show through collective creation and living. From the company's founding in 1962 until 1974, the company worked out of a series of cheap apartments in Barcelona. The apartments allowed for longer rehearsals, making meals and eating together, and sometimes sharing the apartment as living quarters.[113] However, these apartments soon became too small for the larger and more ambitious shows, and from 1974 to 1977 Els Joglars spent their summers in a farmhouse in the rural hamlet of Pruit, Catalonia, roughly 105 km (65 miles) north of Barcelona. The house was shared amongst the theatre makers, who used the surrounding fields

for exercise, improvisational games, and rehearsal spaces. The group also built a "cupola": a large, domed room with a bare concrete floor and a curved surrounding wall. In this rehearsal space—which the Els Joglars company still use today—the group could experiment with movement, sounds, scenarios, and more, building productions without being limited by a specific script, stage, or even narrative in mind. Collective living remained part of the process, allowing for further refinement of the day's work outside of rehearsals, such as over dinner or during chores, that often led to new concepts from which to start the next day's rehearsal.[114]

Up until *Alias Serrallonga* (1976) and *La Torna* (1977), Els Joglars primarily built productions composed of connected skits that together explored specific themes or ideas but lacked a single narrative. For example, *Mary D'ous* (Mary Made of Eggs, 1972) used one general scenario—a date between a man and a woman—that was repeated by three couples on stage, with each repetition introducing a small change in rhythm, word, or action that resulted in entirely different set of outcomes, some romantic, others violent. The production focused on the many micro-decisions made in every interaction, expanding and adjusting them to explore how humans treat or mistreat each other. Els Joglars insisted that their shows were not necessarily political: in my interviews with each of Els Joglars, they all criticized *La Torna* for being too political, too obvious, with not enough exploration of human behavior or theatrical rhythm.[115] Of primary importance to pre-Transition Els Joglars were these theatrical games and explorations that created interesting theatre but avoided plotlines or straightforward storytelling over the entire production.

However, as much as Els Joglars may claim that their theatrical goals were more aesthetic than political, the Spanish dictatorship routinely made its way into its staged work. For example, its 1971 production of *Cruel Ubris* (Cruel Hubris) reflected on the police crackdown

that came towards the end of Franco's life. The show played with the structural model of Greek tragedies, where human hubris leads to inevitable and tragic downfall. Through a series of skits, each one more ridiculous and extreme than the next, *Cruel Ubris* tracked the main character as he navigates the irrational world around him. A notably political scene was the torture scene, where the main character is punished for his hubris by being tied to a chair, beaten with wide planks, and has matches shoved under his fingernails, which are then lit. Throughout the scene, stereotypical circus music plays, with brass instruments and long, drawn out drum rolls, as a magician and his scantily clad (as scantily clad as the censors allowed) female assistant introduce each torture element with flurries and twirls. Meanwhile, Zeus sat placidly to the side, reading his newspaper, completely ignoring the action taking place on stage.

The torture inflicted upon the main character is a direct reference to the methods inflicted in Spanish jails and interrogation rooms during the Franco regime. In Barcelona, the Jefatura Superior de Policia de Catalunya, or the Spanish National Police Headquarters in Catalonia, located in the center of the city on the major street Via Laitana, was a feared place. During the police crackdown of the early 1970s, being brought to these headquarters often meant being subject to beatings and other tortures. The generation of university students in Barcelona in the 1970s knew about the interior machinations of this building, including the courtyard framed in balconies where more than one arrested student and political activist fell to their deaths in what the police then claimed was suicide or a botched escape attempt. As of 2019, the city of Barcelona has placed a plaque commemorating the abuses that occurred within the building and that were commonplace enough knowledge that *Cruel Hubris* was satirizing—although with enough added narrative padding like the mythological setting and the magician to not be too overt a critique for the censor to notice. Hence, as much as Els Joglars insisted that they

preferred non-political productions to the clearly ideological *La Torna*, they had often included anti-fascist critique in their productions.

Els Joglars reputation grew based upon a movement focused, politically inflected theatre. During the dictatorship, Els Joglars developed wordless performances, based on movement punctuated by sound, with nonsensical language or music. Censorship dictated that any public performance be performed in only in Castilian Spanish, banning regional languages like Catalan from the public world. To refuse to speak on stage was to refuse the "colonizer's Castilian language"[116] and thus to engage in anti-Franco protest, however indirect. Furthermore, refusing to speak Castilian onstage allowed the company to do something new, something "very modern"[117] where "a gesture could be more direct and suggestive than a word."[118]

Eschewing Castilian Spanish from the stage was a shared strategy among many Catalan TI groups, but Els Joglars pushed their Catalan identity further than other groups, by including regional and political elements specific to Catalonia. For example, when a tour of *Cruel ubris* coincided with the executions of Heinz Chez and Puig Antich, Els Joglars had Zeus placidly reading tabloids that detailed the executions of Chez and Puig Antich to the torture scene—an element added without censors' approval. In 1976, they toured *Alias Serallonga*, a production about a 17th Century Catalan bandit romanticized into a Robin Hood figure. Not only did the production deal with a Catalan folk hero, but Els Joglars snuck the Catalan National Anthem, *Els Segadors* (The Reapers), into the end of the production. From previous performances, they knew their censor was from the Madrid region and hence unfamiliar with the banned regional anthem. Indeed, he approved the production, including the song, without noticing its political connotation. Els Joglars toured the show throughout Catalonia, performing the Catalan anthem to amazed and enthusiastic audiences.[119] Again, in interviews, the members of Els Joglars have

insisted that their primary interest in the 1970s was theatre exploration instead of political critique. Furthermore, Catalan identity and politics in the 1970s was extraordinarily different than when we spoke in 2017-2019, during the Catalan referendum. However, as much as their actions in 1970s should not be confused with the specific way in which Catalan national identity has developed during Spanish democracy (detailed in other chapters of this dissertation), Els Joglars were engaging with political expression and Catalan identity in their productions during the dictatorship. From the torture scene in *Cruel Ubris* to the inclusion of the illegal Catalan anthem in *Alias Serrallonga*, Els Joglars were known for (and enjoyed) pushing the limits of censorship on stage.

Significantly, *La Torna* was created, produced, and prohibited during the Spanish Transition, a precarious and confusing time for the government and the people of Spain. The Transition was a contradictory and protracted political process that ensured protection to Francoist ministers and supporters while constructing a democratic system.[120] Although adept at circumventing the censorship rules set forth by the Franco regime, the Spanish Transition created a different political world to navigate. Els Joglars was a theatre company that depended on the trust needed between the members of the theatre company during open-ended rehearsals as well as the shared danger brought by each production that included veiled political criticism. Oddly enough, the collaborative approach of Els Joglars simultaneously propelled the creation of *La Torna* and created deep tensions in the working ties between the actors of *La Torna* and their director.

In 1977, the actors Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Arnau Vilardebò, Andreu Solsona, Myriam de Maeztu, and Gabi Renom traveled to Pruit. When they arrived to Boadella's farmhouse, they discovered that he and his new partner, the painter Dolors Caminal, had decided to end the

collective living practice. Boadella had just separated from his wife and previous member of Els Joglars, Marta Català, with whom he had two sons. The split had already complicated the dynamics among Els Joglars, who saw Català as a mother figure for the group.[121] Boadella and Caminal stayed at the farmhouse while Rañé and Crehuet—themselves in a romantic relationship—rented an apartment in the nearby town of L'Esquirrol and the remaining four actors rented a house in another nearby town, Cantonigròs. They began working on a production based upon auras and emotions, each linked to a color, a movement, but things quickly broke down. Pre-existing frustrations were exacerbated by this split in living situations, leading to difficult rehearsals, with seemingly three camps that came to rehearsals with competing ideas, with no time or place to work through problems and disagreements. By August 1977, after two months of rehearsals, Els Joglars were in deep trouble. Their financial backers expected a show to tour beginning in September, but Els Joglars had nothing to present.

Desperate, the group met without Boadella over a long dinner, expressing their frustrations with the theatre company and the failure of their creation process. After speaking for hours, and with no seeming solution, Solsona finally declared:

> If we cannot cook a gourmet dish, we will cook a plate of potatoes!

In the next rehearsal, the actors confronted Boadella: they would have to start over, and they were running out of time. They decided to jettison the abstract, movement-centered theatre in favor of a straightforward play. Boadella suggested they take up the Puig Antich case that had gripped the region in 1974. Instead of focusing on Puig Antich, Boadella proposed, why not focus on the other one, the transient Heinz Chez, who was executed the same day to bring down the political profile of Antich?[122] Boadella happened to know Heinz Chez's defense lawyer personally and had access to the case files.[123] The group quickly agreed and began improvising scenes based on the case files as well as on newspaper clippings from the case. In a quick month,

they had constructed *La Torna* and were ready to begin touring the Basque Country, Alicante, the Balearic Islands, and Catalonia in September of 1977.

Section 2: La Torna

La Torna tells a single narrative with "what seemed on the surface to be rather banal scenes and dialogues"[124] but instead ridicules the Spanish military and accuses the Franco regime of deep corruption within the judicial system. Over nineteen scenes, *La Torna* follows a murder investigation. At the center of the production is Sánchez—a parodic name for Heinz Chez—who is first introduced to the audience in the prologue, sneaking away from a murder scene, his white pants stained with blood. The show then continues: in scene 1, the police receive a report of the crime and round up suspects; in scene 10, Sánchez meets with his defense lawyer; in scene 19, a military tribunal condemns him to death. At the heart of *La Torna* is the production's accusation of corruption within the Franco regime, as the audience follows Sánchez's path through an irrational and nonsensical justice system that, ultimately, delivers a premeditated and unjust death sentence. *La Torna* claims that Sánchez might be innocent of the murder, that he has been used as a scapegoat by a system that works beyond his understanding.

Like Spain itself, Els Joglars underwent a transition in the years immediately after Franco's death. Relying on theatrical strategies developed during the dictatorship, Els Joglars were now performing for audiences in a post-fascist society. In this section, I consider *La Torna* itself, illuminating how the production depends on aesthetic techniques developed during Franco's rule to accuse the regime of corruption in executing Heinz Chez. I also highlight moments in which Els Joglars tried new ideas on stage, like using language. In exploring *La Torna* as a post-Franco production, I focus on the theatrical elements of the show, including the set, costuming, and emphasis on physical humor. Together, these elements came together into a

humorous show highly critical of the Franco judicial system, revealing the many ways, large and small, in which the regime meted out its repression.

Physicality

All the characters in *La Torna* are caricatures, wearing masks, with exaggerated movements and silly voices. The only exception is Sánchez, who behaves normally and does not wear a mask. The playbill to *La Torna* explains the contrast between Sánchez and all other characters as a deliberate choice to dramatize Heinz Chez's understanding of the judicial system around him:

> We do not want the show to be a tragedy, but instead a grand masked comedy, as must have been, at its core, Heinz's vision of the events and people who surrounded him, as we must remember that he didn't speak the language or know the customs, laws, and judicial rites of the Spanish state.[125]

The characters in *La Torna* paired masks with exaggerated physical movement to create the grand comedy of Franco's Spain. In making physicality such a central element of *La Torna*'s humor, Els Joglars were relying on the mime and wordless theatre aesthetics they developed during their decade of work under Franco.

In the rehearsal room, the starting point for much of this physicality was devised by Elisa Crehuet.[126] Crehuet was trained primarily as a dancer and had joined Els Joglars for this production back when it was assumed that the show would be a wordless, movement-based piece, in keeping with Els Joglars' previous TI aesthetic. Crehuet was also due to have her first child in late 1977, meaning that she was in her second trimester during *La Torna'*s rehearsals. As her body and center of gravity changed, she leaned into these changes to begin developing characters with rotund bellies or hips jutting forward or with lower back pain, using this shifted physicality to create new humor. *La Torna*'s actors reminisced on Crehuet's willingness to try different scenes and jokes, where the physical led the action, and the characters became larger

than life. In the juxtaposition with these characters and idiosyncrasies, Sánchez's normality is further emphasized by the extremes surrounding him.

The political sting of *La Torna* was palpable from its beginning, as scene 1 reimagines the otherwise feared Guardia Civil, or national police, as frantic hens.[127] As the Guardia Civil served as the everyday enforcement arm of the Franco regime, Els Joglars' portrayal of them as ridiculous and effeminate hens created an "intimate complicity with the audience."[128] This portrayal was not only ridiculous, but within the rigid gender roles of Francoist society, especially insulting to the male-dominated state structures of policing.[129] Should the audience laugh along with Els Joglars, they were all then, together, ridiculing the enforcement arm of the Franco regime. Rañé and Vilardebò remember this opening scene as the show's litmus test: throughout the scene, the audience was almost always in dead silence until the very end, when they would react, all at once, with laughter and applause. During one performance in the Basque Country, Vilardebò remembers that the rather large theatre was mostly empty.[130] Yet, the small audience met the opening scene with much applause. After the show finished, the audience came to congratulate the performers, letting them know that, had they realized the tone and content of the production, they would have gathered many more of their friends to come see the show and participate in the joke.[131]

Other characters were also physically exaggerated to render them into caricatures that further emphasized the dysfunction of the Franco judicial system. For example, the psychiatrist sent to evaluate Sánchez's mental state in scene 11 engages in more and more ridiculous behavior, so that the psychiatrist ultimately is the person that appears insane. Sánchez meets with the psychiatrist, who sports a long-beaked mask with sharp eyes and shallow cheeks. The psychiatrist, whose wife is anxiously waiting for him in the double-parked car outside, rushes to

determine if Sánchez is criminally insane, hoping for salacious details about Sánchez's past in WWII Poland. When Sánchez does not understand the psychiatrist's horrific stab at German, the psychiatrist changes tactics, trying to reenact concentration camp scenes, as Sánchez is a presumed survivor.[132] As Sánchez grows more confused, the psychiatrist gets more creative, eventually trying to get a reaction from Sánchez by sexually groping him. Being unable to communicate, the deflated psychiatrist returns to his double-parked car, leaving behind a bewildered Sánchez in his jail cell. Again, these characteristics served a humorous aim and critiqued individuals in Franco's regime, who all became strange exaggerations under the norms of the dictatorship.

There is, however, one exaggeration that served not as a critique but to protect Els Joglar's major source of information. As mentioned, Heinz Chez's defense lawyer, Jordi Salva, was a friend of Boadella and had provided Els Joglars with his notes from Chez's trial and execution. Originally, Boadella had resisted depicting Salva on stage, not wanting to offend the production's source. However, Els Joglars worried that by excluding the character of the defense lawyer entirely, they would instead incriminate him and reveal his assistance. Crehuet took on the role, utilizing her advancing pregnancy to create a physical character that in no way resembled Salva's slim body frame.[133] In *La Torna*, Sánchez's defense lawyer is a well-meaning, rotund, and ultimately completely useless legal advisor. His large belly is matched by puffy cheeks and a round button nose. Crehuet's character is rotund and sweaty, sporting a round mask with round eyes, a round nose, and heaving round cheeks. He is "a man seemingly without reflexes and immutable."[134] In scene 10, he is completely unable to understand Sánchez and also unable to do much to help other than to continuously offer him cigarettes. He fumbles, mumbles, wipes away sweat, and eventually tells Sánchez "Well, look, boy, we will do what we can…

Don't worry, it will work out."[135] Clearly, however, Sánchez's case is hopeless, especially in such sweaty hands.

Els Joglars, accustomed to developing wordless shows that prioritized movement over language, used physicality as a cornerstone of *La Torna*'s "grand masked comedy." In so doing, they caricatured basic components of the Franco regime. These characters are continuously contrasted with Sánchez's normality; the more the masked characters gesticulate or exaggerate, the more Sánchez appears placid and rational. As I now turn to the bureaucratic administrators, Els Joglars' aesthetic humor in *La Torna* also served to levy specific critiques at the collaboration between their local community and the Franco regime.

Political Critique

La Torna particularly targeted the individuals that kept the Franco regime functioning, including the Catalan administrators who processed the case against Sánchez. With their bent backs and long noses, the Honorable Judge and his clerk Tomàs became symbols of the grinding gears of the regime—as well as a critique of the many Catalan people who collaborated with the regime and, hence, contributed to their own repression. Scene 8 begins with the two men at their desks. As the Honorable Judge dictates a letter to his clerk, Tomàs is distracted by a pornographic magazine and becomes confused between what the Judge is dictating to him and what the Judge is instructing him to do:

> HONORABLE JUDGE *(dictating)*: I hope…
> TOMÀS *(writing)*: I hope…
> HONORABLE JUDGE: …that upon receipt of this…
> TOMÀS: …that upon receipt of this…
> HONORABLE JUDGE: …will open your hands…
> TOMÀS *(while looking at a magazine with photos of nude young women)*: …will open your hands…
> HONORABLE JUDGE: …the referent case…
> TOMÀS: …the referent case…
> HONORABLE JUDGE: …of the number…
> TOMÀS: …of the number…
> HONORABLE JUDGE: [Spoken in Catalan] Look it up in the registrar!

> TOMÀS *(writing)*: [Spoken in Spanish] Look it up in the registrar.
> HONORABLE JUDGE *(to TOMÀS)*: [Spoken in Catalan] But, what are you doing?
> TOMÀS *(writing)*: [Spoken in Spanish] But, what are you doing?[136]

As the scene continues, Tomàs' failings further propagate as the Judge also discovers the pornographic magazine and begins reading out loud the headlines, only for Tomàs to think he is dictating them. The scene humorously depicts the absurdity of Franco's bureaucracy, cooped up writing words that no longer have meaning. Their hunched backs and stretched noses only further emphasize how long these two men have spent in this room, writing up document after document as part of the bureaucracy of the Franco judicial system.

As humorous and amusing as the Honorable Judge's and Tomàs' incompetency are, they also reveal a dark undercurrent of the judicial system. Firstly, there is the hypocrisy of the "honorable" judge and Tomàs, who both uphold the Franco regimes strict moral, religious, and judicial codes, being distracted by the (illegal at the time) pornographic magazine. Hence, although upholding Franco's laws for others, the two bureaucrats are simultaneously engaging in uncouth and illegal behavior. Secondly, throughout the scene, Tomàs is physically abused by the judge, who directs slaps or kicks with each of Tomàs's mistakes. The physical violence that will be meted out so severely upon Sánchez is present throughout the production in small abuses that rain down upon nearly everybody, and especially those in lower positions, such as Tomàs, who continue to work for those above them regardless of how many kicks they receive along the way.

Scene 8 between the Honorable Judge and Tomàs is also notable for its critique of the habitual code-switching between Spanish and Catalan required by Franco-era linguistic control and regulation. Throughout the dictatorship, local languages were barred from public use. It was thought that relegating such languages to informal spaces, like within the home, would lead to the destruction and eventual extinction of languages such as Catalan, Euskera, and Galician.[137] These linguistic policies were not successful at eradicating Catalan; while the language suffered

from repression, it was not relegated to oblivion.[138] (By the Transition, languages like Catalan had returned to public life on the streets.)

Although it would seem contradictory that Els Joglars would use so much Castilian Spanish in their first word-based production, the show utilizes this language specifically to critique Catalan collaborators. Rebukes for speaking Catalan when engaging with the police or local governments, were typical, leading to the common phrase "learn to speak Christian" (meaning to speak Castilian Spanish). Els Joglars set up the Honorable Judge and Tomàs as part of this bilingual bureaucracy complicit in the destruction of its own language:

> Spanish is the language of [*La Torna*], and the dialectical gradation with which [Catalan] is intoned points to the nuances of the political interests that control the situation. The characters that express themselves in Catalan then submit themselves to the situation and speak Spanish with the Spaniards; in fact, to abandon Catalan is a type of acceptance, of collaboration.[139]

To Els Joglars and their Catalan audiences, the Honorable Judge and Tomàs are the typical Franco-state bureaucrat that would make their lives difficult if they spoke Catalan or had names that too obviously signaled Catalan heritage—even though Tomàs himself has a Catalan name.

La Torna levels a double linguistic critique, firstly against those who code-switch, and hence collaborate, like the Honorable Judge and Tomàs, secondly against those who think of Spain as a mono-lingual space, instead of recognizing the linguistic diversity already present within the country. While much of *La Torna* is in Castilian Spanish, there are seven languages written—either full dialogue or a snippet here and there—into the script: Castilian Spanish, Catalan, English, French, Portuguese, German, and Arabic.[140] None of these languages are translated and Boadella explicitly refused to include translations in the piece: "We have always traveled through the world without translating anything and been understood."[141] Suddenly able to use language on stage after years of censorship, the production forced its audience to recognize not only Catalan and Castilian Spanish, but other languages like German, in a show

that mostly focuses on a man unable to understand the world around him.

The Set

In keeping with TI theatrical strategies, Els Joglars kept *La Torna*'s furniture and props to a minimum to tour easily. However, the furniture and props were also carefully designed and constructed to augment Els Joglars' signature humor and theatricality. Although the set, props, and costumes were designed to be multi-functional and flexible, Els Joglars also spent a significant time making a realistic execution device, the *garrot vil*, which was used for a short time in a single scene and then never seen again. The contrast between the fully functional *garrot vil* and the adaptable set speaks not only to Els Joglars' theatrical aesthetic but also to the pervasive state violence to which they were responding.

Due to the touring requirements of Els Joglars, the action of *La Torna* occurs around a single table. However, the table is used to transform into dozens of configurations and settings, a flexibility characteristic of the performance and playfulness of Els Joglars' theatre aesthetic. The set for *La Torna* consisted of a few pieces of furniture: two coat racks, four stools, and this table. The coat racks were placed on either side of the performance space, far enough to be understood by the audience as outside of the production's world, but still visible to the audience as the actors changed their costumes and masks to become new characters. Because Franco-era theatre censorship limited productions to a single performance in each venue, forcing a highly itinerant style of performance, Els Joglars were used to chaotic tours with intensive travel schedules on shoestring budgets, with just a simple van to carry the sets, costumes, cast, and their personal belongings.[142]

Part of the enjoyment of watching *La Torna* was seeing the actors manipulate the cumbersome table, twisting and turning it to serve many different functions. The tabletop and

legs were left unfinished, giving the appearance of a clunky and sharp-angled table made from raw pine. The juxtaposition between the solid wood that makes up the table's structure and the adaptable ways Els Joglars use it allowed *La Torna* to emphasize the critique they were making of Franco's Spain, where reality was changeable enough that solid objects could transform into all sorts of different things.

The table's malleability is visible from the very beginning of *La Torna*. The show begins with the table placed upside down with one side propped up slightly, using the stools. The legs of the table were constructed to serve as a perch for Guardia Civil officers, whose are roosting and sleeping as if they were a hybrid of police officers and hens. The police-hens cluck and snooze in their underwear, with hands in their armpits creating chicken wings. Suddenly, the snoozing quiet is interrupted by a telephone's sharp ring:

> CORPORAL*, answering the phone and imitating a chicken's voice:* Helloooo? Yeeeees? Whaaaaaaa? That killed Péreeeez? In a camp groooooound? Ah yeeees, yeeees? Weeeee are coooooming! Weeeee are coooooming![143]

With the news of Pérez's death, the hens jump off their roosts and run around like chickens with their heads cut off. They wail, they cluck, they rush around the stage in a panic, still in their underclothes and hats. Eventually, the Corporal gains control over the brood of hens, exclaiming, "They have murdered our comrade in the line of duty!"[144] The police-hens pair up, covering themselves with large, white cloaks over each pair, further evoking fat round white hens. They march off the stage, each sent to round up suspects, and the table turns again, this time to serve as a bar.

As *La Torna*'s action changes, so does the table. When it represents a bar in scene 4, the table is again on its side, its legs facing the audience. The space between the table and the legs becomes the bar area, a long plank running the side of the table serving as a bar top. When in scene 9 the table becomes a jail, the table is placed right side up, the area between the table and

the floor serving as cells for Sánchez and his fellow prisoners. A trap door on the surface of the table allows the police to pull out prisoners to interrogate them. The private meeting between Sánchez and his defense lawyer in scene 10 is staged with the table upside down, flat on the floor. The table legs, whose supports had previously been perches, now serve as two small rooms, separated by (mimed) glass and telephones of the stereotypical jail scene. When the table is required to portray two places at once, a restaurant's dining room and kitchen in the last four scenes of the production, half of the tabletop folds up, creating a "wall" between the two areas. The only time the table is used as simply a table, is in scene 12 when an execution device, the *garrot vil,* is placed on its top, ready to train a novice executioner tasked with dispatching Sánchez.

The *garrot vil* was a device commonly used under Franco to execute prisoners, including Puig Antich and Heinz Chez. This device has a long history in Spain, dating from its use during the Spanish Inquisition.[145] It was famously being depicted by Francisco Goya in his *Disasters of the War* series, which illustrated the violence of the Peninsular War between Spain and France in the early 1800s. Although over time different garroting materials were used, the *garrot vil* functioned in the same way: killing a seated prisoner through asphyxiating them and breaking their neck. In the Franco regime, executioners operated the *garrot vil* by seating a prisoner, placing the copper collar around their neck, and then turning a lever that pushes a steel protrusion through the back of the collar, breaking the spine at neck level, supposedly delivering a quick death. The prisoner is sometimes hooded, but, regardless, as the lever is located behind the collar, the prisoner never knows when exactly the deathblow will come.[146] Each executioner designed and constructed his own *garrot vil* so that the lever and the amount of force needed to turn it suited the executioner's own preferences and ensured a clean death.

Heinz Chez's execution was botched, due to a novice executioner using a borrowed *garrot vil*. By the end of the Franco regime, executioners were few across the country. Only one executioner was available in the Catalan region—and he was already assigned to Puig Antich. A different executioner, (seemingly) inexperienced enough to not own his own *garrot vil,* was brought in to execute Heinz Chez. The executioner's inexperience, the equipment's age, and Chez's above-average height, meant that Chez's execution went horrifically awry.[147] As Salva, Chez's defense lawyer, shared with Boadella, what should have been a nearly instantaneous death lasted about twenty minutes.[148] When investigative reporter Riebenbauer interviewed the execution's witnesses (the lawyer, the priest, the military representatives) nearly thirty years after the fact, they spoke of a horrifying nightmare that continues to haunt them.[149] *La Torna* hints at this event in Scene 12, titled "The Garrote,"[150] by ridiculing the improper training of the executioner. In a kitchen, as a mother and child do the dishes, the executioner sets up his device atop the kitchen table. The other executioner arrives with his wife and child. While the women chat and the children play, the executioners work through the fine mechanism of the device. Needing to practice positioning their victims, the training executioner calls up his son and places him in the device. When the adults are then distracted, the other boy begins playing with the device, and the scene ends in a panic as the four adults attempt to prevent him from turning the lever and executing his new friend. This scene juxtaposes familial interactions set in a kitchen with the *garrot vil* training, criticizing the banal grotesquerie and deadly consequences of state-sponsored violence.

For this scene, Els Joglars constructed an actual, working *garrot vil* that included the steel protrusion, even though it was neither visible to the audience nor necessary to the scene. The tabloid magazine *El Caso* had published a special report on the executions of Puig Antich and

Heinz Chez, including a full page spread on the *garrot vil*'s mechanisms that included crude technical drawings.[151] Using these illustrations, Ferran Rañé and his father constructed the *garrot vil* used in *La Torna*. During an interview I conducted with Rañé in March 2017, Rañé began reminiscing about the time he spent with his father in their woodshop, as the two bonded over constructing an execution object. I asked why the *garrot vil* had to be functional—as in why include the steel protrusion at all? Rañé seemed bemused by the question: the protrusion was in the technical drawings; it was part of the machine and hence was required as part of the prop. Certain precautions were taken, including Rañé warning his fellow actors before every performance to only mime turning the lever.[152]

That *La Torna* depends so centrally on things not being what they seem—as seen in the table's malleability or the police-hen hybrids—only further emphasizes the functionality of the *garrot vil* set piece. This functional *garrot vil* is a feature of surviving the Franco dictatorship and its inherent state violence. I believe that Els Joglars constructed a functional *garrot vil* because such devices existed, still, within a violent, repressive regime. These actors had been born and raised under a dictatorship that routinely used state violence to keep their population in check and enforce cultural and religious codes of conduct. Their previous shows, like *Cruel Hubris* and *Mary D'Ous*, had also dealt with the consistent appearance of violence in their everyday lives under Franco, although such violence was usually disguised as a circus act or other devices. In the case of *La Torna*, the power of the *garrot vil* is such that the object can bring everything else into stark focus: the table is no longer a dozen different locations, but simply a table. The chair a chair. The copper collar a present danger for the actor held within it. The Franco regime, although dismantling, is still a danger for those who defy it.

The Masks

Els Joglars constructed a different mask for each character, mostly half-masks that covered the upper face while leaving the mouth unobstructed. The masks, in part, helped audiences easily identify the large cast of characters, such as the Guardia Civil officers who all wore the same mask design with a protruding beak-like nose. Other times, the masks emphasized the physicality of the character, such as the defense lawyer whose large belly was replicated in his round cheeks and button nose. Together, these masked characters made up the satirical and nonsensical world that Sánchez was forced to navigate.

During their trial, Els Joglars explained away many of *La Torna*'s more controversial elements by suggesting that they were simply aspects of the Italian *commedia de'll arte*. As their defense lawyer Josep Loperena explained, this was not a good life of defense, instead a desperate and ultimately unsuccessful tactic to try to avoid a guilty sentence.[153] *Commedia*-like training was part of the acting curriculum at the Institut de Teatre (Theatre Institute) that many Els Joglars members attended and where Els Joglars' three founders were instructors. At least one of them, Boadella, had spent a year studying at the L'École International de Théâtre Jacques Lecoq, which also used elements of *commedia* such as masks, physical work, slapstick comedy, and clown as part of their training regiment.[154] Like the Lecoq school, the masks and physical training used at the Institut de Teatre, were based upon *commedia*, but the courses focused more on movement and expression than on direct *commedia*. Hence, although there are clear aesthetic similarities between the masks used in *La Torna* and *commedia*—for example, the long, sharp noses or the half-masks—Els Joglars did not develop the masks to represent *commedia* characters specifically, but to borrow convenient physicality and comedy.

La Torna's turn to masks was in part due to convenience due to the short development of

the production. Els Joglars had, earlier in the 1977 summer, done a series of street performances in the small Catalan town of Pla de Santamaria.[155] During the Franco regime, the street names in Catalonia had been replaced with Castilian Spanish signage, in line with the dictatorship's aims to destroy the Catalan language. Els Joglars had performed a small, site-specific show in multiple locations in the town, stopping under each street name and performing a small scene that explained a new, Catalan name for the street, before affixing a wooden plank with that name onto the street sign. This performance was part of a larger cultural push in the aftermath of the Franco regime to reclaim the Catalan language and cultural identity. This series of scenes had been performed in the same masks that served as a starting point for *La Torna*.[156] Hence, the decision to use masks for *La Torna* was also one of convenience: the group both knew how to make and use masks, and had some masks already made that could be reused.

However, Els Joglars also capitalized on the similarities between *La Torna* and *commedia* when convenient, such as in their trial defense and for the playbill's cover image, adapted from the frontispiece of Jacques Callot's twenty-four print series *Balli di Sfessania*.[157] Callot's frontispiece depicts three men on a stage, with the man in the middle seemingly being confronted or attacked by two masked men carrying musical instruments and swords. Two additional actors from behind the curtain and spectators from the sides of the stage look on. The Joglars playbill, created by artist Dolors Caminal (Boadella's partner), replicates Callot's placement of all the characters—both on-stage and off-stage—but simplifies their costumes and props. In Caminal's version, an unmasked figure stands in the middle, surrounded by people in stark black masks, holding lances and other weapons. The otherwise sepia monochromatic engraving has large splotches of red blood where the central figure has been struck.

As the show's program explained, the use of mask work was a way to distort characters

and perception to more closely perform the confusion and fear that Heinz Chez, who spoke no Spanish, might have felt as he encountered the Franco judicial system and its arbitrary decisions. It is particularly damning that the murderer, seen at the beginning of the show escaping a murder scene in blood-stained pants, is the most human of all the characters on stage. Without a mask, Sánchez's face could clearly portray the "bewilderment of a foreigner who arrives in a different country and finds himself bested by a political game he does not understand."[158] These masks exaggerated the features, physicality, and personality traits of each character, converting the real-life people who contributed to Heinz Chez's death into a caricature. For example, Els Joglars constructed the masks for the Honorable Judge and his clerk Tomàs as having long, sharp noses that nearly touch the table as the two administrators pour over Heinz Chez's judicial case. As they spend most of their time at their desks, bent forward, it is unclear if their bent posture is due to the documents they are writing or the weight of their noses pulling their heads forward. The bartender and the defense lawyers, both characters marked by their rotund bellies, have faces to match, with puffy cheeks, round eyes, and bulbous noses. The mask work in *La Torna* converts all the masked characters into the "grand masked comedy" of amusing characters who are sinisterly leading him to the death sentence.

The Critique

Although the humor and playfulness that begins in the Scene 1 chicken coop with the Guardia Civil hens lasts throughout the show, the final moments are exceptionally dark. Ultimately, *La Torna* effectively accuses the Franco regime of having corrupted the justice system by pre-determining the result of Heinz Chez's trial to be the death sentence hence the production's title of *La Torna* or The Counterweight. By executing the two men together, Puig Antich was reframed from a political dissenter to a common criminal, like the transient and

disheveled Heinz Chez.[159] It is this accusation that ends *La Torna*, and that ultimately provoked the arrest, trial, incarceration, and exile of the Els Joglars actors.

Although the trial's judges are debating a matter of life or death, Els Joglars feature the members of the tribunal getting drunk and partying during their deliberations. Utilizing the testimony of Jordi Salva, scene 19 of *La Torna* is spent on the deliberations over Heinz Chez's trial. The judges, all members of the military, retire to their usual haunt, a local restaurant.

> MILITARY OFFICIAL 3: Gentlemen, gentlemen, while we deliberate, could we eat a little something?
> LEGAL ADVISOR: Of course, of course, of course.
> MILITARY OFFICIAL 1 (*to the LEGAL ADVISOR*): What we always have in these situations: paella, prawns, and red wine![160]

Military Official 1, in rather unsubtle phrasing, reveals that this group of officials routinely deliberates their verdicts at the local restaurant over food and drink. Aware of the predilections of this group of officers, the cooks begin preparing the pre-determined "tribunal menu"[161] well before the first order arrives, as the judges gather over a table to discuss what is also a pre-determined ruling. During this deliberation scene, the order for "paella, prawns, and red wine" is repeated another seven times.

The disconnect between deliberating a man's death sentence and the feast being rolled in is further emphasized by Els Joglars' staging. One side of the tabletop is pulled up, creating a wall between the kitchen and the dining room. To fill the nonstop orders of food and drink, a team of cooks work at full speed. Fernández, a low-level military official, is tasked with running the orders from kitchen to the dining room to keep the deliberation confidential. Yet, because *La Torna* only had six actors, the scene is a non-stop rush of actors moving back and forth around the table to simultaneously fill both the roles of the military officials and the cooks preparing the food. As the military tribunal drinks, they continuously announce that they will begin their deliberations, only to get distracted by food, drink, pornographic magazines, or their own

singing. Finally, the tribunal, never actually discussing the trial, passes out on top of the table, amidst the food, drink, and the magazines.[162]

In the very last moments of the production, Els Joglars stage their major accusation against the corruption of the dictatorship's judicial system: Heinz Chez was a scapegoat. Newly arrived from the kitchen, Fernández finds the deliberating body mostly passed out from food and drink. In his last moments of consciousness, the Legal Advisor barks at Fernández to begin typing the tribunals' final decision:[163]

> (*The* LEGAL ADVISOR *removes an envelope from his pocket. He opens it with difficulty and removes a report.* FERNÁNDEZ *writes with a typewriter, actually his fingertips typing on the table's surface, types what the* LEGAL ADVISOR *dictates.*)
> LEGAL ADVISOR (*dictating fully inebriated*): Today's date. Tribunal convened…, we consider… that we must condemn… and we condemn… the accused *Heinz Chez*, to the death penalty… and in case… (*incapable of continuing the dictation, he gives the report to* FERNÁNDEZ:) Go on, copy.
> FERNÁNDEZ *copies the report.*
> (*The* LEGAL ADVISOR *falls asleep on the table.*
> *Silence.*
> *The stage gets darker.*
> *The only sound is the typewriter.*
> *The only sound is the fingers hitting the tabletop.*
> *The only sound is the death sentence.*
> *Dark.*[164])

The final moments of silence contrast sharply with the business and energy during the rest of the scene and production overall. The actors are no longer running back and forth, the chaos has stopped. Instead, five of the actors have taken up the roles of military officials and lie strewn across the table or the floor. Some snore lightly. Fernández is the only person left upright. In the filmed version of *La Torna,* the stage is deathly quiet, the sound of the typing fingers loud and clear.[165] After so much energy and slapstick comedy from the actors playing two roles at once and the ridiculousness of drunken debauchery, *La Torna* reminds the audience what exactly they were laughing about: Sánchez was always a condemned man, his fate decided long before the trial occurred. The investigation, the interview with the psychiatrist and the defense lawyer, the trial, and the "grand comedy of masks," were all meaningless, the sentence having been pre-

written, tucked in the envelope inside the Legal Advisor's pocket.[166]

It was this final moment that ultimately provoked Els Joglars' trial, incarceration, and exile. Els Joglars had the bad luck that one of the members of Heinz Chez's military tribunal, Francisco Muro Jiménez, attended a showing of *La Torna* in at a small theatre festival in the Catalan town of Granollers.[167] Onstage, Muro Jiménez's real-life role in the Chez case was represented by the Legal Advisor character, who hands the sealed envelope to Fernández to type up and then unceremoniously passes out on the table.[168] Muro was, by all accounts, displeased with Els Joglar's presentation of the events. Insulted by the depiction of the military as drunken louts, and by the "silly voices" made by Els Joglars, Muro raised the alarm within the military, still in control of the judiciary during the Transition, beginning legal proceedings against the theatre company.[169] This final depiction of the military tribunal drunkenly miscarrying justice led to a highly theatrical trial that emphasized the continued power of the Franco regime, even as it was being dismantled into a transition to democracy.

Although Els Joglars remember the show as a break from their typical work—and the product of a deeply frustrating creation process—*La Torna* was a relatively successful show that toured through various regions of Spain and received positive reviews. The most significant difference between this and previous Els Joglars work was that it approached political critique in a more urgent and obvious manner. As the judicial trial developed against Els Joglars, this lack of subtlety and obfuscation made any defense strategy difficult to carry through, ultimately dooming the theatre company to a guilty verdict.

Section 3: The Trial

This chapter has thus far focused on Els Joglars' use of theatre to respond to the Franco regime and the political uncertainty of the Spanish Transition and how Els Joglars' Catalan

identity generated modes of resistance. I now consider how the holdouts of the Franco regime during the Transition—specifically the judicial wing of the Spanish military—responded to *La Torna*. In doing so, I return to Suk-Young Kim's concept of the *theatrical state.* As discussed in the introduction, authoritarian regimes like those of North Korea and, to an extent, Franco's Spain, rely on everyday theatricality, where "representation of everyday life exceeds everyday life itself."[170] In other words, the population of authoritarian states are forced to engage in continued performances of loyalty, fealty, and adherence to the ruling party in their everyday lives, leading to a constant performance of an ideal nation that does not exist. Everyday performances in Franco's Spain came through the linguistic imposition of Castilian Spanish, the omnipresence of the Spanish military, and, as I argue in this section, the trial against Els Joglars itself. Ultimately, even though Spain was nine months away from signing a democratic constitution that would (supposedly) permanently dismantle the Franco regime, the military tribunal against Els Joglars purposefully evoked Franco's theatrical state, reminding Spain and Catalonia of the long-held power of the Spanish military over the population.

This section discusses two major aspects of the Els Joglars case: Boadella's arrest and the subsequent protests organized by Els Joglars and their allies between December 1977 and March 1978 and the military tribunal held on March 7th, 1978 against Els Joglars. Together, these events gripped the nation, ensuring that the case of Els Joglars was present in the streets, newspapers, and television coverage. As this section considers these events, I reconstruct performances of power and resistance seen on the streets and through the news media at the end of the Spanish Transition to democracy.

Boadella's Arrest

During September and October 1977, Els Joglars toured *La Torna* around the regions of

Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the Basque Country, performing in small theatre buildings, festivals, or auditoriums. By all actors accounts, the tour was enjoyable and convivial, even after the frustrations of developing the production.[171] Their tour was successful enough that it seemed likely they would perform in Barcelona, a rare possibility for semi-professional theatre group that required significant ticket sales to afford the city's venues.[172] On November 30th, 1977, as Els Joglars were getting ready to take to the stage in the small town of Reus, to the south of Barcelona, the theatre's phone rang. Vilardebò answered the phone:

> The voice on the phone didn't identify himself, but by the tone of the voice it was clear he had authority, or, if not, he was authoritative… he ordered us to suspend the performance. He wasn't rude, but forceful, and he had a tone that implied: "if you don't listen, you'll see what happens"… we answered that we could not suspend the performance, that the tickets were sold, and that we had to act… He responded that we were going to find out what a War Tribunal was.[173]

The call was terrifying, but Els Joglars went on stage regardless, unaware that this would be the last show of their tour.[174] Today, however, the actors remember this phone call with smiles and shakes of the head; it seemed just slightly *too* melodramatic to be believed, something more fitting for a movie.

On December 7th, 1977, Army Colonel Enrique Nieto Martínez summoned Boadella, the show's director, to the offices of the Spanish Army in Barcelona, where Boadella was informed that "the Franco-era jurisdiction laws remained in place, and, in cases of insulting the military, civilians could be tried by the military."[175] As the production's director, the army considered Boadella the main person responsible for the insults in *La Torna*, and until the new constitution was ratified, the judiciary branch was still under military control. On December 11th, Boadella was again summoned to Coronel Nieto's office, where he was detained and transferred to the infamous La Model prison in Barcelona, the same jail where Puig Antich was imprisoned and executed. While in jail, Boadella became ill from a stomach ulcer and required hospitalization. His detention and illness opened a swell of street protests, strikes, and theatre blackouts in

Barcelona, Madrid, and other cities across Spain and Europe.

After Boadella's arrest, Els Joglars switched from performing shows to organizing and participating in a series of protests and tribunal meetings, trying to stave off an almost assured jail sentence. These protests, mainly held from December 1977 to March of 1978, began in solidarity with Boadella but grew into a larger call for an end to state-sanctioned censorship and a demand for freedom of expression throughout Spain. In Barcelona, Els Joglars began appealing to other theatre makers, democratic activists, and university students for support.[176] A "permanent mobilization" began outside La Model prison where Boadella was incarcerated.[177] In particular, Els Joglars collaborated with another TI group, La Claca (discussed in the next chapter) to garner interest and support for their cause. La Claca was instrumental in creating a symbol for the protests—a plain theatre mask with a red slash over the mouth. This symbol became ubiquitous on banners and graffiti throughout Barcelona, Catalonia, and Spain in the run-up to Els Joglars' trial. Interestingly, it also made a return decades letter in 2017, as the region geared up for the Catalan independence referendum, re-packaged by independence activists to protest the democratic government opposition to Catalan self-determination (see Chapter 4 and the epilogue).

Photographs of the 1977 and 1978 Els Joglars protests in Barcelona show that demonstrators followed a specific set of actions, all centered on the theatre mask created by La Claca for Els Joglars. A photo by Carles Suqué, taken in early 1978, shows protesters walking arm-in-arm down a wide avenue in Barcelona.[178] With their bodies, they block the street to traffic or other pedestrians. Here and there, some protestors have a card stock mask over their faces—the Joglars mask with the red slash. The first line of protesters, walking in sync, also hold up two banners reading "Amnesty for Els Joglars" and "Freedom of Expression/Freedom

Joglars,"[179] both of which also feature the Joglars mask. Other photos, such as those published by Els Joglars themselves in their 2006 memoir *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo* (Joglars 77, From the Stage to the Slammer), show similar protests, with large groups of people taking up Barcelona's streets, blocking traffic and carrying similar banners, many of them calling for freedom of expression or amnesty for Els Joglars. Front and center in these photos are Els Joglars themselves (except for Boadella, who was in jail), leading the protest. In one, two large Catalan independence flags (*estalades*) are visible, above an enormous crowd. A photograph by Jordi Soteras, taken in early 1978, shows two protesting women carrying a different kind of poster.[180] With the slogan "Freedom of Expression," the sign has a cartoon of a man, sporting a fedora and bowtie. His lips are pierced with a lock, keeping his mouth shut. The lock carries a Nazi swastika, the Hakenkreuz, implying that the Joglars arrest is a continuation of the fascism of the 1930s. Together, these images show how Els Joglars protests purposefully disrupted Barcelona's major avenues such as the Passeig de Gràcia and the Avinguda Diagonal, bringing forward a clear demand for an end to the Els Joglars case, which protestors directly linked to the fascist governments of Europe.

Els Joglars also rallied theatre groups and companies across Spain and Europe to join the protest. Using a coalition of theatre artists as well as musicians, dancers, and visual artists, Els Joglars and their supporters began organizing. On December 22nd, 1977, a nationwide strike of theatre, dance, music, and television occurred. With the Christmas holiday so close, this strike proved disruptive to wealthy business owners and entrepreneurs whose holiday parties and entertainments were suddenly cancelled—a way for artists to make their political frustrations widely known amongst those who had more political power.[181] Theatre groups around Spain, including Madrid, also joined the protests and strikes, allowing "the tourists to learn that there

would not be entertainment while actors were in jail."[182] Major Catalan and Spanish artists, such as Rosa Maria Sardà, Francesc Candel, Oriol Bohigas, Ovidi Montllor, Marina Rosell, Ramon Muntaner, Lluís Llach, Raimon, and Maria del Mar Bonet joined the protest, either cancelling their own events, performing in benefit to the Joglars cause, or both.[183] Els Joglars also sought support internationally, asking for solidarity protests in European capitals, and requesting that major theatre artists in Europe—including Peter Brook and Jerzy Grotowski—send letters to the Spanish government requesting that the trial be stopped.[184] Overall, the protest extended beyond Spain, to Denmark, France, Italy, Portugal, and Venezuela.[185]

Protests continued, especially in Barcelona, through January and the beginning of February 1978. The situation reached a fever pitch in late February when Els Joglars orchestrated the brazen prison break of Boadella. Ill and exhausted, Boadella desperately wanted to escape and flee to France. However, Els Joglars knew that such a prison break would lead to the entire group being jailed. They also knew that their eventual arrest and jailing was assured; it was simply a matter of time. They agreed to help Boadella escape, and then individually face the choice whether to flee to France or turn themselves in to the authorities.[186]

On Monday, February 27th, 1978, Els Joglars took matters into their own hands, choosing jail or exile. Boadella was recovering at Barcelona's Hospital Clínic. With the help of Vilardebò, who was also a medical student and had access to the hospital, Boadella left a pornographic magazine on his bed to distract the guards and pulled himself out of the bathroom's window into the adjacent room.[187] There, he costumed himself as a doctor with the clothing Vilardebò had left, and walked out the hospital into a get-away car.[188] Meanwhile, two other Joglars, Rañé and Crehuet, packed their bags and their two-month old daughter, and drove across the border to Perpignan, France.[189] With such a young child, neither wanted to risk a jail sentence. Vilardebò,

de Maetzu, and Solsona went home to their families and friends for one last night. Renom made his way to Girona's Municipal theatre, where he was performing in in *Fedra*—an adaptation of Jean Racine's tragedy *Phèdre.* Before the show could begin, Guardia Civil officers arrived and arrested him backstage.[190] Nuria Espert, a celebrated actress and also *Fedra*'s director, was so incensed by this arrest that, instead of performing, she led her audience in an improvised theatre protest outside the local municipal office.[191] The next day, Tuesday February 28th, de Maeztu, Vilardebò, and Solsona turned themselves in to the authorities to face a military tribunal alongside Renom.[192] Rañé and Crehuet began protesting from abroad, trying to exert foreign pressure against the trial. Boadella went into hiding in Barcelona for a bit, eventually joining Rañé and Crehuet in France. Theatre critic Perez de Olaguer wrote up these events as "Els Joglars latest production,"[193] musing that it should be titled "La Torna-2" and prophetically suggesting that it could be the "last show of their professional lives as a group."[194]

The military tribunal against Els Joglars—at least against those who remained in the country—was held the following week, on March 7th, 1978. Having been deemed flight risks, the remaining Els Joglars were held in custody at the La Model and La Trinidad prisons in Barcelona. With Els Joglars split between exile and jail, the intense protests eventually petered out, as momentum was difficult to maintain. Boadella and the actors of *La Torna*[195] were originally threatened with a six-year sentence for insulting the military, although those incarcerated were given a three-year sentence and ultimately served 10 months. The theatricality of the trial and the still significant power of the Franco regime, even mid-Transition, won out over grassroots activism.

The Trial

The military tribunal against Els Joglars received widespread attention as a sign that the

Spanish Transition might be faltering. The newspaper *The Guardian* categorized the situation as a "perplexing fascist twitch" and a "lamentable anachronism," where "it is not that the [transitional] government has granted phony liberties but that it is apparently incapable of getting the armed forces to follow its lead."[196] In other words, while the Transition was still moving forward, the Spanish military was behaving as though the dictatorship had not ended. As strange and anachronistic as the trial seemed, its consequences were significant for Els Joglars and for freedom of expression within Spain: the Franco regime had ended with the dictator's death, but the power of the military was still felt in Spanish politics and society. Hence, the trial itself was carefully choreographed by the Spanish military to perform their continued authority and impunity. In the discussion below, I use the extensive newspaper coverage of the trial to reconstruct some of the theatrical messaging of the Spanish military. This coverage reveals the menacing nature of the tribunal and Els Joglars' difficult position.

De Maeztu, Renom, Solsona, and Vilardebò knew, before the trial even began, that they would be found guilty of insulting the military through unflattering caricatures and of accusing the military of miscarrying justice in the Heinz Chez and Puig Antich cases.[197] The military was seeking a three-year jail sentence for sixteen counts of insulting the military, one for each performance of *La Torna* within the Catalan region. The four actors on trial believed that exile would be a longer sentence than jail, and that, ultimately, they were innocent of the charges drawn up.[198] With their attorneys, they developed a multi-pronged defense to combat the charges. An aspect of this defense was to have the four actors have individual defense lawyers, even though they were being prosecuted jointly. This allowed for four distinct defense arguments—and only one had to be convincing to, presumably, get all four acquitted. Hence, these defenses at times contradict each other. It is important to remember that, although a

democratic system was soon to be in place, the judicial branch charging Els Joglars was still functioning under the conventions and framework of a forty-year long military dictatorship.

The general strategy by Els Joglars during their trial was to present *La Torna* as a theatrical performance, based on *commedia dell'arte*, with no *animus injuriandi*—or injurious aim—against the military.[199] By turning to *commedia dell'arte*, Els Joglars hoped to argue that all the characters were caricatures that the show overall was opposed to the death penalty, but that the characters were all fictional inventions, not based on the real-life case of Puig Antich or Heinz Chez.[200] The defense proposed staging the production within the tribunal chambers, with the set, props, costumes, and with the actors who were on trial. Performing *La Torna*, the defense argued, would allow the tribunal to see that the show was a simple comedy, and that any perceived comparison with the Puig Antich case was coincidence.[201] Performing the production would, of course, also allow Els Joglars to tone down some of the more extreme depictions.[202] From my conversations with Els Joglars, however, it was also clear that there was a level of cheekiness to this request, that performing *La Torna* during a tribunal would be a defiant act against the military, as it would use theatre to expose the military's own performance of judicial rites to impose power and fear.[203]

The tribunal rejected their petition, and the Franco regime's *theatrical state* was publicly performed yet again. On March 7th, 1977, the actors endured a 13-hour military tribunal over the course of a day. Their trial was set in a large room, to be viewed by an audience of "famous actors and actresses, directors, producers and writers, in a wide representation of [Spain's] theatre and film community."[204] In front of such a well-versed audience, the Spanish military could perform its ultimate power to prosecute Els Joglars to the fullest extent of a soon-to-be phased out law. Each of the four Joglars was to testify in their defense. Per the court rules at the

time, all documentary evidence was to be read out loud, including the playbill marking Heinz Chez as "la torna" of Puig Antich, and the various reviews of the production. Having been denied the chance to perform *La Torna*, the defense entered the production's script into evidence as well, resulting in the production also being read out loud by the prosecution as part of the proceedings.[205] In so doing, the military tribunal itself performed *La Torna* one last time within the larger performance of the military's strength and power.[206] While, ultimately, the military had much more power than Els Joglars, both used the trial to construct theatrical moments of authority and resistance, respectively.

Newspaper articles wrote up the marathon trial in front-page coverage, hinting at the contradiction of a military tribunal held on the eve of the Spanish Transition. However, the press was still subject to the 1966 Press Law that censored their writing. Journalists found themselves reporting on a trial that reminded the country that the military was still willing to pursue censorship cases, regardless of how small the case might appear. Simultaneously, entry to the trial was severely restricted, meaning that the press coverage was the primary way that Els Joglars' supporters—and their enemies—could access the proceedings. The *MundoDiario* newspaper provided an hour-by-hour timeline of the events, noting the more significant pieces of evidence submitted as well as each individual actor's defense.[207] Meanwhile, the *Catalunya Express* newspaper published their own sketch of the courtroom, explaining that "our illustrator Martí has constructed an graphic approximation based on the data relayed by those present."[208] Marti's sketch is drawn from the vantage point of the prosecution, showing the prosecutor's (flabby) back, the judges, the defense lawyers, and the bench where the four Joglars are seated. The caption lists each of these individuals except one. In between Renom and the defense lawyer is a Guardia Civil. While all the faces are quite clear in this sketch, the face of the Guardia Civil

is shrouded in shadow. This shadow adds ambiguity to the scene—could he be staring out at the viewer? More menacingly, while Renom's figure blocks almost all the Guardia Civil figure, the guard's rifle is visible, jutting out in front of the defense lawyers.[209] In these subtle hints, the newspaper coverage established the large power differential between the four actors and the Spanish military.

Figure 1: The courtroom sketch published in Catalunya Express. Source: MAE. Institut del Teatre.

The news coverage was also infused with a tone of surprise that this trial could even take place during the Spanish Transition. The Catalan newspaper *Avui*, which had begun publishing in the Catalan language again, wondered about the legality of a military tribunal being called against four theatre actors, reminding its readers that "Article 7 of the [Transition] Pact recommends a reform of the Military Justice Code so that civilians can only be tried by civilian tribunals."[210] The Transitional Pact, which became the Spanish constitution was, however, still nine months away from being ratified. The same article includes Renom's testimony, suggesting

that the military tribunal against Els Joglars was re-enacting the injustice of the military tribunal against Heinz Chez:

> Renom's final assertion, while staring at the floor of the tribunal chambers: "Everything the play says can happen here, there, yesterday, tomorrow…or right now," and he stops thoughtfully.[211]

Other newspaper coverage emphasized the testimony of the actors, noting that, for example, Solsona's testimony "had a touch of poetry that clearly won over the majority of those who attended the tribunal."[212]

Newspaper coverage also emphasized the theatricality of the military tribunal. The *Mundodiario* coverage headlines that *La Torna* was read aloud during the tribunal: at 12:10 pm, defense lawyer Marc Palmés (Solsona's personal lawyer), introduced all the scenes from *La Torna*, forcing the court to read the playtext out loud for the panel of judges.[213] De Maeztu remembers a specifically theatrical rendition of *La Torna* being read in the courtroom:

> The tribunal had an extraordinary solemnity (they were accusing us of insulting the military!), the room was enormous, the military officers in full uniform… They began to read the script, but they quickly agreed, with very good judgment, that if the entire script was read by the same person nothing could be understood, so they gave out the parts. The prosecutor would do one, the lawyer another… We couldn't believe it! As they read, since *La Torna* has very funny moments and they were getting into character, the effect was quite humorous… it was incredible… us, handcuffed and on a hunger strike, laughed… we couldn't help it… and the public audience laughed… in secret.[214]

When I met with de Maeztu in June 2017, her otherwise serious demeanor melted into a big smile as she remembered the trial: "I remember that they read it, they read it between [the prosecution members],[215] and that it was surreal."[216] The trial was familiar to de Maeztu, as the public audience in the tribunal chambers had "the same silence" as the opening chicken coop scene.[217] Solsona had similar memories to those of de Maeztu, although he was less sure that the entire production was read, recalling only that the scenes that represented Guardia Civils and the military were read aloud (which the *Mundodiario* seems to confirm).[218] However, Solsona, Renom, and Vilardebò all attest to the gruff prosecutor diving into the characters, reading parts

with deep affect, causing the actors to burst into laughter at the unbelievable situation in which they were living. While I tried to gain access to the tribunal's transcript to understand this theatrical event more clearly, access was denied by the Spanish military.[219]

One of the arguments levied by the prosecution was that *La Torna* actively insulted the Guardia Civil, and hence the Spanish military. Their major piece of evidence was the costuming of Els Joglars, particularly the *tricornio* hats the hen-officers wore throughout the performance. The Guardia Civil wear an unmistakable hat, a round head covering with a flat plane on the back. The hen-officers wore those same hats. To prove their point, the prosecution asked to costume Els Joglars mid-tribunal. In a large cardboard box sat next to the four actors on trial, the prosecution had gathered the costumes, masks, props, and "two hats, the forms of which had caused controversy."[220] Els Joglars tried to argue that all costumes related back to *commedia dell'arte*; the *tricornio* hats were not Guardia Civil hats but a *commedia dell'arte* hat.[221] When this was questioned, the defense attempted to connect the hats to *commedia dell'arte*, discussing how each mask required specific gestures and costuming.[222] The prosecutor interrupted and asked to see the actors costumed. While standing, his hands shackled, a hat was placed on Vilardebò's head, leaving no doubt to the resemblance to the Guardia Civil's *tricornio.*[223] Years later, during our interviews, many of the Joglars remembered the moment with a lot of humor, amused at their cheekiness in trying to pass off what was clearly a Guardia Civil hat as a *commedia* prop.[224]

It is also interesting to note that throughout the debate over the hen-officers' hats, there were Guardia Civils in full uniform (including their *tricornio* hat) in full view. Both *MundoDiario* and *Tele/eXpres* published maps of the courtroom, marking that two Guardia Civils were guarding the actors, standing on either side of the bench where the accused sat. A

courtroom sketch published by *Noticiero Universal* shows Vilardebò seated immediately next to a Guardia Civil, his *tricornio* and its unmistakable flat back visible. The actors do not recall any explicit comparison made between Vilardebò's costume and the nearby Civil Guards' uniforms, but it would have been impossible for the judges—and the tribunal audience—to not see both the costumed Joglars and the Guardia Civil in a side-by-side comparison.

Ultimately, any interpretation of the performance of *La Torna* in Els Joglars' trial is incomplete without full access to the transcript. While I can reconstruct the tribunal—what it looked like, what it felt like—from the actors and the newspaper, I can only speculate about how the reading of *La Torna* functioned. The full transcript would allow me to answer bigger questions: Was the *La Torna* script read in full or only in sections? Did the prosecution also read the stage directions? How did the prosecution approach the different languages in the production? What response and questions did the judges have after the reading of *La Torna*? What could the transcript reveal about the parallels between the trial and *La Torna*'s themes of the corrupt Franco judicial branch? I was denied access to the transcript in 2017, most likely due to the increasing tension in Barcelona surrounding the Catalan referendum. The zealousness with which the Spanish military guarded a trial transcript itself, for me, speaks to the continued power of the military over how and what we remember about the dictatorship, the Spanish Transition, and contemporary Spain.

The story of *La Torna* ends, to borrow from T.S. Elliot's *Hollow Men*, not with a bang but with a whimper. Although *La Torna* and Els Joglars inspired great upheaval in early 1978, by the end of the year, its actors were forgotten in their various jails around Spain and in exile in France. The Spanish military had proven their power over the theatre and over freedom of expression. On December 29th, 1978, the new, democratic constitution came into effect and

Spain officially became a democratic parliamentary monarchy. In January 1979, after ten months of imprisonment, Solsona, Vilardebò, Renom, and de Maeztu were quietly released onto empty and grey streets, without the waves of supporters that had accompanied them into the courtroom. Although they did not serve their full sentences, they had to sign away any request for amnesty, meaning that they still carry with them the guilty verdict. In the early 1980s, Boadella, Rañé, and Crehuet returned to Spain.

Conclusion

Theatrically, *La Torna* marks a critical liminal moment between the *teatro independiente* movement and the theatre of democratic Spain, in which artists tried to make sense of the uncertain new society they were inhabiting. Scholars of Catalan theatre like Sharon Feldman argue that Franco's death left the TI movement without a target for their biting political critiques and hence without a *raison d'etre*. Els Joglars underwent such an extreme transformation after *La Torna* that it became a different group entirely. With *La Torna* director Albert Boadella as artistic director until 2012, Els Joglars shifted away from improv and devised theatre towards writing and performing original plays. *La Torna* is not only one of the last plays of the TI movement, but also the last play of Els Joglars as the group was originally conceived.

Boadella's leading role within Els Joglars coupled with his opposition to Catalan independence later in life has further complicated the afterlife of *La Torna*, leading the Catalan Independence Movement to ignore the actors of *La Torna*. After going into exile, Boadella continued the Els Joglars theatre company, finding new actors and creating different shows. In 2005, Boadella adapted *La Torna* in a show titled *La torna de La Torna* (The Return of the Counterweight). The play's premise is that two elderly men—one a general, one an anti-Franco agitator—encounter the recording of *La Torna* on the television of their nursing home. As they

watch the show, they argue and reconcile their differences. *La torna de La Torna* led to a court case between Boadella and the other members of the 1977 Els Joglars over authorial rights, and irrevocably destroyed the relationship between the two parties: Boadella did not request permission from the other authors of *La Torna* to create *La torna de La Torna.* Today, Boadella is well known in Spain for opposing Catalan nationalism politics and his theatrical protests of the Catalan Independence Movement. The other actors of *La Torna* have continued working in theatre, performance arts, and visual arts, although none have a public profile like that of Boadella.

Although Els Joglars' trial is often noted as a dangerous moment within the Spanish Transition, a moment in which the military might shatter its promises and prevent the onset of democracy, *La Torna*'s performers and authors were as largely forgotten as Heinz Chez. During their imprisonment, another theatre production premiered that insulted Franco himself and celebrated his death, discussed in the next chapter. This performance, connected to senior Catalan politicians, enjoyed a tour of Spain and Europe without censure or attack from the Spanish military. The Spanish military had little interest in creating a diplomatic crisis by prosecuting this well-connected show. Instead, the semi-professional nature of Els Joglars and the company's lack of influence in political spheres made them the perfect target of a final show of Franco's *theatrical state*. Even today, Spain's democratic government has failed to face and resolve the human right violations of the Franco regime. Instead, memories of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime keep returning to public life and politics, even more so with the onset of the Catalan Independence Movement. The Catalan Independence Movement itself, though, has borrowed the red gash imagery from the protests to protect Els Joglars without giving any credit to Els Joglars or to La Claca, the other TI group that developed and sustained the protest

movement. Ferran Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Andreu Solsona, Arnau Vilardebò, Gabi Renom, Miriam de Maetzu, and Albert Boadella each challenged the Franco regime before this kind of resistance gained cachet.

Chapter 2—1978: Puppets, Collaboration, and Resistance

Introduction

The 1978 puppet show *Mori el Merma*, or "Death to the Boogeyman," developed by the Catalan theatre group La Claca in collaboration with visual artist Joan Miró, staged and celebrated the death of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco (1892-1975). *Mori el Merma* "marked a particular moment in Catalan theatre history" by celebrating Catalan identity, ingenuity, and artistic creativity as a response to the Franco regime's policies aimed at destroying the Catalan language and Catalonia's culture. Produced three short years after the death of the dictator and amid the political transition from fascism to democracy, the show was a hit amongst Catalan audiences. *Mori el Merma* physicalizes Franco and his administration as gruesome and ridiculous puppets, allowing the audience to enjoy and celebrate the end of a dictatorship that had punished the culturally distinct region so severely.[225] The production combined traditional Catalan puppetry techniques with the surrealist aesthetic of Miró and the cutting-edge collective creation style of La Claca, creating a production that spoke to the hopes of the cultural recovery of Catalonia.

Eleanor Margolies argues that one advantage of puppetry is its ability to play with scale, allowing audiences to see and understand interactions that would otherwise be too vast to be perceived.[226] The puppets designed by La Claca and Joan Miró in *Mori el Merma* play across multiple scales and dimensions, some three-dimensional and others flat, some human-sized and others so large they require multiple puppeteers to move around the stage. These puppets also play along more metaphorical scales, physicalizing the realities and absurdities of basic existence under a fascist regime. The puppets are misshapen, with overly large noses, feet, or bodies that

speak to the larger, irrational world they inhabit. The puppets throw their disproportionate bodies around the stage, using appendages that resemble clubs and cudgels to physically dominate others, even when this means pushing aside their allies. Although the puppets are designed to seem absurd and irrational, in this chapter, I also discuss them as a testament to the physical, social, and political violence endured during Francoism.

The creation and construction processes of these puppets and the show they populated together reveal the show's anti-fascist political messaging alongside an unabashed embrace of Catalan cultural identity. This chapter's three major sections together illuminate the consistent anti-Franco messaging that animated the production. Taken together, this analysis explains how *Mori el Merma* came to be "the most ambitious puppet theatre show ever made in Catalonia… and the most polemical."[227]

Since the conception of *Mori el Merma*, the fame of sculptor and painter Joan Miró has eclipsed the work of La Claca and the puppets themselves. To understand *Mori el Merma*'s puppets specifically as performing objects (rather than as art) requires the de-centering of Miró's contribution, focusing instead on the entire production and all its collaborators, itself a three-year negotiation between La Claca, its ensemble, and the artist. The puppets and the set pieces, clearly informed by Miró's characteristic use of shape, color, and humor, read as singularly his. Furthermore, as one of his last major works before his death in 1983, *Mori el Merma* is often viewed as the fulfilled theatrical whim of an elderly and established painter.[228] The Miró Foundation, which houses the *Mori el Merma*'s puppets, has exhibited them as stationary pieces that form part of his larger artistic output.[229] By re-centering La Claca's ensemble work in the creation of *Mori el Merma*, the puppets are animated into moving, breathing things that reveal

the deep political stakes of the production as an anti-Francoist piece and a celebration of Catalan culture and art.

Re–centering the Ensemble

This chapter's major intervention lays bare the creation process of *Mori el Merma*. By reading and analyzing the puppets *as* puppets (i.e. as objects designed for performance and motion), I illuminate the political stakes of the production, from how the puppets were constructed to how they move on stage. As sculptures, they lose the articulations and details that add personality to each character. Hence, my research for this chapter includes a careful analysis of the puppets themselves, which are stored at the Fundació Joan Miró (Joan Miró Foundation), in Barcelona, Spain. The puppets, designed and constructed between 1976 to 1978 and used during the original tour of the show, are stored in the museum's basement holdings, alongside other Miró paintings and sculptures. The art museum, at least, clearly views the puppets as part of Miró's art; as fragile and stationary pieces. Accessing them proved to be complicated due to renovations to the building and skepticism that a theatre scholar was interested in the holdings of an art and sculpture museum. After negotiations, I was able to view and handle the puppets and fully comprehend their physical and metaphorical scales. This research is central to this chapter.

I carried out additional archival research from June 2017 to July 2019 in L'Institut de Teatre (The Theatre Institute), the Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya (Architecture College of Catalonia), and the Fundació Joan Miró. The production materials at these archives were contemporaneous to the long creation process of *Mori el Merma* and its tour and thus provide insight in to how the on-the-ground realities of the Spanish Transition to democracy impacted the artistic process behind the production. Other sources proved critical to understanding the

rehearsal process of the show itself. At the Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, I accessed the entire photographic archive of Francesc Català Roca, a close friend of Miró who photographed La Claca's rehearsals of *Mori el Merma*. Català Roca's photographs detail the experimental rehearsal process, the egalitarian organization of the ensemble, and the puppet painting process.

Other research comes from documentary film footage, specifically the BBC documentary *Mori el Merma: A Fable Based on the Art of Joan Miró* by Charles Chabot and Christopher Martin.[230] This documentary was particularly helpful in showing the puppets in movement, as they ran, pounced, and gallivanted across the stage, interacting with each other and the audience. Understanding the range of the puppets' movements helped me clarify their speed and accuracy. Any reference to how the puppets move or what they sound like is informed from this documentary. A series of interviews over the months of August and September 2017 with La Claca co-founder Joan Baixas (in Sant Celoni, Catalunya), *Mori el Merma* assistant director Gloria Rognoni (in Valldoreix, Catalunya), and puppeteer/dancer Elisa Crehuet (in L'Esquirrol, Catalunya) further supplemented understanding these objects in motion with her experience performing in a revival of *Mori el Merma* in 1986. Their insights provided different perspectives on the theatrical and embodied methods that were crucial to the show's creation process and the construction of *Mori el Merma*'s puppets.[231]

This chapter is organized in three sections. In the first, which considers the play's rehearsal process, I argue that *Mori el Merma* derives from multiple legacies of resistance, from Miró's and La Claca's artistic work before their collaboration to the wider history of the Spanish Civil War. The second analyzes *Mori el Merma* itself, balancing analysis of puppet construction and the show's story. This discussion of individual *Mori el Merma* puppets brings about new

insights into the creation process of the show, most crucially recovering the role of Teresa Calafell and the ensemble of actors who constructed the puppets. The third and final section considers the opening performance in Barcelona, attended by Miró and many prominent Catalan politicians. The premiere served as a kind of pageant of Catalan political exceptionalism, where the celebratory atmosphere of the play was also felt throughout the audience. However, during the curtain call, La Claca's actors and Miró turned the tables upon their audience, condemning the Catalan politicians' collaboration with the Franco regime in the negotiations leading to democracy. Through such a careful reading of *Mori el Merma*, I provide an understanding of a landmark theatrical achievement that steps out of Joan Miró's considerable shadow and lays bare the Catalanist politics behind the performance.

Together, these three sections reveal the many ways in which *Mori el Merma* grew out of a Catalan artistic genealogy of anti-Fascist resistance and, in so doing, affirmed Catalan cultural and national identity during political transition. I build on Cariad Astles' claim that *Mori el Merma* "bridg[es] a moment of rupture" between the Franco regime and a democratic Spain[232] and track "the relationship between political and social consciousness and artistic output."[233] After all, *Mori el Merma*, as a celebratory funeral for the titular boogeyman, was more than a celebration of Franco's death: it proclaimed the return of Catalan cultural identity to the center stage.

Section 1: The Political Ideology of *Mori el Merma*

Mori el Merma is a product of its era, created during the decline of Franco's health to his death on November 20, 1975, as the country shifted from dictatorship through an uncertain political transition and into democracy. Although Spain was undergoing extreme changes during

the creation process of *Mori el Merma*, its creators' purposes for the show were consistent: to celebrate the end of the dictatorship by purposefully utilizing Catalan cultural expression and aesthetics. As such, La Claca and Miró ensured that the creation and rehearsal process of *Mori el Merma* emphasized their personal political and cultural stakes. In this section, I detail the rehearsal process to show how La Claca and Miró put at its forefront their Catalan cultural identity as a part of their anti-fascist political ideology.

Serendipitously, it was the cultural censorship of the Franco regime that led La Claca and Miró to encounter each other. La Claca was founded in 1968 by Joan Baixas and Teresa Calafell as a traveling puppet company. Baixas and Calafell were interested in puppet theatre as "an advanced space of theatrical experimentation."[234] As their theatre company grew more influential in Spain and the Franco regime ended, La Claca created performances, exhibitions, and festivals to recover Catalan puppet theatre and previously banned traditions.[235] In 1973, Joan Miró was set to attend a La Claca production in Palma de Mallorca, Spain. [236] However, the local censor prevented the show from opening with little notice, convinced that the show was subversive. Frustrated, Miró sent a letter to La Claca, expressing regret for the censor's actions, and beginning an artistic communication. Two years later in 1975— shortly before Franco's death—, Baixas invited "Catalan painters to collaborate with the [Puppetry Festival of Barcelona] celebrations painting puppets, *capgrossos* [bigheads, a form of Catalan folk puppet], or other similar beasts."[237] This appealed to Miró, whose "interest gravitated towards popular culture, the giant and big-headed puppets (*gigantes y cabezudos*), the [religious festivals of the] Procession of the Virgin, and the *calçotadas* [a Catalan food festival celebrating the harvest of scallions]."[238] However, Miró declined Baixas' invitation, explaining that while he had "felt called by the

language of puppetry for years, he did not want to simply paint a pair of puppets but create an entire show."[239] Baixas met the challenge, immediately offering to create a fully-fledged performance instead, thus launching the three-year creation process from 1975 to 1978 that resulted in *Mori el Merma*.

From its inception, *Mori el Merma* was a politically charged anti-fascist play. The show put at its cornerstone the Catalan identity shared by Miró and La Claca, an identity that had been severely curtailed on stage by Franco's regime. Along with banning any Catalan language from the stage, by the time La Claca was founded in 1968, censors attended dress rehearsals or the first performance to ensure that the company was self-censoring, speaking Castilian on stage and not engaging in political topics or critiques of the government. Should the production be deemed too subversive, the censor could shut down the performance, impose fines, and prosecute the theatre company.[240] During the Transition, the state of censorship was unclear. As discussed in the previous chapter, another theatre group, Els Joglars, had discovered that although the Franco regime had ostensibly ended, the Transitional government had no control of the military and judiciary, which allowed the Spanish military to prosecute theatre companies for flouting Franco-era censorships laws. For Miró and La Claca, *Mori el Merma* was an opportunity to finally create theatrical and cultural work without the yoke of Francoist censorship hanging over them.

Resistance through art

Before working together, both La Claca and Miró had sought to resist Francoist censorship through artistic output. Both engaged in similar forms of resistance, such as avoiding Spanish language in their art or refusing to present work at state-sanctioned events. Hence, by

the time they collaborated, both had developed an anti-fascist and anti-Francoist artistic style and language. Through *Mori el Merma*, they would merge these systems.

La Claca's resistance was developed as part of their participation in the *teatro independiente* (TI), discussed in this dissertation's introduction. This network of semi-professional performance troupes who created a political and anti-Francoist theatre without using traditional theatre spaces or repertories. TI, which took up the mantle of Spanish theatre, did so by rejecting traditional theatre buildings, preferring spaces more open to audiences who could not necessarily pay the admission fee for bourgeois theatre.[241] Furthermore, TI groups, being mostly semi-professional, could rarely if ever afford the rent for traditional theatre buildings.[242] TI groups were particularly inventive, finding ways to flout censorship not only in their productions but also in surrounding events such as talkbacks, debates, and round tables.[243] Flouting censorship became almost a game, as TI groups developed their "consistently experimental and overwhelmingly anti-Francoist" theatre practice within the constraints of censorship.[244]

Because of their subversive nature, TI groups like La Claca were aggressive in pushing back against the Franco regime. Given the dictatorship's suppression of Catalan culture, including the banning of Catalan from public spaces and performances, these groups developed non-verbal theatre techniques, specifically turning to mime and wordless theatre. For them, it was better to not speak at all than to speak in Spanish on stage.[245] Hence, La Claca rarely used any language in their productions. Instead, their characters "spoke" to each other using sounds, grunts, squeaks, music, and other forms of wordless communication. Many Catalan TI groups also sought out moments of cultural understanding between Catalan audiences and Catalan

performers, taking advantage of the fact that censors were often from Spain with little knowledge of Catalan language or music. La Claca spoke to their Catalan audience specifically through their use of puppets that borrowed from traditional Catalan puppet theatre, which largely had been suppressed by the Franco regime.

Folk puppet theatre has a long history in Catalonia, where it has long been tied to religious celebrations and summer feasts. However, much Catalonia's puppetry heritagewas lost during the instability of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936) and the violence of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). During these periods, churches in Catalonia were often burned as part of a left-wing protest of the conservative forces of the Spanish aristocracy, Catholic Church, and military. Among the casualties of this violence were Catalan folk puppets, which were stored in local churches between performances. While the Franco regime (1939-1975) subsequently promoted Catholicism and rebuilt churches, it simultaneously suppressed Catalan cultural expression, slowing down the reconstruction of these puppets. Hence, by La Claca's founding in 1968, folk puppet theatre was unfamiliar to most audiences throughout Spain and Catalonia.[246] Baixas ruefully remembers the difficult first years (1968-1970) of La Claca as they sought to gain an audience for their puppets:

> The [puppet theatre] was totally discredited. We only worked at festivals...like clowns. They called us clowns to insult us. They were two dark years.[247]

La Claca persisted, slowly building expertise, an audience, and a reputation for puppet theatre. They began playing with Catalan references in their puppetry, including elements from Catalan folklore, fairy tales, and fables with puppet traditions to create a new Catalan theatrical form for 20th century audiences. In so doing, they were "enriching [Catalan] traditions to new unimaginable heights."[248] Part of the pleasure in watching La Claca's performances was in

recognizing the Catalan cultural markers in the larger theatrical experience.[249]

Similarly to La Claca, Miró also hid Catalan cultural markers within his works. While Miró is globally known for his distinct surrealist aesthetic, in Catalonia he is most remembered for his full-throated embrace of Catalan cultural identity.[250] Miró was born in Barcelona in 1893, towards the end of the Catalan *renaixanca* (renaissance), during which Catalonia's rapid industrialization led to a financial investment in the region's cultural output in architecture, literature, theatre, textiles, and art. Miró came from a family of artisans: his father was a goldsmith and his maternal grandfather was a carpenter, with roots in Catalonia and Mallorca.[251] Miró began his artistic training in Barcelona, which in 1918 "was then a very lively cultural center that attracted foreign artists seeking refuge from World War I."[252] To further his artwork, Miró moved to Paris in 1920s Année Folles, or the "crazy years" when Paris was an epicenter of artistic, literary, poetic, musical, and cultural production.[253] In Paris, Miró promoted his Catalan identity, associated with a stereotype of cosmopolitan tastes: "to be Catalan, it could be argued, was to be modern, European, and outward-looking."[254]

While living in Paris, Miró witnessed the rise of fascism in much of Europe, including Spain. In Paris, he began to develop a political resistance through "a revolution of form" that "in bothering people forces them to wake up."[255] Painting, sculpture, and drawing became ways for Miró to test out new forms and make a name for himself, and his "tendencies…to geometry, broad brushwork and a clarity of construction" became his artistic trademark.[256] However, as Spain in 1939 and then France in 1940 fell to fascism, and as his friends and colleagues were dying in the war effort, "Miró's painting expressed more violence and anxiety."[257] The Nazi invasion of France in May of 1940 forced Miró back to, for him, the relative safety of Franco's

Spain.

Returning to Spain, however, meant that Miró had to adjust to the regime and its impositions. At first, Miró absconded to the city of Palma de Mallorca where he lived for a time in "relative obscurity and safety."[258] However, in the 1950s, when Franco sought legitimacy for his government in Europe and the United States, Miró found himself used as a pawn. Spanish modern art, including Miró's work, was promoted through gallery openings, awards, and more "so as to project an image abroad, albeit fictitious, of cultural and political normality" within Spain.[259] Being thrust back into the public eye meant Miró had to forcefully resist the regime, now going beyond his "revolution of form" to active subversion through his artistic work. His international renown and friends abroad also provided him some protection. For example, he paid fines levied against university students who created unions; he designed the cover art for the record sleeves of the anti-fascist singers of the *Nova Canço*; he used his Catalan name to sign his artwork; and he titled all his work in French to further avoid the Spanish language imposed by the regime.[260]

La Claca and Miró launched their collaboration just before the onset of the Transition, beginning working on *Mori el Merma* in 1975, while Franco was still alive, and ending their tour in 1979, after the Spanish Transition was completed. Both La Claca and Miró were experienced artists, who had developed strategies throughout their careers to combat the Franco regime's censorship laws. Hence, even though *Mori el Merma* toured after the Franco regime, La Claca and Miró collaborated as members of a network of artists who actively resisted fascism however they could through their visual and theatrical work.

Inspiration

La Claca and Miró began their collaboration with the agreement that *Mori el Merma* had to be a celebration of Franco's death and the end of his regime.[261] Hence, the specter of Franco and the previous forty years of fascism held significant influence throughout the creation and rehearsal process. Baixas' rehearsal notes speak to the work being a kind of therapy:

> The whole show should be a purge. Purge the dictatorship, without analyzing it…Consider the characters like a gang of murderers, of people on the outs with everything. Aggressive interpretation, with exaggeration.[262]

Looking for a place to start working through their complicated emotions about the Franco dictatorship, they turned to Miró's previous work on *Ubu Roi*, an 1896 play by Alfred Jarry.

Ubu Roi, inspired by Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, is a four-act, ridiculously absurd play that tracks the adventures of Père Ubu and Mère Ubu as they take over Poland, try to invade Russia, and eventually run away to France. Throughout the play, Père Ubu shows extreme callousness, especially to other people. For example, Père Ubu throws some gold coins into a crowd, causing a deadly stampede, so he provides more gold to whomever can win the race. At another point, he provides a toilet brush covered in excrement to poison an army of men. *Ubu Roi*, with its scatology and absurdity, is well known for its controversial opening night, where the audience rioted against the performance. Jarry wanted the production to have "the character of a puppet farce,"[263] making it a perfect choice for La Claca's *Mori el Merma*, which primarily explores the Ubu creature as "a metaphor on dictators."[264] Miró had explored the "stinky, dirty, incontinent, irrational, sadistic, unpredictable, crazed, stupid and slavishly surrounded by a court of cowardly and hysterical bourgeoisie" characteristics of Ubu through various art exhibitions: *Ubu Roi* (1966), *Ubu aux Baléares* [Ubu at the Balearic Islands] (1971), and *L'Enfance d'Ubu* [Ubu's Childhood] (1975).[265] In *Mori el Merma*, Franco-turned-Ubu encounters various ridiculous

people and situations, including crazed ministers, an ambitious wife, and an incursion by the local people that requires immediate and violent suppression. However, the purpose behind *Mori el Merma* was not to replicate the narrative of *Ubu Roi* as much as to explore how Ubu's worst qualities were also those of Franco. As Baixas explained, "the important thing is what is suggested instead of done."[266]

Hence, *Mori el Merma* has a different story arc than *Ubu Roi*. Its plot is confusing and strange, focusing on individual moments and emotional reverberations rather than on a cogent, chronological narrative. The show, in which all the characters are puppets, begins with the Merma and his wife, Dona (Catalan for woman or wife) in their palace. They hold court with their many ministers, who all have allegorical names like Gos (Catalan for dog), Carbassa (Catalan for pumpkin), and Cebolleta (Catalan for chive). The Merma leads his own coronation and then takes a nap. While he sleeps, the Màscares (Catalan for masks) enter onstage and accidentally wake up the Merma. Enraged, the Merma transforms into the enormous Cavall (Catalan for horse) who charges at the Màscares, pushing them off the stage. Once victorious, the Merma returns to his original form. With his ministers and wife, he holds a military parade, gives a speech, chokes on his own tongue, and falls down dead. With Merma prostrate at the front of the stage, his wife and ministers begin a funeral procession.[267]

Rehearsals

Mori el Merma forced La Claca to expand beyond Baixas and Calafell, who had worked as a duo since 1968. They built up the company to include Francesc "Quico" Bofill, Dominique de Cacqueray, Miquel Doblas, Pere Jordi Español, Teresa Estrada, Jordi Jané, Òscar Olavarria, Josep Parés, Antònia Pintat, Andreu Rabal, Glòria Rognoni, and Jaume Sorribas. Abdó Martí

also joined the company to provide technical assistance, and Rognoni doubled as assistant director.[268] However, because the full creation process took over three years, all the puppeteers also needed to retain other sources of income. La Claca kept their performing schedule going, adding scenes from the preliminary rehearsals of *Mori el Merma* to their usual repertoire to gauge audience reactions.[269]

Although Miró was meant to participate throughout the rehearsal process, he was in his early 80s and in ill health, diminishing his role. Unable to join them physically, Miró shipped construction materials, such as fabric, wire, and plaster, to La Claca. He also included his drawings and sculptures of Ubu, as well as piles of newspaper clippings he had collected throughout the Franco regime to serve as inspiration.[270] He was able to visit the group over an eight day period, to paint the puppets and watch rehearsals. Baixas' rehearsal notes remark on the "agreeable sensation of transgression and we laugh often."[271] In the mornings, the group focused on painting the puppets. A long lunch typically followed, during which Miró often regaled the group with stories of his youth while the company smoked tobacco and marijuana. In the afternoons and evenings, the company rehearsed with the now dry painted puppets.[272] During these days, Miró promoted a primary work method: "Work, we'll think later; we must begin by diving into the water."[273] Although elderly, Miró worked in a flurry with great energy. He insisted that painting the puppets be done with violence, exclaiming, "fuck them" as he threw paint and used large brooms to spread the paint across the puppets.[274] Once the puppets were painted, he continued as if he was unable to stop painting.[275] At one point, he found a piece of cloth that, once laid on the floor, was large enough to fill the entire rehearsal room. With a broom, he proceeded to pain an enormous spiral—similar to the spiral Jarry marked his Ubu

with. Baixas' rehearsals note mark this spiral as "the biggest canvas Miró ever painted in his life."[276]

In keeping with their political work, La Claca and Miró developed a rehearsal model that spoke to the anarchist and communist politics held by the company's members that have a long history within the Catalan region.[277] The rehearsal process of *Mori el Merma* was itself anti-Franco and anti-fascist. Rehearsals took place in Sant Esteva de Palautordera in an "old theatre, built by young anarchists before the Spanish Civil War and [during the rehearsal process] utilized for feed storage."[278] The rehearsal space was not only spacious enough for the growing company and the large puppets, but it also allowed them to engage with the long history of resistance to the Franco regime: this theatre space was part of a network of Republican and left-leaning political activists in the Catalan region.

During rehearsals, La Claca organized itself as a non-hierarchical collective creation ensemble. Collective creation, as a mode of theatre making, is a "process that places conscious emphasis on the *groupness* of that process…which is, typically, viewed as being in some manner *more collaborative* than members of the group have previously experienced."[279] The military dictatorship had eliminated political parties and democratic elections. By organizing themselves as a collective creation ensemble, La Claca organized themselves as antithetically as possible to the Franco regime. Here, every voice held weight. In press coverage leading up to the opening of *Mori el Merma*, puppeteer Bofill would speak to the "many experiences that we have lived, that we have brought to the stage."[280] Although the puppets are in the style of Miró's distinct aesthetic, La Claca's decade-long experience with puppet theatre was needed to create the puppets. For example, Miró hoped the puppets could be made of *papier mache*, a technique that

he was familiar with and that could be easily mended if the puppets were damaged during performance. However, La Claca warned that *papier mache* puppets would be too heavy to be useful. Instead, a foam and cotton construction allowed for lighter puppets that also allowed greater movement for the puppeteers.[281]

Although they look nothing like Catalan folk puppets, the construction style of *Mori el Merma*'s puppets calls upon the styles and construction techniques common in Catalan folk puppet theatre.[282] There are two major Catalan folk puppet types: the *gegants*, or giants, and the *capgrossos*, or bigheads. The *gegants* are 8 to 10 feet tall and usually are representations of religious or local figures. The typical performances of the *gegants* are dances through the streets during major (religious) festivals, when the puppeteer shows off their strength and dexterity as they dance while holding the heavy, tall, and unwieldy puppet. By contrast, the *capgrossos* (bigheads) can represent caricatures, mythical people, or creatures, and are more humorous than the stately *gegants*. The *capgrossos* are mostly made up of an overly large head, as implied by their name, as well as shoulders and a torso that together cover the puppeteer, leaving only the legs exposed. With less weight and more freedom of movement, the *capgrossos* can run through the crowds, poking fun at the locals and engaging in general tomfoolery. Because the festivals during which these kinds of puppets perform were suppressed by the Franco regime, these puppets fell into disuse during the dictatorship. Hence, using these puppets types as a starting point meant that *Mori el Merma* was recovering an element of Catalan folk puppetry, an integral motivation for both La Claca and Miró.[283]

Hence, the rehearsal process became one of emotional exploration, where every suggestion was tried and refined based on its impact. For example, rehearsal photographs taken

by Francesc Català Roca show a day where every member of the company tried out the Merma puppet, testing out different movements and characterizations, including Rognoni, who uses a wheelchair. It was only after every member of the company tried out the puppet, testing out different movements and scenarios that the puppeteer was selected.[284] Other photos in the series show that the space was divided between the sitting ensemble, watching attentively, and a combination of puppeteers testing out a scene. As the scene continued, one of those sitting would jump up and join the scene or a puppet would be switched out.[285] It was experimental: if something worked, it was kept. If not, new scenarios would be tried until a breakthrough was reached. After Miró's visit to the rehearsal space, La Claca continued to improvise and create characteristics and structure around the show. La Claca held a soft opening in Palma de Mallorca, Miró's adopted city, on March 7, 1978. *Mori el Merma* then premiered to great acclaim in Barcelona on June 7, 1978, before starting a tour of Spain and Europe.

Section 2: Mori el Merma

La Claca and Miró used Catalan puppetry to construct a performance that could simultaneously encapsulate the violence of the Franco regime and celebrate the dictator's demise. The puppets from *Mori el Merma* are not only loosely based upon Catalan puppet traditions, but La Claca also applied construction strategies from these traditional puppets to create simultaneously violent and humorous puppets. In this section, I begin with the Merma and his court of grotesque puppets, whose bodies are designed to mete out violence upon others. I then engage with the humorous aspects of these puppets, who participate in a self-important pompous farce. Together, these analyses shows how *Mori el Merma* uses the very same cultural elements that the dictatorship had tried to destroy in order to caricature the regime and bid it

goodbye.[286]

Mori el Merma utilizes the theatrical possibilities of puppetry to satirize and ridicule the Franco regime. The production utilizes two different kinds. The puppets for the Merma, his wife, and the administrators are all worn by the puppeteer, meaning that the puppet's 3-dimensional head and body encircles the puppeteer's body, with only the puppeteer's legs and (sometimes) arms unobstructed. Meanwhile, the Màscares are built as two-dimensional creatures, whose faces and bodies are tied onto the puppeteer's head and torso while the limbs are controlled using rods. Both kinds of puppets are human sized but have exaggerated human features (like huge feet or mismatched eyes) as well as non-human features (like a rooster's comb). Regardless, the two types of puppets used in *Mori el Merma* results in two "sides": the Merma's court and the Màscares they oppress.

The three-dimensional puppets that make up the court in *Mori el Merma* are primarily based on the *capgrossos* from Catalan folk puppetry: they are caricatures that leave the puppeteer's legs mostly unencumbered, allowing them to move quickly and engage in mischief.[287] The grotesque elements that make the court puppets humorous are the same attributes that allow them to instantly devolve into stark violence against each other. These puppets pull from Catalan folk puppetry to critique and ridicule the Franco regime while simultaneously reclaiming Catalan cultural identity. Much likes *Ubu Roi,* its inspiration, *Mori el Merma* offers social critique through humor, irony, and parody.

The three-dimensional puppets make up the Merma's court, with the Merma at its top. It is striking that the Merma and his retinue—parodies of the Franco regime that attempted a "cultural genocide"[288] against the Catalan identity—are constructed from puppets that share

many elements with Catalan traditional puppets. The Merma is a large figure, an allegorical representation of Franco himself, and is amongst the largest puppets in the show, thanks to his enormous round head, which gives him the general shape of a lumpy incandescent light bulb. This shape allows him to become a battering ram by leaning forward and striking his foes and allies with the crown of his head. He is joined by his wife, who has a human body but a large round head. Bright red, this head also features a bulbous nose, so that the Merma's wife can only see ahead of her if she tilts her head back, looking down condescendingly on all around her. The court is rounded out with three administrators who attend to the Merma's and his wife's every whim. The Cebolleta, is shaped like the green onion it is named after, with long, curling arms and a matching mustache. This onion-shaped head shows off ringed eyes, further emphasized by glasses, and three strands of hair stand wildly on his head.[289] His body does not allow for easy bipedal movement, so he alternates between lumbering and hopping, throwing his weight around the stage.[290] The Carbassa, or calabash gourd, has a gourd shape with a large, high stem topped by a cockerel's comb.[291] From the pumpkin head extends two legs, one proportional, the other sporting an enormous foot that requires the puppet to drag its appendage or try to flop it ahead of him as he moves around the court. When needed, the clumsy foot can deliver enormous kicks.[292] The Gos, or dog, is a large rectangle, with two enormous arms that extend from shoulders to feet. His angular head contains blood-red teeth that protrude menacingly from his curling lower jaw.[293] As the Gos chases others around the stage, his arms can swing like cudgels.[294] As these descriptions attest, these puppets' body shapes make them simultaneously obstacles with which to move and weapons that can be used against each other.

In contrast to the three-dimensional puppets that make up the court, the Màscares, or

masks, are thin creatures, mostly made up of a face and limbs, with no torso. These puppets are entirely front facing, flat, and worn by puppeteers in all black clothing, to keep the focus and attention on the puppet itself. The puppeteers' limbs correspond to the Màscares' heads and bodies parts, allowing movement as the puppeteer moves. While some Màscares have all their limbs attached to their heads, others have arms sprouting from legs or legs sprouting from arms, and one Màscara is simply a leg attached to its face. To further contrast the Màscares against the other puppets, they are also painted quite differently. Instead of the violent splatters of paints and broom swipes, the Màscares have solid lines marking their eyes or the boundaries of their faces, while their limbs are painted in a single color.[295]

Violence

Mori el Merma used puppet theatre to combine humorous mischief with the violent brutality of the Franco era, allowing the audience to laugh at the defunct dictatorship while also recognizing their collective trauma. As Baixas described the Merma and his court:

> They are all violent and at the same time grotesque, cruel but also ridiculous, sexually obsessed but impotent, nightmarish and simultaneously clownish, with eyes, mouths, and stomachs that reveal egoism, fierce and cowardly, the depravity and excess of power.[296]

This simultaneous humor and violence was integral to depicting the real horrors of the Franco regime while also poking fun at it after it ended. The extremes of the production were a way for the puppeteers and their audiences to "purge the dictatorship…without analyzing it" or to attain a therapeutic catharsis from the past.[297] *Mori el Merma*'s spectacle arises from the capacity of these puppets for exaggerated movement that can swiftly transform from amusement to brutality.

The most violent puppet is the Merma. A close examination of this puppet reveals how the internal construction allows for breezy movements, like skipping, as well as for startling

violence. The Merma's head is a hollow dome constructed from strips of cane and supported by cloth-covered, small-diameter PVC pipes. Foam then cushions the puppeteer's body within the puppet, keeping the puppeteer safe when the Merma rams against his enemies and administrators. Rather than being installed in a systematic way, the puppet's interior support structures show evidence of being layered atop one another as needed to reinforce and support weak spots, implying that the puppet was continuously repaired as it took on damage from performance. An examination of the Merma's feet reveals that La Claca sought to ensure safe and dexterous movement for the puppeteer as he bounded across the stage or ran at the other puppets. The Merma's feet are round disks, about 30 centimeters in diameter and 15 centimeters thick, from which large toes protrude. Invisible to the audience, each foot is built around a laced shoe, meaning that the puppeteer's foot is snuggly encased in the shoe. The bottom of the Merma's feet is the sole of the shoe, allowing the puppeteer to make direct contact with the floor and run, jump, and move about the stage.

Other elements of the Merma's construction are specifically designed so the audience can enjoy the contradiction between humor and violence. A gargantuan face dominates the Merma's body: two bulging eyes, a long, tubular nose, and a protruding, gaping jaw, from which a set of sharp teeth erupts. Tacked to his head with thick string, the Merma's eyes and nose bounce in response to the puppeteer's movements. By making the Merma's facial features independently mobile, *Mori el Merma* complemented the tyrant's jingoistic speeches with exaggerated, frenzied, ridiculous movements. Alongside the wild bouncing of his eyes and nose, however, the Merma's stable jaws and teeth provide a constant reminder to the audience of his potential for violence. The Merma's face has a layered ability to make the funny violent and the dangerous

ridiculous. At any moment the Merma can, and does, explode in violence against his enemies and his friends.

The Merma's violence reaches its peak when the Máscaras interrupt the Merma's nap, startling him into transforming into an enormous monster named Cavall, or horse. The Cavall puppet requires two puppeteers, one to carry the horse's head and the other to be the torso and back legs. From the bottom of the jaw to the top of the forehead, the Cavall's head is approximately four feet long. The inside of the puppet reveals that the entire puppeteer's body was needed to hold up the Cavall's head: a strap towards the top of the Cavall's head would wrap around the top of the puppeteer's head and extra handles on the side of the puppet allowed the puppeteer to hold, manipulate, and stabilize the puppet. The leather backing on the inside of the Cavall's head further speaks to the care La Claca took to make sure the puppeteer could comfortably bear the weight of the heavy puppet. Regardless of its name, the Cavall does not look like a horse. Its eyes are at different heights, one a simple black eye, the other's pupil being a couple of black and red feathers. Both eyes are rimmed in coarsely painted fabric, which adds dimensionality to the face and distinguishes its eyes from its nose and mouth. From its gaping mouth hangs a yellow tongue—a piece of fabric that hangs limply. Although the Cavall's head is solidly built, the rest of its body is mostly simple, hanging fabric: large oversize pants and a fabric tube that connects the two puppeteers and makes up the Cavall's body. In the Miró Foundation's catalogue photo, the mostly white saggy fabric hangs so low that is threatens to touch the floor.[298] The Cavall's four hooves are like the Merma's feet, being thick disk shapes, with three enormous claws protruding from each. His size makes him an immediate threat compared to the much smaller puppets that surround him.[299]

Although smaller than the Merma and his horse form, the three administrators—Cebolleta, Carbassa, and Gos—are also able to carry out their more violent impulses through their exaggerated body parts. The Carbassa could be a long, elegant gourd-shaped puppet, were it not for its enormous humanoid foot that needs to be dragged across the stage alongside it.[300] This gigantic foot contains the same mechanism used in the Merma's feet, incorporating a shoe for the puppeteer. The Carbassa's shoe is not flush with the ground, however, but at an angle, with the result that the puppeteer always has one leg bent, with each step rising into the air only to come back crashing down, like walking with only one high heel. This foot, though, is a weapon to kick other puppets out of the way. Although amusing to see the Carbassa struggle with his own foot to cross the stage, the foot also becomes an overpowered weapon against others. While the Cebolleta has human feet, his hands are his most insidious weapon. He has pincer claws, built out of *papier mache* to form dark, sharp chelae that, thanks to a reinforced hinge, can be swung open and closed at high speeds. The Cebolleta can also shed its claws, allowing him to grasp an enormous cudgel, about four to five feet in length. Made of dense foam wrapped by fabric, the cudgel is huge and heavy. On one side of the cudgel, in black paint, is a human handprint, a reminder of the common use of police batons against human bodies throughout the Franco regime.

The third administrator, the Gos, most clearly reflects the violence of the Franco regime. If his dog-shaped head with bloody teeth and huge stature are not intimidating enough, his arms are batons that can quickly and easily slam into others with great force. The puppet's arms are thick, sturdy; also filled with dense foam that makes up the other weapons. The Gos's straight arms, which can only move at the shoulders, do not allow him to fetch items or be of much use,

much to the consternation of the Merma and amusement to the audience. When he is needed to forcibly disperse a crowd, his arms suddenly become much more useful: moving both his arms in a large circle, like the sails of a windmill, the Gos can charge ruthlessly into others. In fact, the Gos's arms are so large and have such a wide range of motion that the Gos is one of the few puppets to have extra structural reinforcements within. A "backpack," a harness made of small metal pipes, holds the Gos's body firmly to the puppeteer, allowing him to rotate the arms without being destabilized. Hence, the puppet can make enormous, sweeping gestures that are childlike in their abandon while also evoking the violent history of the dictatorship police's use of clubs and dogs to disperse crowds and attack protestors, a history that is also evoked in the epilogue to this dissertation.

Mori el Merma celebrated the death of the Franco regime by utilizing Catalan cultural elements to demarcate and physicalize the regime and its repression. The Merma and his administrators, all bulbous, misshapen puppets that borrow from *capgrossos* and *gegants* not only for their construction techniques but in how the puppets physically occupy the world around them, using their girth to elbow their way through the social pecking order. The puppets of *Mori el Merma* are violent creatures, but they also share another element with the *capgrossos*. Through their physical features, they are also caricatures which parody figures from the Franco dictatorship to great amusement.

Humor

As a play that satirizes, ridicules, and celebrates the end of Franco and his regime, humor is a major currency of *Mori el Merma*. The puppets' design and construction facilitate humor, as the puppets have bouncing appendages or disproportionate features that they must fight against

instead of work with. For example, the Merma's eyes and nose are carefully tacked onto the puppet's head with thick thread, causing them to bounce alongside his military speeches, threats, and screeches. In another example, the Carbassa would be a long, elegant puppet if not for its foot, rivaling the size of its body, that needs to be dragged across the stage behind him.[301] Meanwhile the wife's nose is so large that she dramatically throws her head back before each movement so that the puppeteer within can see where they are going.[302] Inherent to *Mori el Merma* is this physical humor, where the puppets oscillate between violence and ridicule. Although ultimately *Mori el Merma*'s puppets are antagonistic, inherent to the show is the ability to laugh at the dictator and his misshapen administrators.

Ensuring that the puppeteer could still move despite the bouncing appendages was crucial, and a closer examination of the construction details reveals how La Claca balanced the humorous elements of the puppet's movement and the ability for the puppeteer to move with the puppets. All the puppets have elastic loops or buttons around the ankles, the wrists, or place where two pieces might meet to keep the puppet whole, regardless of how emphatic the puppeteer's movement might be. Other elements of these puppets—such as the Merma's hands, the wife's head, the pants, and bodies of each of the puppets—show similar ways to help the puppeteer move, using straps, buttons, elastics, and fasteners to keep puppets whole regardless of how the puppeteer might throw themselves across the stage.

Mori el Merma also utilizes humor to speak exclusively to its Catalan audience by using scatological jokes, a common element of Catalan culture and humor. Scatology appears in Catalan folk tales (like the little boy who is eaten by a bull and eventually makes his way out thanks to the bull's flatulence)[303] or in Catalan holiday traditions (the Catalan nativity scenes

includes a peasant figurine—*el caganer* or the crapper—defecating; while *el Tió de Nadal*, or the Christmas Log, is a piñata-like chunk of wood that imparts small gifts and chocolates while the children who beat it sing for it to defecate).[304] The prevalence of scatology in Catalan culture and humor is often confounding to outsiders (including the majority of Spain), much to the delight of many Catalans.[305] I found no indication that scatological humor was ever censored (although censorship did consider moral elements, and could have limited its use). Devising during the Transition, however, La Claca had the flexibility to use scatological humor in *Mori el Merma*, winking to Catalan audiences with the irreverent cultural humor. The first instance of comes near the beginning of the show. As part of his preparations for the day, the Merma defecates into a chamber pot. As his administrator Cebolleta clears the chamber pots, he discovers the excrement (actually scraps of fabric) and begins to handle and play with them. The second instance is more abstract. At the show's end, the stage is overwhelmed by trash (objects, Ping-Pong balls, scraps, and refuse) all of which is described, in Catalan, as "merda" or shit.[306]

Especially in 1978, as Catalan cultural identity was emerging from under the weight of Francoist censorship, these signals of Catalan puppetry and scatological humor pointed towards new daring to publicly perform Catalan culture. For Catalan audiences, there was a pleasure in recognizing elements of Catalan culture in plain sight.[307] Spanish, French, and English reviews all refer to the peculiar production, making it clear they did not quite grasp the importance of defecation as a statement of Catalan identity; one Spanish review remarks on the decidedly "cloacal atmosphere" of the production. While the scatological jokes of *Mori el Merma* speak specifically to its Catalan audience, the broader depiction of the Merma's court as self-serving and pompous would speak to a wider Spanish audience who had endured four decades of

Francoist administration. *Mori el Merma* particularly parodies Franco's bureaucracy through the administrators. Each of the administrator puppets feature the mischievousness of the *capgrossos* but are oversized like *gegants*. They are frenzied court servants, there to provide full exaltation to the Merma. The more the court attendants run around and the more they squeal in panic, the more ridiculous the court becomes.

While reviews of *Mori el Merma* bemoaned the lack of a clear plot, many responded quite positively to the energetic depictions of this ridiculous court. Punctuated by music, the court members and their "screams, whistles, and guttural sounds"[308] made the Merma's rituals of power engaging and amusing:

> Those figures filled the stage…in a vortex of images made of colors, forms, and gestures with great expressive power, organized in a hypnotic balance between scenes lyrically and poetically intimate and turbulent and brutally frenetic scenes.[309]

Alongside the Merma and his wife, the court completes the violent coterie that keeps the Merma in power. Their misshapen bodies only further emphasize their latent violence— and ridiculousness. *Mori el Merma* is a character study, poking fun at the absurdity of Franco's dictatorship through the ridiculous and violent puppets. The play was necessarily liked by all due to its absurdity: one reviewer complained that he only understood the scenes for which he had a referent, like the military and funeral processions.[310]

The Màscares

Within this production's world, the Màscares are an intrusion. They appear towards the end of the play, when the Merma has fallen asleep. The Màscares enter the stage curiously, exploring all its nook and crannies. Their movements are avian, based off the cautious and flighty behavior of birds.[311] Their construction, like their behavior, is entirely different from the other puppets. The Màscares are quickly attacked and pushed off the stage by the Merma-turned-

Cavall in a moment generally understood as a representation of the Franco repression against the people of Spain: Isidre Bravo's review describes the masks as "the five furies: the oppressed people, simultaneously dead and choleric, made up of simple and efficiently expressive masks."[312] Just as the court puppets parody the violence inherent to the Franco dictatorship, the Màscares give voice to the everyday reality of existing within it. Sharon Feldman points to how Catalonia—and any reference to it—disappears from the stage after Francoism, a "paradoxical" situation where references to Catalan cultural identity, like the city of Barcelona itself, becomes a "nearly indiscernible phantasmal presence" on the Catalan stage of the 1980s and 1990s.[313] This paradox exists through *Mori el Merma*, where references to Catalonia, Spain, or the Franco regime are all abstract, so that without the playbill or previous knowledge of the show's intentions, it can be difficult to track the referents of the show.

There is little aesthetic similarity between the Màscares and the other puppets of *Mori el Merma*, each firmly exists in their own world and when those worlds collide, the aftermath is explosive and violent. The physical difference between the Màscares and the court puppets is an important part of the otherwise nonsensical story. Assistant director Gloria Rognoni explained that, for her, under dictatorship, "we weren't humans," and hence the Màscares required animalistic behavior and strange appearances to represent the oppressed people of Spain.[314] In the basement holdings of the Miró Foundation, where the puppets are stored, the distinction between the two kinds of puppets is stark. The Merma and his retinue take up many shelves, their large shapes and delicate construction requires extra space. Meanwhile, the Màscares only need one shelf, as their flat bodies allow them to be stacked upon one another.

Once handled, another distinction becomes abundantly clear: the Màscares are heavy.

Although each Màscara has a different body shape, the contours of their faces are all built from metal bars, ranging from a quarter to half-an-inch in diameter. The metal bars are then wrapped in painted or dyed fabric, so that the metal elements of the puppet are not apparent from an audience perspective. Some of the features of the Màscares are also made with metal wire, such as circles to denote eyes, strips or protrusions for the nose, various mouth shapes, and even hats or horns. In each instance, the metal is only about an eight-of-an inch, wrapped in fabric and painted. The Màscares' hands, of varying shapes and sizes, are similarly made from metal rods, wrapped in fabric. Yet, from the puppeteer perspective, the Màscares' metal framework is readily apparent. The harness that holds the Màscara over the head of the puppeteer is a combination of padded bands, sturdy straps, and bare metal rods of about an eight to a quarter-of-an inch in diameter. The rest of the puppets are made up of tubes made of fabric, stuffed with foam. These limbs are pliable, yet still stuffed so thickly to hold their shape.

The Màscares are only onstage for a short period of time, but they clarify that the court members not only seek to elbow each other out of the way, but also rule over and terrorize an entirely different group of people. Although European critics complained that *Mori el Merma*'s storyline was difficult to follow, without clear referents to European audiences less familiar to life under Franco, the meaning behind the Màscares is straightforward. These strange creatures, who exhibit none of the jockeying or violent behavior of the court puppets, are ruefully destroyed by the others, a symbol of the suppression typical of the now-defunct dictatorship. If the court members allowed the audience to laugh at Franco and his bureaucrats, the Màscares helped mourn the freedoms and individuals lost during the dictatorship's rule over Spain and Catalonia.

Section 3: Protesting the Spanish Transition

Although the performance of *Mori el Merma* explicitly critiqued the Franco regime and its repression of Catalan cultural identity, La Claca and Miró altered its opening night even more directly to reproach the newly reinstated Catalan government. The premiere, held on June 7, 1978, was attended by major political figures representing the Catalan region in the negotiations between the new democratic Spanish government and the Franco dictatorship to transition to a constitutional democracy. Furthermore, *Mori el Merma*'s opening night came just three months after the jailing of Els Joglars, a Catalan theatre troupe accused of injuring the military through an irreverent satire titled *La Torna*; the Catalan government and politicians did not intervene to help Els Joglars. With the final curtain drop of *Mori el Merma*, Miró joined the stage and gave a speech, condemning the prosecution by the military of Els Joglars as well as the collaboration between the Catalan politicians and the Franco regime. As Miró spoke, the curtain rose, revealing *Mori el Merma*'s puppeteers, each wearing a mask obscuring their faces in protest.[315] After this first night, La Claca continued to protest during the rest of the production's residence in Barcelona and subsequent tour through Spain and Europe: at the end of the show, when the audience would rise in applause, the performers would not hold a curtain call, symbolically refusing their audiences' applause, in solidarity with Els Joglars.[316]

Mori el Merma is typically remembered as an example of late TI or as Miró's translation of sculptural work into performance. In this final section, however, I look at *Mori el Merma* as a more expansive prism through which to understand how the Spanish Transition was being understood and accepted by Catalan activists. This production is a particularly pertinent example

of European reactions to the Spanish Transition because, as members of the TI movement, La Claca and its members were deeply engaged in wider political activism across the continent. Furthermore, in *El Teatre de Titelles a Catalunya: Aproximació i Diccionari Històric* [Puppet Theatre in Catalonia: Historic Dictionary and Context], Josep Martín categorizes *Mori el Merma* as "an authentic ideological affront that took to task the popular ideology of collaboration within the Catalan intelligentsia."[317] Significantly, *Mori el Merma* shows the fissures between the Catalan politicians negotiating the Transition and the Catalan activists engaged with on-the-ground political work. As Chapters 4 and 5 go on to discuss, the Catalan Independence Movement, begun in 2010 by grassroots and activist groups like Òmnium Cultural and the Assamblea Nacional Catalana, centers discontent with the Spanish Transition, accusing the Transitional government of giving indemnification to the Franco regime for its violent repression during the Spanish Civil War and its forty-year-long dictatorship.

The Liceu Theatre

The Barcelona run of *Mori el Merma* at the historic Liceu theatre from June 7 to 12, 1978, was a major event in the city for both Catalan theatre and Catalan politicians eager to be seen supporting the return of Catalan cultural identity and artistic expression. Furthermore, the opening of *Mori el Merma* was also the re-opening of the historic Liceu theatre, which, like many other theatre buildings languished under Francoism. The Liceu theatre, built in 1847, was the largest opera stage in Europe until the late 1940s. During the Catalan *renaixença* in the mid-1800s, the Liceu had been a central venue for Catalan theatre, opera, and performance. That the Liceu was now being reopened and reused for *Mori el Merma* "represented the beginning of a renovation era for the Liceu and for the entire Catalan stage."[318]

However, the doors to the Liceu were opened for *Mori el Merma* to fit specific political aims of the Catalan bourgeoisie. From its opening in 1847 until 1981, the Liceu was a private theatre financed by the Catalan elite.[319] These groups of privileged families had made their wealth during the *renaixença*, and during the transition were funding and participating in the political and cultural revitalization of Catalonia. This private funding system was antithetical to the philosophy of TI groups that had long viewed theatre as "public service to the people" and "a necessity for the spiritual well being of society."[320] Miró bridged the gap between the elite and groups like La Claca, signaling what an opportunity it was that "a younger audience with their concerns were able to access this space."[321] His presence also legitimized the artistry of La Claca and other TI groups; funding such a show as *Mori el Merma* and supporting La Claca "was thus shown to be the way in which the wealthy Catalan bourgeoisie affirmed their national identity."[322] It seemed to be a win-win situation: La Claca reached an audience, a stage, recognition, and funding never-before experienced, while the Catalan bourgeoisie could outwardly perform its support of anti-Franco resistance movements, in the process aligning themselves with the resistance. Miró's involvement was crucial for the unlikely partnership.

The Political Stakes of the Opening Night

The premiere was a quite an affair: Catalan politicians and artists attended in droves. After decades of the Franco regime's *theatrical state* and emphasis on fascist politicians, *Mori el Merma*'s premiere created a venue for the Catalan elite to pose in front of the press cameras. Significantly, non-fascist political parties had been outlawed until the transitional period, making this one of the first events in which politicians could publicly play up their art patronage and attend the theatrical celebration of Franco's death. The national Spanish newspaper *El País*

described the opening celebrations at the Liceu as "the stately theatre on Barcelona's Ramblas Street filled with an audience in informal attire, reclaiming with its presence a cultural space that had been denied to Catalans for years."[323] Yet, although in "informal attire," the guest list was impressive. Among the attendees were senators Josep Benet i Morell and Pere Portabella, politician and soon-to-be elected president of the Catalan government Jordi Pujol, painter Antoni Tapies, the four lawyers who had represented Els Joglars, Barcelona's mayor José María Socías Humbert, cultural delegate and theatre critic Joan de Sagarra, architect (and the designer of the Miró Foundation) Josep Lluis Sert, poet Joan Brossa, and, as detailed in newspaper coverage, "a long et cetera."[324]

This prestigious guest list also put extra pressure on La Claca to fulfill expectations of grandeur: the Barcelona opening was a who's-who of Catalan society, and they expected special treatment. A *Mori el Merma* had been shown in March in Palma de Mallorca—the location of Miró's studio—, but the June premiere in Barcelona required extra pomp and circumstance, as detailed by the opening run-on sentence from Pérez de Olaguer's review of *Mori el Merma*:

> *Even though the new show titled* Mori el Merma *by the group* Putxinel.lis Claca—*today* Theatre Company Claca—*made up of masks, puppets, and sets painted by Joan Miró, was premiered in March at the Teatre Principal de Ciutat de Mallorca, the performances at the Gran Teatre del Liceu* [in Barcelona] *held beginning Wednesday 7—and lasting until the 12th—can be considered as the authentic premiere of the production.*[325]

Among the politicians, intellectuals, financiers, and other members of the Catalan elite that attended the sold-out show, the most significant dignitary was the president of the Catalan government, Josep Tarradellas. Taradellas had participated in leftist Catalan politics during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936), holding various ministry positions within the Catalan government. The culmination of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) forced him into exile. Though unable to return to Spain, he remained part of the Catalan government abroad and in

1954 became president when his predecessor, Josep Irla, resigned. During the Franco regime, Tarradellas and the Catalan government abroad lobbied against the dictatorship from their headquarters in France. After Franco's death, the transitional government of Adolfo Suarez, tasked with creating a democratic government, approached Tarradellas to restore the regional Catalan government. On October 23rd, 1977, Tarradellas landed in the Barcelona airport, made his way through the city to the Catalan government building in the Plaça Sant Jaume. From the building's large balcony, above a crowd of cheering supporters, Tarradellas pronounced his most famous proclamation:

> Citizens of Catalonia, I am finally here![326]

Tarradellas represented, for Suarez and for Catalonia, continuity from the Second Spanish Republic and the Catalan government before to the rise of Franco, providing stability to the reconstituted Catalan government.[327] When Tarradellas and Miró entered the Liceu theatre arm-in-arm, the moment was also deeply symbolic. Here were two Catalan statesmen, born in the late 1800s, who bridged the Second Spanish Republic with the upcoming democratic government, who had survived the dictatorship to attend the return of Catalan theatre to the Liceu. Little did Tarradellas or anyone else in the audience know, however, that Miró's playing into theatrics of the moment would be curtailed with his scathing speech.

The frustration with the Transition and Tarradellas began with the Els Joglars affair. From the arrest of the theatre's director, Albert Boadella, on December 12, 1977, theatre activists had begun rallies in favor of freedom of expression. Primary organizers of these groups were Joan Baixas and Teresa Calafell, who used their experience to organize assemblies and meetings to coordinate a response.[328] At one of their early meetings, held shortly after the seizure of Boadella, set designer with L'Institut de Teatre Fabià Puigserver and Calafell collaboratively

created a simple symbol that encapsulated the freedom of expression principle of Els Joglars: a plain theatre mask, mouth downturned, with a red gash across its face.[329] As Baixas, Calafell, and other theatre activists organized protests, assemblies, and boycotts to combat the military trial underway against Els Joglars, Tarradellas' government did not act. Els Joglars member Ferran Rañé recalls that Tarradellas met with the group, speaking to them jovially and playing with Rañé's baby daughter. Yet, when it came time to intervene against the Spanish military, Tarradellas claimed his hands were tied. As Rañé and his companions left, Tarradellas pointed them to a side room where the press was waiting, instructing them to relate that "the President of Catalonia will do what the President of Catalonia must."[330] Although Tarradellas wanted the narrative that he was adjudicating for Els Joglars to make it to the press, he and his government provided no actual resistance to the Spanish military.[331] For many activists and protestors on the streets, who were subject to still-common police brutality, the inaction of the Catalan government proved to be a great disappointment.[332] By the time *Mori el Merma* premiered, three of the seven members of Els Joglars were in exile while the other four were in jail.

La Claca and Miró, never ones to shy away from politics, were less than satisfied with how ineffective the Catalan government had proved to be in a moment of crisis. While the opening night was meant to be a celebratory pat-on-the-back for the return of Catalan culture after Francoism, it instead became another resistance moment for the creators of *Mori el Merma*. Miró speech condemned the politicians, and the La Claca actors—all wearing the theatre mask that had by then become a symbol of Els Joglars and the fight for freedom of expression—made it clear that they were still allied to their *teatro independiente* colleagues in jail and exile. No sources describe how, exactly, Miró's speech and La Claca's symbol of resistance was received

by the politicians in attendance. Many of the reviews ignore the event or make passing reference to it. When asked, in separate interviews, about the speech and the audience reaction, Joan Baixas and Gloria Rognoni both chuckled.[333] Baixas clarified that the audience reaction was one of surprise: no one expected that this celebration of Franco's death would end with such a personal condemnation coming from none other than Miró, the man who bridged the divide between the Catalan elite and the political activist street theatre makers.[334]

Regardless, the condemnation of the Catalan politicians who brokered the Transition had little impact. During La Claca's international tour, Spain continued its political Transition. The new Spanish Constitution, which created a parliamentary monarchy, went into effect on December 29th, 1978. In early January 1979, the members of Els Joglars were quietly released before their prison term was completed; however the charges against them were never dropped and they legally carry with them a sentence of "insults against the military." After *Mori el Merma*, La Claca returned to its original duo, with Joan Baixas and Teresa Calafell creating new works until they disbanded both their personal relationship and the theatre company in 1986. Ultimately, the protest included in *Mori el Merma* had little impact on the Catalan political class, however, *Mori el Merma* itself is likely the best-known piece of contemporary Catalan puppet theatre.

Conclusion

After their tour through Europe in 1978 and 1979, the puppets from *Mori el Merma* made their way to the basement holdings of the Fundació Joan Miró, where they lie stacked on shelves in a large closet, like bodies in a morgue. They are rarely handled and have not been used in performance with since the European tour. Meanwhile, Joan Baixas built another set of *Mori el*

Merma puppets that replicate the design of the original puppets but that were not painted by Miró—who passed away in 1983 at 90 years of age—or developed in collaboration with Teresa Calafell—who left La Claca in 1983 and died of cancer in 2000 at the age of 57. New iterations of *Mori el Merma* have reflected the changing world and La Claca's changing circumstances. For example, a production in New York in 1986 featured only five puppets (including the Merma and the Merma's wife) because the show could only afford to employ five actors.[335] In 2006, the puppets were featured in a new immersive production held at the Tate gallery in London. Titled "Merma Never Dies," where Merma is presented as a new kind of political boogeyman, from a fascist dictator to a populist:

> In *Merma Never Dies* Merma and his Queen returned, greeted by a procession of visitors as they marched across the Millennium Bridge and down to the Turbine Hall [in London], surrounded by their ministers and supporters who waved flags, played trumpets and banged drums in support of the apparent return of the king. Once inside the Turbine Hall, the characters took up their places on and around a stage-cum-boxing-ring in the centre of the space. From here Merma spouted his decrees, making fraudulent sounding promises to the audience and proclaiming the freedoms he afforded his people. At one point Merma made the entire Turbine Hall audience perform a series of physical actions, which he called 'exercises of freedom', burlesquing how mass control is often perversely asserted through a rhetoric of freedom or choice.[336]

A revival of *Mori el Merma* toured Spain in 2015, with expanded scenes of violence and repression. In this version, the Merma and his ministers manage to corner a Màscara, who they torture and eventually kill by ripping it off its puppeteer. The Merma's wife then dons the Màscara's body as if it were a stole.[337] These various revivals and adaptations are part of Baixas' attempt to internationalize Merma, who would represent not only Franco and other violent military dictatorships, but also wider concerns of "increasing insecurity, fanaticism and media spin, to the need for a critical and defiant spirit."[338] Baixas hoped Merma and his court might prove to be a salve for a troubled world.

The success of *Mori el Merma* is in part due to the ensemble work that developed and created the production. La Claca and Joan Miró purposefully developed an artistic process that emphasized a non-hierarchical rehearsal room, where the ensemble worked together to bring the puppets to life, making the show part of the political legacy of non-hierarchical organizations that dates back to the Spanish Civil War. Through their collective creation, *Mori el Merma* skewers the Franco regime onstage through the political ideology the dictatorship tried to squash, particularly in Catalonia. Although the fame of Joan Baixas and Joan Miró have effaced their colleagues work from public knowledge, it was the full ensemble that pooled their experiences under Francoism, their emotional reactions to the end of the dictatorship, and their theatrical skills to create the puppets, physicalizations, verbalizations, and personalities. This ideological commitment also allowed the company to use their production to make a political statement during the Transition, calling truth to power against the Catalan politicians abandoning Els Joglars to the claws of the still-lingering Franco dictatorship.

Although the production may have had a limited direct political impact in Spain, Catalan puppetry scholar Cariad Astles declared *Mori el Merma* a watershed moment for Catalan puppetry, the kind of show that "change[d] the face of theatre history overnight."[339] As she notes, in the aftermath of the Spanish Transition, as Catalan cultural identity was again free from censorship and free to be performed in public, a new and growing interest in Catalan puppet theatre and traditions led to the creation of various new puppet groups, including Teatre Málic, Rocamora, Zootrop, Nessun Dorma, Binixiflat, Ela Alquilinos, Avexutzu, Txó Titelles, and Migjorn Teatre de Teresetes, as well as work by individuals such as Jordi Bertran, Carles Cañellas, Teia Moner, and, of course, the continued work by Joan Baixas, Teresa Calafell, and

Gloria Rognoni.[340] Although La Claca is considered among the TI companies who, having lost their foil, disbanded after the dictatorship, the impact of this production on future Catalan theatre is immense. In fact, when Catalonia had an opportunity to present itself to the world through the 1992 Olympic Games, it chose puppetry to represent a country born of Greek heroes and ready to meet the challenges of an independent nation-state.

Chapter 3—1992: Catalan Nationalism and the Barcelona Olympics

Introduction

The 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games were a long-needed success for the International Olympic Committee. After the terrorist attacks at the 1972 Munich Games, the gross mismanagement of the 1976 Montreal Games, the boycotts of the 1980 Moscow Games and 1984 Los Angeles Games, and the doping scandals of the 1988 Seoul Games, the Barcelona Games were a palate cleanser. Clear of controversy, these Games "seemed to finally materialize in a truly universal Games: a total of 172 national teams participated, including post-apartheid South Africa, a communist Cuba, and various ex-USSR republics."[341] This was also the first Olympics after the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the newly unified German national team. Furthermore, because it occurred against the backdrop of the breakup of Yugoslavia and the growing ethnic violence in the Balkans, the Barcelona Olympic Games were an international symbol of unity and sportsmanship above ethnic or national differences.[342] Within Spain, the games were also cause for great celebration as one of the first, major international gatherings in the country since the end of the Franco dictatorship, a sign that Spanish democracy had become established and recognized globally.

Widely deemed an international success, the Barcelona Games were nevertheless also the stage for a "war of flags" between the Spanish national government and the Catalan regional government, as the two competed with each other for airtime and international recognition.[343] For the Spanish government, being awarded the summer Olympics "was above all a tribute to Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy,"[344] while the Catalan regional government hoped to use the event to celebrate the re-establishment and recovery of Catalan identity, culture,

and self-governance. Further complicating this relationship was the city of Barcelona itself, whose city hall was led by the socialist political party, in opposition to the nationalists in the regional Catalan government. The Catalan government saw the Barcelona Olympics as an opportunity to seek international recognition for Catalonia's secessionist wishes, taking out ads in major newspapers to declare the Olympics as occurring in "Catalonia, of course!"[345] Meanwhile, the city's mayor was more interested in the financial benefits of working with the Spanish government to grow Barcelona's profile as a tourism destination. The city underwent an "urban revival" focused on "the transformation of Barcelona into one of Europe's leading centers for tourism," widely known as the Barcelona model.[346] With the aim of making Barcelona the next Rome or Paris, the city of Barcelona had little stake in the Catalan nationalism promoted by the Catalan government. Meanwhile the IOC had a simple goal: carrying out an Olympics free of scandal or protest.[347]

The competing goals of the IOC, Spain, Catalonia, and the city of Barcelona meant that the Games attempted to balance symbols of Spain and Catalonia, appeasing all sides by giving each a platform during the opening ceremony. Only a month before the opening ceremony, the Olympic organizing committee managed to reach important "minimum conditions"[348] for the games to go forward without boycott: the games would feature the Catalan and Spanish flag; announcements would be made in both Catalan and Spanish; the parade of countries would occur in the Catalan alphabetic order; and *Els Segadors*, the Catalan national anthem, would be played alongside other national anthems.[349] The opening ceremony also featured two back-to-back performances of Catalan and Spanish cultural exhibitions: *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* (Catalan; Mediterranean, Olympic Sea), a puppet-based performance by the Catalan theatre troupe La Fura

dels Baus, and *Tierra de Pasión* (Spanish; Land of Passion), a mixed performance of opera, flamenco, and sevillana dancing produced by film director Manuel Huerga and television producer Pepo Sol. These two performances provided contradictory readings of post-Francoist Spain and its minoritarian cultures.

This chapter focuses on these performances of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* and *Tierra de Pasión* to analyze how the Barcelona Olympic opening ceremony constructed a conflicting narrative of Catalan nationalism and exceptionalism in opposition to the sanitized and stereotypical view of Spanish cultural identity espoused by the Franco regime and perpetuated in *Tierra de Pasión*. Historian John Hargreaves provides a careful analysis of how the competition between the Spanish and Catalan governments impacted the development and planning of the Games, ultimately arguing that the Games reified the status quo of a Spanish nation-state that includes Catalonia as a member.[350] I build upon this argument by conducting a performance analysis of the opening ceremony, revealing that it was choreographed to give each type of audience the kind of performance they wanted. These performances were designed, then, so that Catalan audiences could read signs of regional excellence and nationalism; Spanish audiences recognized Catalan elements without sensing any overt hostility towards Spain or direct claims for independence; and international audiences saw a set of cultural performances without understanding the symbols of regional conflict within them.

Through *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic,* La Fura dels Baus joined efforts by Catalan politicians and independence activists to use the Olympics to emphasize and export Catalan nationalism and cultural exceptionalism. *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* re-imagines the founding of Barcelona by Greek sailors and ties Barcelona—and by extension the Catalan nation—by linking

it to Greece instead of to a broader Iberian identity. The show used giant puppetry to transport the performance to a mythical world populated by heroes and monsters. Reviews of the performance remarked on its "myth and pageant,"[351] its ground-breaking aesthetic not previously seen in an Olympic ceremony,[352] and, as one reviewer wryly reported, "where else could you see a giant bicycle-powered skeletoid, huge, stilt-walking pelican people and a Roman galley fight enormously inflated ocean monsters?" [353] Through this mythology, *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* was representing Catalonia, which included a contingent of vocal independence supporters. During the Olympics, these supporters would gather in public spaces like the Paça d'Espanya—the closest major plaza and public transport hub to the Montjüic Stadium where the Games were held—and "[plead] with visitors to learn about the culture of the region" while handing out literature.[354] *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* formed part of this larger narrative that promoted Catalan exceptionalism, especially in contrast to Spain.

In contrast to the story-focused *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*, *Tierra de Pasión* presented a an episodic showcase of various Spanish folkloric practices. Featuring powerhouse Spanish opera singers Plácido Domingo and Alfredo Kraus serenading flamenco dancer Cristina Hoyos, *Tierra de Pasión* emphasized century-old Spanish stereotypes at the core of Spain's international tourist image. Created by two television producers, the "flamboyant" show added "color, music and excitement" through a hundred or so flamenco pairs dancing alongside the opera singers.[355] *Tierra de Pasión* had the benefit of famous individuals, already well known before the Olympic ceremony, but the performance lacked a narrative or clear purpose outside of a showcase of these "divas."[356] *Tierra de Pasión* also focused on individual performers rather than on the stagecraft of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*. A review lays out these as contrasting performances: "Catalonia

has introduced itself. Now it is Spain's turn."[357] Yet, as this chapter illuminates, these performances were more than taking equal turns: the vision of Spain and Catalonia represented in *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* and *Terra de Pasión* are fundamentally incompatible.

This chapter's major intervention lies in revealing the significance of the nationalist threads present within the seemingly innocuous Barcelona opening ceremony. In doing so, I illuminate how, even in moments of political and economic stability, when regional tensions were at their lowest, Spanish and Catalan national self-understandings are inherently oppositional, both oversimplifying or misrepresenting the past to suit contemporary understandings of the Catalan region's position within the Spanish nation-state. To understand these threads, I employ Susan Manning's method of "crossviewing." Manning defines crossviewing as "the recognition that spectators' varied social identities outside the theatre may well lead them to respond differently to the same performance event."[358] Individuals within the same audience can understand a performance in radically different ways, depending on their personal identities, including, in this case, their national and regional identity. The multiple messages available during the Olympic opening ceremonies were not necessarily a secret: many contemporaneous reviews note the potential for varied understandings. Michael Janofsky's review in the New York Times states, for instance, "the locals understood the deeper meanings of so much of what transpired" while Rovira's review in La Vanguardia focuses on how Catalan and Spanish audiences might have understood different elements of the show.[359] However, critic Jordi Llovet's op-ed wondered "about the amount of comprehension reached by the rest of the world"[360] In keeping with these critics, I propose that the Barcelona Olympic Games had three main groups within the audience: an international spectator, a Spanish spectator, and a Catalan

spectator. The opening ceremony reached each of these audiences with targeted messages, hidden among the deeply spectacular performances.

The primary archival source for the close reading of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* and *Terra de Pasión* is the broadcast by Television Española of the Opening Ceremony. The video from Television Española features the video produced by the Olympic organization and distributed to all broadcasters, overlaid with commentary from Television Española and then broadcast throughout Catalonia and Spain.[361] Usually, the ephemerality of theatre, and the historian's accompanying lack of access to the original live performance, is a limitation in theatre history research, leaving filmed versions (if available) as a poor second choice to the original performance. In this case, the broadcast film with the commentating by Spanish broadcasters gives another layer of insight on how many of the international, Spanish, and Catalan audiences experienced the show: mediated through Spanish television, what they saw, in what order, and from what angles.[362] The Television Española broadcast also reveals moments where the Spanish commentators reframed the performance in front of them through their remarks. In an interview days after the opening ceremony, *Mediterrani, Mar Olympíc*'s director Àlex Ollé complained that "what we could not control was the volume of the music and, above all, the television commentary, even though we provided sufficient information for good commentary."[363]

By applying Manning's understanding of crossviewing to this performance broadcast, I shed light on the competing national narratives that were legible to only some of the spectators. I explore this audience-specific messaging as an opportunity, to borrow from Benedict Anderson, to imagine communities of national kinship. As noted in this dissertation's introduction, Anderson argues that members of a nation feel connection with one another through shared

knowledge, accumulated when they read the same newspaper, for instance, or, say, tune into the broadcast of the Olympic Games. Although members of a nation "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them,"[364] they can feel kinship with others through shared knowledge, such as when they understand coded messages of Catalan exceptionalism within an Olympics opening ceremony. I further this argument by arguing that this kinship would be heightened by the knowledge that they alone understand the messaging, unlike the other audience around them. So, while Spanish and international audiences enjoyed the spectacle of the show, including the giant puppets, the Catalan spectators were engaging in a performance that reified the Catalan nation and memorialized the history of "cultural genocide" during the within the Spanish nation-state.

The imagined community created by the live performance and its broadcast also works in the opposing sense, reminding the audience of the historical suppression of Catalan identity through Spanish intervention. The Spanish government was also broadcasting their own message through the Barcelona Olympic Games: that after a turbulent and violent 20th Century, Spain was finally a democratic and peaceful nation-state.[365] The Barcelona Olympics were "the first post-Franco macrofestival," a sign that Spain had left behind the 1930s fascism and was part of the modern world.[366] However, *Tierra de Pasión*, which was performed first, also reinforced international ideas of Spain as a tourist destination while engaging in the harmful monocultural conception of Spain that had been used by Franco to suppress subnations like Catalonia. Hence, while *Tierra de Pasión* sought to represent Spain as "diverse, democratic, modern, and cultured," the performance reminded the local audiences of the Francoist cultural repression designed to present a one-dimensional kind of culture to foreign visitors, tourists, and to the citizens of

Spain.[367]

Central to my performance analysis is the city of Barcelona itself. The 1992 Olympics were a crucial part of the city's rebranding, leading not only to new urbanization projects typical of Olympic construction, such as the redevelopment of Barcelona's seafront, but also increased tourism. Both Edgar Illas's *Thinking Barcelona: Ideologies of a Global City* and Joan Ramon Resina's *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* analyze the Barcelona Olympics as a crucial moment of urban rejuvenation of Barcelona into a contemporary, neoliberal economic center. They mark the Olympics as a moment of urban planning that sought to expunge the Franco regime and reconstruct a city unblemished by war or dictatorship. However, no matter how new the buildings were, the memory of the Spanish Civil War and the violence it brought Spain was not forgotten by spectators or commentators. For example, an article describing the women's marathon event on August 2 describes it thus:

> Fifty-three years ago, women wearing black trudged northward in the night along the Costa del Maresme, trying to shelter their children from the bombs and bullets of the Spanish Civil War. Yesterday, that path was retraced, along a coast sparkling with sailboats and restaurants and people lining the road to cheer. Nearly 50 sleek female runners from all over the world, wearing the lightest shorts and shirts, the sturdiest of running shoes, worried about the brutal heat and the pain in their joints rather than incoming fire…it was still better this way: a marathon of endurance, not a marathon of fear. This was a race that allowed women to be athletes and competitors, peaceful warriors rather than refugees.[368]

While the impact on the city's landscape might have been one of new building and forward-thinking design, the narrative used to sell it was one that invited the ghosts of the past to join in with the living. The Barcelona Olympics reminded Barcelona of its recent traumas, the memories of which could not be eradicated with new urban planning or an international audience.

Hence, this chapter is also informed by the geography of city, including my own site visits to the Estadi Olímpic Lluís Companys (Lluís Companys Olympic Stadium), the Joan Antoni Samaranch Museu Olímpic i de L'Esport (Joan Antoni Samaranch Olympic and Sport

Museum), the Castell de Montjüic (Montjüic Castle), and the Fossar de la Pedrera (the Grave of the Quarry), all located within a kilometer of each other on Montjüic hill in Barcelona. The Olympic Museum includes an exhibition on the opening ceremony; on display are a full video as well as some of the costumes and puppets. These items provided context on the texture, materials, size, and more for each of these elements, revealing details about the performance from a closer vantage point than the video's fast-paced movement. It was then possible to take this knowledge to the stage itself, the grounds of the stadium. Walking the perimeter of the stadium's seating prompted new insights on the physical demand of carrying a puppet or large costume pieces across the field, or the sheer amount of playing space *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* and *Tierra de Pasión* needed to fill. Thanks to La Fura dels Baus's success worldwide and busy performing schedule, extensive discussions with the company about this project were not possible; although, I was able to speak with two individuals who performed in *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*.

La Fura dels Baus

Spectacle is an expected part of Olympic opening ceremonies, a performance moment designed to show off the host city and larger country to an international audience that, supposedly, will respond with economic investments. An Olympic opening ceremony is meant to promote the ideals of collaboration and international diplomacy, all the while having intra-national competitions for medals that "leads inevitably to forms of nationalism and nationalist self-aggrandizement."[369] Nationalist performances at the Olympic games is not only performed against other countries, however. Countries like Spain with distinct regional identities can use the opening ceremony to "cement domestic cohesion through deployment of double-coded

signing" where "national dances in costume (as in Barcelona; Moscow) will be mere folkloric furniture for an international audience but a source of pride for that subculture."[370] In the case of the Barcelona 1992 Olympics, the "folkloric furniture" was more than a simple source of pride. Through performance, Catalonia could redefine itself to the world and to themselves as their own entity. La Fura dels Baus' innovative theatre would prove ideal for this kind of messaging.

The Catalan theatre group La Fura dels Baus are known for large-scale, experimental work with an emphasis on audience participation and immersive performance.[371] La Fura dels Baus was founded in 1979, immediately after the Spanish Transition during "a period of political paradox, cultural renaissance, and frenetic activity."[372] The group began among seven Catalan artists: Carlus Padressa, Àlex Ollé, Marcel·lí Antúnez Roca, Pere Tantinyà, Quico Palomar, and Teresa Puig. These artists were interested in "street actions,"[373] where they explore the "rapport between the human being and his or her postindustrial surroundings" using immersive theater, puppet theatre, object theatre, and by combining the act of attending a theatrical performance with that of going to a concert.[374] Their first formal work was presented in 1984. The informal and impromptu beginning of the group is revealed by their own official website, that claims that "although we cannot concretely establish a date for the moment that La Fura dels Baus was founded, 1979 is the year most frequently associated with the group's formation."[375]

Since their founding, La Fura dels Baus has become an international powerhouse, working across the world in performance, theatre, opera, circus, and more. Their creative work has, from the company's inception, been particularly transnational in both scope and influences, as it is indebted to the work of Pina Bausch and Richard Schechner's theories of environment theatre.[376] As they received more and more international attention, La Fura dels Baus expanded

beyond their native Catalonia to establish companies and networks throughout the Europe and South America. As a post-Franco theatre group, La Fura dels Baus forms part of what Spanish theatre scholar Sharon Feldman has referenced as "Catalunya invisible," or a "paradoxical condition whereby the city of Barcelona began to take on a nearly indiscernible phantasmal presence."[377] La Fura dels Baus, like other groups founded after the dictatorship, stepped away from the specificity of Barcelona, Catalonia, and Spain, instead focusing on humanity as a larger whole.

Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic was created and directed by two co-founders of La dels Baus, Àlex Ollé and Carlos Padrissa. They developed the show with regular collaborators, such as sound designer and La Fura dels Baus member Miki Espuma, as well as with international artists, such as Ryuichi Sakamoto, who composed the music for the performance titled *Mar Meditterani*. Padrissa understood La Fura dels Baus's role at the Olympic games as a "children's spectacle for all audiences but I think, at the same time, that it was a manifesto to the world."[378] Although *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* is in keeping with some of La Fura dels Baus's motifs—like contrasting the human body with that of the machine[379]—, the opening ceremony's stage, the athletics field, forced the company to create a more straightforward performance and eliminate audience participation, unlike most of La Fura dels Baus's other productions. Furthermore, the geographical and national specificity of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* is one of the elements of the production that makes it so different from the overall oeuvre of La Fura dels Baus. These stylistic differences mean that *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* is often ignored within the conversation of La Fura dels Baus's greater work.

In elaborating a performance analysis of *Mediterrani*, *Mar Olímpic* in this chapter I add

to the scholarly discussion of La Fura dels Baus, specifically by considering this uniquely political and nationalist performance for the otherwise apolitical company. With *Mediterrani*, *Mar Olímpic*, La Fura dels Baus constructed an extensive performance of Catalan exceptionalism, staging a mythical origin story that promoted Catalan national symbols. Sharon Feldman's *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Barcelona* considers La Fura dels Baus as an emblematic/exemplary post-Francoist Catalan theatre company, remarking that La Fura dels Baus was part of the first wave of theatre companies founded after the Spanish Transition and hence did not center their aesthetic or artistic perspectives upon the Franco dictatorship.[380] The uniqueness of *Mediterrani*, *Mar Olímpic* within La Fura dels Baus's larger work led Feldman to exclude the performance from her analysis. However, I argue that although La Fura dels Baus does not engage in Catalan nationalist politics in their other performances, they did so with *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*, claiming a specifically Catalan viewpoint that rejects the Spanish nation-state. When director Ollé found out some of his actors wanted to sneak in Catalan flags during the performance: "I told them that the best way to show Catalan pride was to do something that made a big impact and that everybody would like instead of pulling out flags."[381] The entire production of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* is a political showcase for Catalonia. What makes *Mediterrani*, *Mar Olímpic* a unique performance in La Fura dels Baus's oeuvre also speaks to the extraordinary nature of this performance: a singularly political statement from a theatre company that has excelled outside the context of national boundaries.

Section 1: The Mediterranean Connection

The 1992 Olympic Games opening ceremony was informed by a series of Catalan language and culture recovery policies within Catalonia and by economic stability within Spain.

Celebrating the Olympic Games was "above all a tribute to Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy."[382] In 1979, a year after the ratifying of the new Spanish constitution, an autonomous agreement was signed between Spain and Catalonia, which provided the Catalan region with pathways to reconstruct and protect the region's identity.[383] The president of Catalonia Jordi Pujol, who held the position from 1979 until his retirement in 2003, made *pactisme*, or deals with the Spanish government that were advantageous to his policies, a central strategy of rebuilding the Catalan government and region.[384] Due to these reforms, Catalan language and literature were taught in public schools, allowing students to engage with the epic poem *L'Atlàntida* (1877) written by Catalan priest and poet Jacint Verdaguer (1845-1902). Those same students, now spectators of the Olympic games opening ceremony, might have then recognized the *Mediterani, Mar Olímpic* as an adaptation of this poem.

L'Atlàntida is an epic poem made up of ten books that together tell a version of Hercules's wanderings over the Iberian Peninsula, the creation of the Mediterranean Sea, the sinking of the mythical city of Atlantis, and the "discovery" of the Americas. This poem is part of the rich abundance of work published and developed in the late nineteenth century during a period of economic and artistic prosperity known as the Catalan cultural *Renaixança*. The nineteenth century's economic boom in Catalonia created the financial support for scholars, linguists, architects, poets, theatre makers, and artists whose creative output redefined Catalan culture into the form still recognizable today. The *Renaixança* brought the development and publication of a new Catalan literary canon, including one of its key works, Verdaguer's *L'Atlàntida*. The cultural output of the *Renaixança* also created a Catalan nationalism in which the Mediterranean Sea is, even today, a defining element of Catalan identity.[385]

Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic and its source text both speak to a vision of a Catalonia begot from Greece and to the east instead of from Spain to the south and west. In l*'Atlantida,* the Greek mythological hero Hercules stops on the Catalan coast during his travels from the east. Resting on the Catalan shore, he saves a group of Argonauts from shipwreck, founding the city of Barcelona in the process. La Fura dels Baus's rendition focuses on this section of *L'Atlàntida*, performing a narrative version of events of Hercules's rescue of the Argonauts sailors. *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* features Hercules creating the Mediterranean Sea, admiring his work from the coast of Catalonia. As Hercules rests on the shore, he spots a ship in danger of capsizing. The ship sailed with Jason's Argonaut fleet, although it has become separated from the group and is precariously alone and in trouble. Not only are the ocean's waves threatening the ship, but monsters and sea creatures have gathered to bring an end to the sailors aboard: a smack of jellyfish, a herd of sea urchins, a hydra, and a giant bull. The sailors put up a brave fight but are ultimately outmatched and their drowning appears imminent. A young child climbs up the ship's main mast, using a conch shell to desperately call for help. Hercules, hearing the call, comes to their rescue. The monsters defeated, the irreparably damaged boat crashes upon the Catalan shore. The sailors celebrate their survival by vowing to settle this shore, naming this new settlement after the ship: *Barca Nona* (Latin for ninth ship), which became Barcelona.

By choosing *L'Atlàntida* as a source text, La Fura dels Baus emphasized and celebrated a legendary moment of intense Catalan cultural creation and achievement. The story tells an origin tale that distinguishes Catalonia from Spain. Pujol's linguistic policies ensured that many Catalan students would be encountering Verdaguer at school and recognizing the story as the product of the height of Catalan excellence**.** In linking the founding of Barcelona to Greek

heroes, to the poem, and to the Opening Ceremony of the Olympics—a revised ancient Greek tradition—, "the origins of Western civilization and the founding of Barcelona and the Olympic Games" become inextricable from one another.[386]

Mediterrani, Mar Olympic was only a part of a larger narrative during the Olympic celebrations that connected Catalonia to Greece. The Olympic torch's arrival in Catalonia was a carefully orchestrated performance that paralleled *L'Antlàtida*'s claims of Catalonia's links to Greece rather than Spain. On June 13, 1992, the torch arrived from Athens to Empúries, a Greek colony founded around 6,000 BCE, emphasizing the historical connections between Catalonia and Ancient Greece.[387] Surrounded by "more than 300 sailboats and serenaded by five choirs," the flame had traveled from Greece by Catalan frigate, and then rowed ashore by an "ancient fishing boat."[388] The rowboat held 10 rowers along with the then 15-year old actress Marián Aguilera.[389] Dressed in a white dress and the traditional Catalan espadrille shoes, Aguilera was met on the shore by frolicking dancers. As she reached certain obstacles, like the water or the boulders that dot the seashore, one of the dancers lifted her up and over them, ensuring that her costume and flowing hair stayed pristine.[390] The combination of traditional Catalan clothing and seafaring vessels as well as Aguilera's pristine youth marked Catalonia, and solely Catalonia, as the inheritors of the Olympic torch and Grecian civilization. In these performances, including *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*, the message was clear: Catalonia originates from Greece, and hence, in an echo of the common political slogan flown during protests and other sporting events, Catalonia is not Spain.

As successful as the *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* performance was during the Olympics, the production was an aesthetic departure for La Fura dels Baus. Up to this point, La Fura dels

Baus had played in smaller settings that allowed them to immerse the audience directly in the playing space. In their shows prior to *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* such as *Prehistoria* (1979), *Suz/o/suz* (1985), and *Tier Mon* (1988), La Fura dels Baus captivated audiences by intermingling human and machine elements, by using "plastic arts, mime, elaborate sadistic-looking machinery, nude bodies that perform impressive feats of athleticism, live music, video, mobile sculptures, recycled materials, slide and laser projections, and pyrotechnics" to create extensive and immersive performances.[391] A primary purpose behind La Fura dels Baus's theatrical aesthetic was to "change…the public's role from passive to active."[392] Within the Olympic Stadium, however, La Fura dels Baus could not engage their audience, seated within the stadium bleachers and at home, in the same intimate manner. Instead, La Fura dels Baus focused on scale, choosing to fill the entirety of the athletic field with their epic tale. In *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*, La Fura dels Baus create a performance that was breathtaking in its grandiosity, and showed an ingenious use of costumes, puppetry, and multi-use set pieces worked to create, for example, mythical heroes and monsters amid the sparkling ocean waves. The giant puppets that traverse the stage during *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* became a major source of messaging for Catalan exceptionalism and political identity.

Section 2: Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic

Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic hinges not on creating verisimilitude, but on letting the audience see all the pieces coming together to create the spectacular image in front of them. Adapting the techniques of immersive theatre that characterize their broader oeuvre for this new context, La Fura dels Baus still expects the audience to function as an active creative participant. For the Catalan audience, especially those more interested in Catalan independence or

nationalism, La Fura dels Baus adds another layer of meaning that require the audience member to engage in crossviewing to understand the wink within the epic spectacle. In this section, a close reading of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* reveals the layers of Catalan nationalism present within the performance itself, as well as providing a reminder to the Catalan audience of the Olympic Stadium's proximity to the still existing mass graves used during the Franco regime's long reign over Spain.

Hercules

Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic opens with the arrival of the sun's light, made up of dozens of performers whose winged costumes suggest glistening sunlight and fire. Shaped like teardrops and textured with bright orange and yellow feathers, the wings extend well above each performer's head, up to as much as 22 feet. The performers also wear bright gold masks, their teardrop shape echoing that of the wings. The red, orange, and yellow costume makes each individual performer seem like a single flame of fire, and, as they twirl, dance, and run across the enormous stage, they come together into a circle to create a large, glittering sun. The wings' colors and heights vary among the costumes, so the performers can arrange themselves in different combinations to create a ray of sunlight, a flame of fire, or, with the large, yellow wings in the center and longer and thinner ones, colored in shades of red and orange, towards the edges. As the performers bend and twirl in synchronous movements, the sun pulsates, its red tendrils reaching down into the ocean and warming the Mediterranean. This dazzling sight signals the visual spectacle that is to come. Like the Roman *naumachias,* where Roman theatres (such as the one in Tarragona, 80km south of Barcelona) were flooded to host mock sea battles, La Fura dels Baus uses stagecraft to "flood" its playing area. This opening flooding establishes how La Fura

dels Baus expects its audience to interpret and engage with *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*: La Fura dels Baus will put forward visual puns and conundrums, and the audience will enjoy piecing them together.[393]

The main puppet used in *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* is the 12-foot-tall hero, Hercules. This puppet is simultaneously the mythological hero, a skeleton, and a machine made up of interlocking gears. La Fura dels Baus members Alex Ollé, Carlos Padrissa, and Roland Olbeter[394] designed the puppet to show off its constructed nature, revealing its joints and mechanisms so that the audience sees and understands how the puppet moves around the stage. Similar to Julie Taymor's concept of "the double event," these visible parts emphasize the puppet as an engineering feat; by both seeing the character interact with others and understanding how the puppet operates, the audience's enjoyment is heightened.[395] Although gigantic, Hercules has articulated joints in his neck and limbs. The mechanisms that articulate these body parts are a complex and visible system of interlocking gears, chains, and other mechanical parts like the inside of a clock. Leaving these inner mechanics uncovered also reveals the puppet's basic "skeleton," a framework of connected steel poles that make the puppet's torso, hips, legs, arms, and so on. Some parts of the puppet are covered in "skin," or large, brass-looking plates that show a muscular body with defined pectorals, abdominal muscles, biceps, quadriceps, and gluteal muscles that overlay parts of the skeletal framework, echoing the ancient Grecian depictions of athletes and warriors, facing off on the side of ancient pottery. Taken together, these elements emphasize the strength and agility of the human body, with rippling muscles, strong bones, and articulated joints.

The part-human, part-god Hercules, together with his fully visible puppeteers, speak to La Fura dels Baus's interest in human potential. The Hercules puppet moves in two primary ways: a backpack controlled by a main puppeteer who stands upon a platform controlled by four riders on tandem bicycles. All puppeteers are easily visible, their human bodies standing in contrast to the giant puppet. Hercules's head and spine is held upright on a large pole that connects to the main puppeteer's backpack. To keep the puppet firmly in place, the backpack's straps crisscross the main puppeteer's chest, freeing the puppeteer's arms to control all four of Hercules's limbs through stiff wires connected to each of Hercules's elbows and knees: Hercules's elbows connect to the puppeteer's hands while Hercules knees connect to the puppeteer's feet. Hence, Hercules's limbs mirror the puppeteer's movements. Puppet scholar Gerhard Marx speaks of the puppeteer as a central part of not only a puppet's movements but its soul: "The puppeteer is not only the provider of movement, which is central to the illusion of agency, but is also the presence of an intelligence behind the puppet, an intelligence which the audience can trust to operate in a multifunctional way, so that the puppet, unlike the automaton or machine, can reveal itself through a multiplicity of functions and can operate in a connotative poetical manner rather than simply a functional denotative one."[396] Although Hercules is a mythical demi-god whose metal puppet-body in inherently not alive, the strapped in puppeteer lends his life force to the figure that engulfs him.

Although the narrative tells a fanciful story, La Fura dels Baus places at its center the human, who through its ingenuity and movements can bring a mythical demi-god to life. The audience watches a demigod sprinting across the field, while simultaneously also watching five puppeteers work together to create his movements with their own bodies: while the main

puppeteer has Hercules limbs pumping, the cyclists move him across the field on a custom platform. The platform itself seats the main puppeteer on a high seat, allowing him to move his arms and legs without losing his balance so that Hercules smoothly sails across the enormous stage, the demigod's supernatural powers replicated by the puppet's easy movements. Once Hercules arrives at the raised platform, the main puppeteer walks the puppet up to the vantage point from which Hercules can watch and help the sailors arrive in Barcelona.

Montjüic's Mass Grave

The exposed interior mechanism of the Hercules puppet is also evocative of a human skeleton, an image that was becoming more prominent in Catalonia and Spain as debates took place over how to memorialize the many mass graves dating to the Spanish Civil War era and the Franco regime. In Barcelona during the Franco regime, individuals who died from execution or diseases while imprisoned were buried in a quarry near the Montjüic cemetery, on the southern side of the hill. This quarry, which had previously been used for the headstones and mausoleums of the cemetery, is now a mass grave, with an estimated 4,000 bodies that date back to the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship.[397] The quarry of Montjüic was redeveloped in 1985 into a memorial entitled El Fossar de la Pedrera, or the Grave of the Quarry, and is located only about five hundred meters from the Olympic stadium. The Catalan government and the city of Barcelona invested about $550,000 (83 million pesetas) for the creation of El Fossar de la Pedrera, turning the overgrown and inaccessible grave site into a place of reflection, honor, and commemoration.[398] This project was part of a larger rejuvenation of the city's parks and green spaces ahead of the Olympic games. Though La Fura dels Baus never explicitly stated as much, I propose that the skeletal aspects of the puppet were open to interpretation by Catalan audiences

in the context of the debates over mass graves and the development of El Fossar de la Pedrera in Barcelona.

The most famous person interred at El Fossar de la Pedrera is Lluís Company, for whom the Olympics Stadium was named and whose name is engraved above the southern entrance, the main entrance used by visitors. Companys was the president of the Catalan government from 1934 to 1940. In 1936, Companys proposed to hold the Popular Olympics in Barcelona as an alternative competition in opposition to the Berlin Olympics, which had become a vehicle for Nazi propaganda.[399] Companys's Popular Olympics was set to begin on July 18, 1936, with 6,000 athletes taking part. However, on July 17, Franco's army launched an attack and precipitated the Spanish Civil War.[400] The People's Olympics was over before it ever began.[401] Along with thousands of Republican Catalans, Companys fled into exile at the end of the Spanish Civil War, only to be captured in France by the Gestapo and returned to Spain. Starved, beaten, and tortured over five weeks, Companys was tried for rebellion in Madrid. A bloody and "heavily manacled" Companys was transferred to Barcelona.[402] On October 14, 1940 he received a summary court martial that lasted less than an hour and was sentenced to death. Hearing the verdict, Companys responded, "I will calmly die for my ideals and without a shadow of resentment."[403] The next day, on October 15, Companys was executed by firing squad within the grounds of Montjuïc castle, nearby the stadium that would be repurposed for the 1992 Olympics. He refused a blindfold, declaring "Per Catalunya!" (For Catalonia!) as the squad fired. Cynically, his death certificate lists the cause of death as "traumatic internal hemorrhage."[404] At the time of this death, Companys's execution "symbolized the disappearance not only of a representative of the Republic, but also of the political autonomy of the Catalan nation."[405]

Fifty-six years after Companys's death, the mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, eulogized him during the Olympics opening ceremony. About thirty minutes before the skeletal Hercules would traverse the stage, Maragall stated:

> Gentlemen, citizens of the world: fifty-six years ago there was supposed to be a popular Olympics here in this Montjuïc Stadium. The name of the president of the People's Olympics is inscribed up there, over the old Marathon door, his name was Lluís Companys and he was the president of the Catalan Government.[406]

Invoking Companys suggested that, although these Olympics were a celebration of democratic Spain's accomplishments, Barcelona had previously sought to stand for Olympic ideals, only to be crushed by the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime. Maragall's speech emphasized that the 1992 Olympic stadium was itself built upon the work and memory of Companys and his anti-fascist ideals. Because an alternative event to the 1936 Berlin Olympics had to be organized quickly, Companys suggested that the Popular Olympics be held at the Montjüic stadium, erected in 1927. The stadium atop Montjüic Hill had been the venue for the 1929 International Exposition and would serve well for athletic competition. Although Companys's Popular Olympics had failed to materialize, by pointing to Companys's name inscribed over the main entrance to the stadium, Maragall was suggesting that the 1992 Olympics was a kind of redress, an enactment of the Olympics that should have been celebrated on the same hill in 1936. Local newspaper La Vanguardia praised Maragall's speech, stating that the reference to Companys "made emotional tears flow in many Catalan households."[407] Maragall reminded the audience that the 1992 Olympic Game was not only a celebration of a democratic Spain, but the culmination of Companys's Catalan ideals.

In this context, Catalan audience members could have understood the skeletal features of the Hercules puppet as evoking the nearby mass grave, whose redevelopment featured a peaceful

gravesite from which to pay respect to Companys. The Franco regime created what anthropologist Francisco Ferrandíz has categorized as a "funerary apartheid," whereby the bodies of Republican soldiers and political prisoners were denied proper burials on consecrated ground, a practice that became "a cornerstone in the construction of dictatorial sovereign control of the country."[408] Mass graves were often purposefully unmarked and out of the way, sometimes with roads built atop of them to further ensure bodies were inaccessible.[409] The 1985 redevelopment of El Fossar de la Pedrera tasked Catalan architect Beth Gali (born 1950) with designing a space that could regain some dignity to the 4,000 people buried without headstones or other identification. Using a mixture of rows of trees and columns, her design was praised for its "purposefully understated [architecture] to focus attention on place, memory, and loss."[410] Within this new and expansive green space, Ferran Ventura (1927-1997) created a stone coffin inset in a large, semi-circular reflection pool, covered by a smooth, stone arch.[411] The smooth curves of Companys's final resting place bear a striking resemblance to the 1992 opening ceremony's raised platform stage, and the curved roof of the orchestra pit, from which the Barcelona Symphony accompanied the night's event.

The inauguration of El Fossar de la Pedrera on October 27, 1985 made the front pages of the local newspapers as well as national publications like El País and La Vanguardia. As well as the newspaper articles discussing the new memorial site, the city of Barcelona took out full page ads in La Vanguardia to declare that Companys and his compatriots were now buried "with the dignity they deserved."[412] In front of 5,000 spectators and the press, Maragall, as Barcelona's mayor. and Pujol, as the President of the Catalan regional government, gave impassioned speeches eulogizing Companys and the other victims buried at the site. It is possible that, seven

years later, Maragall and Pujol were reminded of El Fossar de la Pedrera from their dais in the stadium's grandstand. Not only were they looking towards the stadium's door, with Companys's name engraved above, but the arched shapes created by the raised platform are reminiscent of Companys's grave.

The specter of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship's repression against Catalonia loomed large over the Olympic Games. In the days after the opening ceremony, Maragall revealed that he had planned to eulogize Companys "for many months now and even instituted it to the press."[413] One of his aides claimed Maragall had told them he would be citing Companys in his Olympic speech back in 1987, five years before the Olympics.[414] A Catalan audience, especially its members who, living in Barcelona, had witnessed and perhaps even participated in the reclamation of the Montjuic quarry from its past as an inaccessible place, and transforming it into a solemn memorial, could associate Maragall's reference with this broader context. Perhaps, the skeletal aesthetic of the Hercules puppet is even a subtle nod that Barcelona—and its grand Olympic stadium—is built upon the bones of soldiers, politicians, and resistance fighters who gave their lives for Catalonia and its culture.

The Bull

At the center of *Mar Mediterrani* is a sea battle in which Greek sailors and Hercules bravely defeat monsters, including a monster represented by bull's horns, a notable symbol of Spain itself. Hercules steps in to rescue the sailors, creating an epic struggle "between ignorant irrationality on the one hand (represented by animals and fantastical monsters like the hydra) and civilization on the other (represented by the sea, a ship and Hercules)."[415] The eventual victor is Greek civilization, which defeats the monsters, reaches the shore, and founds Barcelona, where

Catalan culture will eventually flourish. *Mar Mediterrani* creates a narrative of Catalan civilization, which brings order to the wild shores of the Iberian Peninsula. Not only does the performance trace Catalan lineage to the Ancient Greeks, actively detaching and differentiating Catalonia from Spain in the process, but it creates a narrative of a Greek and Catalan taming of an unruly world, leading, after centuries, to the 1992 Olympics.

Within the sea battle, the central use of a bull puppet suggests that Spain itself is part of that uncivilized and irrational world the sailors must tame. Along with sea creatures like jellyfish and sea urchins, the ship is also attacked by two mythical monsters, the hydra and the minotaur. The show's synopsis part of La Fura dels Baus's website archive describes these monsters as "the furies that symbolize war, pollution, hunger, and disease,"[416] although they do not specifically link a puppet to each fury. Nor is there an indication during the production itself that the monsters represent anything other than themselves. The only exception is the minotaur, whose bull horn shape replicates the common association between Spain and the bullfight. The minotaur is represented by a set of bull's horns, like a trophy from a safari hunt. The horns are symmetrical, colored grey with hints of ivory. They taper off into menacing, sharp, grey points. The size of the horn is exaggerated in comparison to its puppeteers: the horns are about five feet tall and each horn extends to about twelve feet in length.[417] A dozen or so puppeteers help move the horns around the stage, moving the puppet using a wheeled platform attached under the center of the horns. The platform also entails a mechanism that allows the horns to tilt up and down and from side to side.

It is difficult to understand the horns as anything other than a representation of an aggressive and repressive Spanish cultural identity.[418] The horns, as a synecdoche of the bull

itself, is one of the more famous Spanish symbols. Bullfighting has been a persistent symbol of Spanish identity, even though the modern version of bullfighting is an Andalusian practice. During the Franco regime, bullfighting was elevated from its regional roots to become a national pastime. Especially with the development of television allowing for televised fights, the Franco regime used bullfighting to "create a common cultural panorama that would reinforce the idea of Spain as a united nation in the wake of the disintegration brought about by the Civil War."[419] In areas like Catalonia, bullfighting was used to eliminate and replace Catalan traditions. Glorified in literature, poetry, film, and more, in the democratic era, bullfighting has been a prime commodity for the tourism industry, spawning fights for tourists to attend, countless designs printed on bumper stickers, shirts, keychains, suitcases, mugs, shot glasses, and more.[420] In other words, the bull has become an omnipresent symbol of Spain, an image known to both Catalans and Spanish viewers, as well as to many international viewers with knowledge of or an interest in Spain and Spanish tourism. In *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic,* the Greek sailors must defeat this image to reach land and create Barcelona, and by extension, Catalonia.

As the sailors and Hercules battle their enemies, the puppeteers move the horns into position at the top of the field. The sea parts, creating a straight shot between the bull, tilting in anticipation, and its target. Like the other sea monsters, the horns attack the ship, charging down the field and striking. However, the horns are singularly threatening. The hydra has seemingly countless spasming arms—it is built like a skydancer, with long, skinny fabric tubes that undulate as air is forced through them at great velocity. The sea urchin is not only covered in long, silver spikes but is also accompanied by fifteen switchblades, box cutters, and boning knives that walk alongside the urchin. The jellyfish attack as a set of five, with colored tentacles

drifting and swirling around them. The simplicity of the horns is stark against these complex and dynamic puppets. Not only does the bull not belong to the sea, but it does not require accouterments to emphasize its inherent danger. Through the bull puppet, then, La Fura dels Baus uses an obvious symbol to set up a subtle narrative of cultural conflict and national identity.

For Catalan audience members knowledgeable with the narratives behind *Mar Mediterrani*, the bull's defeat hinted that Catalonia could only truly become powerful in the absence of or through the defeat of (or more mildly, separation from) Spain. Through crossviewing, independence-minded audience members would need to recognize the meaning behind the show's narrative and be aware of the significance behind the site of the stadium itself, so close to the Civil War mass grave. When the horns come charging, the audience member would need to see the horns not only as a bull but also as a synecdoche of a culturally oppressive Spain. This audience member would recognize the threat: Verdaguer's *L'Atlantida* details how this ship will go on to found Barcelona and by extension Catalonia; whereas if the bull is successful, Spain will have quite literally sunk the Catalan project.

But within the larger performance of *Mar Mediterrani*, this narrative seems difficult to parse out. The bull does not attack on its own—all sea creatures and monsters are attacking all at once. For the audience in the stadium, their view would be determined by their seating position, which might obscure the horns behind the ship or another puppet. For most of the audience watching via their televisions, their viewpoint is determined by the broadcast that presents the action in a narrative and dramatic fashion. There is no lingering image of the horns getting ready to charge in the broadcast. Instead, the broadcast captures general chaos and battle, panning over the entire playing stage. The broadcast commentators are mostly quiet, providing no further

guidance to suggest any specific reading for the audience. In other words, although the signifiers are available throughout the performance, linking those signifiers into a clear, cogent story of Catalonia being the descendants of the Ancient Greeks, having defeated the attempts by Spanish nationalist identity to defeat them, would be much harder.

La Fura dels Baus focus their productions on the interactions between the human body and technology, continuing the TI strategies of immersive theatre and using non-theatrical spaces to house performances that shock and inspire the audiences. With *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*, however, La Fura dels Baus shifts focus to engage in the political project of Catalonia. In front of an enormous audience, La Fura dels Baus puts forward the Catalan performance of the night, one that affirms a Catalan nation that is divorced from the Spanish world. As director Ollé pointed out to his actors, with such a performance in store, there is little need for an *estellada* flag to emphasize the message of Catalan independence.

Section 3: Tierra de Pasión

For the audience, while *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* characterizes Catalonia as explicitly separate from Spanish, the performance which immediately preceded it, *Tierra de Pasión* or *Land of Passion*, leaned directly into Spanish stereotypes to homogenize the nation and erase the specificity of regions like Catalonia. *Tierra de Pasión* was a thirteen-minute flamenco showcase, eschewing storytelling to instead feature one of Spain's most recognizable cultural exports. The performance primarily featured Cristina Hoyos, a legendary, accomplished flamenco dancer, as the personification of flamenco and, hence, Spain herself. Hoyos's dancing was accompanied by the opera singing of Placido Domingo and Alfredo Kraus, another two examples of Spain's artistic accomplishments. However, *Terra de Pasión* simplified flamenco, pairing it to a

sevillana type of music to better match the style of opera singing. The result was a similitude of Spanish flamenco and opera, a repackaging of the "romantic-era stereotypes about Spain's orientalist allure…emphasizing the country's eccentricity vis-à-vis Europe" used by the Franco dictatorship to justify its leadership.[421] Thus, *Tierra de Pasión* replicated Franco's cultural policy, the same one that suppressed Catalan language and identity, bringing attention to the ways the Spanish Transition allowed direct links between the Franco dictatorship and the Spanish democratic process to exist. A closer reading of *Tierra de Pasión* reveals how the performance continued the Franco era's stereotyping and cultural appropriation created to encourage foreign tourism.

Developed during the 18th century, flamenco is a traditional, working-class art form, developed among itinerant farm laborers, primarily the Calé Roma ethnicity, who traditionally traveled across Andalusia following the harvest. Flamenco is, according to historian Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, an inherently political art form, an artistic expression that directly responded to a feudalistic agricultural system that kept aristocrats living in comfort while their laborers worked in miserable conditions.[422] However, due to the interests of the largely male tourists who wrote lascivious accounts of flamenco dancing in the late 1800s, the creation of a formal Spanish government tourism board in 1905, and the success of Andalusian poet Federico García Lorca's moody descriptions of flamenco culture in the 1920s and 30s, the dance form became one of Spain's most popular exports to Europe and North America.[423] As a result, well before the Franco regime, "Andalusia became the synecdoche for Spain, and Andalusia meant [flamenco] and bulls."[424] This popularization of flamenco, however, was inherently flattening a diverse art practice into, in Lopez-Peláez's words, "an approach to flamenco that basically

privileges its supposedly eternal and immutable nature, setting it apart from any material struggle, political interest or partisanship, and ideological standards."[425] This flattening of flamenco into a static art form emptied of its ability to comment and critique on the world around entirely changes flamenco, no longer a way to express emotional critiques autochthonous to Andalusia. Yet it was the flattened style of flamenco, simplified and offered up for consumption, that the 1992 Olympics opening ceremony served.

A prime aspect of the flamenco stereotype, which is less strict in the Andalusian practice, is the bifurcated gender roles between the female dancer and the male musician. Although in practice, flamenco artists' roles are more flexible, nineteenth-century travel writers began to sexualize flamenco, casting their "mostly male...critical gazes on the female dancers's appearance and their ability to titillate spectators through dance."[426] By the 1800s, flamenco became a world of female dancers, surrounded by a half circle of male musicians, where the dance "was understood to be about female carnality and sexual satiety."[427] This sexualization of female dancers combined with the emptying of flamenco's sociopolitical ideology has left the performance to be an othered artifact, performed for the pleasure of foreigners—and their money. Just as *Tierra de Pasión* was unwilling to return the *autochthonous* Andalusian identity to flamenco, it similarly continued the overt sexualization of women. Cristina Hoyos and her hundreds of female dancers contrast sharply with the stark black tuxedos of the two opera singers, as well as the all-black drummers. As the women dance with bare arms and ruffled dresses, crossing the entire length of the field, the drummers stand stationary as they greet the dancers with the constant beats of their drums. The male opera singers, on a larger stage that includes the orchestra and eventually a dancing arena for Hoyos and a group of flamenco

couples, walk directly onto their playing area, avoiding the parade and display of Hoyos's entrance. The interaction between singer and dancer is viewed as simple flirting, instead of the complex emotions of traditional flamenco.[428] The result is a performance that continues the stereotypical and inaccurate bifurcation of gender between Hoyos, the objectified woman, and Domingo and Kraus, the male singers.

Tierra de Pasión begins with the sound of drumming. Three hundred and seventy male drummers appear around the top of the stadium seating, snaking their way down the aisles and through the audience to reach the field below. Once there, they are joined by another three hundred drummers that flood directly onto the field. As they drum, two hundred female flamenco dancers enter, their white dresses with red accents contrasting sharply with the musicians. The white dresses are stamped with colored rings like that of the Olympic logo, lest we forget the occasion. The commentators note that the dancers are an "emblem of the Hispanic passion" but go no further, suggesting that the stereotype of the flamenco dancer is already well-known and circulated among the international audience of the ceremony's broadcast. As the musicians and dancers weave around each other, Cristina Hoyos enters the field atop a black stallion. Although wearing the same style of dress as the other dancers, with a ruffled skirt and voluminous sleeves, Hoyos's outfit is a contrasting red and black. As she sits atop the stallion, her arms float above her head, her hands twisting and arching in the recognizable gestures of the flamenco dance form. The stallion brings her to the stage, where she dismounts and climbs up to the raised platform. There, the opera singers Alfredo Kraus and Placido Domingo briefly serenade Hoyos as she dances. The performance finished, Hoyos returns to her horse, galloping out of the stadium while Kraus and Domingo accept the audiences' applause.

Without a narrative, *Tierra de Pasión* appears simply to be an exhibition of skilled flamenco choreography. The performance implies Andalusian culture as common to all of Spain, providing no context or suggestion of regional specificity. For example, the drummers are all dressed in dark clothing with different colored cords ringing their hats and outlining their shoulders. The Television Española commentators clarify that these cords mark the different regions of Spain from which the drummers hail, but the cords are much too small and subtle to be easily seen by the audience. Furthermore, the commentators never clarify which cord belongs to which region, rendering the markings impossible to interpret by the audience in the stadium or at home. In another example of erasing Spain's regional specificity, the performance uses opera singers and upbeat *zarzuela* music instead of the traditional *cante jondo*. The *zarzuela* is an upbeat musical style, common in central Spain and not associated with the flamenco tradition. By replacing the *cante jondo* music, which "in Andalusia, [...] is considered to be the most significant element of flamenco,"[429] *Tierra de Pasión* makes the performance more optimistic, matching the celebratory tone of the ceremony, and hence presumably more palatable to international audiences, less used to the moody and dramatic music of Spain's southern region. In other words, *Tierra de Pasión* rid its flamenco performance of several of the specificities of Andalusian culture so it can be representative of all of Spain in the same way that tourism narratives and the Franco regime had for decades previous.

The generalizing of flamenco as a pan-Iberian art form had long been a calculated part of the Franco regime's national and international policy. Franco and his regime saw themselves as Spain's saviors who, through a policy of cultural centralism and suppression, could return Spain to its former colonial glory. This policy, called *nacionalcatolicismo,* sought to recast Spanish

nationalism through strict adherence to Catholic belief and ideologization of Spanish colonialism and exploration. As Franco's biographer Paul Preston notes, Franco further saw himself "as a great hero like the saintly warrior-kings of the past" that "could restore the monarchy to its sixteenth-century greatness but only once he had assiduously eradicated the poison of three misspent centuries."[430] In cultural terms, this eradication translated into prioritizing Andalusian cultural touchstones like bullfighting and flamenco, already stereotyped by foreign visitors, into the primary cultural identity of the whole of Spain.[431] In other words, "flamenco song and dance was conscripted by Franco for use as a symbol for Spanish national identity" at the expense of all other cultural production.[432] This cultural enforcement was useful to suppress perceived threats from regions such as Catalonia and the Basque Country.

Although the Franco regime had ended nearly twenty years before 1992, *Land of Passion* was an encapsulation of *nacionalcatolicismo* and Francoist culture wars, representing Spain on an international stage as a flamenco performance emptied of its political subversions and regional belongings. The simplified flamenco on display in *Land of Passion* is part of a long trend of touristic performance for foreign audiences, ones used by the Ministry of Information and Tourism during the 1950s to create economic growth in Spain.[433] The exporting of Andalusian culture abroad began in the aftermath of World War II and the fall of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Franco regime cleaned up its image abroad "by employing cultural diplomacy and the soft power of tourism."[434] As we saw with Joan Miró's career in chapter 2, artists did not have much ability to prevent their work from being toured and popularized abroad as part of a scheme to render Franco's regime acceptable to the same countries who had defeated the other fascist states in western Europe. As dance historian Sandie Holguín argues, flamenco

seemed at odds with the regime's staunch bent towards Catholicism and moral righteousness, but, as tourism minister Carlos González Cuesta bemoaned, tourists were most drawn to Spain for the "bullfights, folklore, and flamenco."[435] However, the international thirst for flamenco proved a convenient way to improve the country's image abroad, and Holguín argues "enterprising Spaniards colonized themselves for material gain."[436] The Franco regime appropriated the stereotypes of flamenco and bullfighting already begun by foreign visitors, emptying "flamenco music and dance of their specifically Andalusian (political and cultural) content, forcing their Hispanification and turning flamenco as a whole into an international banner of all things Spanish."[437] By the end of the regime, flamenco, bullfighting, and other elements of Andalusian culture had become the main cultural elements throughout Spain, and were not only major elements in the tourist economy but ways for Franco to impose a single cultural identity through Spain and further push Catalan and other regional identities into obscurity.[438] As showcased in the midst of the Olympic Ceremony, *Tierra de Pasión* continues not only touristic stereotypes over authentic performance but continues the weaponization of flamenco as a form of wider cultural suppression.

Even the title of *Tierra de Pasión* speaks to a touristic invention of the passionate dancer that "foreigners had been led to expect,"[439] marking Spain as a "premodern place with Old World charm that posed little threat to anybody."[440] Furthermore, calling the performance a "land", without clear borders or geography, further suggests the possibility that this passionate art form is endemic to the entire Iberian Peninsula. Each Olympic Games Opening Ceremony has had to strike a balance between representing the host city and its larger nation-state. In the case of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, the tension between the city of Barcelona and the larger Spanish

nation-state resulted in two distinct, dueling performances. First, *Tierra de Pasión*, which replicated Francoist stereotypes that had been marketed internationally for decades and rendered the entirety of Spain as a uneducated tourist's flamenco fantasy, followed by *Mediterrani*, *Mar Olímpic,* which rejected the connection between Spain and Catalonia entirely by imagining a mythical origin story for Barcelona.

Conclusion

In less than thirty minutes, the Barcelona Olympic opening ceremony presented two performances with opposing views on what democratic Spain could be. In La Fura dels Baus's *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic,* Barcelona was linked to a mythological past to promise a new, technological future. Since the Olympics, Barcelona has become an important European city for technological start ups, and hosts the year Mobile World Congress attracting presentations by global tech giants such as Facebook (Meta) and Google (Alphabet). Meanwhile, the television producers Manuel Huerga and Pepo Sol produced *Tierra de Pasión* to confirm global perceptions of Spain's folkloric traditions—although continuing the Franco-era manipulation of these traditions into a simplified form for easier consumption. *Tierra de Pasión*'s power did not lie in the innovation of the performance, but in the celebrity of its opera singers and the familiarity of the flamenco dancer to international audiences. In the decades since the Olympic Games, Spain has become a major tourist destination in Europe, bringing in major economic support to the country. Albeit these two performances are dissonant when considered together, their individual messaging seems to have made their intended impact.

Were the 1992 Olympics successful in promoting the vision of Catalonia touted by the regional government of a separate people? Hargreaves concludes that, although the Barcelona

Olympic games were a "war of flags," ultimately, they ended with few significant concessions at the political level, with the Catalan government winning no major concession. In fact, the games possibly hurt the Catalan government's cause, with the president Jordi Pujol criticized "for asserting that Catalonia suffered economic discrimination [within the Spanish nation-state] at a time that Spanish taxpayers were footing much of the bill for the Barcelona Games."[441]

Further working against the aims of the Catalan government was the goodwill broadcast towards the Spanish royal family. The king received a rousing ovation from the audience when he began his speech with four words in Catalan, continuing in Spanish. The token gesture "won over the Catalan audience at the outset,"[442] as historically Spanish monarchs had enacted Catalan repression, not begun major, internationally broadcasted speeches by speaking in Catalan. International broadcasts were provided with a translated text of the speeches, with no indication that there was a linguistic switch between Catalan and Spanish.[443] When watching these international broadcasts, the king begins speaking in a foreign language and ends in a foreign language. His words are met by wild applause and adoration from the crowd. Later, at the end of the Opening Ceremony, during the parade of flags, his son Felipe, the heir of the royal family and king as of 2014, was the flag bearer for the Spanish national team. While Felipe literally led a single united Spanish team onto the field, the cameras picked up on his sister, Elena, dutifully watching her brother with tears rolling down her face. For the royal family, the Barcelona Olympic Games were a perception coup: "not only because the king was present as the head of state symbolizing Spain's sovereignty over Catalonia, but because the king and the royal family are active, enthusiastic adherents of the very activity that on this occasion was doing symbolic work celebrating the unity of the two nations."[444]

However, some Olympic reviews did suggest that Catalonia had successfully promoted itself as a separate entity from Spain. George Vecsey, who had compared the women's marathon running south along the coast to the throngs of refugees fleeing north during the Spanish Civil War, remarked that through the Olympics, "The world became aware that the Catalans are a separate people inside Spain, and this was the ultimate message of these Games: People are asserting their independence."[445] The goal of the Olympic celebrations, as well as the messaging around it, was, as another columnist put it, "for most people to remember that [the Olympics] were actually held in Catalonia."[446] The Barcelona opening ceremony introduced the world to a new kind of performance, and helped make La Fura dels Baus an international company. It also provided the backdrop for a unique performance from the Catalan theatre group, a singular moment of embracing its cultural home and origins. They devised and developed an explicitly Catalan performance.

Finally, the Barcelona Olympic games provided an opportunity for Catalan independence supporters and nationalists to test out pro-secession messaging to an international audience. The conglomerate of different activists that form the Catalan Independence Movement, discussed in the next chapter, did not yet exist, but the Olympic games still featured different messaging strategies. The Catalan government took out full page ads in international newspapers, such as the New York Times, announcing that the Olympic games were occurring in the "country of Catalonia, of course!"[447] Protestors engaged in small scale protests, unfurling banners during torch relays or gathering in parts of the city popular with tourists to host mini-rallies for Catalan independence.[448] At a time of economic prosperity and low levels of tensions between Catalonia and Spain, these outbursts were small and uncontroversial. They were, however, a harbinger of

how Catalan activists would, beginning in 2012, use mass spectacle to promote its wish for independence from Spain to international audiences.

Chapter 4—2012-2017: Performing the Catalan Nation

Introduction

In 2012, the Assemblea Nacional Catalana, or National Assembly of Catalonia (ANC), a grassroots political organization that works towards Catalan independence from the Spanish nation-state, began organizing mass protests in Barcelona. The ANC was picking up the mantle of the *Diada Nacional de Catalunya* (National Day of Catalonia), or simply *Diada*, which commemorates the end of the siege of Barcelona on September 11, 1714. Although the *Diada* is, historically, a cultural celebration of Catalan exceptionalism, the ANC had adjusted the event to be explicitly demanding Catalan independence. Thanks to increasing tensions between the Spanish and Catalan governments, since 2012 the ANC has prioritized spectacular protests, filling the streets of Barcelona with demonstrators equipped with chants, flags, banners, and pre-determined choreography—all of which is photographed and videoed to be shared on social media and news broadcasts internationally. The coordination among these protestors is then held up as proof by the ANC of Catalonia's will for independence.

In this chapter, I argue that by organizing the *Diada*, the ANC has created a training ground for pro-independence Catalans to practice and share in protest choreography. The ANC frames their *Diada* events as the most recent iteration of an anti-Spanish protest that extends back three centuries. In so doing, the ANC strips the complicated issues behind Catalan frustrations with the Spanish nation-state, such as tax distribution and educational policy, and simplifies it into a multi-generational struggle against a monolithic enemy. In Andrew Dowling's words, "the appeal of independence lies in its simplicity," wherein Catalan independence is left as a hopeful frontier to be reached through peaceful protest and democratic exercises, although

there is little clarity over what an independent nation-state might look like.[449] Teaching and carrying out these shared actions during the *Diada* allows demonstrators to feel a sense of kinship with each other. In so doing, the ANC *Diades* create an idealized sense of a united Catalan nation state, facing off against three centuries of Spanish governments, from Philip V who besieged Barcelona in 1714, to Francisco Franco who invaded the city in 1939 to the contemporary Spanish nation-state that has administered Catalonia's affairs since 1979.

Methods

In this chapter, I argue that since 2012, the ANC's pro-independence, large-scale, and participatory protests have built a *repertoire of protest behavior* among Catalans who favor an independence process. By examining these protests as a performance repertoire, I show how, through choreography, the ANC has created a community of independence activists linked to the struggles of the past as well as participating in an idealistic view of a Catalan future. I borrow the term "repertoire" from Diana Taylor, who defines it as encompassing "performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing - in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge."[450] While the ANC protests vary year by year, they all center on organizing more than a million attendees around a choreographed action that, captured through photographs and videos, expresses the large size and unity of the Catalan independence movement.

Taylor discusses the repertoire in the context of Central and South America, where the repertoire - in its "ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge" - becomes a way for indigenous identity, practice, and culture to survive during and after the colonial process. In so doing, Taylor compares the repertoire to the archive, the official place of knowledge that tends to prioritize written culture and reflects institutional knowledge.[451] The Francisco Franco dictatorship (1939-

1975) and its policies of "cultural genocide"[452] against Catalonia emphasize the importance of the repertoire as a method of survival for the Catalan language and culture. Archival methods are subject to governmental and other forms of intervention that curate what enters and remains in an archive. Through the repertoire, the ANC can spread a different type of knowledge to its followers and directly engage them in the process of building the Catalan nation.

The ANC itself is built as a simulacra of the type of governance the ANC aims for. Free of political parties and the baggage they can bring, the ANC built a "new kind of organizational model built around concentric circles arranged by location, profession, and level of activism."[453] Made up of 596 local assemblies with 40 more assemblies in international locations that have large Catalan populations,[454] the ANC is a democratic, committee-based institution that aims "at decisively contributing to the foundation of a Catalan Republic based on the principles and values of democracy, freedom and social justice."[455] In keeping with the ANC's commitment to the democratic process, the *Diada*'s theme, slogan, and choreography are decided by a simple majority at a annual assembly. Individuals can submit options, which are then presented to all and voted upon.[456] Individual ownership over the mass assembly is created through this nomination and voting process, as well as through enacting the choreography *en masse* during the *Diada* itself.[457] The ANC has self-consciously avoided debates over economic ideologies and differing views on what a Catalan Nation could look like, choosing instead to speak "in generalities of a Catalonia for everyone."[458]

Analyzing the *Diada* as a performance allows me to think of the annual event as what Susan Leigh Foster has termed a "choreography of protest," where protestors build a deep kinesthetic connection with their cohort as they carry out predetermined actions as part of a larger demonstration. In describing the U.S. lunch counter sit-ins of 1960, Foster argues that

through regular meetings, protestors built up relationships with each other, allowing them to collectively face the violence they then faced while sitting, immobile, at the lunch counters. Similarly in terms of its preparation and organization, the ANC holds meetings throughout the year: planning meetings, assemblies, other protests, and small-scale rehearsals for the *Diada*. Through these meetings, individuals affirm their connection to the ANC organization and its other members, so that the *Diada* becomes a large reunion. Foster also cites the ACT-UP "die-ins" in the late 1980s, during which protestors would carry out a coordinated choreography of "dying" in public. Similarly, the *Diades* rely on protestors to engage in predetermined movements—holding up a colored flag, donning specific clothing, etc. Although the ANC *Diades* are much larger than Foster's examples, drawing over a million protestors per protest, understanding the *Diades* as a performative event allows me to understand how the protestors individually understand their bodies and those of their fellows, thereby emphasizing the "the collective connectivity that is achieved among protesting bodies and the violence of the encounter between their bodies and those defending the status quo."[459]

Foster further argues that understanding protests through the lens of performance allows for different kinds of questions to be asked, including: "what are these bodies doing?; what and how do their motions signify?; what choreography, whether spontaneous or pre-determined, do they enact?; what kind of significance and impact does the collection of bodies make in the midst of its social surround?"[460] In this chapter, I pose similar questions, considering how the choreography of protests from the ANC *Diades* has created an event that connects protestors who attend the *Diada* year after year to their ancestors who combatted previous Spanish oppressors through similar strategies. This choreography of protest also allows the ANC to create a repertoire for protestors, who can enact the Catalan Nation at coordinated times and places.

However, in contrast to Foster's examples, the *Diada* protests are huge, often numbering over a million protestors engaging in a single choreographed action. Unlike Foster's largest case study—the four days of protests held at the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle—, the *Diada* gathers an enormous number of protestors from across the Catalan region into a single protest and a single choreographed movement. Hence, the kinesthetic connection created by the ANC is not only occurring during the actual protest day, but through a year's worth of planning, meeting, and coordinating large-scale transportation of people to that year's designated protest site. In so doing, the ANC ensures that each *Diada* has a continuous link to the previous year's while also being uniquely spectacular. Managing the large number of protestors is dependent on them developing kinesthetic connections over time. To understand this sense of scale, I analyze the flags, songs, banners, and movements used by the protestors during the ANC *Diades*, teasing apart what elements are borrowed from previous repertoires, include previous *Diades* as well as anti-Francoist protests. I also identify new elements introduced by the ANC to disseminate spectacular photos and videos in the digital age of social media and the 24/7 news cycles to gain as many supporters as possible for Catalan independence within and outside Spain. In so doing, the ANC *Diades* create the sense of a united community, one that aware of its past and knows what it is building towards: an independent nation-state.

Yet, describing protests as choreographed or pre-planned can be difficult. In fact, the ANC organizers of the 2017 *Diada*[461] were particularly unhappy with this description, as well as with my interest in them as a theatre scholar; they feared that, if the ANC *Diades* were portrayed as a theatrical piece, that the sentiment behind the gathering would be dismissed as faked or exaggerated. In fact, the Spanish Government's response to the Catalan Independence Movement is one of dismissal, arguing that the Spanish Constitution does not allow for secession and the

Diada protests only represents a vocal minority of Catalan popular opinion.[462] However, as historian Baz Kershaw notes, the concept of a "volcanic" protest in which protestors spontaneously arise against the status quo is by-and-by a fallacy.[463] Instead, social movements are often made up of many non-public organizing meetings and assemblies before large-scale events are held. Foster, for example, details how the lunch counter sit-ins of 1960 and the ACT-UP die ins required extensive private meetings amongst protestors to allow to rehearse the protest as well as providing mental and physical support for the brutality both sets of protestors were expecting in return. It is no surprise that the ANC *Diades* function in the same way. Individuals build trust, rapport, and learn the choreography over other, smaller meetings before joining the fray.

The tangible result of the ANC's *Diades* are visually striking photographs and videos of throngs of protestors, often more than a million individuals, moving together to enact not only their choreography but the Catalan nation itself. These images and videos are taken through a variety of sources, including by the press and via the ANC's use of drones and helicopters,[464] and their publication in the international press has increased the profile of the Catalan independence movement, especially across the European Union. Choreographing such large numbers of people is impressive and newsworthy, but I argue that the ultimate function is much more than the performance solid: through these images, the ANC sets out to both prove and bring into being the existence of the Catalan nation. Benedict Anderson conceptualized a nation around the concept of the "imagined community," where any individual of a group feels some sense of kinship and inside knowledge of any other individual who is also a member of their nation, even if the two have never met. Anderson describes this nation as widespread, connected through newspapers, books, and other media that can quickly traverse the nation, so that all individuals of

a nation could, potentially, open the same newspaper at the same time and engage in the same news. When protestors engage in the choreography as cameras roll, they physicalize Anderson's theory, creating the Catalan nation as a result. The ANC's *Diada* take this imagined community and physically gathers its individual people, removing the barriers of distance. The protestors who attend the *Diades* do not know each member of the crowd—which has ranged from a million to almost two million people—but they all understand and can enact the trappings of the Catalan nation as defined by the ANC's choreography. The videos which are then spread through international media are only made the more spectacular though the coordinated way millions can move.

For years, I have witnessed the *Diada* and protestor's choreography through my cell phone and laptop screen, in sleek promotional videos made by the ANC or videos from around the world compilations. For this chapter, my research was conducting in digital archives, interviews, and my own participation in the 2017 *Diada* as well as preparatory rehearsals and meetings. The ANC has meticulously photographed and videotaped protests, rallies, and assemblies in support of Catalan language and cultural protection, of which the largest and most well-known are the *Diades*. These materials are widely available through their website, YouTube channel, other forms of social media, and through the various media companies and broadcasters, both in and outside of Spain, that report on the *Diada*. I also conducted video and in-person interviews with ANC members and organizers throughout September 2017, and followed up with additional questions by text as I wrote revised this chapter. Due to the political tensions surrounding the 2017 Independence referendum and the Spanish government's prosecution of high-ranking members of the Catalan government, none of these sources wish to be identified. Attending the 2017 *Diada* allowed me to engage in observer-participant research, understanding

the crowd from the inside. The descriptions of the *Diada* from the ground in this chapter are from the 2017 *Diada*.

Section 1: Catalan Protest Tradition

The ANC began organizing the *Diades* in 2012, but the practice of observing Catalonia's national day had been occurring in different forms for multiple centuries before. In other words, the ANC *Diades* are the latest iteration of a lengthy performance genealogy. The *Diada* first began as a mass to mourn the dead, transforming into parades through Barcelona, and anti-Spanish protests. As defined by theatre historian Joseph Roach, performance genealogies encompass knowledge understood and felt by groups over time.[465] Roach's understanding of a performance passed on through the generations is particularly responsive to circumstances of long-term repression and trauma, where cataloging the genealogy allows for "the disparities between history as it is discursively transmitted and memory as it is publicly enacted by the bodies that bear its consequences."[466] As I argue in this section, the performance genealogy enacted by the ANC *Diades* reveal how contemporary political opinions are projected onto the past. The ANC raises the stakes of the *Diades* into a centuries-long conflict that extends past contemporary frustrations with the Spanish government and simplifies Catalonia's history to frame independence from Spain as the goal of any *Diada.*

Protests in Catalonia during the 20th century

The ANC *Diades*, and the celebration of the *Diada* itself, form part of a history of Catalan nationalism expressed through gatherings and street protests. However, much like the *Diades*, these public shows of Catalan nationalism had to contend with the repression of the Miguel Primo de Rivera (1920-1923) and Francisco Franco (1939-1975) dictatorships. Both military generals, Primo de Rivera and Franco shared the goal to unite Spain under a singular

cultural and religious identity, and sought to crystallize "Spanish sentiment [] in Catalonia for its own good."[467] Due to these dictatorships close linking of their regimes with the destruction of Catalan identity, protests occurring in Catalonia against the dictatorships were often linked to Catalan nationalism, even if the goal of the protest had little to do with secession or independence. Regardless, during the Primo de Rivera and Franco regimes, protests of Catalan nationalism were carried out, often at great personal risk of arrests and beatings. Although the ANC *Diades* occur without risk to personal safety today, they do so in the same city that saw repressive responses to Catalan nationalism.

One example occurred in 1920, during the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930). On June 14 1925, a band from the British Royal Navy was invited to play during the halftime of a football/soccer match in Barcelona: "in deference to the public, the band decided to perform the Spanish national anthem and went into the *Marcha real* only to find, to their bewilderment, that the crowd started to whistle and shout unanimously, completely drowning out the music."[468] That evening, the Primo de Rivera dictatorship responded to the insult, jailing some football protestors and beginning a series of sanctions and repressions against Football Club Barcelona (F.C. Barcelona), who hosted the match.[469] Although F. C. Barcelona was forced to shutter for six months, the repression of the team only bolstered the fans, who contributed to defense funds and to help the club pay off the steep fines leveled against it. Ultimately, the Primo de Rivera dictatorship's actions against the club "merely served to strengthen the bond between F.C. Barcelona and Catalan nationalism."[470] Supporting F.C. Barcelona in sporting events would become a front for Catalan nationalism during the Franco regime as well, where supporting F.C. Barcelona against Real Madrid allowed the fans to relitigate the Spanish Civil War, expressing their political frustrations and grief through sport.

Political protests were illegal under the Franco regime, although they did occur. Due to the danger of formally organizing protests, however, events under Franco were more likely a small show of resistance that "spontaneously developed into a significant political protest."[471] The most famous is the March 1951 tram strike. The authorities had increased the tram fare in Barcelona but not Madrid, angering riders and leading to a boycott.[472] Eager to break the boycott, the Guardia Civil used a heavily attended football game at Barcelona's stadium Camp Nou to their advantage: it was raining heavily, and fans would surely climb into the line of empty trams that the Guardia had gathered outside, ready to take them home after the game. Instead, the fans engaged in spontaneous resistance, opting as a group to walk home in the downpour and leaving the trams empty. Eventually, fares were again lowered. The boycott had worked. By the end of the Franco regime, protests were more common, especially by university students.[473] As seen in chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation, student protests were both large-scale street protests and more targeted to Catalan politicians.

The Diades

The September 11 date of Catalonia's national day references the fall of the city of Barcelona in 1714 during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), leading to the rise of the powerful Bourbon monarchy, which repressed Catalan identity, culture, language, and political power. The War of Spanish Succession, as its name suggests, was fought over the Spanish throne after Charles II died heirless. The war, which encompassed much of Western Europe and its overseas colonies, pitted the Austrian Habsburg monarchy against the French Bourbon monarchy. The Spanish crown's territories were divided in their allegiances: Catalonia supported the Hapsburg cause, while much of the rest of Spain championed that of the Bourbons. On July 25, 1713, the Bourbon army laid siege to Barcelona, which resisted until September 11, 1714.

Once in full control of the Catalan region, the Bourbon King Philip V imposed a set of restrictions on Catalonia, limiting the Catalan language, culture, and other national aspects.[474] As punishment for Catalonia joining the Haspburg cause during the war, Philip V "ended the Catalan state and the secular mechanics of political participation, substituting them for an absolutist government…a pyramid structure controlled by the military during the entire 18th century."[475]

The history of the *Diada* formally begins with the Catalan *renaixança* during which economic prosperity allowed for investment in Catalan literature and cultural identity, creating the groundwork for a Catalan Nation State.[476] On September 11, 1886, the Catalan cultural group Centre Català sponsored a mass in honor of the Catalan martyrs of 1714 at the Basilica of Santa Maria del Mar on September 11.[477] The graves of soldiers fallen during the siege rest in a cemetery along the eastern wall of the Basilica offering a spatial connection and significance to the site.[478] This mass subsequently became a yearly event.[479]

Two years later, in 1888, the *Diada* became even more central to Barcelona's cityscape. Barcelona hosted the World's Exposition at the large Parc de la Ciutadella (Citadel Park), and built an Arc de Triomf (a triumphant arch) as "the gateway to the modern Barcelona of the late 19th century,"[480] welcoming a new era of Catalan cultural expression through the economic boom of the *Renaixança*. Three hundred meters from the Arc a statue of Rafael Casanovas, the commander in chief of the Catalan forces during the Siege of Barcelona in 1714, was installed. This statue became the gathering point for the first celebrations of the *Diada* as a secular march that began at the statue and continue of through the city.[481] In 1894, the Catalan government formally took part in the event for the first time, placing a wreath at the gravesite by the Basilica de Santa Maria del Mar and aligning the Catalan regional government with the Catalan nation

espoused by the *Diada* celebrations. During this period of economic boom and Catalan cultural and political identity development, September 11, 1714 was solidified as the moment to which all *Diades* would look back. When the ANC began organizing the *Diades* from 2012 on, they continued an event begun in the nineteenth century during the onset of Catalan exceptionalism and the construction of a modern Barcelona.[482]

The *Diada* continued in its 19th Century form well into the twentieth century, when the Primo de Rivera (1920-1923) and Franco (1939-1975) dictatorships promptly banned the celebration during their term, imbuing the events with further meaning as a point of resistance against Spanish oppression. Yet, the site of the statue of Rafael Casanovas "continued to be a magnet for illegal Catalanist activity."[483] Since its banning in 1939, the *Diada* was not held again until September 11, 1976, ten months after Franco's death and at the beginning of the Spanish Transition. At this point, the transitional government refused to allow the *Diada* procession to occur in Barcelona. Still under the influence of Franco ministers, the government was concerned that a *Diada* in Barcelona would attract a large crowd. Intending to lower the number of attendees, the government moved the celebrations to the nearby town of Sant Boi de Llobregat. The strategy backfired, inspiring many people to attend the *Diada* as an act of defiance and leading to an impressively large demonstration. From 1977 on, the *Diada* returned to Barcelona, held yearly at the statue of Rafael Casanovas, although other commemorations are common throughout Catalonia on that day.

Between 1978 and 2012, the *Diades* continued as a yearly tradition, involving small gatherings of government officials and Catalan activists who marked the occasion by placing wreaths and holding a procession through the city. Democratic governance and economic stability undercut the grievances attached to the *Diada*, making the event something that, as ANC

members themselves claimed, was for "only the fanatics."[484] Since the taking over the event in 2012, the ANC has instead used it to popularize the independence project. Incited by the 2008 economic crisis, which hit the Spanish economy particularly hard, frustrations between the Spanish government and Catalonia grew again. Relationships further deteriorated in 2010, when the Spanish Supreme Court adjusted the Catalan Autonomous Agreement, a legal document that delineates Catalonia's regional rights in the Spanish constitution. The 2010 judgement curtailed Catalan autonomy regarding linguistic rights as well as judicial and fiscal policy. According to the ANC, "Catalonia as a 'nation' was stole [*sic*] of any legal meaning"[485] by "ten judges behind closed doors."[486] The anger within Catalonia at this new judgement propelled the creation of the ANC, which then took over organizing the *Diada* as an explicit demonstration for Catalan independence from Spain.

Through the performance genealogy that have since developed, the ANC imbues the contemporary struggle for Catalan independence with the historical resentment of three centuries of Spanish repressions and places a mass grave from the War of Spanish Succession at the core of Catalan independence. The ANC consistently emphasizes the genealogy of the *Diada*, collapsing the 1714 siege and everything in between with their own contemporary struggle. Throughout its website, the ANC uses language such as "Catalonia has repeatedly tried to find common ground with Spain *since in 1714* [*sic*] lost its rights" and "*since 1714*, the yearning to recover Catalonia's self-government is a struggle shared between the majority of the citizens of the country,"[487] implying that the political problems between Spain and Catalonia have remained unresolved since 1714. The ANC uses the *Diades* to imply that Catalan secession has been a common goal since 1714. Regardless of the argument as to whether a "nation-state" was a concept that could be understood in 1714, though, the first *Diades* were held in 1888, over a

century and a half after the siege itself. However, by focusing on the siege of 1714, the ANC emphasizes the martyrs laid to rest at the mass grave El Fossar de les Moreres by the Basilica of Santa Maria del Mar. This mass grave functions similarly to that of Lluís Companys, discussed in the previous chapter. As Spanish scholar Jenifer Duprey argues, "the grave becomes a home that also becomes a place for memory, as time is stored there too."[488] The ANC collapses time to conflate the wish for Catalan independence with honoring the dead from the Siege of Barcelona, as if both were fighting the same cause. As Joan Ramon Resina further argues, honoring the dead keeps culture, history, and genealogy alive.[489] One part of the Franco regime's suppressive policies was to prevent the mourning and honoring of the dead—not only the dead from 1714 but also those who died during the Spanish Civil War and as a consequence of Franco's own regime.[490] Under this framework, carrying out the *Diada* in the 2010s becomes a way to honor the efforts of the 1714 fighters, and to render Catalan independence as the purpose of the *Diada* well before the first commemorations were held in 1886 and 1888.

The ANC further links the *Diades* to 1714 through emotive performances within the crowds themselves. The ANC *Diades* begin at around four in the afternoon by gathering the crowds at the protest site. At the hour and minute 17:14, or 5:14 pm, the ANC schedules the protestors to sing the Catalan National Anthem "Els Segadors" (The Reapers). The crowd, which usually numbers over a million,[491] fills the streets of Barcelona with the song, engaging in a moment "collective connectivity" that unites the crowds at a kinesthetic level: each protestor in the crowd knows that all other individuals are doing the same action at the same time.[492] When I attended in 2017, I experienced the singing of the anthem. Although I could not possibly see the entire protest, which spanned over 1.5 kilometers, or be sure that all estimated 1.2 million protestors were singing in unison, the effect was overwhelming as people sang through all three

verses of the national anthem, some choosing to hold up flags or their fists in solidarity. Once finished, the crowd broke out into cheers and chants of "Visca Catalunya Lliure" (Long live a free Catalonia). Then, as the chants died down, the connection dissipated and people returned to chatting with their neighbors within the crowd. The 17:14 pm singing of the national anthem is replicated at every ANC *Diada*, meaning that the protest begins with a moment of collective connectivity that unites protesters over great distances, 1.5 kilometers in the 2017 *Diada* and up to 400 kilometers in the 2013 *Diada.*

Regardless of who organizes them, the *Diades* have a history that extends back multiple centuries, during which Catalonia experienced various periods of cultural and political repression. The ANC have directly linked the *Diades* to their contemporary push for Catalan independence, giving a reason for the protest that extends beyond debates over taxes and economic agreements and back to the broader idea of an independent Catalan state. By reminding of the past, the ANC increases the stakes of the *Diades*, transforming the Catalan independence movement they campaign for into a longer term and more extensive fight, a historical debate between Spain and Catalonia.

Section 2: Structure, Rehearsal, Performance, Reception

The ANC creates enormous *Diada* protests in part to present the Catalonia as a nation to the world, hoping to gain internal and international support for Catalan independence. Rather than simply forming a large and indistinguishable crowd, the ANC works with the *Diada* protesters to create a community of individual protestors actively engaging together towards Catalan independence. The ANC then works with media broadcasters to provide access to photographers and journalists, allowing for videos and images of each year's *Diada* to be shared across the world through social media and news broadcasts. I argue that in these images and

videos, the ANC is proving the attainability of the Catalan Nation. In gathering over a million of protestors to enact shared choreography in front of so many cameras, the ANC is creating Benedict Anderson's "experience of simultaneity" in the streets of Catalonia.[493]

Just as Anderson describes, the power of the nation exists as a state-of-mind, where individuals presume all other individuals of a nation to share in the same set of rituals and norms, which he describes as an "image of their communion."[494] In the midst of the *Diada* crowd, as individuals unite in protest choreography and song, they embody Anderson's communion, coming together in ritual to confirm their Catalan nationhood. What the ANC creates through media and images of the *Diades* is the imagined become real. Through quantifying the number of demonstrators and broadcasting films of their engagement with protest choreography, the ANC can show the Catalan Nation as an orderly and structured nation ready to take the next step towards secession. The *Diada* seeks to do away with the rhetorical question of if the Catalan nation exists at all: they are all together on the street, at a single time and performing the same choreographed act of protest.

The ANC *Diada* is successful by the ANC's own strandards only if it is seen and understood by as many people outside of Catalonia as possible. Eschewing the more abstract symbolism of the theatre productions discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, and being more overt than the Olympic ceremony discussed in Chapter 3, the ANC purposefully uses the *Diada*'s choreography and design to create material proof of the will for independence. As political scientist Shirin M Rai argues, "the materiality of performance allows us to reflect upon its power,"[495] leading to new questions and analytical possibilities. Through the *Diades,* the ANC lobbies for the Catalan independence, claiming a popular mandate even though Catalan independence sentiment, since 2008, polls around only fifty percent of the Catalan population.[496]

However, the ANC hopes to emphasize the fervor of Catalan independence protestors, so that the Spanish Government cannot possibly impede a will for independence that is recognized regionally, nationally, and globally.[497]

Since 2012, the ANC has experimented with different types of *Diada* protests, adjusting the location and choreography to create different and interesting events. The first ANC organized *Diada* was in 2012, as a traditional march through Barcelona. However, as the unexpectedly large number of protestors overwhelmed the city's streets, the march became a standing protest.[498] Confident that they had enough supporters, for the 2013 *Diada* the ANC carried out a human chain traversing across Catalonia from north to south, about 400 kilometers in total. The 2014 *Diada* returned to Barcelona, with the crowd creating a human mosaic of the Senyera, or a Catalan independence flag.[499] The 2015 *Diada* took place outside of the Catalan parliament in Barcelona, with the crowd using pieces of cardstock to create symbolic bands of color to visually represent the characteristics of the Catalan Nation. After two Barcelona protests, the 2016 *Diada* split the protest between Catalonia's five major regions, hosting a march in Barcelona, Tarragona, Berga, Salt, and Lleida. Three weeks before the Catalan Referendum, the 2017 *Diada* had protestors create a plus sign (+) in the streets of Barcelona. Protestors were to arrive in multi-colored shirts and as the protest began, change into a yellow shirt, creating the visual illusion of the crowd coming together and uniting behind the referendum. Each of these *Diades* were developed through a series of organizational meetings and processes. Next, I examine how the ANC develops these themes, choreography, rehearsals, and performance elements. As the ANC builds up the *Diada* around a unifying idea, teaching the choreography and carrying out the performance brings together diverse protestors into becoming a single community. The power of the ANC *Diades* lies in how the ANC cultivates a connectivity between its supporters. Among

the crowd, the connectivity allows each protestor to feel like an active participant in constructing the new Catalan Nation. That enthusiasm is then performed on an international stage, as Catalonia takes form.

Themes

Like the Catalan Nation they hope to build, the ANC develops the *Diades* from the basis of a democratic and transparent process.[500] Discussions with ANC leadership as well as their members reveals how the development process behind each *Diada* prioritizes the same community they seek to create through secession. Hence, the images of the *Diades* displayed all over the world are not only of the Catalan Nation, but a Catalan nation built upon ideas of democracy and republicanism, at odds with Spain's current constitutional monarchy.

Since 2017, the ANC has created a yearly Mobilization Commission from its National Secretariat which, in turn, crowd-sources themes and ideas for the up-coming *Diada*. Starting in about April of each year, the process begins a new *Diada* that will be neutral, accessible, and agreeable among the ANC's diverse members and concerns. 501 The process begins with a general survey, where any member of the ANC can propose possible themes or slogans to the Mobilization Commission.[502] To determine which options are most suitable to the current moment, the Mobilization Commission works with the Political Incident Commission[503] that monitors Catalan politics and popular sentiment to determine the narrative of the upcoming protest. Once these two Commissions have determined the slogan, they begin working with the Communications Commission[504] and the Economic Commission[505] to design a logo and an official shirt for the *Diada*. The commissions then present their proposal to the ANC's National Secretariat, with a theme, slogan, and graphic design for the *Diada*.[506] The members of the National Secretariat then vote on the proposal.[507] The *Diada* information is then presented

through a series of press releases in each of Catalonia's regions. The work now shifts to each Territorial Assembly, who will carry out tasks like reserving public space to hold the protest or arranging transportation to the *Diada* location as might be required from each Catalan region. The ANC slogan selection process is purposefully complex, meant to go through multiple commissions, groups, and individuals for stamping and approval. In so doing, the slogan becomes universal to the entire ANC: although a smaller group of people need to develop it, the many commissions and steps keep the event coming from the organizational whole. From a single suggestion, it grows into a shared narrative.

The slogan for each year's *Diada* must fulfill a large range of political and social viewpoints. Each slogan helps differentiates the *Diada* protest from year to year, promote an optimistic view of the independence movement, and stays neutral on specific political platforms to appeal to diverse justifications for independence.[508] From 2012 to 2017 (the year of the Catalan referendum), the slogans are as follows:[509]

Year	Slogan (Catalan)	Slogan (English Translation)
2012	Catalunya, nou estat d'Europa	Catalonia, New European State
2013	Via Catalana cap a la Independència	Catalan Path Towards Independence
2014	Ara és l'hora	Now is the Time
2015	Via Lliure a la República Catalana	Free Path to the Catalan Republic
2016	A Punt per a la República	On Point for the Republic
2017	La Diada del Sí	The Diada for Yes

The development and selection of each year's themes directly informs the type of *Diada*. For example, the ANC members and committee organized the 2014 *Diada* as a run-up to the ultimately frustrated November 9, 2014 referendum. Similarly, the 2017 *Diada* slogan riffed off the yes/no options on the referendum ballot for the larger referendum held on October 1 2017, which I discuss in the epilogue.[510] In these two years, the *Diada* sought to unify an independence vote, and the slogans reflect the immediacy of the upcoming vote. Meanwhile, the 2012, 2013, 2015, and 2016 slogans speak to a general sense of independence and imply what the protest

itself will look like. For example, the 2015 protest took place in the avenue leading up to the Catalan Parliament, literally demarcating that the "free path" towards Catalan independence lay in the Catalan government. Meanwhile, the 2016 protest was split among five Catalan cities, taking advantage of the double meaning of "punt," that can signify both readiness but also points (of gathering, in this case). The slogans not only differentiate each year's protest from each other, but they also give an indication of a forward moving independence process enacted by the protestors themselves.

From conception, each ANC protest is designed to appeal to a broad definition of Catalan independence. Metaphors and symbols become an important way for the ANC to inspire attendees, relating the protest to each year's events but also to a longer history of Catalan autonomy and independence. Ultimately, the ANC slogan is designed as universal to connect a broad range of attendees together. The ANC's emphasis on collectivity continues during the choreography and rehearsal process of each year's protest.

Choreography

Once the themes and slogans are determined, the ANC process shifts to develop a choreography that will form part of the repertoire of protest behavior of their participants. This choreography is an easily accomplished action, such as holding up a piece of cardstock or forming a human chain that keeps protestors actively engaged in the *Diada* while also unifying the millions of attendees into a single, coordinated movement that can define the *Diada* for both the news media and the protestors themselves. Through this small movement replicated over millions of protestors, the Catalan Nation shifts from an imagined and abstract concept to a real thing, present for all to see on the streets of Barcelona—and documented by the ANC and news media broadcasts.

The Mobilization Committee designs its choreography to be easily accomplished by its large protest base while simultaneously being large enough to be visible by others, such as the examples of the 2014, 2015, and 2017 *Diades,* which used simple choreography with colored shirts and cardstock to create visually arresting images and symbolic action. In 2014, the *Diada* was organized at the intersection of two of Barcelona's main avenues, where the 1.8 million protesters that year formed a V shape, representing both the letter "V" (for victory and voting) as well as an arrow pointing the way forward towards independence. Protestors arrived in a red, yellow, white, or blue shirts and arranged themselves in rows of colors, creating a sort of mosaic of the Catalan independence flag out of their bodies.[511] The 2015 *Diada* organized all the protesters down the large thoroughfare Avinguda Meridiana that leads directly to the Catalan Parliament. Protesters packed into the avenue, forming ten different sections. At 17:14 local time the protesters "staged a vote in favor of independence by holding up millions of sheets of colored cardstock," with ten different rows of colors that represented ten primary reasons for which Catalonia should seek independence.[512] The 2017 *Diada* combined the small movements of the 2014 and 2015 *Diades*. The protesters formed a + formation using two major streets, Passeig de Sant Joan and Carrer d'Aragó. The individuals arrived to the *Diada* in different colored shirts, meant to represent the myriad reasons an individual may want independence from Spain. As a large banner with an image of a ballot box passed over the crowd, attendees changed from their multicolored shirts to a single neon-yellow shirt, transforming from a diverse group of people into a homogenous call for independence.[513] The videos and images of the *Diada* showed the crowds unifying in real time. In 2014, 2015, 2017, and at the other *Diades*, these moments of simple choreography had an enormous impact as millions of individuals worked together in unified action.

These actions protests are designed to be photographed by helicopters and drones, the ANC's choreography also allows each individual protestor to feel engaged and an active member of the movement towards independence. The emphasis on the democratic process initiated by the development of the *Diada* is carried forward in the protest itself, where individuals must show up and actively participate. As Susan Foster argues, when people gather in protest they "fathom injustice, organize to protest, craft a tactic, and engage in action, these bodies read what is happening and articulate their imaginative rebuttal."[514] She argues that bodies in protests are not passive members of the crowd, or as she puts it "the meat that carries around the subject,"[515] but individuals who actively read the situation around them, adjusting their individual actions to work with those alongside them. On the ground of the *Diada*, individual protestors work with each other, placing themselves according to the movements of others to carry out the overall choreography, and engaging together in the process. During my participation in the 2017 *Diada*, for example, I not only spoke with those around me about various topics (the weather, previous *Diades*, recent current events), but I also explained the choreography to those around me who were unsure about the gestures they were meant to carry out. Although the *Diada* is made up of millions who cannot possibly know each individual member of the protest, the common goal of Catalan independence through carrying out the ANC's choreography gives a general sense of shared identity. Through these interactions and choreographies, when the *Diada* protestor hold up cardstock or change their shirts, they are choosing in that moment to "stage the vote,"[516] tangibly showing their support for Catalan independence alongside others who, together, could form a real and independent Catalan Nation.

Rehearsals

To further ensure that the *Diada* protesters carry out their choreography effectively, the ANC organizes rehearsals throughout Catalonia. Taking advantage of the August festival season, when towns and neighborhoods host annual community parties, the ANC coordinates concurrent rehearsal opportunities for the *Diada*. (If the local government is led by independence-seeking political parties, the ANC rehearsals can be officially integrated with the community party. If not, the event is held in parallel, to engage people attending the community event without being formally linked to it.) Baz Kershaw argues that there is a "'volcanic view' of protest…[that] tends to assume that disruptive events are the irrepressible blowout of a vast and usually invisible mass of turbulent socio-political behavior."[517] Using examples from the former Soviet Bloc from 1968 to 1989, Kershaw argues that protests are often perceived and portrayed as suddenly erupting without a clear plan, buoyed into fruition by pure enthusiasm and emotion, always at risk of spinning out of control and leading to tragedy. This misconception of protests, Kershaw further argues, has promoted the idea of protests as chance encounters rather than events carefully planned and executed by grass-roots movements and suppressed political parties.[518] During rehearsals for each *Diada*, the ANC stages a small-scale protest, walking participants through the choreography for the event. Through the many rehearsals carried out throughout the region, the ANC educates protestors on the agreed upon manifestation of the Catalan Nation as it will appear that year to ensure a smooth *Diada* that will appear polished for those attending and filming the event.

I attended a rehearsal at 5pm on August 15, 2017 held at the Plaça d'En Joanic in the northern part of the Gràcia neighborhood. As the local government was in support of the ANC, it agreed to close the street Carrer Pi i Maragall, meaning that even at the peak of rush hour,

protestors could gather on the street itself. ANC representatives used a bullhorn to explain the choreography to the crowd. We would all gather in different colored shirts, representing our different reasons for gathering for this protest. Volunteers would march a large banner over the crowd, temporarily hiding us and giving us time to change into the official, neon yellow shirt. From a bird's eye view—the angle from which most cameras would be capturing the events—the effect would be of a crowd of disparate individuals homogenizing into a single color as large banners emblazoned with ballot boxes moved through the crowds. The group began to huddle together into a long rectangle. Since the crowd was relatively small (I estimated about 50 to 70 people attending), we quickly formed neatly organized rows, with spacing left for the individuals holding the banner to travel through. The ANC representative with the bullhorn announced that the banner would begin moving down the line of people, coming from behind us. As the volunteers carried the banner down, those attendees with shirts changed into them, most just putting the shirt over their other clothes. Some, however, had not yet bought the shirt and instead stood there, sheepishly, in their everyday clothing. After a thirty minutes rehearsal we received a reminder of what we had done and why. The purpose for the banner and shirt-changing was emphasized. The ANC representative told us about ways we could help the ANC: donate, buy merchandise, volunteer, and tell others. Then the crowd began dispersing, each headed back into their regular lives.

By rehearsing the protest, the ANC not only teaches new choreography to add to the repertoire of protest behavior, but also emphasizes the nature of the *Diada* as an amicable and peaceful gathering of like-minded individuals. A video-taped rehearsal of the 2013 *Diada* focuses on the community coming together with families, friends, neighbors, and total strangers.[519] The rehearsal, now part of the ANC's official YouTube channel, took place on July

21 2013 in Santa Coloma de Farners in north-east Catalonia. This gathering rehearsed ANC's human chain, which was planned to span the 400 kilometers from the Catalan border with France to the Catalan border with Valencia. In the video, the people rehearsing the human chain are not in official ANC shirts, and there are few flags or political symbols visible. The video attests to a convivial and friendly atmosphere, as family groups of grandparents, parents, children (some in strollers, others dribbling soccer balls), and several family dogs all form part of the chain. As Elizabeth W. Son argues in the context of political protests in South Korea, intergenerational bonds and solidarity are "nurtured" in these kinds of events, uniting generations into a single cause.[520] The video's overlaid rock song *Seguirem Lluitant* (We Will Keep Fighting) by the Catalan group Els Catarres further emphasizes these family continuities, singing:

> We will keep moving forward,
> we will keep fighting
> For today and for tomorrow
> For those who are not yet born
> Until we are victorious.[521]

The video ends with a panoramic shot of the sixty to eighty attendees singing the Catalan national anthem, many with their fists in the air. Although part of the ANC's Youtube Channel, the video lacks any signs of professional videography: the sound is superimposed, and the images are blurred or poorly lit. It is the only amateur video among the ANC's collection of videos from their assemblies and meetings, as well as press released about each *Diada*. The amateur nature of the video paired with the video's focus on family units coming together to rehearse the upcoming *Diada* furthers the ANC's depiction of Catalan independence being a widely shared sentiment among the Catalan population—regardless of what poll numbers might indicate.

Not everybody can attend an ANC rehearsal, however. Taking advantage of the high prevalence of social media apps like Whatsapp and Telegram, the ANC authors paragraph-long

messages explaining when and where the protest will take place, what protesters should do on the day, and the intended effect. The messages are interlaid with emojis, so that the crowds are represented both by running people emojis (hurry to the protest! Don't miss out!) and by emojis showing family units (children, the elderly, everybody is welcome!), while clock faces, buildings, yellow hearts, and other emojis further punctuate the information. These messages are widely shared among group conversations: I personally received the ANC message five times from different group conversations forwarding on the message. The ANC intentionally crafts and sends out these amusing and emoji-filled messages with instructions for the protest, knowing that the message will be shared time and time again between protesters. For those who have missed the rehearsals, these messages, usually coming from friends and family members, let them learn the choreography and participate in the protest. This means that many protesters on September 11 are actively engaging in the ANC protest, aware of the choreography, the stakes, and what message they are replicating alongside their friends, families, and wider community.

By ensuring that protestors are well versed in that year's slogan and choreography, the ANC can communicate a clear message on the *Diada*, providing consistent calls for Catalan independence across media outlets and platforms. The ANC is careful about what kinds of messages it puts out. The group itself is at the intersection of various political parties with different views of what an independent state might look like; the ANC supports no specific view of Catalan secession other than a republic independent from the Spanish nation-state.[522] Simultaneously, the ANC is sensitive to counter-arguments by the Spanish government that the ANC is not representative of most Catalans. The ANC has a vested interest in ensuring that their organization and protests are perceived as calm, peaceful, and civic to counterbalance accusations of being political troublemakers and dangers to the public good.[523] How the *Diades*

are organized and rehearsed ensures that the ANC can put forward a curated image of a united and calm Catalan Nation, ready to take on the challenge of independence and ready to form a peaceful Catalan nation-state.

Performance

I attended and participated in the 2017 ANC *Diada*, noting how the convivial atmosphere of the protest suggested Catalan secession as a wide-spread and common sentiment, encompassing all generations. I spent my day visiting different neighborhoods of Barcelona, getting a sense of the city and its overall atmosphere on September 11, before attending the afternoon protest. I took part in and witnessed commemorative and remembrance events as well as public performances like concerts and other cultural events. The city was packed with Barcelona's citizens and with people who had traveled from all over the region to join the day's events. There were a few points of tension, however. Less than a month before, on August 17, 2017, several coordinated terrorist attacks had taken place in Catalonia, with the main attack taking place on Barcelona's pedestrian mall of Les Rambles. In total, a cell of 5 terrorists killed 16 civilians and injuring over 130 more in Barcelona and the town of Cambrils. Despite this and the increased police presence, the atmosphere in Barcelona was calm even as I passed the piles of flowers and wreaths memorializing the victims of the attack. My experience of the day took me to el Fossar de les Moreres during the morning commemoration and laying of wreaths as well as to El Born, a museum and art gallery that commemorates Barcelona before the siege of 1714, outside of which the beheaded statue of Franco that began this dissertation was installed in 2016. The seriousness of the commemorative events of the Siege of Barcelona contrasted with the more festive atmosphere of gatherings in the areas nearby. The traditional *plaças* were full of children playing, with groups of friends and families frequenting nearby bars and restaurants.

Small, outdoor concerts were also common, mostly organized in conjunction with the political events, which gave the day an atmosphere of block parties and festive gatherings. As at the rehearsals, family groups were notable, with families and friends meeting up for the holiday.

The convivial atmosphere continued into the evening and into the protest itself. Amid a sea of people wearing similar shirts and engaging in the same action, conversations and small talk came easily, quite the contrast to the previous weeks of rising tensions. In the aftermath of the August 17 attack, disagreements between Catalan and Spanish police forces and government offices further stoked tensions as the Catalan Independence Referendum loomed. I noticed that my family, friends, and interview subjects in Barcelona, and people throughout Catalonia were more reserved, sometimes even unwilling to speak about social or political topics for fear that someone might overhear and begin an argument about political convictions, independence, Catalan autonomy, and a myriad of other potential frustrations. My interview subjects, especially within ANC leadership, cancelled some follow-up interviews. Yet, on September 11, as the sun shone and people gathered, this tension seemed to evaporate. The city streets were safe from further attack and people were confident that here, their neighbors were like-minded. People relaxed, chatted, and routinely engaged with those around them as they overheard each other's conversations.

Chants and Songs

During the 2017 protest, I observed people having conversations with their neighbors, only to abruptly stop, join a collective chant or a song until it died down, and return to the conversation they were already having. The more popular chants included:

Catalan Chant	English Translation
Voti voti voti, Espanyol al qui no voti!*	Vote vote vote, whoever doesn't vote is Spanish!
On es Europa?*	Where is Europe?

Aquestas son les nostres armes!*	[While holding up ballot papers] These are our weapons!
Els carrers seran sempre nostres!	The streets will always be ours!
Volem volem volem, Volem l'independencia. Volem volem volem, Països Catalans.	We want, we want, we want, We want independence. We want, we want, we want, Catalan countries.[524]
I que vol aquesta tropa? Un nou Estat a Europa. I que vol aquesta gent? Catalunya independent.	And what does this troop want? A new state in Europe. And what does this troop want? An independent Catalonia.

*While the first three chants (marked by *) were specific to the upcoming referendum vote, the other chants were also part of the 2012-2017 ANC protests.*

These chants emphasize the connectivity among the crowds, who view themselves as a collective troop who share the same weapons (ballot papers) and spaces (the streets of Catalonia). They speak to the idealistic view that they might achieve the reconstruction of the Catalan countries, a medieval set of territories that expanded past the contemporary borders of the current Catalan region. These chants also betray the difficulty of gaining independence: the Catalan government would require the European Union or the aid of other major allies to be independent.

Flags, Banners, and Signs

At all the *Diades,* protestors also carry flags, banners, and other signs to communicate their desire for independence to Catalan, Spanish and international audiences.[525] Protesters bring their own banners and signs, from small, home-made placards to more elaborate and large emblems. While some are written in Catalan, it is also common to see signs written in other languages: English, to appeal to international audiences, and Spanish to send a message to the Spanish king or politicians. The English-language signs tend to be the most elaborate, seeking out the cameras of the international news media that will feature them in their coverage of the protests. One example depicts a set of white handcuffs and is emblazoned with the words "Spanish Democracy." Each ring of the handcuffs is about three to four feet in diameter,

requiring two people to hold up the sign, ensuring that the sign is big enough to be eye-catching. This handcuff sign has featured in several recent ANC *Diades*, as well as other protests relating to Catalan independence. Another sign used in 2017 showed a large ballot box with a ballot being submitted. On the box was written the phrase "Spain, is this what you're afraid of?". Through both their graphic design and text, these provocative signs communicate to outside audiences the wish for Catalan independence and the idea that Spain might be preventing the democratic process from occurring.

The protesters also communicate through a sea of flags. The most popular flags are the *estalades,* or the starred Catalan flag that specifies independence. During the ANC protest, *estalades* are also worn as capes or waved on hand-held flagpoles. During the 2014 protest, the protesters themselves were organized as an *estalada*, with the main stage from which political speeches were made creating the star and the crowds of protesters, wearing appropriate shirts, organized along up two of Barcelona's avenues in the alternating red and yellow bars of the Catalan flags. The *estalada* is also commonly seen hanging from people's balconies and apartment windows, a way for people to continue their protest year-round, visually marking the support for Catalan independence throughout Catalonia.

The Totality of the Catalan Nation?

The ANC *Diades* are enormous gatherings of people engaged in heartfelt expression of a political idea, engaging in "an experience of simultaneity" as they embody Anderson's imagined community on the streets of Barcelona, enacting Catalonia's existence as a nation and (as far as these protesters are concerned) to communicate its wish for independence to the world. Yet, it is worthwhile to consider which citizens make up this community. Citizenship itself is a complicated category, one defined by the state's "need to invent and contain its subject" within

its cultural and geographical borders.[526] In creating the *Diada* images, the ANC creates the perception of having gathered the entire Catalan nation together in one place, although the basic practicalities of demonstrations already inherently limit which individuals can attend. People of color often feel invisible within the large *Diada* crowd as well as within the Catalan independence movement itself, accusing it of tokenism and erasure.[527] As Black Catalan author Desirée Bela-Lobedde argues, the Catalan Nation promoted by the ANC "sees itself as a victim [of repression] and thus cannot itself be an oppressor."[528] Even anti-racism groups and associations in Catalonia are "traditionally very white."[529] As Catalan scholar Andrew Dowling agrees, the ANC's campaigns have steered clear of social justice issues to avoid in-party fighting, a marked contrast to similar movements in Europe such as the Scottish campaign for independence.[530]

Furthermore, not everyone can attend due to health reasons, caregiving obligations, living abroad, or even living in other parts of Spain that might make travel back logistically and financially difficult. Individuals who attend the ANC *Diades* but do not live in Barcelona need to travel to the city itself; ANC-organized travel for those outside Barcelona cannot accommodate all needs nor all communities. Travel aside, the ANC *Diades* are durational events: although the demonstration itself is only a few hours in the early evening, there are other celebrations held throughout the day within the city. It can be hard for individuals to attend durational events for several reasons. During the 2017 *Diada*, an individual with a disability explained that the gathering in an outside location without accommodations such as seating or shade makes it difficult to attend, and the large crowd can be frightening to navigate.[531]

The ANC is aware of the critiques from potential allies seeks to accommodate new approaches and adjustments year-to-year.[532] For example, complaints that the ANC *Diades* put

too much emphasis on Barcelona to the detriment of the greater Catalan region led to the 2016 demonstration, in which the protest split into gatherings in Catalonia's five major cities (Barcelona, Berga, Lleida, Salt, and Tarragona). However, the impact of the *Diada* was lessened, especially for the international press who was not prepared for or interested in smaller demonstrations in multiple places.[533] For those attending the 2016 *Diada,* the smaller crowds also made the even feel less emotional, with fewer people being together in the same space, the moments of connectivity so impressive during other *Diades* were lackluster.[534] Finally, the success of early *Diades* has left the ANC in a bind: "the stunning success of past demonstrations has raised the bar so high that anything short of hundreds of thousands of protesters can be seen as a political defeat."[535] As the ANC has defined the *Diades* as the barometer for Catalan independence, any faltering within the *Diades* can imply that the Catalan nation is weak, faltering, or simply does not exist.

Ultimately, the ANC promotes the concept of an independent Catalonia, keeping their coalition as broad as possible by leaving the definition of independence as broad to attract as many people as possible to their cause. According to the *Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió* or Center for Opinion Studies, a department of Catalan government in charge of opinion polls, about half of the population supports Catalan independence, although with some fluctuation.[536] The slight decrease in independence sentiment can be related to a variety of issues, including the poorly carried out 2014 independence referendum and frustrations with the Catalan government at the time.

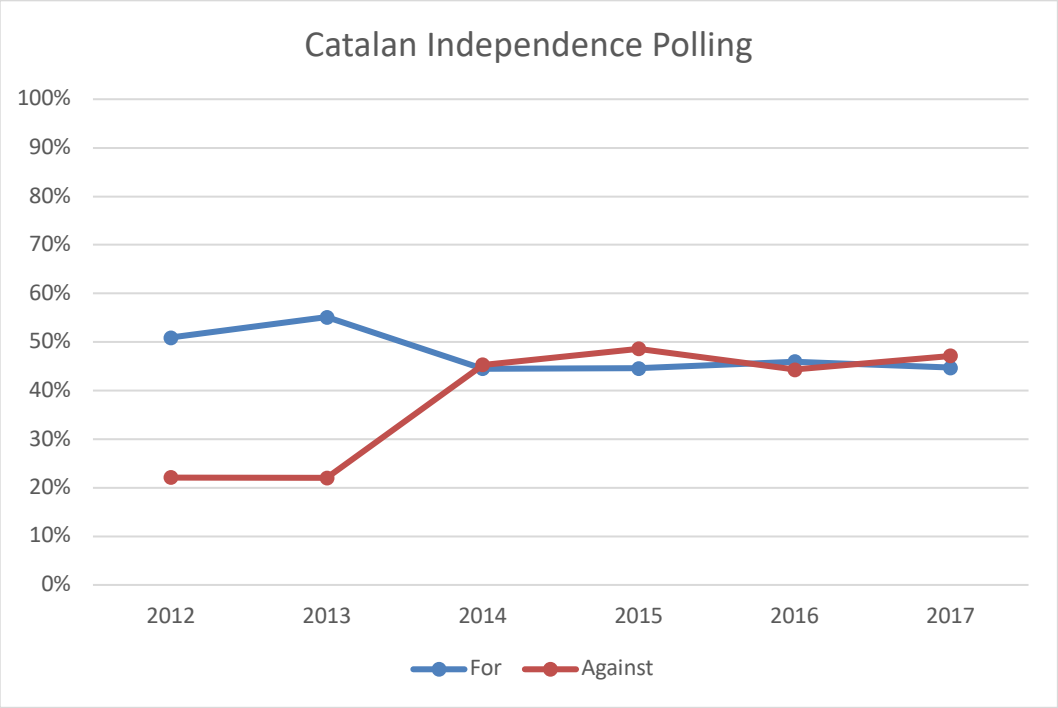

Figure 2: Catalan Independence Polling during the 2012-2017 *Diades.*
Source: Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, see Appendix B.

Also interesting is the significant increase of respondents against independence. Partly this is due to a methodological change: in 2012 and 2013, respondents were allowed to abstain. It is also possible that the wish to remain within the Spanish nation-state would have become clearer as the Catalan secession movement led by the ANC became more visible in the street and through news media. Either way, polls consistently show that the Catalan population is split between what its future should look like.

Beginning in 2012, the ANC has developed the *Diada* as an international call for Catalan independence from Spain. Utilizing the day's historical context as a celebration for Catalan cultural identity, the ANC has modernized the event into expressing a specific political perspective, albeit a simplified one. The ANC *Diades* follow a script, from their organization through the ANC's democratic system to their deployment on September 11th each year, creating

a performance of the Catalan nation that unites protestors into a community while emphasizing its validity to external observers.

Conclusion

The *Diades* are another case study in this dissertation's umbrella of choreographed protests. After Foster's influential theorizing of the kinesthetic relationship created by protesting bodies, I have examined protests, demonstrations, and other public forms of defiance through the lens of performance. Within these cases, the *Diades* stand out for their ability to choreograph a simple action that is then performed by over a million individuals gathered in front of international news cameras. The sheer scale of the *Diades* requires its organizing body to create capacious understandings of what the protest stands for, while also connecting the protestors to each other over the course of the *Diades* as well as the historical battles between Catalonia and Spain.

In the run-up to the 2017 Referendum, the ANC broadcast a new advertisement, showing people putting their Catalan independence *estellades* flags and t-shirts from the different *Diades* away into dresser drawers. The advertisement promised that, should independence come to pass, the ANC *Diades* would no longer be necessary. People could stop protesting frequently in massive numbers on the streets of Barcelona and start living as ordinary citizens of a new Catalan nation state. The idealistic advertisement speaks to how the ANC presents its followers: everyday, otherwise apolitical people who simply seek independence. The undefined nature of the Catalan nation state as presented by the ANC is so broad that almost any viewpoint stands within it, and all that is required to bring it about is a split from Spain. This capacious understanding is what allows the ANC to enlist as many bodies as possible in its choreography and the *Diades* year after year.

When I interviewed members of the Mobilization Commission, they chafed at my use of a theatrical lens to analyze the *Diades*. Although each year they ask for specific movements and clothing from protestors, they thought calling the *Diada* a performance or using theatrical vocabulary (choreography, blocking, costuming, et.al) diminished the deep-felt wish for independence their protestors feel and show each year at the *Diada*. The ANC *Diades* are not theatre, they argued, but a populace expressing themselves. Yet, the ANC members came from theatrical and performance backgrounds, working as stage managers or sound and lighting technicians for some of Barcelona's larger arenas hosting globally renowned acts such as Rihanna, Beyoncé, and Shakira. Although there is no doubt that individuals who attend the *Diada* year after year to carry out new choreography are engaging with and support the Catalan Independence Movement, the strategy of the ANC is to create large, visually appealing performances to prove to the world that the Catalan nation state already exists and deserves the legal framework to be truly independent. Meanwhile, participants get to participate in an annual event at which they engage in a shared movements and actions that brings them closer to independence. The ANC *Diades* provide a consistent space for political speech in favor of Catalan independence, a needed outlet considering that Spain has so far thwarted each attempt at declaring independence.

Shortly after the 2017 *Diada,* protestors showed their appetite for further action to secure for Catalan independence. During October 1, 2017, about half the Catalan population engaged in a referendum for Catalan independence, a vote that, ultimately, had no legal backing due to the Spanish government not recognizing the vote or giving access to the national voter rolls. Legality aside, voters attended polling stations and engaged in durational performances, creating similar kinds of community as during the *Diades.* In many ways, the *Diades* were a training ground for

how Catalan voters would behave during the referendum.

Epilogue—2017: Observing Civic Performance

Introduction

I experienced the Catalan referendum on October 1, 2017 as a whirlwind event: sleep-deprived, anxious, standing in the cold rain for hours at a time, trying with difficulty to stay in touch with my family and friends due to intermittent cell signal caused by surging demand. In this epilogue, I reflect on my observations of the performance strategies used to promote Catalan independence and identity during the Catalan Independence referendum on October 1, 2017. Due to my unique autoethnographic experience of the referendum in contrast with archival methods in earlier chapters, this epilogue takes a unique form. I interweave my own experience of the referendum in italics with my analysis of civic performances and the performance of memory during the preparations, the referendum itself, and its aftermath. Over the course of the day, I witnessed how voters adapted the protest choreography from the *Diades* discussed in Chapter 4 to respond both to media interest in the referendum in opposition to violent police intervention aimed at preventing the act of voting. I also experienced how pro-independence crowds enacted memories of trauma and resistance under the Franco regime to imagine the referendum as an act that bridged the past and future and acted as a long-delayed restitution.

On October 1, 2017, I accompanied my family members to three voting locations in Barcelona: el Centre Civic La Sedeta,[537] l'Escola Fructuós Gelabert,[538] and l'Escola Univers.[539] These polling stations were all located where the Gràcia neighborhood meets with the Sagrada Família neighborhood in central Barcelona. My paternal aunt and cousins, who are from Gràcia, voted at el Centre Civic La Sedeta and l'Escola Univers. My maternal grandmother, who has lived in the Sagrada Família neighborhood since 1951, voted at Escola Fructuós Gelabert. The referendum day and the weeks before and after were marked by discussions and correspondence

with family members, friends, archivists, and interviewees as they related their experiences of the referendum to me. Their stories and my own notes from the referendum day make up the bulk of this epilogue.

The Catalan government and grassroots organizations like the Assemblea Nacional Catalana, or National Assembly of Catalonia (ANC), called a referendum on independence from Spain, asking voters if they wanted Catalonia to form its own country in the form of a republic. The president of Catalonia, Carles Puigdemont, won a narrow election in 2015 on the promise that the region would host a legally binding referendum asking voters if they wanted Catalonia to form its own country in the form of a republic by September 2017.[540] The Spanish government insisted that such a referendum was illegal within the constraints of the Spanish Constitution which defines the Spanish nation-state as "insoluble," and accused the Catalan government of misusing public funds to hold an illegal election. On the day of the referendum, images and videos of police brutality quickly spread across social media and news websites. Instances of voters being tear gassed and dragged out of polling stations, as well as images of voters displaying bruises and welts caused by police were widespread. Yet, during the referendum day, voters all over Catalonia engaged in what I call "civic performances," that is behaviors, appearance, and rhetoric that emphasized their identities as law-abiding members of an advanced democracy. In other words, although voters in the Catalan referendum were participating in an allegedly illegal vote, their civic performances spoke to their investment in a democratic, legal, and civic system, thus legitimizing their actions. The referendum became a performance of what life in a Catalan nation-state might look like, with families and neighborhoods coming together to take part in a democratic process.

The Catalan Government and pro-independence activists groups, such as the ANC, inspired enthusiasm for the referendum by evoking "historical grievances referring to national institutions, fiscal inequity, and identity."[541] These arguments emphasize Catalans who fought on the Republican side; Catalan civilians who endured long bombing campaigns and hunger; Catalan soldiers and civilians who fled into France seeking refuge and languished in horrific conditions in overcrowded refugee camps; Catalans who were jailed and/or executed after the war; Catalans who preserved their culture and language alive during the Franco regime; and Catalans who engaged in resistance campaigns against the Franco regime. In their semiannual magazine, Òmnium Cultural—a civic association that works alongside the ANC to promote Catalan independence and the referendum—directly compares the Spanish government to Francoist repression, suggesting the two are the same.[542] They also created roundtable event and exhibitions such as *El so de les lluites*, or The Sound of Struggles, which discussed the role music played during seventy different moments of struggle for Catalonia, spanning from the successful 1951 tramway strike in Barcelona against the Franco regime to contemporary issues.[543] Engaging with the referendum and voting for independence was framed as actions that honored the past.[544] The Catalan government aimed to activate memories of resistance against Franco to improve turn-out and convince voters to support independence.

Section 1: Civic Performances

By the time my alarm went off at 4:30 am on October 1, 2017, I was already wide-awake in anticipation. It had been a long and sleepless night. I had a quick breakfast, dressed for the forecast chill and rain, and set off to Centre Civic La Sedeta with my aunt and cousin. Even though the vote was scheduled to begin at 9 am, we arrived at 5 am to join a growing crowd. The school courtyard was filled with teenagers and young people who had camped overnight at the polling location, their sleeping bags the only protection from the cold concrete. To the sides of the courtyard, under awnings, was a table stocked with water bottles, orange juice, and biscuits for the incoming voters. Everybody expected a long, arduous day.

In the face of threats from the Spanish government, Catalan voters' dramaturgy of electoral mundanity, or deliberately ordinary voting behavior, became an important tool to win support for the Catalan cause. Like civil rights campaigns, voters consciously behaved in a respectable manner: dressing in everyday, albeit nice, clothing; waiting patiently in queues; attending the event as family groups, often of multiple generations; responding to police interventions with tactics of nonviolent resistance. From what I observed, on the ground at La Sedeta, these civic performances began long before the voting did and permeated every element of referendum day.

Voters performed civic behaviors as if this referendum was the same as any other election, and as if they were attending the polls as regular citizens. As this referendum was illegal according to the Spanish Constitution, however, merely attending was a form of civil disobedience against the Spanish government. What I observed was that voters engaged in their dramaturgies of mundanity well before the voting began, and that these performances permeated every element of referendum day.

The emphasis on civic-minded voters began with the polling locations themselves. Voting locations are often public buildings that in some way serve the surrounding neighborhood, like city halls, public school buildings, or community centers. Hence, voting for independence—and the ensuing violent police intervention—occurred against a backdrop of children's drawings, educational material, and community outreach posters. Furthermore, great care was taken at polling locations to create a welcoming, caring, and clean atmosphere. As voters were asked to arrive from 5 am and some had even camped overnight, poll workers provided food and water for voters in their community. I witnessed voters carefully ensuring that no litter was left behind in the courtyard of La Sedeta, and that their tents and sleeping bags were

carefully put away and stored once voters began to gather. Even the restrooms, which were servicing more individuals than intended, were kept clean and orderly. This performance of conscientious and good citizenship was apparent at La Sedeta, and I heard similar accounts at other voting locations from friends and family.

One way to perform civic performances was to show deferential and kind treatment of all voters, regardless of political standing or personal circumstances. A video was widely shared on Twitter of a young man who wore around his waist a Spanish flag emblazoned with a bull, denoting his intention to vote against Catalan independence, being ushered through to vote first, avoiding the long queues outside. As he left the polling station, other voters applauded him, chanting "votarém" (we will vote!).[545] Waiting to vote also provided opportunities to perform care for other members of the community.[546] At the polling location Escola Gelabert, a woman in the early stages of labor was ushered to the front of the line to vote first. Although her partner was anxious, she insisted on voting and then crossed the street to the nearby hospital to deliver her baby. She was cheered on and encouraged by the crowd. Owing to backlogs, confusion, and the crowds gathered at the polls, most voters had to wait in line for hours, making the voting process slow and arduous. Individuals who were overwhelmed by the crowd or unable to stand for long due to health issues were ushered ahead of others. The emphasis during the referendum was to allow as many people as possible to vote.

The atmosphere of La Sedeta reminded me of the conviviality and family-centric celebrations I had witnessed a few weeks earlier at the 2017 ANC *Diada*. Small talk was easy, people shared information, resources, and food. Yet, the voters looked very dissimilar to the *Diada* crowd. Unlike the unified yellow shirts, independence flags, signs, and banners visible during the *Diada*, at La Sedeta people were dressed normally, like any other rainy day. When I

mused about this aloud, my aunt was quick to emphasize that the people gathering were not protestors but voters, engaging in their civic duty. Furthermore, the ANC and other grassroots groups were worried that flying flags or wearing clothing that bore political messages would give the impression of a single type of voter: only those in favor of independence. Instead, the crowds of normally dressed citizens emphasized the idea of a citizenship turning out for a normal vote. It was hoped that, if police intervention and brutality did end up occurring, the visually apolitical crowds would contrast further.[547] Hence, many people carefully selected their clothes, avoiding anything that could imply a political opinion.

At 7:45 am at La Sedeta, warnings began to spread: the police were on their way. Crowds surged to block the entrance with their bodies, cramming tightly in the archway that connected the street from the school's interior courtyard. The human blockade held their hands in the air as a sign of peaceful resistance. Whispers of support and defiance spread, such as "keep your hands up, we are peaceful" and "they won't come in." There were some tense moments; people at the back of the line kept shouting forward asking what was happening, only to be shushed. Towards the back of the group, I was unable to see the street, or even independently ascertain that the police were outside. The packed bodies, with their hands in the air, blocked the archway in defiance. Then cheers broke out. The police had left without attempting to enter the building.
Later in the afternoon of the referendum, those who had already voted at La Sedeta stayed at the polls, seeking to physically shield the polling location from the police should they return. The crowd was made up of mostly younger people. As they received WhatsApp or social media messages of potential police movement around Barcelona, they would flock to block the street from whichever direction they thought the police might come from. The movement was reminiscent of a flock of starlings, who at the slightest input move in sync into different formations before settling down to nest. Once the risk of the police seemed past, the group of voters would return to the polling location, where they played guitar, chatted, smoked, and snacked—always ready to pick up and move with alacrity.

The scenes I witnessed at La Sedeta were the culmination of systematic civil disobedience that had occurred throughout Catalonia, which were folded into the wider civic performances. These normally dressed voters who were exhibiting great care towards one another would face off against police forces, most of whom were wearing riot armor, carrying batons, and deploying tear gas. At La Sedeta, the police were wearing patrol uniforms while facing a crowd unwilling to yield the entryway. If the police wanted to come inside, they would

have to drag each individual out of the way first. Doing so, especially in front of members of the media, would be inflammatory and difficult to justify: the crowd at La Sedeta looked like everyday people, not a crowd usually targeted for violent police intervention. In polling locations where police intervention turned violent, Catalan and international media posted videos and images in shock of the armored police facing the crowds of voters.[548] The crowd at La Sedeta portrayed themselves as simply voters seeking to carry out their civic duty. At no point did they attempt to close the school gates, barricade themselves behind objects, or damage public property (this did occur at other polling locations, however). What voters explicitly intended to avoid was any allegation of occupation or uncivil behavior that would have potentially provoke greater police intervention. In the voters' eyes, the contrast between protestors and police reified that ""violence is a feature of the state and in particular of a Spanish right wing PP government [in power during the referendum] whose members are in the lineage of the dictatorship."[549] Although in some cases protestors barricaded doors or threw rocks at armored police lines, on the whole the voters actively portrayed themselves as peaceful civilians against a militarized repressive force.

Susan Leigh Foster speaks to a similar kind of civic performance in her analysis of the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle. As protesters gathered and engaged with each other, "participants tapped a primal connection to one another and to a collective vision of freedom."[550] This "primal connection," Foster argues, came together because of a previous "cultivation of physicality [that] prepared bodies to apprehend the like-mindedness of adjacent resisting bodies."[551] In other words, previous preparation by the WTO protest organizers (specifically a nonviolent training intervention and basic regulations for the protest) allowed for individual bodies to come together in a collective group and enact a unified peaceful protest.

Back in Barcelona at the La Sedeta gathering, I felt this primal connection in participants' direct attention to the front of the crowd, the whispers of support, and the fact that all the bodies (regardless of age, gender, or individual identity markers) had their hands up in identical positions. Voters at the referendum had previously practiced collective connectivity at the ANC *Diades,* in which millions of protesters who could not see each other or hear each other or even be close to each other could still sing the National Anthem together. At La Sedeta, that same learned behavior allowed the group to trust each other to collectively stare down the police and keep their polling station open. During the morning of October 1, I was in contact with family, friends, and other contacts throughout Catalonia. From 5 am to 9 am, they updated me through text messages and calls on how voters were organizing at their polling stations, ready to create civic performances to resist police intervention.

By 9 am, I had moved to the polling station Escola Gelabert with my grandmother. While waiting at Escola Gelabert to vote, Whatsapp messages began arriving urging me to be careful, to take care of my grandmother, who was using a wheelchair. An aunt wanted to know how I would protect her; a volunteer at Gelabert warned me, "don't expect the wheelchair to save her from the batons." We waited but the police intervention never came. After voting, I took my grandmother back to her apartment and we tuned into the local news. The news broadcast played a collection of videos on a loop, each showing a violent police intervention at polling stations throughout the Catalan region, targeting both voters and poll workers. At the poll station in the city of Girona where Carles Puigdemont, the president of Catalonia, was scheduled to vote, the police moved in early, completely shutting down the polling location and facing off against hundreds of protestors. Scenes of the police dragging away voters engaging in peaceful protest repeated at the polling locations used by other Catalan leaders, such as vice-president Oriol Junqueras and speaker of parliament Carme Forcadell.

The television showed the Institut Ramon Llull in Barcelona, as poll workers lined up at the edges of the polling room and collectively sang the Catalan National Anthem and chanted "votarém!" (we will vote!) as the Guardia Civil burst into the main voting room, ripping the ballot boxes out of the poll workers' hands.[552] *Outside was mayhem, as tear gas was deployed in the air. A friend posted images of the altercations on Facebook: he was a poll worker inside the building. Later, he traveled by car to his home village and accompanied his elderly grandparents to vote at their polling location. His social media posting were a mixture of disbelief at the police brutality and resigned stoicism as he linked his own struggles with the lived experience of his grandparents. The television showed more scenes of violence from the Institut Pau Clarís. Located a mere two blocks from the Catalan Parliament, voters formed human chains to prevent police entry to the polling rooms. As police arrived, voters had sat down on the stairs leading*

into the school, linking arm to arm, and holding onto the banisters to prevent entry. Cell phone videos show the Guardia Civil clearing a path by dragging voters out by their legs on the lower steps and, as they make their way up the stairs, grabbing women by their hair, dragging them down the stairs and out of the building.

In response to the police brutality, a new set of civic performances began emphasizing the peacefulness of the Catalan voter in contrast to the police's anti-democratic violence. As the police deployed riot breaking strategies—including batons, tear gas, and rubber bullets—against seated crowds, the referendum supporters recast the event as an overzealous Spain attacking and brutalizing its own citizens for the crime of exercising democracy. A viral photo of that day was a woman from the Institut Ramon Lull, the blood on her face even more visible against her striking white hair, as well as other images of elderly women being carried away by officers or receiving medical treatment from blows to their heads and arms.[553] At Pau Clarís, the crux of the voters' civic performances lay in showing the humanity of the voters, with their lack of bodily protection, in comparison to the menacing and inhuman police officers. In both videos from Pau Clarís, while the voters being assaulted are clear and recognizable, their faces unobstructed, the police are buried under depersonalizing riot gear, invisible under the layers of armor. The only thing that marks them is the white "POLICIA" emblazoned on the back of their riot gear, next to the Spanish flag. The faceless and violent mob of Spanish police become a single threat to be resisted, with the incongruity of the police force being the obstacle faced by voters.

As spectacular and widespread the images of police brutality became, by 10 am, the Spanish Government's Interior Department estimated that police intervention had shut down only 92 polling stations, about 4% of all polling stations across Catalonia.[554] The Catalan referendum continued through most of the region. I received images via Whatsapp of friends and acquaintances submitting their ballot while holding up their arms, exposing the raised welts from the baton strikes.[555] Similar images also spread around social networks, showing people voting

with bruises, black eyes, bloody clothing, and more. Ultimately, "844 people required medical assistance"[556] according to the Catalan Department of Health, of which between 12 to 33 were police officers.[557]

In other circumstances, the civic performance by voters recast the police as ridiculous, easily bamboozled by Catalan peasants. A family member told me that, at their village, the police's arrival simply saw the ballot box secretively handed from the building's back balcony to the neighboring home. The police searched the government building while the villagers watched, all knowing that the ballot box and ballot papers were simply one wall away from the police. Once the police left, the ballot box was returned through the same balcony and the vote continued.[558] Another polling station waited until the end of the day to tweet out a photo of their four full ballot boxes, the image tagged to the Guardia Civil's official Twitter, with the caption:

> Guardia Civil, a little thing, you took from [polling station] Tomás Moro two ballot boxes full of empty envelopes. These are the real ones ;) [559]

Memes spread exalting the Catalan farmers who used their tractors to block entry into smaller villages.[560] A meme was also spread of a village that had cut some of trees and to trap the Guardia Civil's cars well into the night.[561] In each of these examples, the police's outsider status was emphasized, casting them as ignorant and ridiculous.

Section 2: Performing Memory

The tension in the air over Barcelona had been palpable for weeks. The Spanish Government warned of serious consequences if a Catalan Referendum was carried out, and I was facing greater suspicions from interviewees within the ANC in gathering my field notes. A few weeks before the Referendum, on September 20, the Guardia Civil requisitioned the Catalan Government's Economic Building and tried to enter the pro-independence and far-left Popular Unity Candidacy (CUP) political party headquarters, leading to two days of spectacular protests in Barcelona.[1] During those protests, rumors were flying hard and fast within the crowd and across social media about mass mobilizations of police officers or agitators infiltrating peaceful gatherings to start trouble. On the same day, three large cruise ships arrived in the ports of Barcelona and Tarragona, bearing a large influx of Guardia Civil officers from across Spain who were drafted into preventing the Referendum.[2] Catalan news media obsessed over

watching the boats, building up popular expectations for when the doors would open and police pour out into the streets.

In the weeks and months leading up to the Catalan Referendum, the Spanish Government threatened to enact Article 155, an article of the constitution that would strip the Catalan region of its autonomy.[562] Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy insisted that should his government enforce Article 155, it would have been forced by the actions of the Catalan independentists.[563] Catalan independentists, meanwhile, understood Article 155 as the return of the Franco regime, stripping the region of their autonomy and self-governance.[564] Further emphasizing the threat of Franco's revival was the arrival in Catalonia of thousands of semi-militarized Guardia Civil officers from other parts of Spain, resulting in 10,000 additional officers being in Catalonia in the weeks before the referendum[565]. Although it has been the national police force since 1844, the Guardia Civil is still closely associated with the enforcement of the Franco regime's social and linguistic policies, according to many Catalans,[566] as seen during the arrest and trial of Els Joglars detailed in Chapter 1. The Catalan Referendum became the latest battleground for a multi-generational struggle: during the September 20th demonstration in Barcelona, I noted a Guardia Civil car graffitied with the slogan "We are the grandchildren of the Ebre Delta,"[567] referencing the last major battle of the Spanish Civil War on the Catalan front. Although the Spanish Government was engaging with the Catalan Referendum as a contemporary crisis, within Catalonia, the specter of the Spanish Civil War and subsequent repression haunted the event. A few days after the referendum, the satirical television show *Polònia*, which takes on regional, national, and international politics in a series of skits reminiscent of Saturday Night Live, acted out a sketch in which Franco himself returned, with members of the Guardia Civil, singing a popular song "El Muerto Vivo" about a man who is thought to be dead by the authorities but is instead on a partying spree. Through its macabre comedy, the show joked that

Franco had returned, as evidenced by the Guardia Civil's brutality and actions throughout the day on October 1st.

My grandmother was born in Barcelona on October 2nd, 1931, in the early months of the Second Spanish Republic, which promised a democratic system and social reform to a country that was in economic ruin. Her father, a staunch supporter of the Republic, taught her to read just as the Spanish Civil War broke out. Her family exclusively spoke Catalan at home. Some of her earliest memories are of Barcelona enduring the bombing raids undertaken by the Italian Legionary Air Force (in support of the Francoist army), including the bombing raid in 1937 that killed her eight-year-old brother while he ventured out to buy milk for the family. She accompanied her father as they visited the city's morgues, picking through the bodies to find him.
At 8:30 am on October 1, 2017, my grandmother was a day shy of her 86th birthday. That day, I collected her and her wheelchair from her apartment. Together, we made our way down the couple of blocks to the Gelabert school, which had been her polling location ever since the end of the dictatorship and the onset of democracy. The wait to cast votes was prolonged because digital system, that matched IDs to legal voters, had been subject to cyber-attacks: although we arrived around 9 am, when the polls opened, we waited for two additional hours before submitting her vote. During the long wait, my grandmother and the other elderly voters gathered near her and chatted about the war, the bombing of Barcelona, the family members they lost during the war, the hunger endured, and the early years of the dictatorship.
Having voted, we left the polling station to greet the large crowd of voters waiting outside. They were greeting and congratulating all exiting voters: people leant down to my grandmother, took her hands, and thanked her for voting; those too far back to reach her applauded in support or patted me on the back. It was overwhelming to have hundreds of people reaching over, clapping, and cheering us as we snaked through the crowd back to her home.

If the suppression of the Catalan referendum brought back memories of the Franco regime, the elderly voters of the referendum became a highlight for the pro-independence groups. Elderly voters bridged the Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War with the contemporary struggle for independence. In taking my grandmother to vote, she and I became part of a widespread civic performance that celebrated the survival of Catalan individuals and the future potentiality of Catalan Independence.

Throughout the day, voters and polling workers collectively showed overt respect for elders amounting to Elizabeth W. Son's performance of care, or "embodied acts that materialize concern and interest by providing for the needs of or looking after what one is caring for."[568] Through the example of the Bronze Girl statue, also known as the Statue of Peace, in Seoul—a

memorial protesting the Japanese government's continued silence on the sexual slavery of the primarily Korean women during World War II—, Son explicates how protestors interact with the statue of the young girl, dressing her, interacting with her, and showing her care as an act of protest. Through these interactions, Son argues, protestors can physically act out their commitment to honoring and seeking justice for thousands of unknown and unnamed women, while becoming more committed to their cause.[569] In Catalonia, the Referendum became a venue to pay homage to the elderly generation that had endured the Spanish Civil War and the entirety of the Franco regime. Elderly people were shielded from the rain and cold, given preferential treatment to vote, and received cheers and applause from poll workers and the crowd. Throughout the day, social media feeds and Catalan-friendly press sites widely circulated photos of elderly voters, many in wheelchairs or using canes, often accompanied by their grandchildren. Even the Catalan President Carles Puigdemont took to Twitter to share a photo of a young boy, about 8, pushing his grandmother's wheelchair towards the polls. The presence and help of grandchildren further emphasized the frailty of the elderly voter, which strengthened the symbolic link to the past: grandchildren born after 1978 are the first generation who have never experienced fascist governments in Spain.

When I took my grandmother to the polling station, we were led to the front of the enormous lines so that she could vote first, alongside other elderly people and those who required special accommodations. However, consistent hacking attacks on the online voting system delayed the opening of the polls by a few hours. We were given water and comfortable seating inside the polling station, while other voters huddled outside in the cold, driving rain. Volunteers and grandchildren, including myself, listened and served as witnesses for long-ago traumas endured during childhood and forced into silence during the long dictatorship and then

the democratic era, which sought to bury the past in the service of a new, democratic Spain.[570] The group in the polling station learned I had travelled from the United States, and many of the elderly voters had high hopes for the international attention for the referendum, or shared their memories of the presidential visit of Eisenhower to Spain, giving Franco the kind of approval that helped the regime endure until the 1970s. Finally, the hacking attacks were defeated and we were among the first people ushered into the room to vote. We picked up the ballot and my grandmother filled out her response with a pen she had brought from home, just in case. We had to wait through one more hacking attack before she could cast her ballot, but finally, she voted. We took photos of her voting, planning to share them with family. Poll workers applauded her, shook her hands, and congratulated her; then I hurried her home.

While at La Sedeta, about to leave to head towards my grandmother's apartment to walk her to her polling station, a cheer erupted among the crowd. A car had pulled up to the voting station. The car opened its trunk and delivered several large, opaque garbage bags: the ballot boxes had arrived.

In the run up to the referendum, the Guardia Civil had carried out multiple searches for the ballot boxes. With each raid, the local news shared images of the police officers, decked out in riot gear, entering buildings, and doing random searches at the French border as well as at the port of Barcelona. The location of the ballot boxes was a well-kept secret, with poll workers simply knowing that the boxes would arrive that morning.

After the referendum, the news media broke the story of the ballot boxes, which were constructed in Taiwan and Hong Kong, two allies of Catalan independence. The boxes had then been shipped and stored in Southern France, outside of the Spanish jurisdiction. In the days before the referendum, the boxes were smuggled into the country, following the routes used during the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship to smuggle out refugees desperate to flee the violence and retribution after the war.[571] Using these routes allowed the boxes to make it to

Catalonia without Spanish interception and symbolically linked the act of voting to the history of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime to further swing voters' opinion. The act of resistance had, so to say, come full circle, and routes that had previously smuggled out refugees now instead served to befuddle and trick the Spanish government.

Conclusion

The Catalan referendum also tapped into a "collective memory" of Catalan struggle against Spanish intervention. Here, I borrow sociologist Elizabeth Jelin's definition of "collective memory" as "the interweaving of traditions and individual memories in dialogue with others and in a state of constant flux[…] where some voices are stronger than others because they have greater access to resources and to public stages."[1] As Jelin warns, however, collective memory can prioritize some experiences and narratives over those of others. The Franco regime prioritized the stories of their supporters throughout the dictatorship, remembering the Spanish Civil War as a regrettable and equally destructive event. Meanwhile, the Catalan independence narrative clearly prioritizes those who view Catalonia as paradoxical to Spain, where secession is the only possible solution to the conflict.

After polling closed on October 1, 2017, the Catalan government announced that the vote for independence had won by an overwhelming majority of 92% of the votes. However, since the referendum was not legally sanctioned and hence not properly observed by third parties, the validity of these votes is impossible to ascertain.[572] On October 27, 2017, I watched breathlessly as the Catalan Parliament declared independence from Spain, which was immediately followed by the Spanish government imposing Article 155 and dissolving the Catalan government, calling for new elections in the region on December 21, 2017. The region was further embroiled in political conflict as the organizers of the referendum and members of the Catalan government

that did not intercede to prevent it were arrested or fled to other countries to avoid arrest. As of 2021, some are serving out their sentences while others continue in exile. As of November 18, 2021, the political crisis between Spain and Catalonia is still far from being resolved.

Ahead of the 2017 referendum, the Catalan independence campaign borrowed much of their symbolism from the 1977 the crackdown against *La Torna* discussed in Chapter. The freedom-of-expression resistance symbol used by Els Joglars—that of a mask with a red gash across the mouth—was appropriated by the Catalan referendum in 2017, and then became a primary visual sign in protests in the aftermath of the police violence and the Spanish government's censure from 2018 onwards. Flags designed and distributed by the cultural organization (and close ANC ally) Òmnium Cultural depicted the featureless faces of men, women, and children with a red gash striped over where their mouth would be. Underneath the image, the word *democràcia*, or democracy, was emblazoned in matching red letters. Although the campaign sought to communicate how little had changed between the Transition and the referendum, the comparison between the protests for Els Joglars and the referendum aftermath emphasized that, after months and months of preparations, meetings, assemblies, protests, and more, the situation simply fizzled out. As in T.S. Elliot's *The Hollow Men* and as with *La Torna* of Els Joglars, the Catalan independence push in 2017 ended "not with a bang, but with a whimper." Ultimately, neither act succeeded.

Ironically for me, I first saw the *democràcia* flags while meeting with the cast of Els Joglars in a rare reunion for the group. We met on September 9, 2017 in Barcelona. Together, Ferran Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Gabriel Renom, Andreu Solsona, and Arnau Viladerbò discussed the aftermath of *La Torna* and the disappointing end to the project; by the time Renom, Solsona, and Villardebò were released from jail in January 1979, weeks after the ratification of the new

Spanish Constitution, it seemed like the entire country had forgotten that *La Torna* had ever existed.[573] After we spoke, as I stepped out of the bar, I saw a newly hung up *democràcia* flag hanging from a balcony across the street. The cast of Els Joglars was as surprised as I: they were unaware that the symbol used to vociferously argue against their imprisonment was now being reused for a new political campaign.

Even stranger to me was that the link between Els Joglars and the *democràcia* flag seemed elusive to many people around me. Although older generations—those who had marched in the streets for Els Joglars—recognized the reuse, those too young to remember the Transition or born afterwards were clueless as to the connection. When I stopped by the Òmnium Cultural offices on my way home to buy a few flags for myself, I found that even the receptionist at the office had no knowledge of the original use of the red gash, or even who Els Joglars were. I explained to my cousins and friends the history of *La Torna*, from Georg Michael Welzel's political execution to the many demonstrations held in Europe to free Els Joglars. During a conversation with my aunt and her son, my cousin, I found that my aunt quickly and precisely recollected the events surrounding *La Torna*—including her own political activism for freedom of speech—while her son was unaware of the whole affair. While the post-Transition generations understood the red gash as a symbol in favor of political expression via the Catalan referendum, they did not link that to past struggles for freedom of speech under the Franco regime.

The relegation of Els Joglars to a footnote in the history of the Catalan secession movement betrays an inherent contradiction at the core of the independence project. While the Catalan independence movement calls upon its traumatic past to justify a future nation-state, it is also part of the forgetting. As Els Joglars argued in *La Torna*, people like Georg Michael Welzel have been relegated to oblivion to prioritize Catalan martyrs like Salvador Puig Antich; with

time, they too were forgotten. There are certainly many reasons why *La Torna* is no longer a part of Catalan cultural lexicon. The controversial anti-independence figure of Albert Boadella, the director of *La Torna* and long-term artistic director of Els Joglars, also likely made many Catalan cultural ambassadors wary of associating themselves with the group and its legacy. In fact, in the months after the Catalan referendum, Boadella made headlines multiple times with his vociferous rejection of Catalan independence and publicity stunts, including staging a performance outside of the Brussels' residence of the Catalan president, Carles Puigdemont, as he fled into exile to avoid a Spanish jail term. However, the Catalan independence movement reused the freedom-of-expression gash while stripping away the history of the four young people who endured over a year of jail resisting the Franco judicial system. This puzzling choice is made even stranger by the emphasis on generational struggle through the referendum.

Memory struggles aside, the Catalan referendum showed the success of the ANC *Diades*. Crowds of voters were able to quickly pull together and collectively resist interventions while also calling back upon the Second Spanish Republic and the suffering of the Spanish Civil War. Within the courtyards of La Sedeta, l'Escola Gelabert, and l'Escola Univers, the crowd felt united, all joined together for a single goal built over the five years of *Diades*. At some previous protest or ANC *Diada*, everybody at the polling stations had stood together while chanting or singing for Catalan independence. This goodwill and trust within these crowds allowed them to face off against militarized police and support each other through the rain, cold, and long periods of waiting on October 1. The ANC proved during the referendum that they had developed loyal supporters who can come together and prove the existence of the Catalan nation, even if the existence of the Catalan nation-state continues to elude them.

Conclusion

This dissertation has tracked efforts by Catalan artists and activists to reclaim Catalan cultural identity and grow support for Catalan independence through public performances. These performances are inherently political, defying centuries of Catalan cultural destruction at the hands of various Spanish regimes by restoring the Catalan language and identity to the public arena, such as theatrical stages, sporting arenas, and the city streets themselves. They have been and continue to be especially important to combat the lingering destructive force of the forty-year-long dictatorship of Francisco Franco, who saw Catalan identity as an insidious threat to Spanish nationalism and to the recovery of Spain's colonial glory. The ongoing impact of Franco's *theatrical state*, which made every day a possible performance of fealty to the dictatorship, makes public enactments of anti-fascist behaviors a subversive practice to this day, especially when also simultaneously reifying Catalan identity.

Through the progression of five case studies, I have shown how Catalan public performance shifted from processing the injustices of the Franco regime, to celebrating the uniqueness of Catalonia, to the contemporary movement seeking Catalan independence from Spain. Els Joglars's ill-fated *La Torna* exposed the Franco regime's corrupt execution of a political prisoner, but also exposed the theatre company to their own legal difficulties. *Mori el Merma* by La Claca and Joan Miró, a therapeutic performance revealing the rotten underbelly of the regime, was developed through a purposefully anti-fascist creation process. At the center of 1992 Barcelona Olympics was a divided understanding of what the Catalan (and Spanish) identity looks like. The massive *Diada* protests from 2012 to 2017 shifted public performance onto individual citizens, asking them to prove that the Catalan nation-state already exists. Finally, the epilogue gives an ethnographic look at how these shifting performances led to a

deeply emotional, although ultimately frustrated, Catalan referendum for independence. Together, these case studies illuminate the close partnership between performances of Catalan cultural identity and the political development of the Catalan independence movement.

This dissertation also has complicated the view that the semi-professional *teatro independiente* movement and anti-fascist theatre ended with the Franco regime. With the end of the dictatorship, many TI groups, such as La Claca, disbanded, and other groups changed so deeply that they maintained only their name, like Els Joglars. This has led to the arguments by Sharon Feldman, Mercè Saumell, and Maria Delgado, among others, that TI dissipated because it could not move past the ideological motivations of the art form caused by the Franco regime.[574] However, elements of the Catalan TI movement, such as a collective work ethos and the specific targeting of Catalan audience members, are vital parts of the public performances I have discussed. Furthermore, some post-TI political productions like *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* have been understudied because they do not fit the mold of the apolitical, post-ideological theatre that developed after the end of the Franco regime. Hence, while it is true that the TI movement itself might have ended alongside the regime, the legacy of these semi-professional touring theatre companies has continued in the political arena, where it has been used to promote the reconstruction of Catalan cultural identity and the independence movement.

However, this dissertation also has revealed how the reclaiming of Catalan cultural identity has become folded into the Catalan independence movement, so that at times the two are difficult to separate. Between 2010 and 2022, pro-independence sentiment peaked at around 50%, and more often was held by only 40% to 45% of the population according to polling.[575] Yet, the narratives of *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic* and the *Diades* protest set up the Catalan Independence Movement as the path to rebuild Catalan cultural identity. The most vociferous

activists for independence are grassroots groups like the ANC and Òmnium Cultural, who purposefully collapse the political project towards independence with their efforts towards Catalan cultural recovery and anti-fascist projects. In so doing, they keep pro-independence Catalans engaged and active in the Sisyphean independence movement, while justifying the independence project both Catalan and international audiences.

At the core of Catalan cultural identity is the history of survival against centuries of linguistic repression, including, most recently, the brutal Spanish Civil War and the forty years of the Franco dictatorship. The trauma of these brutal decades on the region is evident in the huge number of unopened mass graves that still dot the countryside, with at least one in each town's cemetery in addition to all the graves associated with battle sites and the extensive bombing of Spanish cities. The discourse surrounding Spain's reckoning with its violent past is part of a wider conversation surrounding historical memory. Although I did not engage directly in the debates surrounding historical memory, the project behind regaining these stories reverberates throughout this writing. *La Torna* tells of how men's lives were so devalued during the Franco regime as to be used as pawns and executed for political gain. The Olympic Games were held a short distance from one of Spain's largest mass graves. Narratives of the suffering imposed by the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the Franco regime were omnipresent in the streets of Barcelona during the Catalan Referendum. Thus this dissertation lays bare the continued scars from the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime upon Catalan cultural identity.

As this project analyzes public performances of a potential Catalan nation-state, more study is needed on Catalonia's relationship with cultural, racial, and religious diversity. Spain's relative isolation throughout the Franco regime, as well as the targeted repression of non-Spanish

identities and non-Catholic religions during the dictatorship, has created a fallacy of a mono-racial Spain until the 1980s. In the current organization, the Catalan Independence Movement does not account for colonialization, migration, globalization, and changing racial, ethnic, and religious populations within the region. These complicated questions fall outside the purview of this dissertation in large part because the case studies themselves did not yet recognize Catalonia as being part of these wider engagements. It is ironic that a cultural and political push so steeped in history so often ignores its own part in colonial and global history. This refusal, however, is widespread across all of Spain, which has infamously refused to apologize for the destruction wreaked by Spanish explorers and colonialism. Ironically, the inability to reckon with diversity is a rare instance where Spanish and Catalan nationalism agree.

Endnotes

INTRODUCTION

[1] *Franco, Victòria, República. Impunitat i espai urbà,* Barcelona: El Born Centre de Cultura i Memòria, 2017. Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, organized by and presented at the El Born Centre de Cultura i Memòria, October 10, 2017–January 8, 2017.

[2] Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), xviii.

[3] Antonio Miguez Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism: Violence, Memory, and Impunity* (Chicago: Sussex Academic Press, 2016), 93.

[4] Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism,* 93.

[5] Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism*, 93.

[6] Jennifer Duprey, *The Aesthetics of the Ephemeral: Memory Theatres in Contemporary Barcelona* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 30.

[7] For further discussion, see: Duprey, *The Aesthetics of the Ephemeral*; Sharon Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Barcelona* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009); Mercè Saumell, Jill Pythian, and Maria M. Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 7, no. 4 (1998): 1-30.

[8] For further discussion, see: Nuria Aragonès, "The Case of Spain: Collective Creation as Political Reaction," in *Collective Creation in Contemporary Performance*, eds. Kathryn Mederos Syssoyeva and Scott Proudfit (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 187-194.

[9] Nuño Domínguez, "Spanish Civil War: The Woman who Took a Baby Rattle to her Execution," *El País*, May 9, 2019, https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2019/05/08/inenglish/1557327917_803284.html

[10] Arnau Cònsul, "Obrir Fosses per Tancar Ferides," *Sàpiens*, January 2019.

[11] Francisco Ferrándiz, "Exhuming the Defeated: Civil War Mass Graves in 21st-Century Spain," *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 1 (2013): 39.

[12] (Spanish), "Un muerto en España está más vivo como muerto que en ningún sitio del mundo." Federico Gracía Lorca, *Juego y teoria del duende,* ed. Christopher Maurer (Madrid: Alianza, 1984).

[13] Cònsul, "Obrir Fosses per Tancar Ferides."

[14] Andrew Dowling, *The Rise of Catalan Independence: Spain's Territorial Crisis* (New York, Routledge, 2018), 6.

[15] Sebastian Balfour and Alejandro Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain: Nation and Identity since Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 30.

[16] Balfour and Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain*, 30.

[17] Duprey, *The Aesthetics of the Ephemeral*, 195.

[18] See, for example, John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? : Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity, and the Barcelona Olympic Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Andrew Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation* (Eastbourne, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2013).

[19] Cariad Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre: A Process of Cultural Affirmation," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 17, no. 3 (2007): 323-34.

[20] Sharon G. Feldman and Francesc Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci. La censura del teatre català durant el franquisme* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2016), 91.

[21] Cariad Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects" in *Barcelona: Visual Culture, Space, and Power*, eds. Helena Buffery and Carlota Caulfield (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 194.

[22] Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," 194.

[23] Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," 194.

[24] Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," 194.
[25] Patrice Pavis, *Analyzing Performance: Theatre, Dance, and Film* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2.
[26] Peter Schumann, "What, At the End of This Century, Is the Situation of Puppets and Performing Objects?" in *Puppets, Masks, and Performing Objects*, ed. John Bell (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 49.
[27] Eileen Blumenthal, *Puppetry: A World History* (New York: Henry N Abrams, 2005), 143.
[28] Berta Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo, visto por sus censores* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2004), 411.
[29] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 42.
[30] Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 14.
[31] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 197-201.
[32] It should be noted that the Nazi Luftwaffe carried out the bombing. Franco and Hitler were military allies until 1944, and during the Spanish Civil War, the Nazi army assisted the Nationalist Army led by Franco as well as learning about modern warfare, knowledge that would then be applied to World War II.
[33] Paul Preston. *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution, and Revenge*. (New York: W.W.Norton & Co., 2006), 307.
[34] Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War*, 96-100.
[35] David J George and John London, *Contemporary Catalan Theatre: An Introduction* (Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 1996), 14.
[36] Paul Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 274.
[37] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 17-18.
[38] Harper, "Deconstructing Naturalization Cereomnies," 94.
[39] John London, "Theatre under Franco, 1939-1975: Censorship, Playwriting, and Performance" in *A History of Theatre in Spain*, eds. Maria Delgado and David Thatcher (Oxfordshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 344.
[40] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 29.
[41] London, "Theatre under Franco," 344.
[42] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 23.
[43] Spanish, "Los sublevados entienden el teatro como una herramienta más de propaganda política y desde el primer momento intentarán someterlo a suservicio." Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 30.
[44] John London, "Theatre under Franco, 1939-1975: Censorship, Playwriting, and Performance" in *A History of Theatre in Spain*, eds. Maria Delgado and David Thatcher (Oxfordshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 344.
[45] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 91.
[46] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silence*, 11.
[47] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 93.
[48] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 94-95.
[49] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 10.
[50] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci*, 94.
[51] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silence,* 95.
[52] For further discussion, see: Cristina Palomares, *The Quest for Survival After Franco: Moderate Francoism and the Slow Journey to the Polls, 1964-1977* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2004).
[53] London, "Theatre under Franco," 367.
[54] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silence*, 74.

[55] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo,* 130.
[56] Eugène Van Erven. *Radical People's Theatre.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 35.
[57] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 292.
[58] London, "Theatre under Franco," 368.
[59] Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo*, 293.
[60] Feldman and Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci,* 96.
[61] Andrea Hepworth, "From Survivor to Fourth-Generation Memory: Literal and Discursive Sites of Memory in Post-dictatorship Germany and Spain," *Journal of Contemporary History* 54.1, 153.
[62] For further discussion, see: Ferrándiz, "Exhuming the Defeated; Miguez Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism*.
[63] Kathryn Crameri, *¿Goodbye Spain?: The Question of Independence for Catalonia* (Chicago: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), 146.
[64] ETA is Basque for "Basque Homeland and Liberty." Similarly to Catalonia, the Basque Country is a historical culture with its own language, national identity, and history of suppression by both the French and Spanish nation-states. Today, the Basque Country is an autonomous region in Spain, with some degree of cultural protection and a movement for independence from Spain. ETA, the now disbanded terrorist organization, used bombings and assassinations to push for the end of the Franco regime and for independence during democracy.
[65] Edgar Illas, *Thinking Barcelona: Ideologies of a Global City* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 45.
[66] Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 57-8.
[67] Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and Amnesia*, 57-8.
[68] Elizabeth Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2003), 32.
[69] Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*, 31.
[70] Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones, "Towards a Pragmatic Version of Memory: What Could the Spanish Civil War Mean to Contemporary Spain?," in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, eds. Carlos Jerez-Farran and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2010), 210.
[71] Gómez López-Quiñones, "Towards a Pragmatic Version of Memory," 210.
[72] Zahira Aragüete-Toribio, *Producing History in Spanish Civil War Exhumations: From the Archive to the Grave* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 8.
[73] See Appendices B and C.
[74] Balfour and Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain,* 127.
[75] Reinhard Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time,* trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 155.
[76] Joan Ramon Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 59.
[77] Kathryn Crameri, *Language, the Novelist, and National Identity in Post-Franco Catalonia*, (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 21.
[78] Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity*, 144.
[79] Crameri, *Language, the Novelist, and National Identity in Post-Franco Catalonia*, 22-23.
[80] Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War*, 2-3.
[81] As such, I concur with historian Andrew Dowling, sociologist Montserrat Guibernau, and Hispanic studies scholar Kathryn Crameri, among others, that Catalan nationalism comes out of the industrialization of the region in the 19th Century.
[82] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd Edition (London: Verso, 2006), 223-225.
[83] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 228.

[84] For further discussion, see: Leigh K Mercer and Rosi Song, "Catalanidad in the Kitchen: Tourism, Gastronomy, and Identity in Modern and Contemporary Barcelona," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* Vol. 97, Is. 4 (2002), 659-680.
[85] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.
[86] Cristina Rodríguez Samaniego, "Greek *and* French: A New Vision of the Catalan National Myth of Origin in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century through Sculpture," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14, no. 1 (2014): 103.
[87] Dowling, *The Rise of Catalan Independence*, 6.
[88] Rodríguez Samaniego, "Greek *and* French," 108-110.
[89] Muslim and Jewish populations were plentiful in Spain until 1492, when the Spanish Crown forced North African Muslims to convert to Catholicism and expelled all Jews from Spain.
[90] Held on March 15, July 24 , and September 14, 2017. Held on July 9, 2019.
[91] Held on June 16, 2017.
[92] Held on September 14, 2017.
[93] Held on August 25 and September 14, 2017.
[94] Held on August 7 and September 14, 2017.
[95] Held on September 14, 2017.
[96] Held on September 28, 2017.
[97] Held on August 30, 2017.
[98] Held on September 27, 2017.
[99] Royona Mitra, "Dancing the Archive Brown, Dancing the Indian Other in Akram Khan's *XENOS* (2018)," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 31, no. 1-2 (2021): 91.
[100] Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia?*, 94-95.

CHAPTER 1: 1977, ELS JOGLARS
[101] See also: Eugène Van Erven. *Radical People's Theatre.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Mercè Saumell, Jill Pythian, and Maria M. Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 7, no. 4 (1998): 1-30; David J George and John London, *Contemporary Catalan Theatre: An Introduction* (Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 1996).
[102] Sharon G. Feldman and Francesc Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci. La censura del teatre català durant el franquisme* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2016), 96.
[103] Guillermo Ayesa, *Joglars: Una Historia* (Barcelona: La Gaya Sciencia, 1978), 80.
[104] Raúl Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg: La verdadera historia de Heinz Chez ejecutado el mismo día que Salvador Puig Antich* (Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2005), 203-4.
[105] For the sake of clarity, I will be primarily utilizing the name Heinz Chez in this chapter, as that is the name by which Els Joglars knew Welzel.
[106] For further discussion, see: Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002); Francisco Ferrándiz, "Exhuming the Defeated: Civil War Mass Graves in 21st-Century Spain," *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 1 (2013), pp. 38-54; Francisco Ferrándiz, "Unburials, Generals, and Phantom Militarism: Engaging with the Spanish Civil War Legacy," *Current Anthropology* 60, no. 19 (2019), pp. 62-76; Montserrat Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition, and Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Antonio Miguez Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism: Violence, Memory, and Impunity* (Chicago: Sussex Academic Press, 2016); Joan Resina Ramon, ed., *Disremembering Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).
[107] Elisa Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo: Libertad de expression y creación colectiva 1968/1978*, eds. Rosa Díaz and Mont Carvajal (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2006), 72.
[108] In 1978, Rañé, Crehuet, and Boadella fled into exile while de Maeztu, Solsona, Vilardebò, and Renom faced the military tribunal and jail sentence. During this exile, Boadella broke from the company and reconstructed Els Joglars into the still active, contemporary theatre company. The rift between Boadella

and the others has only grown in the last half-century. In 2006, Rañé, Crehuet, de Maeztu, Solsona, Vilardebò, and Renom brought legal proceedings to Boadella to be considered legal co-authors of *La Torna*. This motion was unsuccessful and, legally, Boadella is the sole author of *La Torna*. However, it should be noted that all members of the 1977 Els Joglars were sentenced to jail or fled into exile for the crime of authoring *La Torna*.

[109] As categorized by the Catalan historian and scholar Josep Benet i Morell.

[110] Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15th, 2017, Barcelona.

[111] Saumell, Pythian, and Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," 5.

[112] Maria Delgado, '*Other' Spanish Theatres: Erasure and Inscription on the Twentieth-Century Spanish Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 226.

[113] Ayesa, *Joglars*, 49-50.

[114] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 45-46.

[115] Ferran Rañé, Elisa Crehuet, Gabriel Renom, and Arnau Vilardebò, in discussion with the author, September 14, 2017, Barcelona.

[116] Delgado, *'Other' Spanish Theatres*, 226; Cariad Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," in *Barcelona: Visual Culture, Space and Power,* eds. Helena Buffery and Carlota Caulfield (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 326.

[117] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 24.

[118] Spanish, "Con el gesto se podían decir cosas de manera menos directa y más sugerente que con la palabra." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 24.

[119] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 50-51.

[120] Miguez Macho, *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism*, 93.

[121] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 56.

[122] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 68.

[123] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 68.

[124] Van Erven, *Radical People's Theatre*, 34.

[125] Catalan, "No volem que sigui una tragèdia, sinó una gran comèdia de màscares, tal com devia ésser, en el fons, la visió de Heinz tant dels fets com de les persones que el voltaven, car hem de tenir en compte que ell desconeixia la llengua, els costums, les lleis i els ritus judicials de l'Estat Espanyol." *La Torna* Playbill, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Playbills, Box: B 723-12. Registre 456584.

[126] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo,* 78.

[127] Spanish,"Era insólito que unos cómicos, incluso unos sinvergüenzas como nosotros, subieran al escenario a hacer burla de la Guardia Civil." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 78.

[128] Spanish, "Ya que se establece desde el primer momento una intima complicidad con el público." Joan de Sagarra 77, "El increible juego de la crueldad," *Hoja del Lunes,* November 28, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.

[129] Aurora Morcillo Gómez, "Shaping True Catholic Womanhood: Francoist Educational Discourse on Women," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 51.

[130] Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017, Barcelona; Arnau Vilardebò, in discussion with the author, August 25th, 2017, Barcelona.

[131] However, occasionally the scene failed to create this complicity. When that was the case, the entire show fell flat as jokes went unheeded and the actors received little engagement from the audience for the rest of the production. Arnau Vilardebò, in discussion with the author, August 25th, 2017, Barcelona.

[132] Heinz Chez's case file indicated he spent time in a German children's camp after the war - commonly interpreted by Spanish authorities that he was involved in WWII in some manner. Chez did spend time in a children's institute as a time as his mother was unable at times to care for him and his siblings - however no part of his childhood was associated with concentration camps. Regardless, the Spanish

press widely publicized Chez's (supposed) concentration camp past to describe him as mentally unhinged.

[133] Spanish, "Pero Elisa insistió y creó un tipo gordito (ella ya estaba embarazada), que sudaba mucho y no se enteraba de gran cosa. No tenía nada que ver con el auténtico abogado de Chez y, estaba claro que el personaje del abogado de la víctima del garrot vil tenía que aparecer, lo quisiera Albert o no. El personaje era bueno y la fuente de información estaba protegida." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 70.

[134] Catalan, "homa aparentment sense reflexos i parsimoniós, entra al despatx." Albert Boadella, *"*La Torna," in *Albert Boadella,* 1st ed, vol 1 (Barcelona: Institut del Teatre, 2002), 98.

[135] Catalan and Spanish, "Ah, mira, noi, farem el que podrem… Que no te preocupes, que ja se arreglarà." Boadella, *"*La Torna," 100.

[136] Catalan and Spanish. "SENYOR JUTGE, *dictant*: Espero…
TOMÀS, *escrivint*: Espero…
SENYOR JUTGE: … que al recibo de la presente…
TOMÀS: … que al recibo de la presente…
SENYOR JUTGE: …obrará en sus manos…
TOMÀS, *mentres mira una revista amb fotografies de senyoretes despullades*: …obrará en sus manos…
SENYOR JUTGE: …el caso referente…
TOMÀS: …el caso referente…
SENYOR JUTGE: …a los números…
TOMÀS: …a los números…
SENYOR JUTGE: Busqui-ho a l'arxiu!
TOMÀS, *escrivint*: Búsquelo en el archivo.
SENYOR JUTGE, *anant cap a TOMÀS*: Però què fa, ara?
TOMÀS, *escrivint*: Pero, ¿qué hace ahora?"
Boadella, *"*La Torna," 66.

[137] Jordi Cornellà-Detrell, *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco's Catalonia* (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2011), 51.

[138] Scholars have engaged in many debates about the overall impact of these regulations on Catalan and Basque, but both languages have bounced back, in large part because they are the primary language in public school since the end of the Franco regime. Galician was less fortunate. The severe economic strain on the region during the 20th century led to mass migration to other regions and countries, and the language has struggled to recover from Franco's linguistic policies and the population disruptions.

[139] Catalan, "El castellà és l'idioma de la situació, i les gradacions dialectals amb les quals és entonat descriuen els matisos dels estaments que controlen la situació. Els personatges que s'expressen en català se sotmeten a la situació i parlen castellà amb els castellans; de fet, abandonar el català és una mena d'acatament, de col.laboracionisme. Xavier Fabregas, "Els Joglars: un intent de lectura," *Avui,* November 11 1977, 24. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.

[140] The script at time states "speaks German" which suggests that the actor might have been speaking in German-sounding gibberish. However, Els Joglars had performed extensively in Germany and members of the company had some knowledge of German.

[141] Catalan, "Home, mira, nosaltres sempre hem anat pel món sense traduir res i ens han entès." Jordi Jané, "Els Joglars: quinze anys de feina i nova etapa," *Oriflama*, November 1977, 22-24.
Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.

[142] Ayesa, *Joglars*, 18.

[143] Catalan and Spanish, "CAPORAL DE LA GUÀRDIA CIVIL, *despenjant el telèfon i imitant la veu d'una gallina*: ¿Digaaa? ¿Síiií? ¿Cómooo? ¿Que han matado a Péreeeez? ¿En un cámpiiiing? Ah síiií,

sííí. ¡Allááá vaaamos! ¡Allááá vaaamos!" Boadella, *"*La Torna," 40.

[144] Spanish, "¡Que han matado a un compañero en acto de servicio!" Boadella, *"*La Torna," 40.

[145] The common use of different types of garrotes used during the Spanish Inquisition and other conflicts makes it hard to distinguish a specific start to this practice.

[146] As Dwight Conquergood argues, "The death penalty cannot be understood simply as a matter of public policy debate or an aspect of criminology, apart from what it is pre-eminently: performance." During the Spanish Civil War and then again during the Franco regime, executions were a way to emphasize power and sow terror. They also became a way to resist the regime: facing down a firing squad, prisoners could use their final moments and words to perform a final act of resistance (with Catalan President Lluis Companys being a prime example, his cry of "Per Catalunya!" still resonating in contemporary Catalonia). I speculate that the Franco regime's switch from the firing squad to the *garrot vil* as the primary execution method came to deny this final performance to prisoners condemned to death. Dwight Conquergood, "Lethal Theatre: Performance, Punishment, and the Death Penalty," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002): 342, www.jstor.org/stable/25069091.

[147] Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg*, 43.

[148] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 71.

[149] Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg*, 43.

[150] The spelling of garrote differs per language. In Catalan, the "e" is dropped to be *garrot*. In Castilian and English, it is spelled *garrote.*

[151] In later productions of *Cruel Ubris*, Els Joglars used this tabloid as the magazine Zeus is casually reading during the torture scene. Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017, Barcelona.

[152] Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017, Barcelona.

[153] Josep Loperena, in discussion with the author, July 24, 2017, Barcelona.

[154] Bim Mason, "Bouffons and the grotesque," in *The Routledge Companion to Jacques Lecoq*, eds. Mark Evans and Rick Kemp (New York: Routledge, 2016), 158.

[155] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 70.

[156] Spanish, "Teníamos, pues, las máscaras muy recientes." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 70.

[157] Although, as Art Historian Donald Posner argued, Callot's *Sfessania* prints are unlikely to depic *commedia* actors, Els Joglars were unlikely to know this. Donald Posner, "Jacques Callot and the Dances Called *Sfessania*," *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (1977): 203.

[158] Spanish, "Su mirada reflejaba el desconcierto de un extranjero que llega a otro país y se ve superado por una jugada política que no entiende y que le acaba llevando al patíbulo." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 71.

[159] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 69.

[160] Spanish, "OFICIAL MILITAR 3: Caballeros, caballeros, mientras deliberamos, ¿no podríamos tomar alguna cosita?
CORONEL DEL AUDITOR: Claro, claro, claro.
L'OFICIAL MILITAR 3 *torna a la sala.*
OFICIAL MILITAR 1, *al* CORONEL AUDITOR: Lo de siempre en estos casos: ¡paella, cigalas y Rioja!" Boadella, *"*La Torna," 129-130.

[161] Spanish restaurants often times have theme menus - holiday menus but also less formal menus like tourist menus, afternoon menus, or other such every-day occasions. These menus often comes with two or three courses, some house wine, and/or a coffee.

[162] The tribunal retired to a nearby restaurant, Fona Bea (now closed), from 3pm to 6:30pm, during which they ordered a meal of paella, prawns, and wine (although it is uncertain how many orders were asked for or how many times it was ordered). Upon their return to the official chambers, the defense lawyer witnessed one of the military officials hand documents to Francisco Pintado Simó, a young military assistant, and exclaim: "Boy! Get the typewriter!"
Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg*, 33.

[163] Part of this scene can be viewed on Youtube at:
https://youtu.be/YB3-IvauN2g?t=2m48s
Note: This footage is from the secretively filmed *La Torna* (1978)

[164] Spanish and Catalan
"El CORONEL AUDITOR *es treu un sobre de la butxaca. L'obre amb dificultat i treu un informe.* FERNANDEZ *escriu a màquina el que li dicta el* CORONEL AUDITOR *fent picar els dits sobre la taula.*
CORONEL AUDITOR*, dictant completament borratxo*: Fecha de hoy. Reunido el tribunal…, consideramos… que debemos condenar… y condenamos… al procesado Heinz Chez, a la pena de muerte… y en caso… (*Incapaç de continuar dictant, dóna l'informe a* FERNANDEZ:) Anda, copia.
FERNANDEZ *copia l'informe.*
El CORONEL AUDITOR *s'adomn sobre la taula.*
Silenci.
Es va fent fosc.
Només el so de la màquina d'escriure.
Només el so dels cops dels dits sobre la taula.
Només el so de la sentència de mort.
Fosc."
Boadella, *"*La Torna," 140-141.

[165] Spanish, "La obra acababa con el sonido de los dedos de Andreu tecleando sobre la mesa: la máquina de escribir que dejaba constancia de la decisión arbitraira de los militares. *Alea iacta est."* Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 73.

[166] Riebenbauer's book ends with an off-the-record conversation with a high-ranking, and anonymous, member of Franco's regime that admits that the executions were purposely put together to cut down the political meaning of Puig Antich's execution, vengeance for Carrero Blanco. Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg*, 203-4.

[167] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 77, 81. Although Albert Boadella told Raúl Riebenbauer a slightly different version: instead of attending himself, Muro sent two soldiers to the performance instead to take notes of what happened at the show. Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg*, 63.

[168] Muro Jiménez's role in the Heinz Chez case is, in Spanish, called "ponente," meaning he presented all the evidence against Heinz Chez during the military tribunal. It is like the role of the prosecutor in contemporary America's court system.

[169] While investigating the circumstances of Heinz Chez's case, Raúl Riebenbauer was asked by Muro: "Ah, and does it seem right to you that they ridicule us, as if we were drunk and giving us voices?" (Spanish, "Ah, ¿y usted le parace bien que se nos ridiculice, como que andábamos borrachos y dando voces?"). Riebenbauer, *El Silencio de Georg,* 201.

[170] Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theatre, Film, and Everyday Performances in North Korea*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 14.

[171] Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017, Barcelona.

[172] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo,* 79.

[173] Spanish, "El que hablaba no se identificó, no dijo quién era, pero por el tono de voz quedaba claro que tenía autoridad, o, si no, que era autoritario… ordenó que suspendiéramos la función. No fue maleducado, sino contundente, y tenía un soniquete que se podía traducir en: <<y si no me hacéis caso, ya veréis>>…le contestamos que no podíamos suspender la representación, que las entradas estaban vendidas y que teníamos que actuar…Él respondió que nos íbamos a enterar de cómo eran lo Consejos de Guerra." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 81-82.

[174] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 82.

[175] Spanish, "La ley franquista de jurisdicciones seguía en vigor, y en caso de injurias a las fuerzas armadas, los civiles podían ser juzgados por el código militar." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 83.

[176] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77, del escenario al trullo*, 90-91.
[177] "El Fiscal Pide Tres Años", *Mundodiario*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II; "Albert Boadella encarcelado en Barcelona", *Mundo Obrero* 51, December 22, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II; "Albert Boadella encarcelado en Barcelona. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.
[178] Photograph of Freedom of Expression protest in Barcelona by Carles Suqué, 1978, Registre 446291. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Empresonament Els Joglars, F 624-13.
[179] Catalan, "Amnistia Pels Joglars"; Catalan, "Llibertat Expressiò Libertat Joglars."
[180] Photograph of Freedom of Expression protest in Barcelona by Jordi Soteras, 1978, Registre 259927. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Empresonament Els Joglars, F 624-13.
[181] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 91.
[182] Spanish, "También los turistas se enteraron de que en aquella ciudad no se bailarían bulerías mientras hubera actores en la cárcel." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 92.
[183] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 95.
[184] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 165.
[185] "Huelga General de los trabajadores del espectáculo", *En Lucha: Órgano Central de la Organizacíon Revolucionaria de Trabajadores* 178, December 29, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.
[186] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 106.
[187] An on-the-nose parody of *La Torna* according to Ferran Rañé and Arnau Vilardebò. Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15th, 2017, Barcelona and Arnau Vilardebò, in discussion with the author, August 25th, 2017, Barcelona.
[188] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 107-109.
[189] In the process re-enacting the path that many political dissidents and refugees had taken during Franco's dictatorship and the Spanish Civil War.
[190] Joan de Sagarra 77, "El increible juego de la crueldad," *Hoja del Lunes,* November 28, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.
[191] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 111.
[192] Solsona suspects that the Spanish military was hoping all Els Joglars would go into exile, allowing them to avoid a messy trial. For him, at least, turning himself into the authorities was its own form of subversion.
[193] Spanish, "La última función de Els Joglars." Joan de Sagarra 77, "El increible juego de la crueldad," *Hoja del Lunes,* November 28, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.
[194] Spanish, "Una función, insisto, muy curiosa, tan curiosa que podría ser, además, la última función de su carrera profesional como grupo." Joan de Sagarra 77, "El increible juego de la crueldad," *Hoja del Lunes,* November 28, 1977. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder JI.
[195] At this point, Elisa Crehuet was on maternity leave and her part was taken by another actor. The military never prosecuted this understudy or Crehuet.
[196] "Spain's Perplexing Fascist Twitch", The Guardian, March 8, 1978.
[197] Josep Loperena, in discussion with the author, July 24, 2017, Barcelona.
[198] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 110-113.
[199] "El Fiscal Pide Tres Años", *Mundodiario*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[200] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 122.

[201] Andreu Solsona, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2017.
[202] Andreu Solsona, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2017.
[203] Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 122-123.
[204] Spanish, "actores y actrices famosos, directores, productores y escritores, en una gran representación del mundo del cine y el teatro." Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77,* 122.
[205] "El Fiscal Pide Tres Años", *Mundodiario*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[206] Meanwhile, another performance was beginning outside the tribunal. Large crowds of protestors and counter-protestors had gathered. Andreu Solsona remembers that anti-Joglars protesters were performing mock funerals for the four accused (Andreu Solsona, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2017, Barcelona), and Myriam de Maeztu states that a group of pro-Joglars protesters restaged La Torna outside the tribunals on stilts (Myriam de Maeztu, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2017, Madrid). Outside the University of Barcelona, students held open-air sit-ins, collapsing Barcelona's transit for the day and keeping up a constant clapping of the University's bells in auditory protest.
[207] "El Fiscal Pide Tres Años", *Mundodiario*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[208] Spanish, "No fue permitida la presencia de fotógrafos en el interior de la sala del consejo de guerra. Nuestro dibujante Marti ha construido una aproximación gráfica con los datos aportados por personas asistentes." "Estamos contra la pena de muerte," *Catalunya Express*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[209] The sketch's caption brings further attention to a small detail, a barely visible box on the bottom right corner, "inside are the objects presented as evidence, and next to it the wooden piece used like a rifle in the production of *La Torna*."[1] The wooden rifle is barely visible, but the box shows a logo and the non-sensical word "Peipas," which is a shortened form of "pepitas" or sunflower seeds. It is hard to tell if this detail is indicative of anything. While there was an evidence box placed next to or behind Els Joglars during the trial, no one speaks to its logo or appearance. However, it strikes me as interesting that such a detailed sketch and a caption would both point to an otherwise meaningless logo. Could Martí have included the sunflower seeds as a suggestion that Els Joglars would be chewed up and spit back out? Does it instead hint at the ridiculousness of the military tribunal overall that cannot even find a proper evidence box? As much as all of this is, by force, speculative, I certainly get the strong intention that the press is engaging in their own version of Spanish theatre's famous *metalenguaje*, inviting the audience to read between the lines and see the military tribunal for what it was: a piece of theatre.
[210] Catalan, "La lectura d'aquest article, que recorda l'apartat set del Pacte en la qual es preveu una reforma del codi de justícia militar per tal que els civils siguin jutjats exclusivament per tribunals civils." "Petició de tres anys per a cada acusat" *Avui*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[211] Catalan, "Renom afirmà finalment, tot mirant significativament el terra de la sala del tribunal: <<Allò que diu l'obra pot passar aquí, allí, demà… o ara mateix>>, i restà pensatiu." "Petició de tres anys per a cada acusat" *Avui*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[212] Spanish, "El momento tuvo un toque de poesía que ganó ciertamente a la mayoría de los asistentes al Consejo." "Claveles para los procesados." *Avui*, March 7 , 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[213] "Claveles para los procesados." *Avui*, March 7 , 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.
[214] Spanish, "Aquello tenía una solemnidad extraordinaria (¡se nos estaba acusando de injurias al Ejército!), la sala era enorme, los militares estaban condecorados… Empezaron al leer el libreto, pero convinieron en seguida, con muy buen criterio, que si todo el libreto lo leía una misma persona no se entendía nada, así que organizaron el reparto. El fiscal haría de uno, el abogado de otro… ¡nosotros no

nos lo podíamos creer! A medida que iban leyendo, como *La Torna* tenía momentos muy graciosos y se metían en los personajes y lo hacían muy bien, les quedaba muy gracioso… era increíble… nosotros, esposados y en huelga de hambre, nos reíamos… no lo podíamos evitar… y el público se reía… disimulando…" Ellipses in the original. Crehuet, et al., *Joglars 77*, 123.

[215] While no newspaper speaks of this so explicitly, many hint that more than just Coronel Nieto read the play aloud. Newspapers were also fearful of overstepping censorship and kept some details vague.

[216] Spanish, "Me acuerdo que lo leyeron, y lo leyeron entre ellos, y que era surrealista." Myriam de Maeztu, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2017, Madrid.

[217] Spanish, "El mismo silencio." Myriam de Maeztu in conversation with the author, June 16, 2017, Madrid.

[218] Whether or not the production was read aloud is a point of common confusion among the individuals I interviewed. De Maeztu insists that it read in its entirety, Vilardebó, Solsona, and Renom were not sure if it the entire production was read or only sections. The defense lawyer Josep María Loperena insisted that the production was not read aloud at all. The newspaper publications that detail *La Torna* are split between those who report to the full production being read and those who discuss only parts being read.

[219] My search for Els Joglars' transcript began in January 2017. Raúl Riebenbauer had found the transcripts for Puig Antich and Heinz Chez at the Tribunal Militar Territorial Tercero - Archivo (The Archive of the Third Military Territory), hence, presumably, they would also have the transcript from the Joglars trial. While they quickly answered my query, they only sent me the nine-page sentencing against Els Joglars, which is an open-source document (that I already had access to). I insisted. They directed me to the archives of the Consejo Supremo Militar in Madrid. Contacting them, they in turn directed me to the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (Center of Documentation for Historic Memory), who directed me back to the Tribunal Militar Territorial Tercero - Archivo. So did the Defense Ministry, the Archivo Intermedio Militar Pirenaico, and the Archivo General Militar de Guadalajara. Meanwhile, the Tribunal Militar Territorial Tercero - Archivo continued to insist that they did not have this document. While in Barcelona, I tried going in person, although I could not get past the guard at the door.

I believe that this document exists. However, I do not think I will be able to access this document for now. Archivists and contacts at other Catalan Archives (including L'Institut del Teatre and Memorial Democratic) believe that this document is likely suppressed thanks to the transitional agreement, that does not allow opening documents related to the Franco regime until fifty years after the events have occurred, which would suggest that I could access the document after March 7, 2028. However, if this is the case, there is no reason for the military to be unable to track down the transcript in the first place. Another complication: the increasing tension between the Catalan government and Spanish government in 2017 politicized this research. During the months of August, September, and October of 2017, as the independence referendum approached, the freedom of expression symbol from the 1978 military tribunal of Els Joglars became highly prevalent in Catalonia. As previously mentioned, Òmnium Cultural, a major grassroots organization in favor of Catalan independence, used the red gash symbol in a highly distributed advertisement campaign. Suddenly, my insistence at finding this transcript became suspect. Was my search related to the political mess? What would I do with the transcript once acquired? What were my political stakes in Catalonia? I hope to gain access to this transcript at some point in my future, although until the situation normalizes between Catalonia and Spain, it remains unlikely.

[220] Catalan, "I dos barrets, la forma dels quals fou objecte de controversia." "Petició de tres anys per a cada acusat" *Avui*, March 7, 1978. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Arxiu de premsa, La Torna, Binder II.

[221] Myriam de Maeztu, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2017, Madrid.

[222] Arnau Vilardebò in discussion with the author, August 25, 2017, Barcelona.

[223] Arnau Vilardebò in discussion with the author, August 25, 2017, Barcelona.

[224] Myriam de Maeztu, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2017, Madrid; Arnau Vilardebò in

discussion with the author, August 25, 2017, Barcelona; and Ferran Rañé, in discussion with the author, March 15th, 2017, Barcelona.

CHAPTER 2- LA CLACA

[225] Cariad Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," in *Barcelona: Visual Culture, Space, and Power*, ed. by Helena Buffery and Carlota Caulfield (Cardiff, U.K.: University of Wales Press, 2012), 328-9.

[226] Eleanor Margolies, "The Routledge Companion to Puppetry and Material Performance," in *The Routledge Companion to Puppetry and Material Performance*, ed. by Dassia N Posner, Claudia Orenstein, and John Bell (New York: Routledge, 2014), 325.

[227] Catalan, "No hi ha dubte que *Mori el Merma* és el muntatge de teatre de titelles més ambiciós que s'hagi fet mai a Catalunya. També, segurament, el més polèmic." Josep A. Martín, *El Teatre de Titelles a Catalunya: Aproximació i Diccionari Històric* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadía de Montserrat, 1998), 130.

[228] Joan M Minguet Batllori, "Forms of Commitment or Commitment without Form: The Other Miró," in *Joan Miró: The Ladder of Escape*, ed. by Marko Daniel and Matthew Gale (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 153.

[229] The archivists at the Fundació Miró reported that the puppets had been displayed in the gallery halls of the museum, but their exhibition list extends only back to 1997. The Fundació did lend the original puppets to Tate Modern Gallery in London in 2006, where they were exhibited as stationary puppet.

[230] Charles Chabot and Christopher Martin, *Mori el Merma: a fable based on the art of Joan Miró* (London, UK: BBC2, 1980), DVD, 50 minutes. In the collection of L'Institut del Teatre library, in Barcelona, Spain.

[231] My interviews with members of Els Joglars (Ferran Rañé, Andreu Solsona, Arnau Vilardebò, and Gabriel Renom) also proved helpful in contextualizing theatrical performance during the Spanish transition.

[232] Cariad Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre: A Process of Cultural Affirmation," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 17.3 (2007), 331.

[233] Cariad Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 323.

[234] Martín, *El teatre de titelles a Catalunya*, 55.

[235] Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 325.

[236] Unfortunately, I cannot ascertain what show La Claca was performing, and Joan Baixas was unable to answer the question.

[237] The 1975 Puppetry Festival of Barcelona was held from November 21 to 30, 1975. Although Baixas had no way of knowing this at the time of his invitation, Franco died on November 20, 1975. Pere Portabella, interview by Jesús Carrillo, "In Conversation," trans. by Anthony L. Geist, in *Miró: The Experience of Seeing, Late Works, 1963-1981*, Ed. Carmen Fernández Aparicio and Belén Galán Martín (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 12

[238] Portabella, "In Conversation," 12.

[239] Joan Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," in *Miró En Escena* (Barcelona: Fundació Joan Miró, 1994), 231.

[240] Sharon G. Feldman and Francesc Foguet i Boreu, *Els límits del silenci. La censura del teatre català durant el franquisme* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2016), 74.

[241] Mercè Saumell, Jill Pythian, and Maria Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," *Contemporary Theatre Review* 7, no. 4 (1998): 5.

[242] Andreu Solsona in discussion with the author, August 7, 2017.

[243] Berta Muñoz Cáliz, *El teatro crítico español durante el Franquismo, visto por sus censores* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2004), 292.

[244] John London "Theatre under Franco, 1939-1975: Censorship, Playwriting, and Performance" in *A History of Theatre in Spain*, eds. Maria Delgado and David Thatcher, 341-371 (Oxfordshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 368.

[245] Astles, "Absent Bodies and Objects," 195.
[246] Tomas Delclos, "La censura española atacó al <<Titella>>," *Tele/eXpres*, May 2 1978, 26. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.
[247] Spanish, "Pero los adultos no venían. El titilla estaba totalmente desprestigiado. Solamente trabajábamos en fiestas mayores… como payasos. Nos llaman payasos para insultarnos. Fuero dos años negros." Tomas Delclos, "La censura española atacó al <<Titella>>," *Tele/eXpres*, May 2 1978, 26. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.
[248] Spanish, "'Claca' ha sabido enriquecer los lenguajes tradicionales, hasta grados casi insospechados unos años atrás." Francisco Porras, *Titelles Teatro Popular* (Madrid: Editoria Nacional, 1981), 370.
[249] Porras, *Titelles Teatro Popular*, 370.
[250] Miró had links to the Catalan region and to Mallorca, an island in the Mediterranean with its own identity and Catalan-dialect. Equating Catalonia and Mallorca is inaccurate. However, in Miró's case, he existed within both identities and primarily called upon Catalan culturally identity during the creation of *Mori el Merma*. Marko Daniel and Matthew Gale, "Introduction: Free and Violent Things" in *Joan Miró: The Ladder of Escape*, ed. Marko Daniel and Matthew Gale (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 20.
[251] Mallorcan identity is found on the Spanish islands of Mallorca, Menorca, and Formentera in the Mediterranean Sea. Historically, Mallorca has a connection to Catalonia, once forming part of the same medieval empire. The islands speak a Catalan-dialect, Mallorqui.
[252] José Corredor-Matheos, "Miró, Joan," *Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, 2003. https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T058573.
[253] For example, Miró was Ernest Hemingway's boxing partner. Corredor-Matheos, "Miró, Joan."
[254] Daniel and Gale, "Introduction," 22.
[255] French, "Vous ne pensez pas que la révolution des formes peut être libératoire? En dérangeant les gens, en les obligeant à se réveiller." Dominique Szymusiak, ed, "Mori El Merma: Entretien de Joan Miró Avec René Bernard, L'Express, Septembre 1978," in *Miró: L'Aventure d'Ubu & Tériade*, 144–49 (Paris: Musée d´partemental Matisse, 2009), 145.
[256] Corredor-Matheos, "Miró, Joan."
[257] Charles Palermo, "Miró Projects," in *Miró: The Experience of Seeing, Late Works, 1963-1981*, ed. by Carmen Fernández Aparicio and Belén Galán Martín (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 57.
[258] Palermo, "Miró Projects," 64.
[259] Maria Luisa Lax, "The Civic Responsibility of the Artist," in *Joan Miró: The Ladder of Escape*, Ed. Marko Daniel and Matthew Gale, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 169.
[260] Daniel and Gale, "Introduction," 27; Lax, "The Civic Responsibility of the Artist," 172.
[261] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 231.
[262] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 231.
[263] Eileen Blumenthal, *Puppetry: A World History,* (New York: Harry N Abrams, 2005),158.
[264] Minguet Batllori, "Forms of Commitment," 153.
[265] Catalan, "Des de les darreries dels anys cinquanta Miró havia fet diversos dibuixos de l'Ubu, el tirà pudent, brut, incontinent, irracional, sàdic, imprevisible, embogit, estúpid i servilment envoltat d'una cort de burgesos covards i histèrics, que van culminar en les edicions de bibliòfil d'*Ubu Roi* (1966), *Ubu aux Baláres* (1971) i *L'enfance d'Ubu* (1975)." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 38.
[266] Catalan, "En aquesta obra l'important no és el que es fa sinó el que es suggereix." Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 232.
[267] The plot synopsis is adapted from Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 245-6.
[268] Mori el Merma, "Production Catalogue, Obra Cultura de "la Caixa" de Pensions.
Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.
[269] Joan Baixas, "Mori el Merma de Joan Baixas" (unpublished manuscript, 2017), Microsoft Word file.

[270] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 232.
[271] Catalan, "Tenim tota l'estona una agradable sensació de transgressió i riem molt." Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 234.
[272] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[273] Catalan, "Al llarg de tot el procés de treball [Miro] intentava contagiar l'equip una premissa fonamental: 'Treballem, ja pensarem després; cal començar llençant-se a l'aigua.'" Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 39.
[274] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 233.
[275] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017, Sant Celoni; Gloria Rognoni in discussion with the author, September 27, 2017, Valldoreix.
[276] Catalan, "És el quadre més gran que va pintar Miró en la seva vida." Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 235.
[277] Anarchy has deep roots in Catalonia, where it has formed part of the left-wing political world since the late 19th Century.
[278] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 234.
[279] Kathryn Mederos Syssoyeva and Scott Proudfit, eds., *A History of Collective Creation* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2013), 5-6.
[280] Spanish, "Lo que sí hay son muchas experiencias que hemos vivido, hemos aportado muchas de las cosas que llevamos dentro." J. Ibarz, "Joan Miró: 'Ja els hem fotut!,'" *Tele/eXpres*, June 8 1978, 27. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.
[281] Catalan, "Allà es troben en germen els principals personatges de l'espectacle, de qui els Claca van precisar la forma i als quals van dotar de volum, amb materials dúctils que permetien modelar les seves mig ridícules, mig fastigoses i terribles protuberàncies i accentuar la plasticitat dels seus moviments." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 38.
[282] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017.
[283] Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 328.
[284] As visible in the negatives of the Català Roca archives, held at the Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya.
[285] As visible in the negatives of the Català Roca archives, held at the Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya.
[286] For more on Catalan puppet theatre after Franco, see Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre."
[287] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017.
[288] As categorized by the Catalan historian and scholar Josep Benet i Morell.
[289] "Cebolleta," Fundació Joan Miró (Barcelona: C 12842-12850 i 12871, 1977).
[290] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[291] "Carbassa," Fundació Joan Miró (Barcelona: C 12821-12829, 1977).
[292] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[293] "Gos," Fundació Joan Miró (Barcelona: C 12867-12870, 1977).
[294] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[295] "Máscara," Fundació Joan Miró (Barcelona: FJM 12880, FJM 12881, FJM 12882, FJM12897, FJM 12898, FJM 12899, 1977).
[296] Catalan, "Tot ells violents i a la vegada grotescos, cruels però també ridículs, sexualment obsessos però impotents, sortits d'un malson i a la vegada tremendament divertits, d'ulls, boques i panxes que revelaven l'egoisme, la ferotgesa i a la vegada la covardia, la turpitud i la nimietat del poder." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 39.
[297] Catalan "Que tot l'espectacle sigui com un vòmit. Vomitar el franquisme, sense analitzar-lo…Considerar els personatges com una colla d'assassins, de gent que està completament al marge de tot. Interpretar amb agressivitat, amb exageració." Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps," 231.
[298] "Cavall," Fundació Joan Miró (Barcelona: C 12841, 12851-12866 i 15229, 1977).
[299] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.

[300] Translating "carbassa" is tricky due to differences in meaning between English and Catalan. The closest translation is "pumpkin," but the shape of the puppet is more indicative of a calabasha gourd (*carbassa vinatera*). I have translated the name in the way most descriptive of the puppet.
[301] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[302] Gloria Rognoni in discussion with the author, September 27, 2017.
[303] The most prominent examples of scatology in Catalan culture are that of the Patufet, the *caganer*, and the *caga tió*. A highly common and recognized Catalan folk tale is that of Patufet, a Catalan boy who is about the size of a coin. The folk tale tells how, during a rainstorm, Patufet hides himself underneath the leaves of a cabbage, only to be eaten whole by a bull. To retrieve their son, Patufet's parents feed the bull more cabbage to increase flatulence. Patufet is a common children's rhyme, where the boy's name (Patufet) rhymes easily with the word for gas (Pet).
[304] The Christmas holidays in Catalonia also include various scatalogical traditions. Catalan nativity scenes will include *el caganer* (in English, the defecator or, more crudely, the shitter), a shepherd who is in the process of defecating and is usually located towards the sides of the nativity scene. Furthermore, gifts in Catalonia are often delivered by *el Tió* (in English, the uncle or the guy), a dead log that, if children appropriately take care of by feeding it and keeping it warm under a blanket in the run-up to Christmas, will defecate presents. To convince *el Tió*, however, to deliver his presents, the children beat it with a stick while singing the *Caga Tió* song (in English, "defecate uncle!").
[305] In the aftermath of *La Torna* and the military trials (as detailed in Chapter 1), Albert Boadella turned to scatology to make his anger with the rest of Els Joglars known. He took a photo of himself, mooning the camera, waving goodbye with his hat and had it published in a major Catalan newspaper. As Boadella has publicly spoken out against the bid for Catalan independence, he has recreated this photo, except that this time he has the Catalan independence flag, the *estelada*, wrapped around his waist. There is a circle cut out of the star, revealing his bare buttocks.
[306] Baixas, "Mori el Merma de Joan Baixas."
[307] La Claca, like other *teatro independiente* groups, had long been hiding Catalan cultural elements in their productions, engaging in what Eugene Van Erven calls *metalenguage*, or ways of "circumventing the legal and political impediments imposed by the fascist state." Eugène Van Erven, *Radical People's Theatre* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press,1988),
148. In *Mori el Merma,* however, the nod to Catalan cultural elements are much more overt than their previous work.
[308] Catalan, "crits, xiscles, i sons guturals." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 39.
[309] Catalan, "Aquelles figures van omplir l'escena…amb una sarabanda i un remolí d'imatges fetes de colors, formes i gestos de gran potència expressiva, organitzades en un balanceig hipnòtic entre escenes líricament i poèticament intimistes i altres turbulentes i frenètiques fins a la brutalitat." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 39.
[310] Joan-Anton Benach, "'Mori el Merma,' de Miró-Claca," *El Correo Catalan*, June 11 1978, 33. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.
[311] Chabot and Martin, *Mori el Merma*.
[312] Catalan, "Les cinc fures: el poble oprimit, alhora defallit i colèric, amb màscares de traç molt simple i eficaçment expressiu." Bravo, "Un Home de Teatre," 39.
[313] Sharon Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Barcelona* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009), 14.
[314] Catalan, "No errem humans." Gloria Rognoni in discussion with the author, September 27, 2017.
[315] Spanish, "La noche del estreno, una vez concluida la representación, Joan Miró se vio obligado por el público a dirigir unas palabras desde el escenario. Se mostró satisfecho por el trabajo conseguido, indicando que había salido exactamente igual a como lo habían pensado entre el grupo Claca y él. Miró se hizo acompañar de los actores que intervienen en la obra. Todos ellos ocultaban sus rostros con una máscara teatral cruzada con una pincelada roja, simbolizando el anagrama de la campaña por la libertad de expresión." Enric Canals, "Espectáculo de Joan Miró y el grupo Claca en el Liceo de Barcelona," *El*

País June 11 1978, 25. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[316] Baixas, "Nedar Contra Corrent Fa Bíceps."

When I asked the members of Els Joglars who were in jail during the run of *Mori el Merma* about this event, most of them were surprised by it as they were entirely unaware of it.

[317] Catalan, "*Mori el merma* fou vist com un autèntic atemptat ideològic que posava a prova l'estratègia pactista dominant en la intelligènsia catalana." Martín, *El Teatre de Titelles a Catalunya*, 131.

[318] Spanish, "La muerte del Merma' representa el inicio de una etapa renovadora para el Liceo y para toda la escena catalana." J. Ibarz, "Joan Miró: 'Ja els hem fotut!,'" *Tele/eXpres*, June 8 1978, 27. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[319] Saumell, Pythian, and Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," 18.

[320] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 33-34.

[321] Spanish, "También es positivo que un público joven y con inquietudes haya tenido acceso a este local." J. Ibarz, "Joan Miró: 'Ja els hem fotut!,'" *Tele/eXpres*, June 8 1978, 27. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[322] Saumell, Pythian, and Delgado, "Performance Groups in Contemporary Spanish Theatre," 18.

[323] Spanish, "Reservado durante muchos años para acontecimientos del más puro y tradicional arte de la música"; Spanish, "El señorial teatro de las Ramblas barcelonesas se llenó el pasado miércoles de un público con atuendos informales, el cual reivindicaba con sus presencia un espacio cultural que le había sido negado durante años." Enric Canals, "Espectáculo de Joan Miró y el grupo Claca en el Liceo de Barcelona," *El País* June 11 1978, 25. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[324] Spanish, "Y un largo etcétera." Enric Canals, "Espectáculo de Joan Miró y el grupo Claca en el Liceo de Barcelona," *El País* June 11 1978, 25. Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[325] Catalan, "Encara que el nou espectacle del grup Putxinel.lis Claca - ara Companyia Teatral Claca - titulat Mori el Merma, conformat amb màscares, ninots i decorats pintats per Joan Miró, va ser estrenat el març al Teatre Principal de Ciutat de Mallorca, les representacions que des de dimecres dia 7 - i fins al dia 12 - s'estan donant al Gran Teatre del Liceu es poden considerar com les de l'autèntica estrena de la proposta." Gonzalo Pérez de Olaguer, "Els 'Claca' i Miró, al Liceu: Llibertat poètica, entre màscares." Centre de Documentació i Museu de els Arts Escèniques, Collection: Joan Baixas—La Claca, Box E 221-01.

[326] Ciutadans de Catalunya, ja sóc aquí!

[327] Tarradellas was also understood to be calmer and more willing to compromise than the set of politicians who had cut their teeth during the Franco regime, running afoul of the police and forming (illegal) political parties during the dictatorship, a primary example being Jordi Pujol.

[328] Ferran Rañé in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017.

[329] Ferran Rañé in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017.

[330] Catalan, "El president de Catalunya fara lo que te de fer el president de Catalunya." Ferran Rañé in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017.

[331] The only exception being Marta Mata, a politician who gave a rousing speech in defense of Els Joglars in the Catalan parliament.

[332] Ferran Rañé in discussion with the author, March 15, 2017; Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017.

[333] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017, Sant Celoni; Gloria Rognoni in discussion with the author, September 27, 2017.

[334] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017, Sant Celoni.

[335] Joan Baixas in discussion with the author, August 30, 2017, Sant Celoni.

[336] Clare Gormley, "Joan Miró and Joan Baixas, *Merma Never Dies* 1978," case study, *Performance At Tate: Into the Space of Art*, Tate Research Publication, 2016,

https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/performance-at-tate/case-studies/joan-miro-joan-baixas, accessed 18 December 2019.
[337] Baixas, "Mori el Merma de Joan Baixas."
[338] Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 331.
[339] Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 331.
[340] Astles, "Catalan Puppet Theatre," 332.

CHAPTER 3-THE OLYMPIC GAMES
[341] Edgar Illas, *Thinking Barcelona: Ideologies of a Global City*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 19.
[342] Newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games within Spain routinely show the latest Olympic events side by side with articles detailing violence in the Balkans as the Yugoslav Wars. One example was of bus full of orphaned children who were attacked by sniper fire, killing two toddler girls and kidnapping nine children who the militants suspected were of Serbian origin. "Los serbios matan a dos niñas en su huida del orfanato de Sarajevo" *El País*, August 2, 1992, https://elpais.com/diario/1992/08/03/portada/712792801_850215.html
In another, the New York Times details how a simple Ham radio operator is one of a small number of sources for the horrors occurring in remote and rural Bosnian villages. John F Burns, "In Sarajevo, a Ham Operator Captures the Horrors of War" *The New York Times,* July 20, 1992. https://www.nytimes.com/1992/07/20/world/in-sarajevo-a-ham-operator-captures-the-horrors-of-war.html?searchResultPosition=25
[343] John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? : Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity, and the Barcelona Olympic Games*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 98.
[344] Alan Riding, "Barcelona—A Viewer's Guide," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1992.
[345] "Display Ad 6 -- no Title." *New York Times (1923-Current File),* Jul 17, 1992.
[346] Andrew Dowling, *The Rise of Catalan Independence: Spain's Territorial Crisis* (London: Routledge, 2018), 147.
[347] In fact, the New York Times praised Barcelona for avoiding terrorist attacks, protests, and traffic jams during the Olympics. Alan Riding, "Barcelona has Things Almost Under Control," *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1992.
[348] John Hooper, "Catalans Seize on Barcelona Olympics to Advance the Nationalist Cause," *Washington Post*, May 28, 1992.
[349] During an Olympics, the Games communicates in the host city's language, French, and English. In most cases, the city's language is the same as its nation-state's language. Yet, in the case of the Barcelona Games, the Olympics chose to use both the city's language and its nation-state's language.
[350] Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia?*, 131.
[351] George Vecsey, "Heartfelt Adeu, Adeu: Barcelona Won Gold," *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1992.
[352] Jordi Llovet, "La ceremonia inaugural," *La Vanguardia*, July 27, 1992.
[353] Tony Kornheiser, "Strange, Wonderful, Strange," *The Washington Post*, July 26, 1992.
[354] William Gildea, "Barcelona Olympic Revelers Burn Flame at all Ends: Overnight Fun Precedes Games," *The Washington Post*, July 26, 1992.
[355] Alan Riding, "A Night at the Opera, Catalan Style," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1992.
[356] Santiago Fondevilla, "Los politicos aún no nos han felicitado," *La Vanguardia, Barcelona '92*, July 29, 1992 http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/1992/07/29/pagina-32/33526115/pdf.html?search=%22Alex%20Olle%22
[357] Spanish, "Se ha presentado Cataluña. Le toca el turno a España." Bru Rovira, "El Mensaje de Barcelona ya es Universal," *La Vanguardia*, July 26, 1992.
[358] Susan Manning, *Modern Dance, Negro Dance: Race in Motion*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), xv-xviii.
[359] Rovira, "El mensaje de Barcelona ya es universal."

[360] Spanish, "Nos lleva a reflexionar acerca del grado de comprensión que alcanzaría el espectáculo en el mundo entero." Llovet, "La Ceremonia inaugural"
[361] Miquel de Moragas, Nancy Rivenburgh, and Núria Garcia, *Television and the construction of identity: Barcelona Olympic host*, in *The Keys to Success: the social, sporting, economic and communications impact of Barcelona '92* (Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la UAB, 1995), 76-106.
[362] For further discussion, see: de Moragas, et al, *Television and the construction of identity*.
[363] Spanish, "Lo que no pudimos controlar fue el volume de la música y, sobre todo, los comentarios de television, a pesar de que dimos sufieciente información para que se comentara bien." Fondevilla, "Los politicos aún no nos han felicitado."
[364] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* 3 ed, (London: Verso, 2006), 6.
[365] de Moragas, et. al, *Television and the construction of identity: Barcelona Olympic host*, 9.
[366] The Barcelona Olympics were not the only macrofestival of 1992: the European Union had designated Madrid the European Capital of Culture for the year and in June Seville held the World Exhibition in celebration of the five hundred anniversary of Christopher Columbus' first voyage to the New World. The Olympic Games, the World Exhibition, and Madrid as the European Capital of Culture were all occurring seventeen years after the death of dictator Francisco Franco; fifteen years after the signing of the Spanish Constitution and beginning of the democratic government. 1992 was Spain's opportunity to mark to the world just how far it had come. Joan Ramon Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 215.
[367] Eugenia Afinoguénova, "State of Crucifixion: Tourism, Holy Week, and the Sacred Politics of the Cold War" in *Rite, Flesh, and Stone: The Matter of Death in Contemporary Spanish Culture* 56-76, ed. Antonio Córdoba and Daniel García-Donoso (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2021).
[368] George Vecsey, "Women Were Running South," *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1992.
[369] Alan Tomlinson, "Olympic Spectacle: Opening Ceremonies and Some Paradoxes of Globalization" *Media, Culture & Society* 18, no. 4 (1996): 600. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344396018004005.
[370] Chris Arning, "Soft Power, Ideology, and Symbolic Manipulation in Summer Olympic Games Opening Ceremonies: A Semiotic Analysis," *Social Semiotics* vol 23.4 (2013) 525-526.
[371] Sharon Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm: Contemporary Theater in Barcelona* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009), 77.
[372] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 76.
[373] Translation in original. La Fura dels Baus, "Prehistoria," https://lafura.com/en/works/prehistoria/
[374] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 77.
[375] Translation in original. La Fura dels Baus, "Prehistoria."
[376] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 76-77.
[377] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 14.
[378] Fondevilla, "Los politicos aún no nos han felicitado,".
[379] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 90.
[380] Mercè Saumell, "Performance Groups in Catalonia," in *Contemporary Catalan Theatre: An Introduction*, eds. David George and John London (Sheffield: The Anglo-Catalan Society, 1996), 105.
[381] Fondevilla, "Los politicos aún no nos han felicitado,".
[382] Alan Riding, "The Scene," *New York Times,* July 19, 1992.
[383] Dowling, *The Rise of Catalan Independence*, 23-24.
[384] Dowling, *The Rise of Catalan Independence*, 24.
[385] Illas, *Thinking Barcelona*, 108.
[386] Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia?*, 102.
[387] "Barcelona, 1992: The Torch," The International Olympics Committee, https://www.olympic.org/barcelona-1992-torch-relay#:~:text=Route%20design%20and%20details&text=On%2013%20June%2C%20the%20flame,boat%2C%20propelled%20by%2010%20rowers.

[388] Doug Cress, "Torch is Passed to Spain," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1992. https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-06-14-sp-843-story.html
[389] Cress, "Torch is Passed to Spain."
[390] "Arribada de la flama olímpica" Aired June 16, 1992 on Telediario 2. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pv7lX92phLs
[391] Feldman, *In the Eye of the Storm*, 77.
[392] Translation in original. "La Fura." *La Fura Dels Baus*, 2018. https://www.lafura.com/en/la-fura/
[393] Arning, "Soft Power, Ideology, and Symbolic Manipulation," 530.
[394] Although La Fura dels Baus designate various types of costume designers, prop designers, graphic designers, and the developer of the inflatable creatures, they make no distinction between scenic designer and puppet creator. In *Mediterrani, Mar Olímpic*'s creative team, Ollé and Padrissa are listed as overall creators and Olbeter as the scenic creator.
[395] Richard Schechner, "Julie Taymor: From Jacques Lecoq to *The Lion King,*" in *Puppets, Masks and Performing Objects*, ed. John Bell (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), 33.
[396] Gerhard Marx, "A Matter of Life and Death: The Function of Malfunction in the Work of Handpring Puppet Company," in *Handspring Puppet Company,* ed. Jane Taylor (Parkwood, South Africa: David Krut Publishing, 2009), 242.
[397] The mass grave was already in use before the Franco regime and includes a variety of bodies such as the combatants from fighting in Barcelona on July 18, 1936 (the day after the Spanish Civil War began), the May Days in 1937 (when communist and anarchist parties engaged in a bloody fight between themselves in Barcelona), and people killed from the bombings of Barcelona during the war. It also includes political prisoners executed during the Spanish Civil War when Barcelona was still in the hands of the Republican government. "El homenaje a Companys hace olvidar las diferencias entre políticos catalanes," *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona, Spain), Oct. 27, 1987.
[398] Mercé Beltran, "Un Fossar de la Pedrera remodelado acogerá los restos del ex president," *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona), Oct. 14, 1984.
[399] Xavier Pujadas and Carles Santacana Torres, *L'altre Olimpíada, Barcelona '36: Esport, Societat, i Política a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Llibres de l'Index, 1990), 79.
[400] As we reach Barcelona, the white flags are at all windows - towels, sheets, tablecloths hung over the windowsills for peace. Shooting is heard again and again - not cannons or machine guns (except once, but rifles)… Overturned cars, dead animals, coils and spires of smoke arising from burning churches. The coils of color climbing the architectural heart of the city, [Antoni] Gaudi's marvelous church [the unfinished Sagrada Família], untouched by harm. Quoted in David Clay Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 286.
[401] Although, to avoid upsetting the right-wing opposition parties, a Spanish delegation did attend the Berlin Olympics regardless. Large, *Nazi Games,* 152.
[402] Paul Preston, *Franco : a Biography* (New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1994), 493.
[403] "El homenaje a Companys," *La Vanguardia*.
[404] Preston, *Franco*, 493.
[405] Illas, *Thinking Barcelona*, 25.
[406] Spanish, "Senyors, ciutadans del món, fa cinquanta-sis anys s'havia de fer una Olimpíada Popular en aquest estadi de Montjuïc. El nom del president de l'olimpíada es gravat allà dalt a l'antiga Porta de la Marató, es deia Lluís Companys i era el president de la Generalitat de Catalunya."
[407] Spanish, "Que hizo saltar lágrimas de emoción en muchos hogares de Cataluña."
Enric Juliana, "Maragall escribió de su puño y letra el discurso de apertura y lo consultó con Pujol," *La Vanguardia*, July 27, 1992.
[408] Francisco Ferrándiz, "Unburials, Generals, and Phantom Militarism." *Current Anthropology* 60, no. S19 (2019): 65.
[409] This is a major aspect of the documentary *El silencio de otros*, where Maria Martín visits the roadway underwhich her mother is buried in a mass grave. Almudena Carracedo, Robert Bahar, Kim C. Roberts,

Ricardo Acosta, Pedro Almodóvar, José M. Galante, Carlos Slepoy, and Ana Messuti. *El silencio de otros*. Madrid: Karma Films, 2018.

[410] David Dillon, "Barcelona puts itself into its parks," *Chicago Tribune,* May 31, 1992.

[411] Beltran, "Un Fossar de la Pedrera remodelado."

[412] Catalan, "La dignitat que correspòn." *La Vanguardia*, "Companys, al Fossar de la Pedrera" advertisement for Ajuntament de Barcelona (Barcelona city hall). Oct. 27, 1985.

[413] Spanish, "Era una cita pensada desde hace muchos meses e insinuada incluso a la prensa." Juliana, "Maragall escribió de su puño."

[414] Juliana, "Maragall escribió de su puño."

[415] Translation in original. Saumell, "Performance Groups in Catalonia." 122.

[416] Translation in original. "Mar Olímpic," La Fura dels Baus, https://lafura.com/en/works/mediterrani-mar-olimpic/

[417] Despite attempts at communication, La Fura has not confirmed these measurements. These measurements are estimates based from the broadcast images as well as the performance elements visible at the Olympic Museum in Barcelona.

[418] It is surprising that such a clear symbol of Spanishness goes without mention in John Hargreaves' analysis of the Barcelona Olympics as a "war of flags" between Spain and Catalonia.

[419] Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano, "Football and Bullfighting on Television: Spectacle and Spanish Identity during Franco's Dictatorship," in *Popular Television in Authoritarian Europe*, ed. Peter Goddard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 26.

[420] Illas, *Thinking Barcelona*, 43.

[421] Luis Martín-Estudillo, *The Rise of Euroskepticism: Europe and Its Critics in Spanish Culture* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2018), 75.

[422] Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, "The Politics of Flamenco: *La leyenda del tiempo* and ideology" *Popular Music* 36, no. 2 (2017), 199.

[423] For further discussion, see: Sandie Holguin, *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2019); William Washabaugh, *Flamenco Music and National Identity in Spain* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012); López-Peláez Casellas, "The Politics of Flamenco."

[424] Castanets are the musical instrument associated with flamenco music and dancing. Holguin, *Flamenco Nation*, 15-16.

[425] López-Peláez Casellas further argues that considering Spain's turbulent 20th Century with two monarchies, two dictatorships, a republic, and a Civil War, the idea of a stable and apolitical flamenco is especially suspect. López-Peláez Casellas, "The Politics of Flamenco," 197.

[426] Holguin, *Flamenco Nation*, 6.

[427] Holguin, *Flamenco Nation*, 21.

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CHAPTER 4 – LA *DIADA*

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Appendix A: Breakdown of Attendance per *Diada*

The ANC estimates attendance records as follows:

Year	Attendance
2012	2 million people[1] [575]
2013	1.6 million people[2] [575]
2014	1.8 million people[3] [575]
2015	2 million people[4] [575]
2016	1 million people[5] [575]
2017	1 million people[6] [575]

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[6] "La Diada de 2017 reúne a cerca de medio millón de personas, según el cálculo de EL PAÍS," *El País*

Appendix B: Breakdown of Opinion Poll Data 2017

	In Favor (%)	Against (%)	Others (%)	Abstain (%)	Do not know (%)	Did not reply (%)
2012 (1st series)[1]	44.6	24.7	1.0	24.2	4.6	0.9
2012 (2nd series)[2]	51.1	21.1	1.0	21.1	4.7	1.1
2012 (3rd series)[3]	57.0	20.5	0.6	14.3	6.2	1.5
2013 (1st series)[4]	54.7	20.7	1.1	17.0	5.4	1.0
2013 (2nd series)[5]	55.6	23.4	0.6	15.3	3.8	1.3
2014 (2nd series)[6]	44.5	45.3	-	-	7.5	2.8
2015 (1st series)[7]	44.1	48.0	-	-	6.0	1.8
2015 (2nd series)[8]	42.9	50.0	-	-	5.8	1.3
2015 (3rd series)[9]	46.7	47.8	-	-	3.9	1.7

2016 (1st series)[10]	45.3	45.5	-	-	7.1	2.1
2016 (2nd series)[11]	47.7	42.4	-	-	8.3	1.7
2016 (3rd series)[12]	44.9	45.1	-	-	7.0	2.9
2017 (1st series)[13]	44.3	48.5	-	-	5.6	1.6
2017 (2nd series)[14]	41.1	43.6	-	-	7.8	1.7
2017 (3rd series)[15]	48.7	43.6	-	-	6.5	1.3

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